

THE MILITANT

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

Support the farm workers **Don't buy scab lettuce, grapes**



Coachella, Calif. Farm workers and supporters picket grape fields to build support for strike. See page 5.

Militant/Harry Ring

Mass mobilizations sweep Argentina



Buenos Aires. Hundreds of thousands rallied as new Peronist regime took office. Mass pressure forced Campora gov't to free political prisoners. See pages 7-9.

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Militant sales drive goes over top
- 4 3,000 deported in L.A. 'alien' dragnet
- 6 Behind Moscow-Bonn summit
- 13 STRESS unit in Detroit abolished
- 14 Meaning of Bradley election
- 15 Viet Vets face frame-up trial
- 16 CIA in Iran
- 17 Watergate tactics & World War II
- 18 Street rallies build Oliver campaign
- 19 SWP candidate raps Detroit cops
- 24 Can Nixon ride out Watergate storm?

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line La Raza en Accion
- 12 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review
- 21 News from Pathfinder American Way of Life

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 New wave of repression in Israel
- 2 Twenty-five years of Israeli state
- 4 Israeli revolutionists protest new arrests

POLICE INFORMER EXPOSES FRAME-UP OF MARTIN SOSTRE: Buffalo, N.Y., cops wanted to "get" Black activist Martin Sostre, according to testimony by Arto Williams. A self-confessed police agent, Williams admitted in court on May 30 that he helped frame Sostre on a phony drug charge.

Williams's testimony is a major development in the fight to free Sostre, who is serving a 30- to 41-year sentence at Clinton prison in Dannemora, N.Y. Sostre was convicted in 1968 of selling narcotics to Williams.

Prior to his frame-up, Sostre operated the Afro-Asian Bookstore in Buffalo. During the three-day rebellion in the Buffalo Black community in 1967, his store became a haven for those fleeing police tear gas and bullets. The cops decided to "get" Sostre after the rebellion.

Despite Williams's testimony, Federal Court Judge John Curtin has refused to make an immediate decision on Sostre's request for a new trial. Curtin's decision is expected in one to two months.

Sostre's request to act as his own co-counsel was also turned down.

Militant correspondent Dave Strong reports that letters demanding the dropping of all charges against Martin Sostre may be sent to Judge John Curtin at U.S. Court house, Buffalo, N.Y. 14202.



Martin Sostre: cops used phony drug charge to send him to jail

JUDGE BARES BIAS IN FELICIANO CASE: At a June 6 pretrial hearing in New York, William Kunstler, attorney for Carlos Feliciano, demanded a special hearing to consider the Puerto Rican activist's case in light of recent Watergate revelations of government plotting against radicals.

When Kunstler mentioned Feliciano's membership in the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, the judge interrupted him. Didn't Kunstler know, the judge asked, that he had served as an assistant prosecutor against Nationalist Party members accused in the 1954 attack on U.S. Congress? Four Puerto Rican nationalists remain in jail as a result of that case.

The judge's revelation makes the case for dropping all charges against Feliciano all the stronger. Feliciano is being tried in Manhattan for possessing explosives, charges for which he was already acquitted last year in the Bronx.

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

PALESTINIANS DENOUNCE NIXON'S ESPIONAGE AGAINST RADICALS: Three Palestinians held a news conference in Boston May 31 to attack the Nixon administration's harassment and spying against Arabs in the U.S. Participating in the news conference were Naseer Aruri, professor at Southeastern Massachusetts University; Mujid Kazimi, recent graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and Said Abu-Zahra, professor at Salem State College.

A statement by the three pointed out that Nixon has admitted making plans to spy on so-called potential Arab saboteurs in 1970. In its effort to prop up the Zionist regime in Israel, the U.S. government has intensified repression against Arab activists in the U.S. "Despite this harassment," the Palestinians' statement said, "we do not intend to remain silent in the face of Zionist oppression of our people."

PRISONERS DEMAND END TO MAIL CENSORSHIP: Eighty-eight federal prisoners have filed a class-action suit to end all restrictions by prison authorities on their mail. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is

handling the case.

Prison officials now force inmates who want to receive correspondence to sign statements allowing inspection of their mail for "contraband." Such inspections often result in arbitrarily denying prisoners access to personal correspondence and to publications deemed "incendiary" by officials.

If the class-action suit wins, it will overturn the practice of requiring inmates to agree to mail censorship; prisoners will be able to send and receive sealed, uncensored correspondence. The destroying, delaying, and refusal to deliver prisoners' mail will be illegal.

Such a court decision would be a major victory for the right of prisoners to receive publications such as **The Militant**, which prison authorities frequently refuse to distribute to inmates.

ANTIOCH STRIKERS SAY PROTEST WILL CONTINUE: On June 1, police tore down barricades erected by striking students at Antioch College in Ohio and ended the occupation of campus buildings. This is the first time in the college's history that police have been brought onto the campus.

The administration resorted to the cops after seven weeks of a strike by students protesting cutbacks in financial aid. The cutbacks are aimed at the New Directions program, made up mainly of young people from working-class families. Black students have been in the leadership of opposition to the cutbacks.

In an attempt to victimize strike leaders and supporters, the administration expelled 20 students and fired seven faculty members last week. It then obtained authorization to break up the barricades through a court injunction handed down May 30.

Although classes reopened on June 5, the strike committee says that the fight against the cutbacks is not over. Meetings are planned to discuss the next step in the struggle.

DEPORTATION RAIDS AGAINST 'ILLEGAL ALIENS' CONDEMNED: "His only crime was coming to the U.S. to work," said an outraged telegram from Chicano writers, poets, and professors condemning the killing of a Mexican, Cruz Cedillo Lopez, in San Diego, Calif., last week. The telegram was sent to Attorney General Elliot Richardson and the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service by a June 2 conference on "Communicating the Chicano Experience." The conference took place at Merritt College in Oakland, Calif.

In the past few weeks, immigration authorities in the Los Angeles area have rounded up and deported to Mexico some 3,000 Latino workers. "We vigorously protest the repressive actions and mass raids currently underway by the border patrol and the immigration department," the telegram said. "The wanton killing of a Mexican, Cruz Cedillo Lopez . . . is the contemptible result of your actions."

Among those signing the telegram were Chicano poet Alurista; writer Raymond Barrio; Agustin Gurza, former editor of **La Voz del Pueblo**; poet Jose Montoya; and author-poet Estela Portillo.

— CINDY JAQUITH

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 23
JUNE 15, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JUNE 6, 1973

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: England and Ireland, L1.20 for 10 issues, L4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, L1.50 for 10 issues, L5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



VIVA LA HUELGA! The United Farm Workers Union is struggling for its survival. *The Militant* actively supports this struggle. For honest and on-the-spot reports on the showdown between the UFWU and the growers, and for information on what you can do to help . . . Read *The Militant*.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
- () \$2 for three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- () \$5 for one year of *The Militant*
- () New () Renewal

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

'The country's so tired of the war'

Senate votes cutoff of funds to bomb Cambodia

From Intercontinental Press

"The country's so tired of the war and the constituents are so tired of the Cambodian part of it," Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott complained to reporters May 31. "It's very difficult to hold the line."

A few hours later, the Senate demonstrated the extent of Scott's difficulty by approving an amendment to cut off funds for the bombing of Cambodia and Laos. Scott was able to muster only nineteen votes against the restriction on Nixon's Indochina aggression; sixty-three senators voted in favor of the amendment.

Even the majority of Nixon's own party in the Senate deserted him. Republican members supported the fund

cut-off by a margin of twenty to sixteen.

The amendment, which was attached to a supplemental appropriations bill, states: "None of the funds herein appropriated under this act, or heretofore appropriated under any other act, may be expended to support, directly or indirectly, combat activities in, over or off the shores of Cambodia or in or over Laos by United States forces."

A similar but less stringently worded restriction was passed by the House of Representatives May 10. A conference between the two Houses must work out an identically worded version before the bill is sent to Nixon for his approval or veto. (While

Nixon is of course opposed to the amendment, a veto would also apply to the appropriation of \$3,700 million for various government departments.)

Whatever the final outcome of the parliamentary maneuvering that is sure to follow, the Senate vote is a clear indication of the extent of public opposition to Nixon's continuation of the war. The senators were so anxious to dissociate themselves from the bombing that they even ignored the plea that approval of the amendment would hamper the coming round of discussions between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, scheduled to begin in Paris June 7.

Nixon spokesmen, including Kissinger himself, predicted "success" for the talks if only Congress would not take away Nixon's "bargaining chips." As a concession to the fears of Congress, Kissinger's deputy, William H. Sullivan, flew to Phnompenh and "persuaded" Lon Nol to agree to negotiations with Norodom Sihanouk. Sihanouk, however, has so far not changed his publicly stated refusal to negotiate anything with the U.S. puppet.

The day before the Senate's vote, the Pentagon announced that B-52 raids against Cambodia had been reduced by about 40 percent.

"Defense Department sources," Michael Getler reported in the May 31 *Washington Post*, "say the reduction in B-52 operations is linked primarily to an attempt to cut down on the mounting costs of the U.S. air operations in Indochina. But they concede privately that there is also an increasing morale problem among

B-52 bomber crews at bases on Guam and in Thailand who talk of being 'mercenaries' caught up in a war 'not in my country's national interest.'"

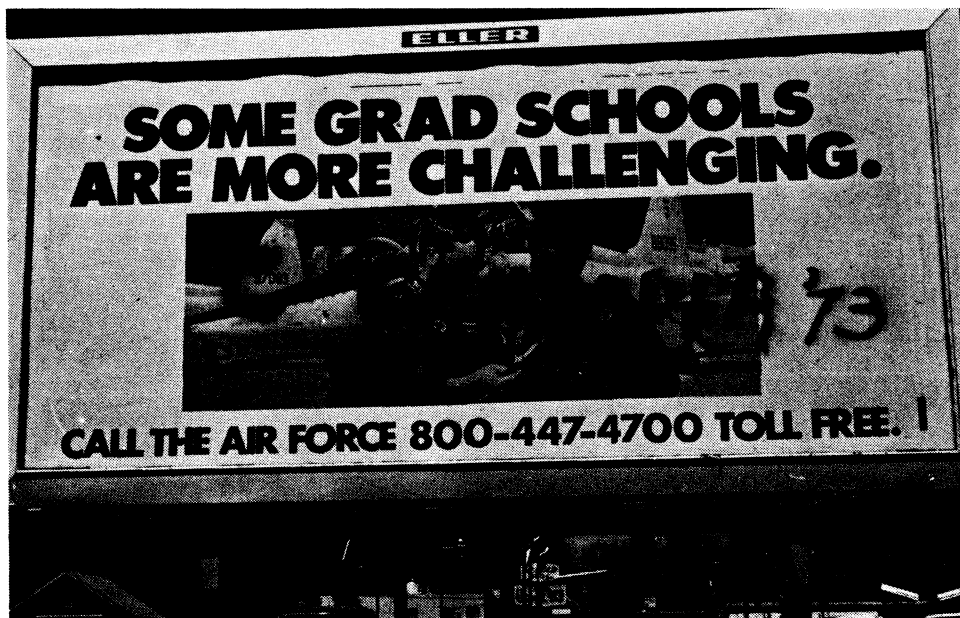
Nixon found himself deserted for the time being not only by the Senate, but also by one of his representatives on the four-power International Commission of Control and Supervision established by the Vietnam cease-fire agreement. On May 29, the Canadian government announced that it would pull out of the commission by July 31, or sooner if a replacement could be found.

The original decision to act as Nixon's surrogate in Vietnam has not been popular in Canada, and the withdrawal announcement was endorsed by all the opposition parties.

The Canadian representatives on the commission are not likely to be missed by the Vietnamese liberation forces. On May 30, a spokesman of the Provisional Revolutionary Government charged that the Canadian delegation had repeatedly "given help to the U.S. and Saigon administration in obstructing the implementation of the agreement."

This view was confirmed from an unexpected source. "Even some American officials," Fox Butterfield reported in the May 31 *New York Times*, "... have felt that Mr. [Michel] Gauvin [Canadian chief delegate] might have been more effective if he had been somewhat less outspoken and aggressive."

The Senate vote of May 31 indicates that an increasing sector of the U.S. ruling class holds much the same view of Richard Nixon.



Spray paint on Denver billboard reflects massive revulsion with Nixon's bombing of Cambodia.

War protests to demand 'U.S. stop bombing!'

By SYD STAPLETON

JUNE 6—Antiwar organizations in more than a dozen major cities have announced plans for activities tied to the June 16 Washington, D.C., protest against continuing U.S. intervention in Indochina.

The Washington, D.C., demonstration, initially called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), is being built by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and its affiliates around the demands "End the Bombing of Cambodia Now! U.S. Entirely Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

Local June 16 demonstrations have been set in several cities. The Chicago Peace Council and the Chicago Peace Action Coalition are building a march and rally, to begin at noon in the downtown area.

The Colorado Peace Action Coalition has secured the endorsement of Congresswoman Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) for a June 16 demonstration in Denver. Three members of the Colorado House of Representatives and Yusef Karouma, Colorado chairman of the African Liberation Day Support Committee, have also endorsed the action, which will assemble at Cheesman Park at noon.

The Minnesota Peace Action Coalition is cosponsoring with PCPJ a send-off rally for buses to Washington. Two antiwar teach-ins in Minneapolis, held May 31 and June 1, drew more than 100 people each. The Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, American Friends Service Committee, New American Movement, and other groups sponsored the teach-ins.

The Cleveland Area Peace Action Coalition held a picket line June 6 to protest the bombing of Cambodia and to build support for the June 16 march on Washington.

In a Washington, D.C., news conference June 6, Nan Bailey of the Student Mobilization Committee stated, "Recognizing its isolation in the face of massive ... opposition to its intervention in Southeast Asia, the U.S. government has taken part in an offensive to intimidate and discredit the antiwar movement."

Bailey said, "The *Washington Post* disclosed June 3 that John Binsted, labeled agent 33 during the time of his work for the FBI, was ordered to spy on the activities of antiwar organizations on Washington, D.C.,

Continued on page 22



Militant/Pamela Starsky

Student Mobilization Committee spokeswoman Nan Bailey.

10,320 Militants sold as drive goes over top!

By SHARON CABANISS

JUNE 6—Street sales of the June 1 issue of *The Militant* hit 10,320 during the final week of our spring sales campaign. This surpasses earlier totals during the drive and is 147 percent of our goal of 7,000.

This solid accomplishment reflects the widespread interest in a socialist analysis of the Watergate scandal and other issues, as well as the sustained efforts of *Militant* supporters around the country. These include many members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, some of whom sold three times or more last week. Supporters in every area made an effort to reach or surpass their goals, and 22 areas made it.

During the 15 weeks of the spring campaign, a total of 98,022 *Militants* were sold on the street, an average of 6,535 weekly. In addition, 12 Young Socialist teams sold another 16,481. Not included in these figures are the sales of many individuals and small groups who regularly sell but are not included on the weekly scoreboard.

As a result of these sales, tens of thousands of new readers have become familiar with *The Militant*, several hundred have taken out subscriptions, and others have endorsed the SWP local election campaigns or joined the YSA. At the same time, the YSA carried out a successful sales campaign for its monthly *Young Socialist*. YS bundles topped 10,000 during their drive.

In the competition to sell the most of one issue of *The Militant*, Lower Manhattan won by selling 1,265 of the June 1 issue. Fifty-five supporters participated, and 12 of them accounted for 800 of the total sold. Richard Orawiec sold 201, making good his challenge to sell the most in Lower Manhattan.

Oakland/Berkeley achieved the second highest weekly sale of the campaign with 1,133 sold. They had the highest participation of any area last week with 61 people selling. The highest salesperson was Tim Brooks with 90.

Sales committee member Carol DeBerry reports that they tried out a series of new locations in the

Black and Chicano communities with this issue, sold almost 200 copies, and established some good sales spots for the summer. Another 108 were sold at plant gates, and YSA members on the Berkeley campus sold 154.

YSA at-large member Ben Harris of Nashville made good on his challenge to sell the most of any at-large member by selling 50 last week.

Several other cities set new sales records for the last issue of the campaign. Thirty-four supporters in San Francisco sold 602, many at new locations in the Black community. Two hundred and thirty-nine were sold at the airport, where recently one airport worker bought a single copy, then a subscription, and now is interested in joining the YSA.

Forty-nine members of the Upper West Side SWP and YSA sold a new high of 668. YSAer Marty Goodman, who sold 59 last week, sold an issue at the movie *State of Siege* to a person who later joined the YSA.

Continued on page 21

FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF LEGAL RIGHTS

3,000 DEPORTED IN L.A. 'ALIEN' DRAGNET

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—King-sized border patrol vans are still cruising the main streets of Chicano barrios here. They pull up at bus stops and simply arrest people unable to produce proof of citizenship or legal residency. They are then taken to detention centers and deported to Mexico.

Meanwhile, immigration patrol squadrons comb the sweatshops of the downtown garment district, taking out workers without papers.

In a 10-day period beginning May 23, nearly 3,000 people have been dumped across the border.

The local force of Immigration and Naturalization Service cops has been buttressed by an additional 100 border patrol agents, many from Texas. It is reported they expect to be here several months.

Similar raids are taking place in other places. Most seem to be occurring in cities and not in the farm areas where harvesting is under way and the so-called illegal aliens are used as low-paid field labor.

The raids and deportations have the chilling quality of a Nazi-like operation. They constitute a flagrant breach of the legal rights of the victims. Countless numbers of those shipped across the border have a full legal right to be here.

Plans are now being mapped for a court action to enjoin the Immigration Service from carrying on the ille-



CASA-Hermandad's Bert Corona

gal arrests, detentions, and deportations.

Cooperating in the legal effort are the Los Angeles units of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the National Lawyers Guild.

The central force in the efforts to stop the mass roundups is CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers). CASA is the major Chicano organiza-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Antideportation march in Los Angeles last year. CASA-Hermandad has called for a mass demonstration on June 16 to protest new 'illegal alien' dragnet.

tion focusing on the problems of undocumented workers. Its attorneys are coordinating the efforts of the cooperating legal groups.

In addition, CASA is building an antideportation march and rally to be held in downtown Los Angeles, June 16.

In an interview, CASA attorney Steve Hollopeter explained the illegalities involved in the mass deportations.

To begin with, he said, those scooped up in the dragnet are deliberately misinformed as to their rights. They are told that if they sign a waiver accepting immediate deportation their "illegal entry" will not become part of the record and they will be able, at a later date, to apply for legal reentry without prejudice.

Actually, Hollopeter said, their names wind up in the files of U.S. consular offices and are later used against them.

To coerce the people into signing away their right to a hearing, they are falsely told they will be jailed for months before such a hearing and then, when deported, will never be able to return.

What most people don't know, Hollopeter said, is that they can insist on their right to a hearing and still make a voluntary departure at any time before a court deportation order is finally issued.

But the most vicious aspect of the deportation drive is that many people are being put out who have an absolute legal right to be here.

Anyone is entitled to stay in the

U.S. if they have a spouse, parent, or child who is either a U.S. citizen or has legal residence. It does not matter if the person facing deportation is not a citizen or did not enter with proper papers.

"Yet," Hollopeter said, "people are being shipped across the border with infants who are American citizens. The proof of their right to be here is right in their arms."

"And," he added, "the child that is a citizen is being illegally exiled."

He said CASA knows already of many cases of people with a legal right to be here being deported.

Several times a day since the raids began, he said, they will get calls from people who are citizens or legal residents who will tell them their husband or wife has not returned from work. CASA checks with Immigration and finds the individual is already across the border.

Factual data is being compiled on this, the attorney said, and more will be obtained. CASA activists will go to Tijuana, Mexicali, and other Mexican border towns and seek affidavits from individuals illegally deported. This material will be used in seeking the court injunction against the deportations.

In addition, it is hoped the Lawyers Guild will send teams of lawyers and law students to other cities being hit by the dragnet to obtain hearings for as many as possible of those detained.

If even 5 or 10 percent of the people demand the hearing to which they're entitled, Hollopeter said, it could save many of them from deportation and would seriously disrupt the illegal activities of the Immigration Service.

At such legal hearings the Immigration Service must establish that it observed the rights of the individuals involved and properly informed them of their rights. "Since they usually don't do these things," Hollopeter observed, "it's pretty difficult for them to prove in court that they did."

Most important, the burden of legal proof rests with the government. They must prove the person is not here legally, not the other way around.

He said that a number of CASA members were among those caught in the present roundup. Because they knew their rights and succeeded in communicating with relatives, friends, or directly with CASA, they were able to apply for a hearing at the border detention center and get their case

transferred to Los Angeles. Postponements were obtained so that proper legal counsel could be provided.

CASA leader Bert Corona urged massive marches, demonstrations, and other protests against this "outrageous, Gestapo-like treatment of all Spanish-speaking, Spanish-sounding, or Spanish-looking people by the Immigration and Naturalization Service."

He charged that Spanish-speaking communities are being made scapegoats "to draw attention away from the massive corruption that has been revealed in the Immigration Service. There's the investigation of hundreds of their officers involved in drug smuggling, beating detained people, blackmailing and extracting sexual favors from women, the actual selling of workers to growers and large companies, the selling of permits and visas, and so on."

The Watergate scandal, coupled with inflation and wage controls, Corona added, are further reasons for trying to create a diversion about "illegal aliens." He expressed the hope that all working people would see the need to come to the defense of the Spanish-speaking and other foreign-born now being victimized. "We can't let them divide us," he said, "by going first after one group, then another."

The May 21 New York Times described one of many rackets involving the Immigration and Naturalization Services:

"It was time for one of the big Texas ranchers to harvest a crop. He hired a crew of illegal aliens (sic), and notified the chief of that particular Border Patrol sector of his action. The chief patrol agent saw to it that the ranch was not raided during the harvest.

"When the crop was in, the rancher notified the sector chief and, before the Mexicans were paid, the patrol arrested them and sent them back across the border. The Rancher got his crop out of the field, the chief patrol agent got year-round hunting rights on the ranch, and the Mexicans got nothing."

These are the defenders of "law and order" who are now carrying out the dragnet raids in L.A.

L.A. ANTIDEPORTATION ACTION

LOS ANGELES—Organizing efforts are being intensified for the mass antideportation march and rally to be held here June 16. The demonstrators will demand a halt to the present wave of illegal deportations and defeat of the Rodino-Kennedy bill now pending in Congress. The bill would facilitate deportation of "illegal aliens."

Action organizers report that groups from other areas will be joining the demonstration. They said they have already received word from campus MECHAs and other Chicano groups in San Diego, Irvine, and Santa Barbara saying they are planning to charter buses to bring people in.

Demonstrators will assemble at 10 a.m. at Broadway and Olympic Avenue. The parade will be through downtown Los Angeles to a rally site to be announced.

Prominent speakers will be heard, including, hopefully, Cesar Chavez. For leaflets and information, contact CASA-Hermandad General de Trabajadores, 2671 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles. Telephone: (213) 487-4171.

UFWU urges boycott of scab lettuce, grapes

Teamster goons aid grower effort to break United Farm Workers strike

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., June 4 — As cool weather delayed full-scale harvesting of the grape crop, tension continued to mount in the United Farm Workers Union strike. ("Cool" in this desert area means when the temperature doesn't go above 100 degrees.)

Protected by thugs hired by the Teamsters Union, the growers are bringing strikebreakers into the fields for the beginning of the harvest.

The Teamster goons line the roadside at the edge of the fields, and the Farm Workers pickets mass in front of them in a face-to-face confrontation.

The strikers address those working in the fields with bullhorns. The Team-

that date, and the growers then signed sweetheart pacts with the Teamsters.

More than 600 workers have joined the strike. When the harvesting gets into full swing, probably sometime in the next two weeks, the growers will need more than 5,000 workers to harvest the crop.

The UFWU is striving to pull out enough of these to cripple harvesting. With a \$1.6-million contribution from the AFL-CIO and more promised, they are now offering \$75 a week strike benefits to those joining their ranks. They are working hard to double and triple their numbers in the coming weeks.

Other unions are offering some assistance. In addition to the UFWU staff here, there are now more than 30 union organizers helping with the functioning of the strike.

In addition to national AFL-CIO staff members, there are representatives from the United Auto Workers, the Steelworkers, the Communications Workers, and others.

Various local unions are giving aid. Unions in Riverside, some 60 miles from here, held a support rally of several hundred June 2 with UFWU leader César Chávez as the principal speaker. The Riverside unions are canvassing for food and clothing for the strikers. Last week they brought seven truckloads to the strike headquarters.

The effect of the national grape boycott will be an important factor in the fight, and Farm Workers supporters are being urged to become active in boycott efforts in their area. The boycott against A&P and Safeway, principal chain buyers of scab grapes, is also being intensified.

Canned and dried foods to help feed the strikers and financial assistance are needed. Contributions should be sent to: United Farm Workers Strike Headquarters, 1014 Building 11, 6th and Highway 86, Coachella, Calif. 92236.

Teamster goon beats UFWU organizer

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., June 5 — The Reverend John Bank, a member of the organizing staff of the United Farm Workers, was injured by a Teamster goon in a recent incident here. A Catholic priest on leave from his church duties, Bank is the union's director of information.

He was attacked by Mike Falco, one of those hired by the Teamsters to ride herd on strikebreakers. Bank's nose was broken in three places and may require surgery. He was being interviewed in a local restaurant by a *Wall Street Journal* reporter when the attack occurred.

In an interview, Bank described the incident.

He and Bill Wong, the *Journal* reporter, were talking over breakfast when a truckload of a dozen Teamster goons arrived.

Bank and the reporter were sitting at a table for four near the restaurant window.

The goons walked in, Bank said, and, "suddenly they surrounded us. A big guy named Mike Falco sat right catty-corner from me, and another one sat down next to me. The others sat at tables all around.

"They began what we call the zoo show. They make animal sounds and they laugh hysterically. They did it for about 10 minutes. I thought it was a good show for the reporter. We just sat there.

"After they were through, I said, 'I think you ought to know this man is a reporter.' It didn't faze them at all. They laughed some more and kept jiving us. Falco picked up his menu and said, 'I'll have the AFL-CIO for breakfast.'

"Finally Falco said, 'I'm going to laugh one more time, then I'm going to stop laughing, and then it's not going to be funny any more.'



Militant/Harry Ring

Teamster goon: 'I'll have the AFL-CIO for breakfast.'

"He gave this crazy laugh and stopped laughing and then he apparently gave a signal to his other guys; because suddenly three guys closed in behind me and he stood up. It was real fast. He hit me as hard as he could, and I went to the floor. It was a real sucker punch. It shattered my nose.

"It was an interesting thing for me," Bank continued, "because I used to fight in the Golden Gloves [he won the Youngstown area championship] and my impulse was to really hit him hard. But I realized that that wasn't the thing to do. So I got up quickly and got away.

"I got up against the lunch counter and told the waitress to call the police. I managed to get some towels and wipe the blood. I could see the nose was shattered. Then the police came. They took him away. He was released on bond, I think 10 percent of \$600. The D.A. said he can't prosecute him for anything more than simple battery."

1,000 in Chicago: 'Viva la Huelga!'

By HOWARD REED

CHICAGO, June 3 — More than 1,000 cheering supporters of the United Farm Workers Union attended a rally here today featuring César Chávez and Delores Huerta. The action's purpose was to mobilize support for the lettuce and grape boycotts and the



Militant/Howard Petrick

Cesar Chavez says growers refuse to relate to farm workers as human beings.

picketing of the A&P food stores in the Chicago area that continue to carry scab-produced stock.

The rally was preceded by a six-mile march through the Black and Chicano communities. Tremendous enthusiasm greeted the marchers, including clenched fists from motorists and cheers; people from the street joined in the march. Cries of "Viva la Huelga" were met with shouting and handclapping.

The atmosphere at the rally was one of activism. People coming in were asked to indicate where they lived, the hours they had free to support and publicize the boycott, and other skills they had that could be useful to the strike.

Chávez recounted the history of the strike, centering on the conspiracy between the Teamsters and the growers. He focused on the unwillingness of the growers to relate to the farm workers as human beings. He also indicated the brutality inflicted on strikers and their supporters as well as mass arrests, which have failed completely to dent the spirit of the strikers.

One of the reasons the growers provoked the strike, he said, was that

Continued on page 22

Socialists for UFWU

The following are excerpts from a May 29 statement by Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance. Pulley was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1972.

I support the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union, led by Cesar Chavez, against the Teamster officialdom-grower conspiracy that threatens the very existence of the union.

The UFWU has a record of fighting for the rights and dignity of farm workers. It is a part of the social movements that arose during the 1960s, which challenged the oppressive policies of the rulers of this society. The UFWU has become a symbol of the struggle of Chicano workers and all farm workers for a decent life and human rights.

Students and young people must rally to the defense of the UFWU. A massive, united defense can stop these racist, union-busting attacks. The Young Socialist Alliance will join in these efforts.



Militant/Len Goodman

ster goons respond with obscenities and raucous noises suggesting pigs in a trough. Only the discipline of the pickets coupled with the leadership of their captains prevent the confrontation with the Teamster goons from erupting into clashes.

Harvesting is already nearly a month late, and the test of strength between the UFWU and the grower-Teamster conspiracy remains in the

LOS ANGELES — The Safeway chain is feeling the effect of the farm workers boycott. The June 4 Los Angeles Times carried a full page Safeway ad saying it favored a secret-ballot election among farm workers and that they should be assured the right to join a union of their choice.

The ad attempts to portray Safeway as a partisan of farm unionism. But meanwhile the chain continues to buy scab grapes and scab lettuce. Consequently, the boycott against it continues unabated.

offing.

On June 1, the first scab grapes of the season were on their way to the market. At the Bagdasarian Ranch some 500 boxes were picked, but all but 144 of these were too green and were rejected by state inspectors.

Last year nearly three million boxes of grapes were harvested in the Coachella Valley. A bigger crop is expected this year.

Farm workers are striking to regain the contracts they lost April 15. Their previous agreements expired on

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHCHILD

On May 19 Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Chancellor Willy Brandt, and FRG Foreign Minister Walter Scheel signed an economic cooperation agreement of ten years' duration. It was the big focus of attention for the Bonn summit, but, like the agreements signed last year by Nixon and Brezhnev during the

(Brandt's aide) and Brezhnev's aides Alexandrov and Blatov.

The three agreements were signed in the morning of May 19. That evening Brezhnev held a special meeting designed to further advance economic "cooperation." Present at the gathering on the German side were Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friedrichs, a number of other government officials, and a number of monopoly capitalists representing firms whose combined sales amount to DM 70 thousand million. Everyone was there—from Bertolt Beitz, a pioneer of Soviet trade, to Ernst Wolf Mommsen, who heads

to undermine West German parliamentary opposition to the East-West détente.

In this, Brezhnev was adopting the same strategy in his dealings with Bonn as Chou En-lai had during the 1972 visit of Japanese Premier Tanaka to Peking. At the time of that summit, Chou made it clear that the Maoist regime had no objection to the U.S.-Japan military and economic alliance; that the partnership of those two imperialisms was not an obstacle to a Peking-Tokyo rapprochement.

In the May 19 *New York Times*, correspondent David Binder noted that some West Germans believed that

tion of forces, and this can take place only on the basis of the existing alliances and not on a chaotic structure or no structure at all in Europe."

It can be assumed that since Brandt had just finished four days of intensive talks with Kremlin leaders, his "feeling" was well-founded. In any case, the German bourgeoisie certainly shares Brandt's sentiments.

In fact, Brezhnev's political assistance has been nearly as valuable to Brandt as it was to Nixon in 1972. The progressing détente has thrown the opposition Christian Democratic/Christian Social bloc into crisis. On May 9 Rainer Barzel, Christian Democratic leader, resigned as head of the parliamentary opposition. His resignation was provoked by debate over a détente treaty previously arrived at—the 1972 East-West German agreement normalizing relations between the two German states.

The treaty was due to come up for ratification in the Bundestag on May 10. Also to be voted on was a proposal that both German states apply for membership in the United Nations. In an opposition caucus meeting, Barzel recommended that the opposition vote against the treaty but for the resolution about the UN. Franz Josef Strauss, the Neanderthal leader of Bavaria's Christian Social Union, insisted on a no-vote on both points.

At first, an open hand count gave Barzel a 97-96 edge. A little while later, a secret ballot was taken. In one of the more dramatic demonstrations of the frankness known to prevail among capitalist politicians, the same group of people voted 101-93 in favor of the Strauss position. (There was one abstention.)

Barzel, one participant reported, "turned chalk white." He resigned as parliamentary whip and will not again seek the chairmanship of the Christian Democratic Union at the party's next meeting. On May 11, the "Two Germanies" treaty was ratified 268-217 in the Bundestag; the UN proposal passed by 365-121, as a large number of opposition delegates again broke ranks.

The disarray of the Christian Democrats reflects the fact that the German bourgeoisie is fully in favor of the détente, particularly its economic as-

MOSCOW-BONN SUMMIT

BREZHNEV WANTS 'STABILITY,' NOT SOCIALISM, IN W. GERMANY



Brandt (l) and Brezhnev reviewing West German honor guard

Moscow summit, its terms had already been worked out before the visit. In fact, the agreement had been initialed by the two sides the week before Brezhnev arrived in Bonn.

So the signing ceremony was mainly a publicity stunt. The agreement itself is merely a framework, providing for such things as establishing industrial complexes, modernization and expansion of existing plants, cooperation in the production of raw materials, exchanges of patents, licenses, technical information, and "know-how" (the English word is used in the German text).

SWP LEADER TO SPEAK ON DETENTE

A city-wide Militant forum will be held at 8 p.m. June 29 on "The meaning of Brezhnev's visit—What's behind the U.S.-Soviet détente?" Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the speaker.

This forum will incorporate those normally held in Brooklyn and Upper and Lower Manhattan. The location will be announced. For more information, call (212) 982-8214.

It was generally reported that the Brandt-Brezhnev talks that went on during the summit (they were virtually continuous for four days) were aimed at filling in the empty framework of the economic deal. Concurrently with the Brandt-Brezhnev talks there were sessions involving the FRG and Soviet trade ministers and special sessions involving Egon Bahr

the notorious Krupp operations.

This meeting, according to *Soviet News* (published by the press department of the Soviet embassy in London), "was held in a businesslike atmosphere," which is not astonishing.

But in the course of discussing with this cross section of the German bourgeoisie, Brezhnev (unwittingly, to be sure) revealed his perspectives for "peaceful coexistence"—the deferment of socialist revolution—in Western Europe. The agreement signed that morning, he said, was only the beginning. He said he hoped to be able to work in cooperation with West German businessmen for "thirty, forty, or fifty years!"

It must be said that Brezhnev deserves some sort of bourgeois medal for his confidence in the future of German imperialism. Some of the magnates who attended the meeting were far less sanguine. Hans Birnbaum, for example, head of the Salzgitter AG steel corporation, was interviewed on the subject of Soviet trade in the May 28 *Spiegel*.

"Could you conceive of signing a fifty-year-long trade agreement with Moscow?" the magazine asked.

"No," said Birnbaum. "For us there is no question of discussing a fifty-year agreement. You can't tell what will happen in the steel industry during that length of time. For us it is unthinkable to tie ourselves to treaties that would run to the year 2023."

It is likely that Brezhnev did not intend seriously to propose a fifty-year treaty. The point of the remark was political more than economic. It was designed to reassure the German bourgeoisie that the Kremlin had no thought of trying to extend the social system prevailing in the German Democratic Republic to the FRG, and

Brezhnev was trying "to draw their country into the Soviet orbit or at least pry it away from its postwar reliance on the security guarantee of the United States armed forces."

"But any serious person," Binder continued, "who has listened to Soviet diplomats and journalists in recent days on the subject of the Watergate affair may be persuaded that the Brezhnev leadership wants the United States to stay strong and to stay in Europe, particularly in West Germany. What is more, they want Willy Brandt, a man they trust, to remain as Chancellor and a strong one unimpeded by a radical young left or the official West German Communist party, loyal to Moscow."

Brandt himself pressed this theme in explaining the Brezhnev visit inside the FRG. In a televised interview just after Brezhnev left, Brandt remarked that it was his view that Brezhnev recognized NATO and the Common Market as "realities." The Kremlin, Brandt said, "has come to



U.S. troops training in West Germany. Brezhnev would rather see NATO continue than face 'chaotic situation' in Europe.

the conviction that for the moment it is more reasonable to begin with existing alliances rather than see them replaced by a chaotic situation."

In an interview May 24 with representatives of Associated Press, Brandt hit on the same point. "I do not have the impression," he said, "that the Soviet leaders love the idea of a permanent American military presence in Europe. But at the same time, I have the feeling that they want to begin discussions on mutual reduc-

pects. The expectation is that further penetration of the Soviet Union by West German commodities and capital will serve to extract German imperialism from some of its economic difficulties. The Kremlin has already indicated its strong desire to help in this process of bolstering European capitalism—in exchange for some gains for the Soviet economy. But whether increased trade and even investment in the Soviet Union can do this is quite another question.

Argentina

Mass mobilizations, prison rebellions force Campora to free prisoners

From Intercontinental Press
By DAVID THORSTAD

Late in the evening of his inauguration May 25, Argentine President Héctor Campora announced a sweeping amnesty of all the country's political prisoners. Faced with determined crowds of tens of thousands of demonstrators who stormed prisons demanding the immediate release of the prisoners and with rebellions inside some prisons, he immediately declared a pardon for all political prisoners, declining to wait for the new Congress to approve an amnesty law the next day.

The move was a clear vindication of the political forces—the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) in the forefront—that had made the fate of the political prisoners a central issue of the election campaign. Throughout the preinaugural period these groupings sought to mobilize mass action as the only way to ensure the release of all the political prisoners.

During the campaign, Campora had promised that his government would declare an amnesty that would be "broad, generous and just." This was generally understood to mean that some of the prisoners, presumably certain non-Peronist guerrillas, would not be freed. Those campaigning for the release of all the prisoners responded to that by demanding: "Not a single day with political prisoners under the people's government."

This demand was the central focus of the huge and festive crowd that gathered in the Plaza de Mayo early on the day of the inauguration.

But what really forced Campora to grant a total amnesty, and to move up his timetable for doing so, was the events at Villa Devoto Prison in Buenos Aires, where many political prisoners were being held.



Campora: bows to popular pressure

By late afternoon May 25, the first columns of demonstrators began arriving outside the prison. The prisoners in Cellblocks 2 and 3 had already rebelled and were in control of the situation on the inside. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* gave the following account:

"In Cellblock 2, the common prisoners had set fire to bed sheets, blankets, and clothes, which they suspended through the bars of the windows. From the street a poster could be seen that announced 'Common Prisoners Back the Guerrillas.'" The common prisoners asked only that their sentences be reduced, as is customary during the granting of amnesties.

"In Cellblock 3, which had been tak-

en over by the guerrilla prisoners, the rioters could be seen through the windows of the three floors hailing the demonstrators who were gathering in the street. The outside walls of Cellblock 3 were covered with the banners of all the guerrilla movements



Hundreds of thousands demonstrated in Buenos Aires during Campora's inauguration

that were active throughout the country during the military regime that came to an end yesterday. With the aid of a megaphone, Peronist guerrillas and guerrillas of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo [ERP—Revolutionary Army of the People] spoke to the crowd of people below, who were hoisting the colors of Argentina and of the various revolutionary groups.

"The enthusiasm of the crowd, which was arriving in caravans, on foot, and in trucks and automobiles, made it appear likely that the doors would soon give in. The repeated chants of the crowd were directed against the former heads of the armed forces and the police and wished long life to the people, Perón, and the guerrillas."

In the late afternoon, negotiations began between the crowd and the authorities on the inside. At 8:45 p.m., the crowd agreed to support an ultimatum, presented by Fred Ernst of the Montoneros and Pedro Caces Camarero of the ERP: The authorities were given forty minutes to respond.

"After 9:00 p.m., the secretary general of the Peronist movement, Dr. Juan Manuel Abal Medina, announced that the prisoners would be released that very night," continued *La Opinión*. "Throughout all this, there were no signs of the military or the police. The doors seemed on the verge of giving in under the pressure of the throng. Inside the prison, the number of guards had been reduced and the prisoners were in control of telephone communications. At 10:00 p.m., Pedro Caces Camarero, a member of the ERP, climbed onto the wall that faces Bermúdez Street, and announced to the crowd that he had spoken by telephone with Minister of the Interior Esteban Righi.

"He announced that Campora was prepared to pardon the prisoners, although this would require 'a few hours.' Caces Camarero asked the demonstrators not to disperse—in spite of the fact that Righi had requested that they do so—and shouted that 'a popular government cannot repress the people.' Then he said that he had asked that the pardon be announced over radio and television so that the people would be aware of the situa-

tion. 'If this is done,' he added, 'the crowd will disperse.'

"A little after 10:00 p.m., Abal Medina climbed onto the wall and, through the same megaphone that the guerrilla had used, announced that within one hour the pardon would

take effect. Never had the Devoto neighborhood witnessed greater rejoicing. Cablegrams indicated that the city of Rawson was the scene of similar jubilation."

Even before Campora granted the pardon, a number of parliamentary

Around 2:00 a.m., May 26, only a nucleus of some 2,000 demonstrators remained outside the prison. They were reportedly determined to wait until the last prisoner had been released. According to the May 27 *La Opinión*, a large number already had been released, but an undisclosed number appear to have still remained inside. At that point, "around twenty patrol cars and six armored cars unexpectedly happened into the square. Immediately, the sound of machine-gun fire could be heard, followed by intermittent gunshots from weapons of various calibers. The group of demonstrators quickly dispersed and the area continued to be patrolled well into the early hours of the morning; according to some, the patrol was met by gunfire from some roofs."

The incident left two teen-age boys dead, one a Peronist, the other a member of a Marxist group. Twenty were wounded.

The regional office of the Peronist Youth subsequently issued a statement accusing "various groups that showed that they do not understand the meaning of the popular triumph" of provoking the shoot-out. Although just what transpired is not entirely clear, *La Opinión* interpreted the statement in its May 29 issue as being directed against "the members of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) and other Marxist groups that took part in the mobilizations aimed at freeing the political prisoners in that prison."

Rebellions similar to the one in Villa

Some prisoners not yet released

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) reported June 4 that 26 to 39 Argentine armed forces personnel are still in prison for political reasons, despite the amnesty declared by the Campora regime. Some of these military political prisoners were jailed by the Lanusse government because they spoke out against the brutal killing of 16 young political prisoners at the Trelew Naval Base prison on Aug. 22, 1972; others participated in pro-Peronist demonstrations.

Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, described the release of the bulk of the political prisoners in Argentina as a "tremendous breakthrough for human rights. This victory," she said, "will be complete when the imprisoned Argentine servicemen are released."

White urged supporters of civil liberties to follow up the recent amnesty by writing or wiring President Campora on this matter. "We in the U.S. have the duty to let the Campora government know we support their initiative on this issue and to let them know we won't be satisfied until these soldiers, sailors, and coastguardsmen have been freed," she said.

The amnesty in Argentina climaxes a year-and-a-half campaign by USLA to aid victims of the repression there. The USLA campaign was initiated after several Argentine human rights organizations appealed for participation in an international campaign to free Argentine political prisoners.

Using such methods as mass literature distributions, nationwide speaking tours, teach-ins, radio and TV programs, newspaper articles, demonstrations, and letter-writing campaigns directed at newspapers and the Argentine government, USLA was able to inform and arouse tens of thousands of North Americans about the repression in Argentina.

In addition to reporting on the remaining political prisoners in Argentina, White announced that at a recent meeting of USLA officers "a major campaign to aid victims of the Brazilian dictatorship was projected."

USLA has decided to focus on Brazil, the largest and most populous country in Latin America, because of its centrality to events in the rest of Latin America and because of the role of the U.S. government in financing and training the repressive forces there.

deputies who were inside the prison had decided, together with prison officials, to go ahead on their own and sign a document releasing the political prisoners. They reached the decision that such a move was necessary, according to *La Opinión*, "by taking into account the situation prevailing in the vicinity of the building."

At 11:00 p.m., the first group of prisoners emerged from the jail, to be greeted by relatives who were among the demonstrators.

Devoto occurred in other prisons. In most cases, common prisoners reportedly managed to take advantage of the chaos to escape. In Buenos Aires, Caseros Prison was virtually occupied, although, according to the May 27 *La Opinión*, "the political prisoners subsequently reported that it had in fact been a case of revelry that got out of hand." A couple of days later, 150 common prisoners held in the Borda Neuropsychiatric Hospital in

Continued on following page

Witch-hunt laws wiped off the books

Peronists seek to establish leftist image

From Intercontinental Press

The Peronist government headed by Héctor Cámpora has quickly moved to the front of the political stage as the generals withdraw to the wings.

The first act of the Peronist-led Congress when it met May 26 was to adopt the administration's proposal to free all the political prisoners. The amnesty canceled the convictions and thus went beyond the scope of the special pardon decreed the night before by Cámpora, which, so to speak, forgave but did not forget. The measure was voted unanimously in the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies followed suit.

The amnesty will also apply to persons convicted under unconstitutional laws. According to the May 27 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, this would include some 400 persons in the province of Misiones who were convicted of simply belonging to agrarian leagues.

In addition to the amnesty, the parliament enacted the government's proposals to abolish the repressive legislation of the dictatorship, including the special courts, going back to 1966, and the antistatist law.

These measures were put into effect on May 27. The Communist party, which had been outlawed for seven years under this legislation, immediately opened up headquarters in Buenos Aires and held meetings in Canning and Corrientes.

The government also announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, North Korea, and East Germany.

Another measure that would greatly enhance the popularity of the Peronist regime is in the works, reported Pablo Kandel, writing in the May 27 *La Opinión*. This is an increase in wages. This measure, he said, will be given "top governmental consideration." Although details of just what the government would propose were not im-

mediately available, Minister of Labor Ricardo Otero reportedly stated that the minimum monthly salary could not be lower than 250,000 old pesos (approximately US\$250). "A fair salary is defined by the official as one that 'makes it possible to live, eat, have access to culture, education, and housing—a dignified wage,'" Kandel reported. "This is counterposed to the concept of real wages, which for Otero is 'a monstrosity of the dictatorship

Another example of popular expectations was the occupation of the offices of the Buenos Aires Municipal Housing Commission beginning May 24, the day before Cámpora's inauguration, by 400 men, women, and children. They set up residence in the offices to dramatize their need for housing. Since the middle of the month, a number of housing units in the city had been occupied by people dissatisfied with the way the

evant to the needs of the country's capitalist economy by stressing scientific and technological research in accord with a coherent overall policy, and to replace the elitist orientation of education under the Lanusse regime with a policy of extending cultural and educational opportunities to all layers of society.

As a first step in implementing the new approach, a large number of Peronist teachers, student, and university employees' organizations occupied all the schools and rectorships of the national universities of Buenos Aires and La Plata May 28. The official reason given for the mobilization was "to prevent the outgoing authorities from removing compromising documents and, at the same time, to carry out a temporary experiment in government by the students, teachers, and nonteaching staff of the universities."

Ernesto Ramirez, secretary general of the Asociación de Trabajadores de la Universidad de La Plata (University of La Plata Workers Association), told *La Opinión* (May 29) that the aim of the occupations was "in the first place, to introduce the national revolution into the restructuring of the university beginning May 25; second, to preserve the property of the educational establishments; and third, to take necessary steps to see to it that the university functions better than in the past. We want to develop an ambitious plan for liberation."

Cámpora was obviously seeking through these swift measures to assure the people that he really intends to carry out all his election campaign promises. If he can win sufficient credit among the masses through these popular first acts, this will enable him to postpone more far-reaching actions. The time gained will be used to concentrate on consolidating his regime, cutting down the opposition to his left, and blocking the trend of the masses toward a socialist revolution.



Argentine workers expect the Campora government to solve problems such as slum housing of the type shown above.

whereby the salary amounts to what is necessary for eating, living, and sleeping."

A demonstration May 28 by some 3,000 pensioners and retired people outside the government house indicated what the masses expect of the Peronist government in response to their needs. They demanded an immediate, emergency increase in their monthly income of 500 pesos (approximately US\$50).

housing problem was being handled by the official agency.

An important section of Cámpora's inaugural address May 25 dealt with revitalizing Argentina's educational system, which has suffered from a sclerosis under the military dictatorship. His proposals for education fit in with his proposals for revitalizing the sagging economy. The objective is to stem the "brain drain" phenomenon common to underdeveloped countries, to make education more rel-

...Campora gov't frees political prisoners

Continued from preceding page

the capital rioted. They took two patients and four guards hostage, threatening to kill them if they were not released.

In Córdoba, common prisoners rioted after twenty political prisoners were released. Some fifty common prisoners were said to have escaped, taking advantage of an assault on the prison by demonstrators who were demanding the release of the political prisoners. The prison archives were completely destroyed.

On May 28, a dozen or so inmates of the Córdoba women's prison Buen Pastor rioted. They demanded improved conditions and medical services in the prison and a speedup of the legal proceedings against them.

Some 800 prisoners rioted in the provincial penitentiary in Mendoza after a visit by Governor Alberto Martínez Baca. He came to the prison to free political prisoners jailed during the uprising there in April 1972.

In Rawson, too, prisoners took over their cellblocks demanding that they be released. They did so at 2:00 a.m. May 26, after learning about the events at Villa Devoto. By late afternoon of the same day, 200 political prisoners from Rawson arrived at Ezeiza airport in the capital in three air-

planes. The fuselage of one had been spray-painted with the slogan: "Glory to the Trelew martyrs."

Philippe Labreveux described the arrival in the May 29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*: "The fighters in the popular resistance got off the plane with the Peronists flashing the V-sign for victory, while the others raised the clenched fist. On the runway, relatives and friends, as well as their comrades in arms, greeted them with banners and signs bearing the symbols of the underground organizations: the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces], the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces], the ERP, etc. Several of the young militants covered their faces with handkerchiefs or stockings so as not to be recognized because, they said, 'the struggle continues.' A group of revolutionists wearing the legendary starred beret of Che Guevara chanted: 'Every fighter who has been freed will find his gun awaiting him.'"

Among the arrivals were the two longest-jailed political prisoners in Argentina: Federico Jouve and Héctor Méndez, members of the Ejército Guerrillero del Pueblo (EGP—People's Guerrilla Army). They had helped organize an uprising in Salta

in 1964 and were serving life sentences.

Le Monde reported that the number of political prisoners who had been freed in the amnesty totaled more than 1,000.

An example of the surge of enthusiasm and direct action that attended the release of the political prisoners was the take-over of Benjamín Matienzo Airport in Tucumán the evening of May 27 by relatives of political prisoners, university students belonging to various political tendencies, and a group of the Peronist Youth. For three hours they kept airline personnel and passengers inside the airport in anticipation that a plane carrying twenty-two political prisoners from Buenos Aires and Trelew was going to land there. The occupation was lifted when it became clear that no plane carrying the prisoners was going to arrive at the airport.

According to a report in the May 29 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Prensa*, "the groups of young people arrived at the airport a little after noon after hearing that the political prisoners were to arrive by plane. While they waited, they painted the following slogan across the front of the building: 'Heroes of Trelew, FAR,

ERP, Montoneros, FAP, FAL [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación—Liberation Armed Forces] Airport.' They also lowered the flag from the pole in the airport's courtyard and hoisted it again after painting a five-pointed red star and the letters of the above-mentioned armed organizations on it.

"At the same time, they put up a sign in the control tower that said: 'Welcome, fighters of the people. Popular justice for the Trelew murderers.' They also painted slogans on an ambulance and on the walls and doors of the building.

"The Peronist Youth also put up a big sign in the airport vestibule bearing the slogan: 'Perón and Evita, the Socialist Fatherland.'

"On the other hand, there were also chanting competitions between the Peronist and leftist groups. While the former sang the Peronist march and chanted slogans like 'Hey, hey, ho, ho, the prisoners have been freed on orders from Perón,' the latter chanted 'the masses have triumphed, the prisoners have been freed.' In addition, in an effort to unify the groups, various speakers from the Peronist Youth and another one who claimed to represent the ERP spoke about the need for unity among the armed groups."

San Luis workers show way forward

Campora sworn in amid mass upsurge

From Intercontinental Press

"It was a fiesta day," *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote from Buenos Aires May 25, the day the Argentine military handed the government over to the Peronist president-elect. "No one could resist the infectious joy of the hundreds of thousands of Peronists roaming through the avenues of the city. . . .

"When the sun came up, the Plaza de Mayo, the administrative center of the city and the site of the presidential palace, was already thick with people. Youths had spent the night clustered around palm trees and the public benches in the midst of a cacophony of 'bombos,' the big native drums.

"With the first light of dawn on May 25, columns of trade-unionists began to form on the historic esplanade, soon spilling over into the Avenida de Mayo."

This massive popular outpouring was the culmination of an upsurge throughout the country in the weeks preceding the military's formal surrender of power. Its size and force, unexpected by the ruling circles, seem to have significantly changed the terms of the deal between the Peronists and the dictatorship that led to the restoration of constitutional government. The balance the military had hoped to maintain between the elected government and the armed forces command was badly upset. The overwhelming tide that was running against the generals was symbolized, among other things, by some hasty changes in the program for the day.

As the retiring dictator, General Alejandro Lanusse, handed the new legally elected President Héctor Campora the symbols of office, the immense crowd surrounding the presidential palace took up the shout: "Go to it, Granddad" [an affectionate term for Campora]. Inside the chamber itself, a young priest from the slum areas took up the shout.

"Then the audience began singing the martial song that had been banned for eighteen years," *Le Monde's* correspondent wrote. "The government had changed hands, and the measures of the Peronist song were hardly stilled when Campora swore in the ministers of his cabinet, all civilians. The defeat of the military was complete."

The Gran Acuerdo Nacional (Great National Agreement) vanished in the midst of an overwhelming repudiation of the military dictatorship.

"The military had hoped that by setting the date for the ascension of the new government on May 25, the national holiday and the occasion of a big parade, they could get the people to applaud them, forgetting the past in the name of a reconciliation

of all Argentines. This hope was dashed. Campora had to take his leave of the outgoing president and Lanusse's two other junta colleagues at the helicopter that took them to their respective homes. In view of the turn that events had taken, the armed forces decided to call off the parade scheduled for that afternoon."

The great popular mobilization gave Campora the power to force a humiliating surrender by the military on the point probably closest to their hearts.

"Only one military man had a smile on his lips Friday [May 25]," *Le Monde's* correspondent noted. "That was Jorge Raúl Carcagno, the new commander in chief of the army. In abandoning their political functions, the generals Lanusse and Rey, as well as Admiral Coda, gave up their posts as the commanders of their respective services. They had long foreseen such a possibility and had named their chiefs of staff to succeed them in the interim period. But Campora did not pay any attention to this last decision, and one of his first decrees was to name three new commanders. The appointment of General Carcagno, one of the youngest field generals, who was promoted to his rank only last year, forced the retirement of eight of his colleagues, including General Alcides López Aufranc, Tomás Sánchez de Bustamante, and Jaime de Nevares. It is Lanusse's 'camarilla,' his 'clique,' that is leaving, that seems to have been purged."

After the threats and pressures from right-wing military circles in the last weeks before Campora's inauguration, the generals had to entrust the job of saving capitalism in Argentina entirely to a demagogic Peronist government for the time being. The retreat of the military from the political arena was matched by a retreat of the repressive forces. After trying briefly to control the more exuberant elements in the huge crowd, the police withdrew.

"A revolutionary climate reigned in the Plaza de Mayo," *Le Monde's* correspondent reported. "The Peronist youth had entirely taken it over, raising enormous banners hailing the 'special formations' [guerrilla groups] — the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas — Peronist Armed Forces], the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias — Revolutionary Armed Forces], and above all the Montoneros [named for the partisans in the war of independence]. The star of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo — Revolutionary Army of the People] appeared here and there.

"Everybody, Peronists, Marxists, nationalists, and Trotskyists, chanted at the top of their lungs: 'Si Evita viviera, sería Montonera' (If Evita [Perón] were alive, she would be a Montonera). Violent clashes occurred between excited young people and the police, who reported suffering several serious casualties. The acrid odor of tear gas still floated in the air when the helicopter transporting Campora landed on the roof of the Casa Rosada [the presidential palace]. The police had disappeared, leaving the field clear for the leaders of the Peronist youth."

If the breadth of the popular upsurge enabled Campora to impose his terms entirely on the military in the matter of dividing up powers in the new administration, it also placed full responsibility for running the country in the hands of the new government that was taking office in a climate of

great hopes and self-confidence on the part of the masses of the people.

The problems that may face the new government were exemplified by the government workers strike that occurred a little more than a week before the inauguration in San Luis, a city of about 40,000 in the far northwest of Argentina.

"On May 14-15, on two consecutive occasions, more than 2,000 public em-

had asked him not to make any changes and to leave such problems to the incoming regime.

The workers refused to wait. They called an assembly that was attended by 2,000 persons, including the local secretary of the CGT, Albarracín.

"Our party called on Compañero Albarracín to convoke a membership meeting of the CGT," the PST weekly reported, "in order to decide on mea-



Illusions of the masses in the new Peronist government may not last long.

ployees in San Luis entered the government building and hung out a huge banner: "The Casa de Gobierno is occupied," reported *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the PST [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party] in its May 23 issue. "As far as we can remember, this is the first time such a thing has happened in our country, and it shows the extraordinary combativity of the compañeros, who are sick of every kind of brush-off and humiliation at the hands of the authorities."

Avanzada Socialista praised the mobilization of the government workers in San Luis as pointing the way for all sections of the workers in the period opened up by the retreat of the capitalist class from open dictatorship and repression:

"In their exemplary struggle, we think that the San Luis workers used the methods that should be employed by the working class to gain its objectives. In the first place, they got a democratic organization, and their decisions were taken in rank-and-file assemblies. In the second place, they did not rely on the promises of the present authorities or those who will take office on May 25; they trusted only in struggle and in concrete deeds. In the third place, they were able to put such pressure on the Peronist leaders, the government-elect and the CGT [Confederación General de los Trabajadores — General Confederation of Labor] as to gain support from them in deeds and not words. And finally, by their example, they were able to gain the support of other sectors of the population (including even the police, who refused to repress them)."

The outgoing governor refused to take up the demands of the workers on the grounds that the public employees union and the governor-elect

sures to back up the public workers. He agreed, promising to do so the same day.

"Then, the compañeros marched in a ten-block-long demonstration . . . and when they reached the Casa de Gobierno, they entered and began this first historic occupation. . . .

"The governor, Señor Blanco Moreno, went to the police station in Puente Blanco and ordered the chief, even threatening him with a gun, to clear out the Casa de Gobierno; but he refused. Blanco Moreno went to the government building on foot because his chauffeur refused to drive him the last few blocks, which were totally occupied by public workers and a hostile population."

Blanco Moreno appealed to the army to intervene. But it was decided only to call for a "peaceful evacuation." The workers agreed to leave, and then held a new mass assembly, where they received promises of support from the students, as well as public workers in other towns.

In the meantime, a delegation sent to the governor returned. Blanco Moreno had reiterated that it was up to the new governor to settle the matter. The PST introduced a motion to send a delegation to the Peronist headquarters. It passed.

"But they couldn't find anybody," reported *Avanzada Socialista*. "The entire Peronist leadership in San Luis had disappeared. And so they decided to call a new demonstration." At the mass rally, the announcement came that the government had capitulated. "Some 2,500 compañeros marched through the streets, shouting: 'We Won.' 'Fight and Win, Workers to Power!' . . .

"Later a spontaneous rally developed in the Plaza Pringles in which May 16 was declared 'the day of the Puente Blanco workers.' And they were right. That day, the workers ruled San Luis."



Lanusse: his supporters have been purged.

New wage controls?

The Senate Democratic Caucus voted unanimously June 4 to work to enact a new 90-day "wage-price freeze." Democrat Wilbur Mills of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee has also called for the reintroduction of strict "wage-price controls." The Nixon administration has hinted that it too favors a tightening of controls, although Nixon wants more flexibility for gouging the wages of working people than these schemas would provide.

These proposals are presented as ways to "stop inflation"—but this is a hoax.

As the history of all government "wage-price controls" has shown, it is always wages that end up being controlled, while prices and profits run wild. This is because the corporations have an interest in enforcing controls against the workers, while the government—which is made up of servants of the employers—has no interest in clamping down on prices and profits.

In their recent resolution, the Senate Democrats admit that under Nixon's controls, prices and profits have skyrocketed—but not wages. The statement notes that "workers' wages have fallen behind in the inflation cycle."

The only way workers can protect themselves and their families from inflation is by opposing wage controls, by defending their right to freely bargain for decent wage increases, and by fighting for cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts.

The fight for an escalator clause is a key issue in the current negotiations in the electrical industry. The United Electrical Workers and the International Union of Electrical Workers have turned down a proposed contract with Westinghouse because it continues a "cap" on cost-of-living increases, rather than allowing wage increases commensurate with price rises.

The only way working people can have some "control" over the effects of rising prices and inflation is to win adequate escalator clauses in their contracts. It's time to turn things around in this country. Instead of the bosses and the government telling the workers, "If you insist on wage increases, prices will only go up as a result," the workers should start telling the capitalists that so long as prices go up, the workers will insist on commensurate increases in wages.

In fighting for adequate escalator clauses, the labor movement is seriously hampered by its support to politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. As demonstrated by their stands in favor of wage controls, these demagogues are merely agents of the capitalists. Working people need a labor party, based on and controlled by the trade unions, in order to wage an effective struggle against all "wage-price control" hoaxes.

Sales victory!

Militant supporters went all out in their efforts to sell our June 1 issue, topping 10,000 in single-copy street sales. This breakthrough was the culmination of a three-month drive aimed at reaching street sales of 7,000. (See story, page 3.) Last week's effort represents the largest sales of a single issue of *The Militant* since the massive April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations, when 10,400 *Militants* were sold.

The goal of *The Militant* is to become the mass circulation socialist weekly in the United States. Along with periodic large subscription drives (more than 35,000 introductory subscriptions were sold in the fall of 1972), campaigns to raise the street sales are an essential tool in building the circulation of the revolutionary weekly.

The result of the sales drive was to heighten both consciousness about the importance of selling *The Militant* and the level of organization of sales in all the branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The enthusiasm and organization that went into the drive can now be carried over into the summer months.

The Militant tells the truth about capitalist society. In recent months the unique role of *The Militant* has been demonstrated in our coverage of Nixon's real aims in Indochina, the fight against inflation; the building of the African Liberation Day protests, the Watergate scandal, and the farm workers struggle.

We thank all our supporters who helped get these issues of *The Militant* into the hands of thousands of new readers. We especially salute those who were the backbone of this drive, who consistently took the time to sell *The Militant* several times each week and set the example for all participants in the effort.

Fan mail

The Militant's layout has gotten better and better. Keep up the good work.

After having read the latest issues of *The Call*, *Challenge*, and *Workers Vanguard*, I really appreciate the appearance of a nonsectarian, Trotskyist weekly.

L. M.

Saltsjö-Boo, Sweden

People's Park

To add to your suspicions of domestic counterinsurgency, consider the following. We were heavily involved in the People's Park movement in May and June 1969. In the struggle one young person, James Rector, was killed and 150 were shot. This violence is what most people know about People's Park.

At the time we felt we were in control of what was going on, and we felt we determined the circumstances. But later, as we did research for a book that was never published, we came to believe that we were *set up* to demonstrate the man's violence against us.

Some of the clues:

Then Attorney General John Mitchell had been in town and had had dinner with the district attorney and the Alameda County sheriff directly before the shooting.

When you further think of all the agents that must have been in Berkeley, you see that it only took one or two to trigger the actions leading to the shooting.

1) Who threw the first bottles that precipitated the sheriff's attack?

2) In Dan Siegel's trial (the former Associated Students of the University of California vice-president accused of inciting to riot) it came out that the sound on the UC controlled microphone was mysteriously cut off right after he uttered, "So let's take the park. . . ." This set the stage for the attack.

3) That night, the then-mayor of Berkeley, Wallace Johnson, appeared on TV with cut-to-the-exact-length metal rods he claimed were thrown at the police.

These are just a few facts, easily obtainable by a reporter. But there are other massacres that could also be checked out, like the 1969 Orangeburg, S. C., massacre of Black students. Was this too part of a national plot to repress us?

Michael Delacour

Wendy Schlesinger

New York, N. Y.

Author replies

I read with interest and concern Cindy Jaquith's review of my book, *The Myth of Population Control: Family, Class and Caste in an Indian Village* (*The Militant*, March 2).

My book is about social relations in Manupur, a village in the Indian Punjab which for the last few decades has been undergoing a process in capitalist transformation.

Manupur is like any other class society where a working person neither develops into nor is treated as a total, integrated human being. Instead, this person is viewed in purely instrumental terms—as a worker.

This exploitative view of people is not just confined to relations across class lines; a product and reflection of the larger society, it is also an aspect of relationships among working people, including the most intimate of relations, those within the

family.

These are relationships we have come to call 1) parental and 2) male chauvinism. But the real importance of neither can be fully grasped unless one understands them as different *aspects* of the generally exploitative relations among people in Manupur, relations that have a definite material base: the class structure in Manupur.

Your reviewer is correct in maintaining that "forced motherhood is no more desirable than forced sterilization." What she fails to clarify, however, (and what is *the* point of my book), is that forced parenthood in Manupur is structurally enforced and not the result of "traditions" (parental or male chauvinism).

Because of the class society they live in, the poor in Manupur have only one hope for a bearable future: their children. Thus the conclusion: it will not be possible to substantially alter reproductive practices in Manupur, or in India, through an educational program (what the population planners advocate), no matter how "radical" it be, *without a prior change* in the class structure.

Finally, when I write of a woman in Manupur as being "a source of labor power," I am not "accepting as unshakable the traditional Indian norm that woman's chief role is to bear as many children as possible." Neither do I mean to idealize reproductive practices in India when I seek to explain their structural basis. Far from it. My purpose is to explain social relations in Manupur as they are, not as they should be, nor as they can be. If we are to change this world, it is important that we first understand it.

Mahmood Mamdani

Wembley, England

Rape

Linda Jenness's column on rape (*The Militant*, June 1, "'Law and order' on rape?") ignores the biggest problem in getting rape convictions: the woman's whole sexual history is considered fair game for lawyer's questions. Therefore, women rarely take their case to court.

The Militant should give some coverage to groups of women working in creative ways to combat rape.

Janet Heller

Madison, Wis.

Convinced now

I have harbored socialist views for the past few years, an action caused by personal radicalization resulting from my experiences with racism, the war in Vietnam, etc. But I was never entirely convinced of the necessity of a socialist revolution until the last two weeks when I attempted to find a summer job.

I am a college student with a fairly high index; I pride myself on presenting a decent appearance; and my father is a very influential member of the community. Yet business after business I have gone to has told me they are not hiring, and in many cases that they are laying off. Presently I am driving a cab at ridiculously low wages. I am hopeful of catching on somewhere else, but my question is this: If I, a college student from an upper-middle-class background desiring work primarily to earn personal money for luxuries, cannot find work—what of the poor and unskilled who need work in order to survive?



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

A toe in the door

The Occupational Safety and Health Act, passed in 1970, became effective in April 1971. It is now two years old, but what has happened to that allegedly "important social legislation" designed to "assure as far as possible every working man and woman in the nation safe and healthful working conditions"?

According to Sylvia Porter, the syndicated columnist whose "Your Dollar" is not noted for any prolabor bias, the act has been a "bitter disappointment to all involved. . . . workers and . . . businessmen."

In her May 6 column in the *Denver Post* Porter points out that "in this whole two-year period, safety criteria have been developed for only eight hazards: asbestos, lead, carbon monoxide, ultraviolet radiation, beryllium, coke oven emissions, noise and heat." Each cause cancer, silicosis, asbestosis, or other forms of black lung-like diseases. None of the so-called safety standards are strong enough to protect the workers involved.

During these two years, the under-budgeted Occupational Safety and Health Administration (Labor Department) has made inspections in *only 1 percent* of U. S. workplaces. Inspectors found 167,352 violations and issued 34,355 citations.

Porter says further that each year U. S. workers suffer 10 million on-the-job injuries, and 26 million workers are disabled—90,000 of them permanently.

The April 11 *Wall Street Journal* estimates that 14,000 workers are killed each year, and that 100,000 die from occupationally caused diseases.

Now, after pressure from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, the Health Research Group, the United Steelworkers, the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, and several private environmental organizations, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration has admitted that there are *14 known cancer-causing agents* used in the chemical, rubber, dye and pigment, and flame-resistant fabric industries.

On May 14, Assistant Secretary of Labor John Stender announced that these manufacturers would be placed under "temporary emergency standards" to be phased in between May 18 and August 2.

All such plants must establish control areas where

these dangerous chemicals are used. In these areas there can be no smoking or smoking materials, food or beverages, or water dispensers. Further, the companies must provide protective, pressurized clothing for the employees in controlled areas, "clean" and "dirty" changing rooms, and shower facilities complying with OSHA sanitation standards. They must begin to report on medical surveillance programs, monitoring systems, the location of all controlled areas, the number of workers exposed during each workweek, and the way cancer-causing chemicals are handled.

By August 2 all affected industrial plants must have established constant ventilation systems that create lower air pressure inside to preclude contamination of changing rooms and other rounding areas.

Stender also announced that a 15-member advisory committee would be set up to establish permanent safety standards in all industries that use cancer-producing materials.

If this committee moves with the same deliberate "speed" the OSHA administration has "administered" the 1970 Occupational Safety and Health Act with, it will be a long time indeed before the other industries guilty of using cancer-producing materials are brought under the umbrella.

How powerful the industrial owners of this country are in protecting their own interests can be seen in the story in the June 4 issue of the *U. S. News & World Report* on the settlement of the Shell Oil strike at Deer Park, Texas. One of the major issues in this strike was the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' demand for binding arbitration on health and safety standards. The magazine says both sides claim "victory" on this issue. But from the few facts given, it looks to me as though the union took a real beating on the question.

They did get an extension of the powers of the present management-labor committee on health, but no binding decisions can be made by this body.

Maybe they did get a toe in the door—but only a little toe.

I haven't yet mentioned the de-meaning application process or the oppressive factory conditions I witnessed. Of course, they are just another side of the coin of capitalist oppression. Like the incident here last week when a young man, ostensibly drunk and obnoxious, was beaten to the point of a blood clot by three city policemen while he was handcuffed.

The time is now to lay the groundwork for a socialist revolution. Keep up your excellent reporting job—so vital to the laying of that groundwork.

D. S.

Allegany, N. Y.

In solitary confinement

I would like to order a subscription to *The Militant*. I am in the "hole" here at this concentration camp, and receiving *The Militant* would be a pure delight.

*A prisoner
Kansas*

Donation

Enclosed is a check. Please send \$10 worth of *The Militant* to any prisoner or prisoners who you think needs them.

I have read much socialist literature on their plight. I realize, for example, that prisoners are super-exploited and condemned to work for 15 to 25 cents an hour.

The greed of capitalism reflects itself clearly in the prison system and the mode of life it imposes on prisoners.

N. T.

Boston, Mass.

Houston longshoremen

Houston, never famous as a union stronghold, is now the scene of a particularly blatant attack on working people, specifically Local 1350 of the International Longshoremen's Association.

When the city turned over control of its grain elevators to a private company, the Dreyfus Corporation, Local 1350 members were assured their status on the job would be maintained under the new management.

Since that time, Dreyfus has announced a 25 percent pay cut, loss of insurance benefits, and loss of retirement benefits. As if that weren't enough, the company has also refused to recognize or negotiate with the union.

Their attack on the union members' wages and conditions set off a strike, which has been in progress for two weeks. The union is only asking for the right to maintain the same wages and benefits that were guaranteed under their previous employer, the city of Houston.

*Kathy Stallworth
Houston, Texas*

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.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



'Affirmative action' & B'nai B'rith

A few weeks ago I discussed how the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was attacking educational institutions that have preferential admissions programs for women and members of oppressed nationalities. The ADL claims that this constitutes "reverse racism" and discrimination against white males.

As we pointed out, the claim that the "best-qualified" applicants should be accepted regardless of race is a phony, racist argument. The capitalist educational system is geared to produce "underqualified" poor people and "underqualified" minorities, and that surely includes Chicanos. They should not be denied access to universities because of the faults of the system.

Now there is evidence that the government is going along with the demands of the ADL.

Last year, after the ADL made public its attacks on preferential admissions and hiring, Samuel Solomon was appointed a special assistant in the Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Solomon disclosed recently that he has begun to investigate the more than 70 complaints filed by the ADL, and in the first 12 has found evidence of "reverse discrimination" in every one.

He also said, "I've been out on the campus trail in recent weeks and I'm getting the impression that most institutions are engaging in some form of discrimination against white males."

Solomon said one institution he "investigated" had a formula of hiring one woman or member of an oppressed nationality for every three white males. This is a violation of the federal government's

"affirmative action" program. He said the federal program is intended to increase hiring of national minorities and women without showing "preferential treatment" or "reverse discrimination."

What, you may ask, is this supposed to mean? There is evidence to show that like most mumbo jumbo that comes from Washington, it means that Chicanos, along with America's other oppressed nationalities, will continue to get the short end of the stick.

For example, a study of University of California staff hiring policy shows that the so-called affirmative action program has had little effect there.

According to the survey made by UC released May 9, there are pitifully few Chicano faculty. Among 2,538 full professors, there are only 19 with Spanish surnames.

The sexist discrimination is even more blatant. For example, out of about 1,250 associate professors only two are Chicanas. Out of about 1,450 assistant professors, only three are Chicanas.

According to the survey, among 14,000 academic employees of the nine UC campuses, 11.8 percent belong to oppressed nationalities. But when you consider the university's work force as a whole, the figure jumps to 17.9 percent. If you want to find out just where *la raza* is so well "represented" on the campus work force, just check out the custodial staff, the cafeteria and kitchen help, the bookstore clerks, and the typists.

Far from "going overboard" in bringing Chicanos into the university, affirmative action programs have barely begun the process.



Better check if it's still there—The *London Express* says Nixon's Watergate troubles stem from a curse put on the Hope diamond by a Hindu priest 300 years ago. The 44.5-karat rock is currently in the Smithsonian Institute. Nixon, as president, is regent of the institute, and thereby custodian of the stone.

Unmaoist thoughts—According to Reuters, the Chinese *People's Daily* urged that more women be given positions of responsibility. The paper reportedly complained that "some leading comrades still maintain that young women giggle, middle-aged women procrastinate and are not efficient, therefore it is not worth training them." The paper said this and other negative attitudes toward women were the results of "departmental egoism." Clearly, of course, not old-fashioned male chauvinism.

Called their bluff—In our youth we learned that bluffing is permissible in poker but that if you get caught you lose. Recently the New York police sought to create the illusion that there were more cops in some areas than actually was the case. To do this they parked empty squad cars as "bluffs." Operation Bluff has now been abandoned because the cars were being stripped.

Our even-handed lawmakers—The House Labor Committee approved a bill to raise the federal minimum wage to \$2.20 an hour in one year. It also proposed a tax credit of up to \$480 a year for those who employ household domestic workers.

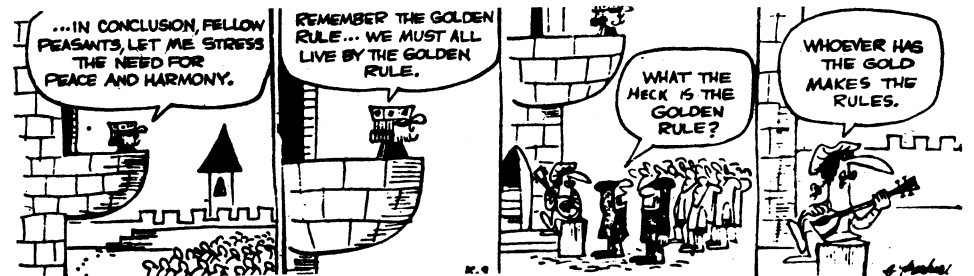
Compared notes—About 300 executives of the Potomac Electric Power Company, including its president, were hit with cramps and diarrhea

after a roast beef dinner at Washington's Hotel Mayflower. Hotel officials said it was an unprecedented occurrence. "But," reported the *Washington Post*, "one city official said yesterday that diarrhea is a common problem in any place that serves large amounts of food, but diners usually don't report it because they don't get together after the meal to compare notes as the Pepco executives did."

Another airline service—Cited for polluting San Francisco Bay, San

Francisco Airport officials explained that the problem was that the 26 airlines using the airport all empty their airplane toilets into storm drains that run into the bay. The officials promised a crackdown.

Taking care of business—In a no-nonsense session, the Los Angeles city council approved without discussion a measure hiking their pay 76 percent—from \$17,000 to \$30,000. In addition, the council members receive a \$2,500 tax-free expense account.



Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Female suicides: Who's to blame?

Talk about standing things on their head and misplacing blame. The Neuropsychiatric Institute at the University of California has issued a report that claims the women's liberation movement has produced a sharp increase in female suicides. The study was reported in a *New York Post* article entitled "Rise in Female Suicides Laid to Women's Lib."

During the past decade the suicide rate for women in California went from 10 per 100,000 to more than 14 per 100,000. The male rate increased from 22 to about 23 per 100,000.

Nancy Allen, a "suicide prevention expert," says the increase in women suicides is the "price" women are paying for becoming more involved outside the family and in the work force. The implication is that if women would just stay home there would be no pressures on them and no "price" to pay.

Allen says, "Their drive for success and recognition has increased pressures and opened more possibilities for failure, and they are facing crises once restricted to men, things like loss of self-esteem by not making it on the job, or by being fired."

Loss of self-esteem by not making it on the job

or being fired? Who's responsible for that? It's not the women's liberation movement that discriminates against women in hiring and promotions. It's not the women's liberation movement that fires women first. And it's not the women's liberation movement that gives women an unequal education to begin with.

How about the loss of self-esteem when women are forced onto welfare rolls when their child-care centers are closed by Nixon's cutbacks? How about the loss of self-esteem when women's careers and education are interrupted by unwanted pregnancies? How about the loss of self-esteem when women are barraged with advertisements, books, and movies that portray them as mindless, helpless, sex-objects?

Loss of self-esteem is certainly a factor in suicides, but it is not the women's liberation movement that is responsible for it. Quite the opposite. Feminists are fighting against the things that denigrate and stereotype women.

The study also reveals that the highest increase in suicides in the past 10 years has been among Black women between 20 and 24 years of age.

The study says these women are subject to "special psycho-sociological pressures."

That is certainly true, but these pressures don't come from the women's liberation movement. They come from the fact that capitalist society has placed Black women on the bottom of the pile in a dog-eat-dog society.

Suicide among young people between the ages of 15 and 24—both male and female, Black and white—has more than doubled in the past 10 years. These young people have been subjected to a society of violence, racism, sexism, moral hypocrisy and alienation—none of which were caused by the women's liberation movement.

The number of suicides in the United States testifies to the sense of desperation and helplessness many individuals feel. But the blame for that should be placed squarely where it belongs—on the back of capitalist society.

The feminist struggle, along with other social movements, is challenging the dehumanization of social and personal relationships. The struggles for social justice are showing people that there is a way to fight and that society *can* be changed.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Watergate & Black people

Mark Smith, vice-chairman of the Youth Organization for Black Unity, speaking to the New York African Liberation Day demonstration May 26, made an important point in relation to the Watergate scandal. He said, "We better start to understand what Watergate means. If Nixon and them can run around and lie and cheat and steal and try to off people in the Democratic Party, stop and think what they'll do to *you* . . . will do, have done, and are doing."

The latest Watergate disclosures show that these tactics of the Nixon gang have been used before. These tactics are similar to those earlier administrations have used in attempts to thwart the development of the Black liberation struggle.

Nixon and his associates in the Democratic and Republican parties have viewed the nationalist awakening of Blacks with intense fear; they understand its importance to the politicalization of other sectors of the population. They fear the inde-

pendent organization of Blacks and what that could mean to their rule in Washington. That is why, as these disclosures show, they have on numerous occasions attempted to disrupt and discredit our struggle.

The *New York Times* told of one official connected with a secret White House report on internal domestic security who named "the most serious issue facing the Nixon Administration in mid-1970 as 'the Black problem.'"

This report states that the White House in 1970 urged the FBI to undertake a *massive* counterinsurgency program directed at the Black Panther Party, among other groups. This counterinsurgency program was to consist of spying, wiretapping, and burglaries to obtain "incriminating" evidence aimed at destroying the Panthers.

The report also reveals that the Johnson administration *had already* ordered infiltration of the Panthers.

Moreover, the mere fact that the government organized a campaign to discredit and vilify Martin Luther King Jr., going so far as to bug every phone he used, gives some indication of their fears.

This was done under Johnson, a Democrat. Robert Kennedy, another Democrat and a supposed "friend of Blacks," has also been shown to have been involved in the plot against King.

Thus, not only the Republicans, but the Democrats as well, stand exposed. That is the meaning of these new revelations.

These Watergate tactics of espionage, thefts, and disruption of the Black liberation movement won't be eliminated merely by calling for the removal of Nixon or the individuals in his administration caught red-handed. They will only disappear when we throw out the entire kit and caboodle of Republicans and Democrats and replace them with a government controlled by the working people and oppressed nationalities.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 15, 1973

Political trials expose real nature of regime

New wave of repression in Israel

The Israeli army's April 10 terror raid on Beirut has provided the Zionist regime with excuses to intensify an already severe witch-hunt against the anti-Zionist left. When the Israeli commandos gunned down three leaders of the Palestinian resistance movement, they also ransacked the Palestinians' apartments. The Israelis claim to have carried off a large number of fedayeen documents, which have now become known in Israel as the Beirut Papers.

The anti-Zionist left had expected that the government would use the Beirut Papers to arrest Arab militants in Israel, claiming that those arrested were named in the documents as "undercover agents."

That process has apparently now begun. The first arrests occurred in the Little Triangle, a heavily Arab area. In no case has any specific charge been laid against a detainee; under the Emergency and Defense Regulations, passed by the British in the late 1940s and still in effect today, any person (more precisely, any Arab, at least so far) can be held indefinitely without charge or trial.

The Little Triangle arrests came just after the trials of most of the persons arrested on charges of membership in the "espionage and sabotage network." The network case began in December 1972, when thirty-nine persons, six of them Jews, were detained on charges of having been part of an underground group working for Syrian intelligence or of having known about the existence of the network and having failed to inform the police.

The "network" defendants were divided into four groups, three of which have already been tried. The first group (of six) came to trial in February and all the defendants were convicted on March 25.

They were sentenced March 26. The penalties were especially severe. Daoud Turki and Ehud Adiv each got seventeen years in prison; Subhi Narani and Anais Karawi got fifteen years, Dan Vered ten years, and Simon Haddad two years.

The convictions were supposedly for treason, conspiracy, and passing information to the enemy. In actual fact, the six defendants had done no more than talk to Arabs who did not hold Israeli citizenship. The "information" supposedly passed to the "enemy" consisted of commonplace observations readily available in the newspapers.

We do not yet have information on the results of the second and third trials. The fourth trial was scheduled to begin at the end of May.

The heavy sentences handed out, the continuing arrests, and the fact that the regime has been intensifying censorship of the leftist press make

it clear that a new wave of repression is under way.

In this week's *World Outlook* we are publishing two articles on that repression and the anti-Zionist left's response. The one below, on the first round of the Haifa "network" trial, is abridged from issue No. 69 of *Matzpen* (Compass). *Matzpen* is the monthly newspaper of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), Israeli sympathizers of the Fourth International.

The second article (see page WO4), which is scheduled for publication in *Matzpen*, deals with the more recent arrests in the Little Triangle and with the United Front Against Zionist Repression, which has been set up by the anti-Zionist left to counter the regime's attacks.

The articles were received in French translation. The translation from the French is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

The curtain has just come down on the first act of the Haifa trials. At this point, we have to be able to evaluate these trials and to draw the political implications of them. Although the skein of these trials has not yet fully unrolled—nor have the regime's attempts to liquidate the anti-Zionist left, attempts linked to the exacerbation of the class struggle, yet run their course—we can say with certainty that the first round did not end in victory for the regime.

Everyone knows that the defendants in the "espionage and sabotage network" were tried and convicted mainly for their political ideas and not for their acts. The authorities' moves at each stage were political: sending active provocateurs into the organizations, deciding to bring the victims of the provocations to trial, deciding to orchestrate a huge hysterical campaign around the case.

But political moves that are not based on an analysis of the concrete situation can have consequences going far beyond those intended. This has been the case for the Zionist regime. Once the smoke is cleared away, it can be seen that the Zionist state, by the virulence of its attack against the left, has mowed down some of its own most sacred cows.

The first sacred cow that has been shot down—right in front of everyone's eyes—is the idea that in the Middle East it is "all the Arabs against all the Jews."

For all the years of the Zionist colonization, and for all the years after the formation of the state of Israel, the regime succeeded in splitting and preventing any common struggle of Jews and Arabs.

The state of Israel was founded on the creation and extension of a sys-

tem of Jewish privilege and of denial of all civil liberties for the Arab inhabitants. From the beginning, the regime was willing to tolerate a Jewish political opposition (within the framework of recognition of the Jewish state), but denied this right to the Arab citizens. For the Jewish inhabitants, Israel has a bourgeois-democratic aspect, but for the Arab inhab-



Golda Meir: slaughters a few of her own sacred cows.

itants, there is a legal and institutional system based on the "Emergency and Defense Regulations," that is, a typically colonial regime.

The common accusation against Jews and Arabs that they were struggling together for a common goal against the Zionist regime and their common sentencing as accomplices equally inculcated in the struggle for social change on a regional scale marks a crucially important turning point. For the first time, the Zionist regime has dared to break the taboo that it itself had created [that maintained] the complete separation of the Jews struggling against the regime from the Arabs struggling against the regime. Thus, the regime, involuntarily, has helped to present the real content of the struggle against Zionism. The proof that Jews and Arabs can struggle together on a class basis has been provided by the regime itself.

We know that to really solve the problems of the area, they must do this. But the proof that the regime has provided is a very important step forward for the consciousness of the masses of the region.

A second sacred cow to be hit was the Israeli legal system. Arab citizens who have tried to struggle against

the colonial emergency laws by going before tribunals have for a long time understood that the principles of "justice and democracy" guide these tribunals only as long as they serve the objectives of Zionism.

Political organizations that do not accept the goals of Zionism are forbidden for the Arab population (el-Ard party, for example); appeals to the State Council against administrative arrests are always rejected, just as requests for annulment of arbitrary imposition of exile, expropriations, destruction of homes, and other attacks against all political activities in the territories conquered in 1967 have been rejected.

These measures, which for years were imposed against the Palestinian Arabs, during the past two years have been used against the Black Panthers as well. They too have been subjected to preventive arrests or "exile" to Jerusalem, for example, and have also met with hostile attitudes from the courts. This was the case, for example, with Judge Werlinska in Haifa, whose attitude went even beyond "classical" bourgeois hypocrisy.

But up to the trial of the members of the "espionage and sabotage network" the courts did their best not to reveal their class character and not to lift the fig leaf of "objectivity" from the corpse of bourgeois justice. According to the rules of bourgeois legality, a person is innocent until proven guilty. But in the "network" trial, the judges abandoned the last vestige of objective appearances.

One after the other, the three judges played the role of accusers, aided the prosecution in difficult moments, made fun of the accused, and in general turned the trial into a farce. In their reportage, the journalists did not even try to cover this up; because for them it was "natural" that a Zionist judge would be prejudiced against an anti-Zionist suspect.

Throughout the press, daily reports were littered with pearls drawn from the mouths of the judges who, wanting to make fun of the defendants, made the trial into the farce it was. Thus, not only was justice not done, it was not even played at. After these trials, it will be more difficult for all the democrats, liberals, and other reformists to pretend that the judicial system is the only sound institution in the rotten Zionist edifice.

The Israeli press—all segments of it—demonstrated once again that the only principle that guides it is worship of the existing regime. Just as it has no use for journalistic ethics—not even of the type prevailing in banana republics—it has no use for facts. By spreading around a whole system of lies, half truths, and falsifications, the press organized an unprecedented campaign of incitement, made up of a mixture of imagination and ill will. The condemnation of the defendants by the press before the trials even started was only the prelude to the injustice that would go down at the trials themselves.

By Nathan Weinstock

[The following article appeared in the May 4 issue of *La Gauche*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (Revolutionary Workers League), Belgian section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The Ghetto Revolt and the Founding of the Zionist State

This year, within the space of a few weeks, two great events in the contemporary history of the Jewish people will be commemorated—the thirtieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the state of Israel. The coincidence is not accidental, for the two historic dates are intimately related. One symbolizes the way in which the fate of the Jews came to represent the human condition under Nazi barbarism. The other is explainable by these sufferings; it took Auschwitz to push the Jewish masses—and with them Western public opinion—into the Zionist camp.

But at the same time, what a contrast! In the Warsaw ghetto the survivors of the genocide against Polish Jewry embodied the dignity of humanity, resisting oppression, even without immediate hope of success; a revolt that ennobled all humanity, a tragic epic that prefigured the victories of the Indochinese revolution which, under different and more favorable circumstances, was able to triumph over bestial imperialism.

But the creation of the state of Israel, on the other hand, symbolizes the spiritual degeneration of this same Jewish community, which has become the colonial oppressor in Arab lands, reducing a whole people, the Palestinians, to exile, poverty, and powerlessness.

The militants of the young "socialist" movements, who, at the sides of their comrades of the Jewish workers movement, led the Jewish Combat Organization in the Warsaw ghetto from beginning to end, realized, in action, the great historic role of the Jewish spirit in the modern world. The Spinozas, the Freuds, the Einsteins, sons of a community embedded like a hinge between various cultures, undertook the critique of established values. The Marxes, the Rosa Luxemburgs, the Trotskys brought this process to its culmination by forging the ideology and the instrument of the proletariat's struggle, pointing out in the particularities of the Jewish condition the road to the emancipation of humanity—the revolutionary action of the conscious workers. The insurrection of the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto (as well as those of other ghettos, unjustly unrecognized) is part of this proud tradition. It belongs to the most glorious pages of history; it constitutes the Promethian dimension of the Jewish tradition. It taught its generation that man struggles and never gives up.

A Glorious Revolt—But No Heirs

There is no longer any Jewish community in Poland to pay homage to the monument of the ghetto. The bureaucratic Warsaw regime has "purged" the country of Jews, relying on the old reactionary anti-Semitism to try to quell the social rage of the shipyard workers, which was unleashed in the wake of the revolt in the Baltic ports.

The Warsaw ghetto insurrection will not be commemorated by a single Jewish daily in the Soviet Union; since the deportation of Jewish writers in 1952, the Jewish community in the Soviet Union has been deprived of its own cultural life, subjected to subtle and varied forms of discrimination that push it toward emigration. And in the West, the commemorative ceremonies will strike a false note; the official leaders of the Jewish community are closely associated with the existing regimes—too busy organizing the pro-Israeli lobby to bother about the traditions of the revolt; too well integrated into the cogs of the system of exploitation to recognize the lines that bind the Warsaw ghetto revolt to the revolution. Their camp is not that of humanity in struggle for its dignity.

In Israel the monument erected to the glory of the commander of the ghetto insurrection, Mordechai Anilewicz, is located in the kibbutz whose name evokes his memory: Yad Mordechai. This "socialist" village was founded along the (1948) borders as a military outpost. Today, its economic existence is based on the exploitation of

the wage-labor of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, and especially on the wage-labor of school-age children. What a symbol! What a mockery!

Constant Features of Zionist Plan

This, in a nutshell, was the Zionist program: to construct a Jewish state in Palestine, which implied refusal to fight anti-Semitism wherever it arose, and instead involved the exaltation of Jewish chauvinism as a counterweight to prevailing racism. It necessarily presupposed the dispossession of the inhabitants of the Promised Land. This was well understood by Theodore Herzl, theoretician of the Zionist movement, when he wrote in his "diary" (on June 12, 1895) that it would be necessary "to try to transfer the poorest section of the [indigenous] population to the other side of the border without conflict, by offering them work in the neighboring countries and denying them any employment in our country."

On the same day he also entered in his list of things to do: "prepare a special helmet like Stanley's for the ceremony inaugurating the colonization." Some enlightened spirits warned the Zionists against the consequences of their undertaking; such as the writer Akhad Ha'am, an advocate of a Jewish "spiritual" center (but not a political body) in Palestine, who, as early as 1891, predicted Palestinian resistance. In 1936, Dr. Ruppin, a well-known sociologist and a workhorse in the Zionist cause, admitted that because of the Palestinian masses' hostility, a "state of continuous war with the Arabs" was inevitable.

The openly fascistlike wing of the Zionist movement, headed by Jabotinsky, had understood things immediately. There were no basic differences, Jabotinsky explained, between "vegetarian" Zionism and "carnivorous" Zionism. The only thing to discuss was whether it would be necessary to rely on British bayonets to colonize the country or whether it would be preferable to directly arm the colonists. And, from his point of view, he was right.

Back in 1940, Joseph Weitz, a leader of the Zionist agricultural colonization, and a "socialist" Zionist, had come to the conclusion that "there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left." (*Davar*, September 29, 1967.)

The dispossession of the Palestinians, a necessary precondition for Zionist profit, is being continued today by colonization in the occupied territories. As Moshe Dayan put it, with the brutal frankness for which he is known: "During the last 100 years our people have been in the process of building up the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and settlements in order to expand the borders. Let no Jew say that the process has ended. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road." (From a speech given on the "liberated" Syrian Golan Heights and reported in *Maariv* July 7, 1968.)

Results of a Colonization

Such was the program on which the Zionist leaders based themselves when they proclaimed the birth of the Zionist state twenty-five years ago in Tel Aviv. As for the aftermath, here are the findings of a report distributed by Dr. Israel Shahak, president of the Israeli Human Rights League: Since 1948, within the borders of the state of Israel, the following Arab villages have been destroyed and the tribes expelled:

Districts	Number of Arab Villages in 1948	Number of Arab Villages Destroyed
Jerusalem	33	29
Bethlehem	7	7
Hebron	16	16
Jaffa	23	23
Ramleh	31	31
Lydda	28	28
Jenin	8	4
Tul-Karem	33	21
Haifa*	43	35
Saint-Jean d'Acre	52	20
Nazareth	26	6
Safad	75	68
Tiberiad	26	23
Beisan	28	28
Gaza	46	46
Total	475	385

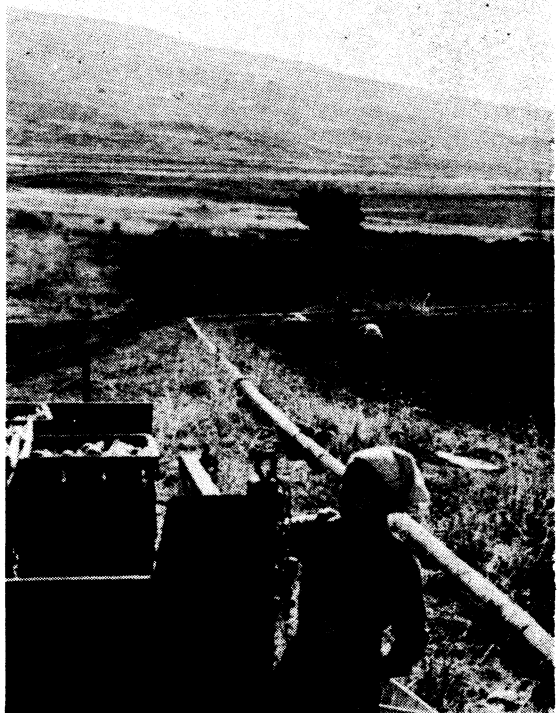
*Ten tribes located here have disappeared.

In addition, in the Beersheba district, where on the eve of the birth of the Jewish state there were five tribes comprised of seventy-three subtribes, three-fourths of the population was expelled.

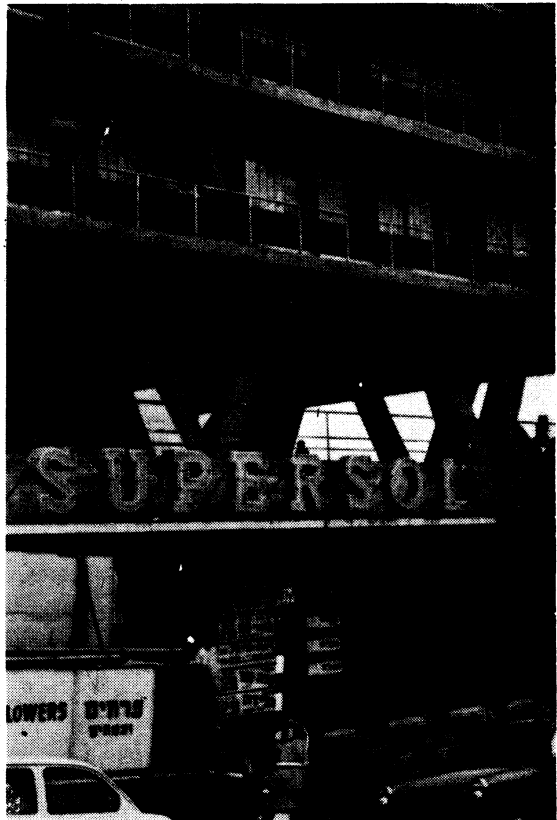
In the case of the el-Azazmeh tribe, the expulsion dates

Results of a colonial enterpris

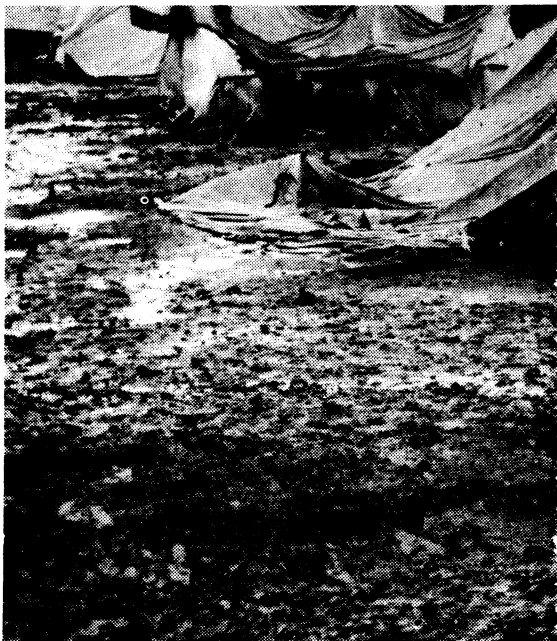
Twenty-five ye
founding of the



Israel's vaunted kibbutzim . . .

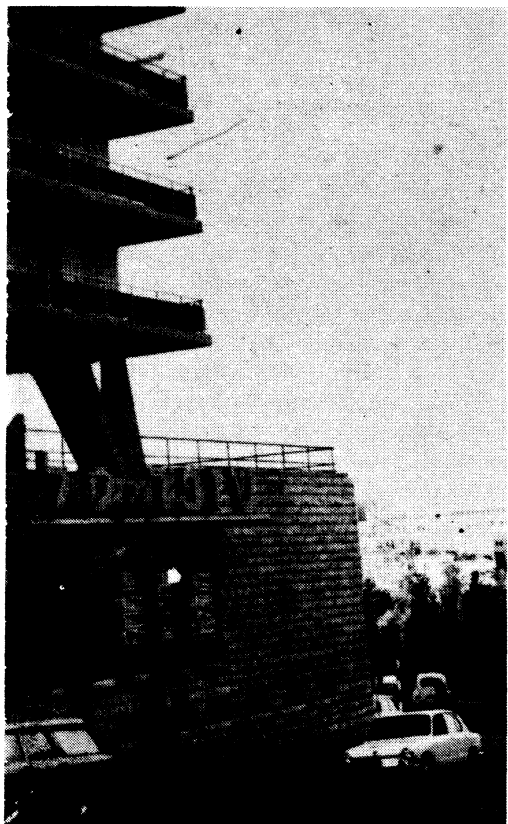


and modern cities . . .



. . . are all built on the dispossession of the Palesti

ars after the Israeli state



nian people.

from 1953-54, well after the end of hostilities, and was preceded by the machine-gun massacre of women and children perpetrated by the notorious "Unit 101" of the Israeli army.

Even the Druzes, a Palestinian religious community that has collaborated with the Zionist regime—they supply a large part of the foot-troops for the notorious "frontier police"—have not been spared: 60 percent of their land has been expropriated (according to *Haaretz*, February 8, 1971).

The Dispossession Will Go On

This development will roll on fatally, because Israeli capital is desperately searching for new markets in the occupied territory. Hence the authorization granted the Jewish National Fund (the organ of Zionist colonization) to acquire land in the West Bank.

The demographical balance also demands this development. According to predictions of Professor Arens, reported in the September-October 1972 issue of *Israel Economist* (p. 234), the Jewish and Arab populations within the new Israeli borders are evolving in the following manner, despite the expulsion of a million refugees:

Borders	Area (in sq. mi.)	Palestinian Population	Jewish Population, % of Total
1948 plus Arab Jerusalem	8,240	400,000	86%
With annexation of West Bank	10,960	1,400,000	64%

The question for the Zionist leaders therefore is whether to move to a complete annexation, which would involve instituting some form of apartheid (already, at Nahriya, separate maternity facilities have been constructed for Jews and Arabs), as the "Dayan plan" envisages, or to annex the maximum amount of territory containing a minimum number of inhabitants, as the "Allon plan" recommends.

Now, even figuring on a massive Jewish immigration (50,000 per year), in 1982 the proportion of Arabs, because of their higher birthrate, would still be very significant if a total annexation of the occupied territory takes place:

Borders	Palestinian Population	Jewish Population, % of Total
1948 plus Arab Jerusalem	595,000	86%
With annexation of West Bank	2,085,000	63%

It is therefore understandable that the "socialist" General Yitzhak Rabin is an advocate of creating conditions for a massive displacement of Palestinians and that General Yadin (also a "socialist" Zionist) expresses his approval for what he actually dares to call the "final solution" to the problem. (*Maariv*, February 16, 1973.)

Those Responsible

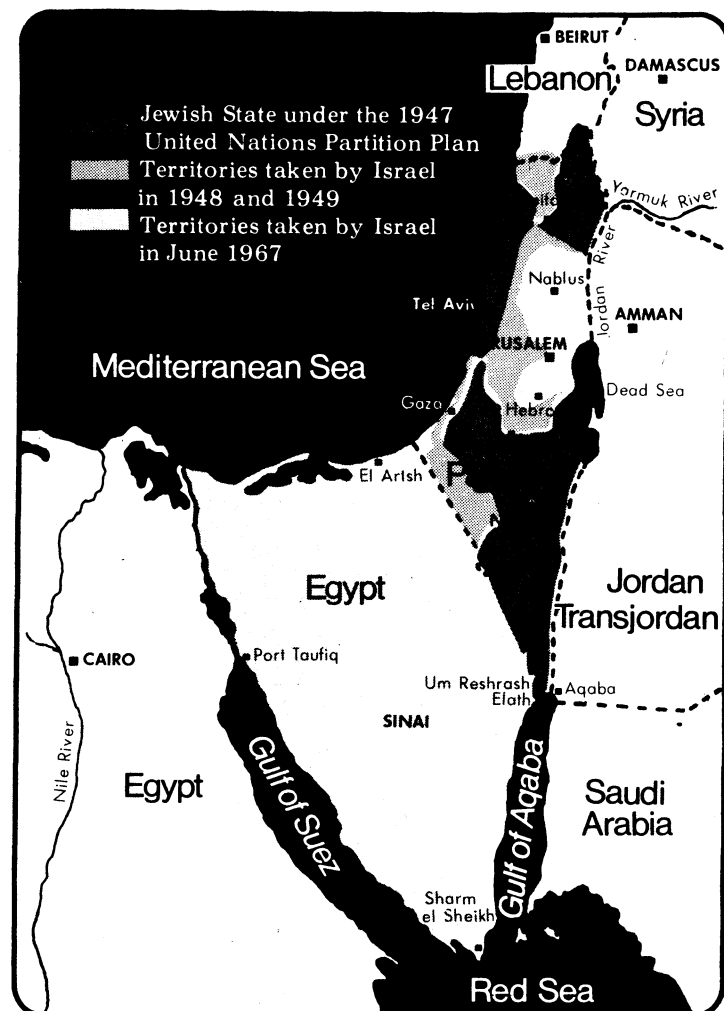
Such is the cynical reality of the real face of Zionism—neither the national liberation of the Jewish people, nor the self-determination of the Israeli masses, but the institutionalization of Israeli hegemony over the Arabs, a process of capitalist exploitation in a specifically colonial context.

Are they liberated, the Israelis in their Fort Chabrol-type superghetto? Are they liberated, the Oriental Jews crushed by discrimination? Are they liberated, the Israeli workers under the yoke of a greedy capitalist class, aided by its labor bureaucracy that serves up antiworker measures? It is to the creation of this colonial bastion, this imperialist bridgehead in the Arab world, that the United States—which has diverted thousands of millions of dollars into the coffers of the Zionist state—has committed itself, in consistent imperialist fashion.

But the first state to recognize Israel was the Soviet Union. And it was at Stalin's command that Czechoslovakia delivered armaments and Messerschmidt aircraft to the new state in 1948. Thus, the Soviet bureaucracy is fully responsible for the tragedy of the Palestinian people—and this was well before the revisionist Khrushchev came to power, comrade Maoists! Anyway, why should Khrushchev take offense at the fate of the Palestinian people, when the Crimean Tatars, deported en masse by the Father of the Peoples, are still not allowed to return to their native land? The Stalinist degeneration has its own Palestinians!

The Meaning of a Tradition

From the moment of the partition of Palestine in 1947—and this is no idle boast—the Fourth International has been the *only* tendency in the whole workers movement to struggle ceaselessly against Zionist colonialism, a struggle that it has never stopped waging in a consistent way, just as it has always been in the forefront of support to the Arab revolution, especially during the Algerian war.



Map shows the expansion of the Israeli state since the partition of Palestine in 1947.

Today, we can say—and of this we are proud—that the very existence of an anti-Zionist front within the Israeli population is the result of the continuity of our presence there, embodied in Israel by the action of our Jewish and Arab militants who came out of the old Palestinian Trotskyist group.

Nothing in history is lost. The rise of a new vanguard in the ranks of Israeli youth is the harvest of seeds that we have been patiently sowing for years, since all the anti-Zionist groups in Israel originated from Matzpen, whose theoretical achievements are a reflection of the work of our comrades. And because any Marxist analysis of the Jewish question must take as its point of departure the remarkable work of our comrade Abram Leon.

Inside the Hebrew bastion, the struggle has only just begun, with much larger forces and a much more solid organization than before—and a much more hardened one as well—with our comrades, organized in the Matzpen-Marxist group, directly confronting the oppressive Zionist apparatus at its bases.

In the Arab states, our nuclei and sections are working to build a revolutionary-Marxist vanguard, fighting a hard struggle aimed at forging the basis of a single party of the Arab world (transcending all ethnic and religious division), uniting Arabs and national minorities in a common struggle against imperialism and its local allies, both Zionist and Arab, and against all varieties of reaction.

If we are to find in the Middle East today the legitimate heirs of the Warsaw ghetto fighters, it is in the ranks of the Palestinians in struggle that we must look—and also among the Israeli anti-Zionist militants who have taken on the heritage of generations of Jewish thinkers and militants who opposed obscurantism and institutionalized disorder.

In struggling against the stream, against the worst chauvinism—their own country's—these comrades are upholding the great democratic Jewish tradition which has contributed so much to the progress of the working class and of humanity.

Form united front against repression

Israeli revolutionists protest new arrests

The arrests of the members of the so-called espionage and sabotage network showed the desire of the Zionist state to deal a serious blow to the whole anti-Zionist left. The heavy sentences imposed on those who have already been tried—and this despite the fact that the trial clearly showed that there had been no question of spying or sabotage—only confirm this estimation. New repressive steps against the extraparliamentary opposition were not long in coming, and it can be said today that the government has decided to wage a real campaign.

As always in the Zionist state, the repression starts against the Arab population. During the past few months, late-night surprise visits by the Security Service to Arab militants and their families and friends have been on the rise, as have various sorts of pressure on Arab militants to stop their political activity. On May 4, ten militants were arrested in the Arab village of Tira, among them

hold them under administrative detention for one year. It is clear that this is a threat aimed at making them end their militant activities.

The Union of Arab Students was also attacked in Jerusalem. The Arab Students wanted to organize a meeting against expropriations, but were denied a room to hold it in. They distributed a leaflet and were stopped by university guards; the president of the group, Mohammed Naamni, was threatened with punishment. Also at the University of Jerusalem, during the university elections, a poster that amounted to a real anti-Jewish provocation was pasted up with Siah's and Matzpen's names signed to it.

Today, it is the opposition press that is under attack. Having imprisoned the editors of *el-Fajar*, a legal magazine published in the occupied territories, for printing an article expressing the revulsion of all Palestinians to the Israeli army's criminal attack against the Palestinian organizations in Lebanon, the Zionist authorities are now going after two English-language opposition journals, *Israleft* and *Viewpoint*, as well as our journal, *Matzpen*, which they have threatened to close down, and whose latest issue has just had several articles censored.

If to all this we add the imprisonment of soldiers who refuse to serve in the occupied territories, the violent suppression of a demonstration of liberal students who opposed the independence-day military parade, the imprisonment of two Maoist militants accused of having had in their possession "forbidden magazines," the new attempt to put an end to the activity of the Human Rights League, and various other acts, it becomes clear that we have here not just a few "errors," but a new stage of a policy of repression.

This new policy is determined by the real danger that the far-left organizations represent today (far out of proportion to their actual numerical membership) in the context of the new radicalization of the Israeli working class and in a political situation in which it is more and more difficult to block all struggles on the pretext of "national security."

In such a context, the necessity for a united front of all organizations subject to the repression is on the agenda. After the arrests around the Haifa "network," we called on all or-

ganizations to unite in the struggle against repression. It is unfortunate that Siah and the Communist party (Rakah) failed to understand that it was in *their* interest to participate in this United Front and that they preferred to differentiate themselves from the other organizations in the vain hope that the authorities would leave them alone—an idea that was soon enough proven illusory by events (the arrest of several Rakah members).

Having put out several leaflets, published in the press a petition signed by more than 150 persons, and organized a meeting attended by more than 250 persons, the United Front began working on a pamphlet on the Haifa trials and organized a demonstration in front of the Haifa court where the third group of defendants were being tried.

This demonstration, which brought out about fifty persons, was dispersed by the police. Sixteen demonstrators were arrested and were held for six days, when they were released on bail of 4,000 Israeli pounds. Their trial is scheduled to take place on May 17; they are liable to heavy fines and even to terms of imprisonment.

In addition to activities directly related to the Haifa trials, the United Front has also organized a campaign at the University of Jerusalem for elementary democratic rights (the right of assembly, the right to hand out leaflets without having to submit them to the censorship of university authorities, the right to sell political magazines, and so on). On May 1, the United Front held a united May Day demonstration under the slogans "Down with the occupation!" and "Workers power!" along with the Black Panthers who, in contrast to Rakah, accepted the principle of a united demonstration and are preparing in coming months to come to a series of meetings and demonstrations against the repression and for the release of all political prisoners.

The Arab Students Union in Jerusalem, which is part of the United Front, is in the process of forming a permanent coordinating body of the Unions of Arab Students and is trying to draw its affiliates into the United Front's activities.

All these activities will culminate in a big united demonstration against the repression and against the occupation, to be held on the anniversary of the 1967 war.

The United Front has also taken

up the legal defense of political prisoners and the support of their families by setting up an aid fund drawing on donations both in Israel and abroad. The fund has already raised several thousand pounds. The heavy fines that may be imposed on the militants who demonstrated in front of the Haifa court will necessitate a par-

Socialism & Zionism

THE JEWISH QUESTION: A Marxist Interpretation by Abram Leon, \$7.95, paper \$2.95

BURNING ISSUES OF THE MIDEAST CRISIS

by Peter Buch, \$.40

MIDEAST OIL AND U.S. IMPERIALISM

by Dick Roberts, \$.35

THE TRUTH ABOUT ISRAEL AND ZIONISM

by Nathan Weinstock and Jon Rothschild, \$.35

DOCUMENTS OF THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, \$.35

HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE? A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack, \$.25

LEON TROTSKY ON THE JEWISH QUESTION

by Leon Trotsky, \$.60

PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014

ticularly important financial campaign.

In face of the new repression launched by the Zionist authorities, the revolutionary organizations have united and have thus clearly shown that they will respond together against any attempt to liquidate them by piecemeal attacks. The Zionist state, more than any other state, needs the support of world reaction. And Israeli revolutionists likewise need the international support of revolutionary forces. Israel's role of policeman for imperialism in the Arab East is of concern to militants throughout the world, and the attack on revolutionary anti-Zionists concerns the entire revolutionary movement. We need political, moral, and material solidarity from all organizations and from all revolutionary militants.

Free Said and his comrades!

Free all political prisoners!

Acquit all those accused of political crimes!

Long live the United Front against Zionist repression!



An Arab 'suspect' arrested in Gaza

several active sympathizers of the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist). Among these were Said Atili, secretary of the Tel Aviv Union of Arab Students, and Rushdi Haskieh, who had already been imprisoned for several months by administrative decree.

The names of these militants supposedly appeared in the "Beirut Papers," documents that were said to have been seized during the Israeli attack [April 10] on the Beirut offices of the Palestinian resistance. It is obvious that today anyone can be arrested on the pretext that his or her name appears in these so-called documents. The fact is that those imprisoned were questioned only about their political activities in the Union of Arab Students and in the Organization of Arab University Teachers, and about their relations with our organization.

Having no evidence against those arrested, the authorities threatened to



The Coming Confrontation

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

For the answers read *Intercontinental Press*, the only English-language weekly magazine that specializes on news and analysis of revolutionary struggles from Canada to Chile and all around the world.

Intercontinental Press: A socialist antidote to the lies of the capitalist media.

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116, Village Station
New York, NY 10014

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

() Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.
() Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

Hayward Brown acquitted in 2nd trial

STRESS police unit abolished in Detroit

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, June 5—A Detroit newspaper has announced that STRESS, the Detroit police terror unit, has been abolished.

An editorial in the June 4 *Detroit News* stated that "several months ago the term 'STRESS' was dropped from departmental charts and the unit was re-organized into the Felony Prevention Section.

"When that happened the situation changed again. The special undercover officers began to spend less time decoying street bandits and more on tough narcotics, homicide and rape cases. . . .

"Thus STRESS and its original purpose have been considerably altered, without much fanfare."

STRESS (Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets), was created in 1971. It used decoy-entrapment tactics—primarily in the Black community—and

was responsible for murdering 18 Blacks in the last year and a half.

In the wake of a months-long campaign in the Black community to abolish STRESS, there is little wonder that the police did so "without much fanfare." The Coalition to Abolish STRESS (CAS) spearheaded the anti-STRESS effort. Upon hearing of the *News* editorial, Ron Lockett, coordinator of CAS, predicted that Detroit police will continue to victimize Black people but called the disbanding of the STRESS unit a victory for Blacks. "It was only the pressure of Black people picketing at 1300 Beaubien [police headquarters], participating in demonstrations, public hearings, and other such activities that forced the police to disband that racist terror squad," said Lockett.

Although the Detroit police abolished STRESS, they have "re-organized" the Felony Prevention Section, which includes, according to the *News*, "a sort of 'Mod Squad.'"

Lockett called for vigilance in response to this move. He asked, "Will this newly reorganized Felony Prevention Section turn into a decoy unit later? Will the Detroit Police department try to terrorize the Black community through future undercover units? If so, we will once again organize against such police terror."

In a major related development, 19-year-old Hayward Brown was found not guilty June 4 by a jury of nine Blacks and three whites. He had been charged in connection with the Dec. 27 shooting of Patrolman Robert Dooley.

This is the second acquittal for Brown. The other occurred May 10 when he was acquitted of four charges of assault with intent to murder four



A sustained campaign of demonstrations, public hearings, and other protest activity paved the way for the abolition of STRESS terror unit in Detroit police department.

STRESS cops.

Brown, along with John Percy Boyd and Mark Clyde Bethune, was the object of a massive manhunt by Detroit police for his alleged role in the Dec. 4 shooting-death of the four STRESS cops. Boyd and Bethune were killed by Atlanta cops in February after the manhunt reached national proportions. All three were anti-drug activists.

Brown still faces another trial on charges of assaulting two Wayne State University campus cops.

Support for Brown and opposition to STRESS is quite substantial in the Black community, as is indicated in a recent poll compiled by Market Opinion Research. The poll showed

that 65 percent of the city's Black citizens and 15 percent of its whites are opposed to STRESS.

This is a sharp turn in public opinion, especially among Blacks. Much of the credit for this change should go to the anti-STRESS activists who brought this issue out into the open. In 1972, by contrast, a survey showed only 28 percent of Blacks were opposed to STRESS.

The new survey found that a majority of Blacks believe that their relations with the police have gotten worse since the 1967 rebellion. According to the poll, STRESS was seen by Blacks as little more than "a license for police to kill Blacks."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Ron Lockett, leader of campaign to abolish STRESS.

L.A. rally demands freedom for Los Tres

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A rally here May 19 demanded freedom for Los Tres del Barrio and all political prisoners. The turnout was good, and estimates of the attendance ranged from 700 up. One TV commentator reported 1,000.

Los Tres—Juan Fernandez, Rodolfo Sanchez, and Alberto Ortiz—are the young Chicano antidrug activists. In 1971, they were entrapped by police into shooting a federal agent, posing as a heroin dealer, when he pulled a gun on them. They were convicted and are now serving sentences of 40, 25, and 10 years. They are appealing the conviction, but are already serving time because it has not yet been

possible to raise the \$50,000 bail imposed on each of them.

Among those addressing the rally at Hollenbeck Park in predominantly Chicano East Los Angeles were Bert Corona from CASA-Hermandad; Aaron Manganiello from the Chino Defense Committee; Antonio Castillo, a Mexican professor; and Tommy Chung, a former prisoner. Teatro Urbano and Teatro de la Tierra sang Chicano songs and performed skits depicting the harmful effects heroin and barbiturates have on Chicanos.

The use of hard drugs is widespread among Chicano youth, and Los Tres del Barrio had been involved in a campaign to rid the community of

the hated pushers who profit off the misery of their victims.

Most of the speakers stressed that Chicanos must unite with other oppressed peoples both here and around the world in order to throw off the common oppressor, U. S. imperialism.

Two of the principal scheduled speakers, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales from the Denver Crusade for Justice and Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano, were unable to attend the rally.

The rally was widely publicized in East Los Angeles through massive leafletting and posting. In the weeks before the rally, the slogan "Free Los Tres" began appearing more frequently on barrio walls.

Carlos Chavez, speaking on behalf of the Los Tres Committee, pointed out that the Watergate revelations will help to further undermine the government's case against Los Tres.

One of the things that Los Tres talked about in their antidrug campaign was the role of local police and the CIA in aiding narcotics traffic. Chavez charged that a good part of the testimony the Los Tres defense had planned to present in court was not allowed by Judge Lydick (who happens to be a personal friend of President Nixon) for fear that the role of the government and police would be exposed. As Chavez put, "Nixon is the number one pusher."

300 attend 'Int'l Conference of Americas'

By NICOLAS ROSNER

LONG BEACH, Calif.—La Conferencia Internacional de las Americas (The International Conference of the Americas) was held here May 14-18 at Long Beach State University. The campus chapter of MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan—Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan) sponsored the conference. As many as 300 Chicanos and Latin Americans attended the sessions each day, coming from as far away as Argentina, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. The conference was held to develop

an international perspective, to exchange experiences, and to improve channels of communication among Latinos struggling for social and political change. Representatives attended from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee, the Denver Crusade for Justice, CASA-Hermandad in Los Angeles, and numerous MECHAs in California.

The topics discussed included the Chicano movement, the revolutionary woman, the international student movement, the church, and university

reform.

Carlos Feliciano opened the conference with a presentation on his experiences as a political prisoner. Feliciano, a Puerto Rican nationalist, has been framed up in New York on charges of possessing explosives.

During an educational discussion on the oppression of Latinas, ideas were exchanged on several important questions—How should Latinas struggle against their oppression? Is the family a reactionary institution? Is the women's liberation movement relevant to Latinas? Is feminism "petty-bour-

geois"?

Antonio Castillo, a professor at the University of Mexico, gave the main presentation on the international student movement. He analyzed student struggles in Mexico from the massive protests in 1968 to the present and described how the students were successful in mobilizing the broader working masses in their support.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, leader of the Denver Crusade for Justice, gave the main talk on the Chicano movement, emphasizing the revolutionary implications of Chicano nationalism.

YORTY'S RACE-BAITING FAILS IN L.A. ELECTION BRADLEY WIN SHOWS IMPACT OF BLACK MOV'T

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The election of a Black man as mayor of the nation's third largest city—with a Black population of only 18 percent—is testimony to the deep impact that the civil rights and Black liberation movements have had on this country.

In his 1969 bid for mayor, Tom Bradley was leading in the polls until incumbent Sam Yorty unleashed a last-minute race-baiting attack, which proved sufficient to defeat Bradley.

This time, a similar scurrilous race-baiting attempt by Yorty boomeranged, and Bradley won 56 to 44 percent.

Certainly Bradley's election does not signal the end to the oppression of Black people. Nor will his assumption of office as a committed Democratic Party politician bring basic changes in the lives of the masses of Black people.

But even taking into account that he is a conservative ex-cop, the fact that a Black could win enough white votes to be elected does confirm that the pervasive power of American racism has diminished.

Bradley pointed to this when he spoke last summer at a testimonial dinner for him at the plush Beverly Hilton Hotel.

Recalling his origins in a small Texas town where his father was a sharecropper and his mother a domestic worker, he observed that as a Black man he had come a long way.

"It's a long way," he commented, "from the trip that I took across this country when I bought a new car in Lansing, Mich., and drove all the way from Lansing to Los Angeles. I remember that trip very well because I couldn't find a place to lay my head at night: hotels and motels simply would not accept me."

Yorty's racist appeal

The 44 percent of the returns won by Yorty certainly included a substantial number of racist votes. But the indications are that in good measure the racist vote came from the older genera-

real estate interests to unrestricted exploitation of the area despite growing demands for some regulation and control of developers.

And in the midst of his pious declarations on the need for "law 'n' order," it was disclosed that Yorty had used \$50,000 in political contributions to buy himself a life insurance policy.

He first insisted it was money he had "earned." But 24 hours later he had to stand before TV cameras, with beads of sweat on his forehead, admitting the money had in fact come from the proceeds of testimonial dinners.

Then, on the eve of the election, he sent computerized telegrams to voters in the San Fernando Valley urging them to go to the polls en masse to counter the Black "bloc" he said would be turning out for Bradley. The racist appeal was so crude that it evoked disgust even from conservative elements in the community.

Bradley's campaign was well financed and enjoyed the support of the liberal and sectors of the conservative white community. (The Republican *Los Angeles Times* endorsed him, and Max Palevsky, a wealthy McGovern supporter, was his campaign manager.)

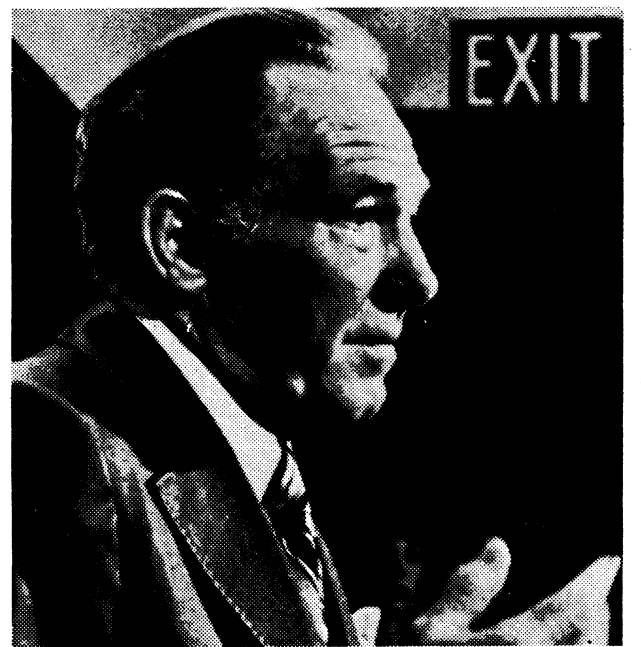
In contrast to Yorty, Bradley did address himself to certain issues that had broad appeal. He said he favored control of offshore oil drilling and a check on the real estate developers. He pledged he would quickly initiate construction of a rapid mass-transit rail system for a pollution-choked and traffic-jammed area.

At the same time, he avoided addressing himself to the extensive needs of the city's Black and Chicano communities. He ignored the needs of Chicanos to such an extent that Yorty was able to garner a good number of their votes.

Bradley laid heavy emphasis on his 21-year career as a member of the Los Angeles Police Department, which he retired from as a lieutenant.

He assured one and all that he too was a "law-and-order" man and asserted:

"I think it has been recognized we've got the best police department of any major city in the



Yorty: 'I could see the electorate getting more and more to the left.'

Both Democrats, Bradley and Yorty had contested in a run-off election after emerging as the two top vote-getters in a "nonpartisan" primary election this past April.

Rodriguez: SWP alternative

The Socialist Workers Party contended vigorously in the campaign, with a ticket headed by Olga Rodríguez, the party's nominee for mayor.

Throughout the campaign, she explained that Blacks, Chicanos, and working people generally could not look to any capitalist party politician, even a Black one, to contribute meaningfully to the solution of their problems.

That, she insisted, required the fight for control of the institutions in their communities and the building of their own independent political movement in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans. She offered a socialist program as the meaningful alternative to the positions of the capitalist politicians. And she scored the Communist Party for supporting Bradley while running a CP candidate for a minor post.

Two postelection statements by Bradley confirm that there should be no illusions that he will move toward necessary basic changes.

He announced first of all that the police chief, Edward Davis, a hard-bitten practitioner of reactionary, racist policies, would remain on the job. "The chief's job is secure," Bradley declared.

Bradley also confirmed that he would now begin to play an important role in state and national Democratic Party politics.

And that's what Bradley is really all about. The discontent of Black people and other victims of capitalist oppression will necessarily seek political expression. It's the function of the Bradleys to anticipate that eruption and to try to keep it in the safe framework of "working within the system."

The fact that powerful political forces, not known for their love of Black people, consider it worthwhile to help install Tom Bradley as mayor of a city like Los Angeles suggests how seriously they view the problem.



Bradley and supporters following his victory

tion. And even there Yorty lost some ground.

Yorty's principal base of support had been among lower-middle-class whites in the San Fernando Valley, and his racist appeal was pitched directly to them.

A report from one key San Fernando precinct indicated the extent of his loss. In 1969 Yorty carried the district by 242 votes to 95 for Bradley. This time his margin was reduced to 152 to 124. A good number of Yorty supporters switched to Bradley, and many simply stayed home.

Bradley had a lot of support from younger whites. Among student voters near the city's major campuses, he piled up majorities ranging from 82 to 97.5 percent. This was in precincts with 95 to 100 percent student voters. In eight such precincts at the University of California, Los Angeles, Bradley polled 92.7 percent of the vote.

On a whole number of issues, Yorty's campaign ran counter to current political mood. An unabashed partisan of the oil lobby, he insisted on the right of unrestricted offshore drilling, despite increasing opposition to such practices.

Similarly, he asserted the right of the powerful

country."

The countless victims—principally Black and Chicano—of Los Angeles police brutality might have a somewhat different appraisal.

Bradley rejects Newton support

When Huey Newton was in town and, in response to a reporter's query, said he supported Bradley, the candidate uttered howls of anguish.

Responding to Yorty's effort to exploit the endorsement, Bradley branded Newton's statement of support "an obvious desperation trick by the Sam Yorty campaign. . . ."

He added: "I did not seek, do not want and I reject the endorsement."

Asserting that in the past Newton and the Black Panthers had advocated violence, Bradley declared, "I don't need or want help from a man who has promoted these kinds of ideas. Having Huey Newton endorse me would be like having the Nazi Party endorse Sam Yorty."

It was around this time that Bradley told reporters, "I am basically a cautious man. You might even call me a conservative."

In a postelection interview, Sam Yorty said he had hesitated to run again for mayor because, "I could see the city electorate is getting more and more to the left, almost in each election."

The ex-mayor's prognosis was borne out by other vote returns in addition to the repudiation he suffered.

For example, in the race for city attorney, Burt Pines, a political unknown, challenged longtime incumbent Roger Arnebergh, a right winger.

In his campaign, Pine advocated a deemphasis of police enforcement against "victimless crimes," especially homosexual acts between consenting adults.

He actively sought the support of the gay community, touring gay bars and winning endorsements from gay groups and publications. He defeated Arnebergh by 58 to 42 percent.

Charged with plot to attack GOP convention

Antiwar Viet vets face frame-up trial

By CINDY JAQUITH

JUNE 4—On July 14, 1972, just a month after the Watergate break-in, six leaders of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) were indicted for "conspiring" to promote violence at the Republican convention scheduled for Miami in August. In light of recent revelations concerning the government's secret-police tactics, the veterans are now charging that their arrests were a calculated part of Nixon's attempt to cover up the Watergate scandal.

There are now eight defendants in the case, which goes to trial July 17 in Gainesville, Fla. The charges against the Gainesville Eight are based almost entirely on the testimony of FBI informer William Lemmer, onetime Arkansas-Oklahoma regional coordinator of VVAW.

The eight defendants in the case are Scott Camil, John Kniffin, William Patterson, Peter Mahoney, Alton Foss, Donald Perdue, Stanley Michelsen, and John Briggs. All are VVAW activists except for Briggs.

The indictment against the defendants claims they planned a bizarre attack on the Republican convention, including the use of "automatic weapons, fire, and incendiary devices . . . lead weights, 'fried' marble ball bearings, 'cherry' bombs and smoke bombs" to be fired with "wrist rocket slingshots and cross bows."

But beyond the testimony of Lemmer, the government's attorneys admit they have very little "tangible evidence" to back up their story. In fact, all they have are some slingshots allegedly belonging to the defendants. Such slingshots are readily available in sporting goods stores.

The Gainesville Eight say that Lemmer fabricated the so-called conspiracy to attack the Republican convention. A brief history of Lemmer's role in VVAW shows that he functioned as an agent provocateur.

Lemmer "had established a reputation as one of the antiwar group's

more militant and vociferous members," wrote John Kifner in the Aug. 14, 1972, *New York Times*. "The veterans say that he had frequently urged violent or disruptive acts on the group and that his activities had led to a number of arrests in the past."

When the Republican convention was still scheduled for San Diego, Lemmer tried to get the VVAW chapter at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville to carry out a "positive action" at the convention.

"His plan," recalls VVAW leader

etteville campus, for which a 19-year-old youth, Mark Vanciel, was arrested in October 1971. Vanciel was sentenced to a two-year prison term.

It is clear that Lemmer's role was to encourage antiwar activists, particularly VVAW members, to carry out illegal actions that would enable the government to frame up individuals and portray the entire antiwar movement as "violent."

The government has tried thus far to sweep any connections between the Gainesville Eight and Watergate un-

sion. These reports undoubtedly included information supplied by William Lemmer.

McCord claims that on the basis of these reports he learned that VVAW "planned . . . to get into both the Democratic and Republican convention sites, and blow up the communication centers of both parties there and cause havoc on the convention floor." This "plot," McCord said, justified a break-in at the Democratic headquarters in the Watergate, since antiwar veterans were involved in the McGovern campaign.

It also turns out that one of McCord's men, Alfred Baldwin, later turned up trying to infiltrate VVAW, according to the Gainesville Eight. Baldwin's role, the group says, was "provoking violence at the Republican National Convention in Miami in the name of VVAW, in order to justify the Watergate break-in."

Indeed, McCord now claims that "proof" of his fears of VVAW violence is the fact that the Gainesville Eight have since been indicted "with additional plans to damage the life and property in the convention."

These "plans," however, were fabricated by FBI agent William Lemmer. As the May 24 *Washington Post* noted, "the charges [against the Gainesville Eight] contrast with the observations of numerous federal officials that both leaders and rank-and-file of the VVAW have frequently acted to defuse potentially violent situations and isolate trouble makers in Miami last summer. . . ."

The Gainesville Eight defense is now seeking subpoenas of John Mitchell, as well as former White House aides John Dean, H.R. Haldeman, and John Ehrlichman. The defense is also demanding that the government turn over all secret documents it has collected on the VVAW.

For more information on the case, contact Gainesville Eight Defense, P.O. Box 13179, Gainesville, Fla. 32601.



Southern Patriot

Seven of Gainesville defendants with attorneys. Left to right: Attorney James Reif, Peter Mahoney, William Patterson, Attorney Doris Peterson, John Kniffin, Alton Foss, Scott Camil, Stan Michelsen, John Briggs.

Martin Jordan, "was that we get automatic weapons, disassemble them and strap them to our bodies, then get into the convention and rip people off."

In January 1972, Lemmer convinced VVAW activist Mike Damron of Fayetteville to send a bomb threat written by Lemmer against former secretary of state Dean Rusk. Damron was arrested two months later.

Lemmer has also admitted that he "counseled, aided, and abetted" an attempt to bomb a building on the Fay-

der the rug. On April 25, when former attorney general John Mitchell testified at pretrial hearings on the VVAW case, he denied there had been any bugging of the Gainesville Eight. Mitchell also denied that convicted Watergater James McCord was "part of an intelligence group."

But McCord spilled the beans during his testimony before the Senate Watergate investigating body. He admitted that he received regular reports on VVAW activities from the Justice Department's Internal Security Divi-

Linked to whitewash of Hampton murder

Daley machine spy operation exposed

A spying operation against Black Panthers and other radicals, supervised by high figures in Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic machine, has been revealed by the *Chicago Sun-Times*. This new exposé is one more example of the Watergate-type methods the capitalist class uses to maintain its rule.



LNS/Women's Graphic Collective

Fred Hampton: investigation of his murder was sabotaged by Daley police agent.

The *Sun-Times* reports that Joseph Power, the chief judge of the Cook County Criminal Court, headed a secret espionage operation against Black organizations and antiwar groups, regularly reporting on their activities to Daley.

The office of chief judge makes Power, a close friend of Daley, one of the most influential men in the Democratic machine. Daley's tight control of the courts has always been a pillar of his corruption-ridden network of patronage.

According to the *Sun-Times*, Power directly supervised the activities of John J. Clarke, a county probation officer whose real job was to spy on and harass radicals.

In 1970, Power appointed Clarke as a "staff investigator" in the grand jury hearings on the murders of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The two Panthers were shot down on Dec. 4, 1969, in a police raid organized by former Cook County state's attorney Edward Hanrahan.

The grand jury investigation revealed that only one of the 99 bullets found at the site of the shootings could have come from a Panther gun, despite Hanrahan's contention that his men were "attacked" by Panthers.

In addition, the hearings brought out involvement of the federal government in the case; it was discovered that the Justice Department had set up a special task force on the Panthers in August 1969, and that the FBI had been wiretapping and following Panther members in Chicago.

Clarke attempted to prevent the grand jury investigation from bringing to light information that could prove Hanrahan's role in planning the murders of Hampton and Clark. According to the *Sun-Times*, he introduced two witnesses during the hearings who falsely claimed that Panther members admitted having shot at the police during the raid. Special prosecutor Barnabas Sears finally had Clarke thrown out of the hearings for attempting to "sabotage the investigation," according to the May 20

New York Times.

When the grand jury indicted Hanrahan and 13 cops for "conspiracy to obstruct justice" in the Panther case, Judge Power refused to accept the indictment and unsuccessfully tried to have the case dropped. The trial itself turned out to be a whitewash of the murders, and Hanrahan and the police were acquitted on Oct. 25, 1972.

In addition to trying to rig the investigation of the Panther case, Clarke traveled to other cities as part of his spying for the Daley machine. The *Sun-Times* reports that he went to Washington, D.C., for the 1968 "Resurrection City" demonstration; to New York for a meeting of the Weathermen in 1969; and to a Black Panther Party meeting in 1969 in Oakland, Calif.

These new revelations provide yet more proof that Watergate-style espionage against Blacks, antiwar activists, and others is limited neither to Republicans nor to the federal government, but is an integral part of Democratic and Republican administrations all over the country.

How Washington put shah in business

By CAROLINE LUND

Former CIA chief Richard Helms took over the post of U. S. ambassador to Iran in April. Helms had been director of the CIA for seven years before his new appointment by President Nixon.

He was responsible for CIA activities throughout the period of the Watergate events. These included such things as providing the equipment for the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and participating in the White House attempt to cover up the Watergate scandal.

But the Watergate revelations are relatively small-scale operations in Helms's career. He was a high official in the CIA in 1953, when the agency engineered the overthrow of the Mossadegh government in Iran. His new role as ambassador to Iran is part of Nixon's strategy of stepping up

Washington's use of the shah's dictatorship in Iran as one of its bastions of counterrevolutionary military and secret police powers throughout the world.

A "Man in the News" portrait of Helms in the May 22 *New York Times* says that the professional spy is "highly regarded" in Congress, that he "worked diligently to improve the public image of the C. I. A.," and that his associates find him "a charming dinner partner and a smooth dancer."

A look at the policies of the CIA and the U. S. government in Iran show that Helms is just another of the ruthless "high-class" gangster types that, as Watergate has shown, rule this country.

Not only does the U. S. government engage in espionage, election rigging, and massive secret police operations against citizens in this country; Washington does the same thing throughout the world, directly and indirectly, through its trained agents and puppet governments.

In Iran, for example, some 11,000 officers and enlisted men in that country's army of 180,000 were trained in the U. S. In the past year Washington signed a \$2-billion arms agreement, including, as one U. S. official put it, "most everything short of atomic weapons."

The May 20 *New York Times* reported that the U. S. has begun a "quiet influx" of military personnel into Iran, expected to reach some 1,100 by the summer. Three American generals are assigned to work with the Iranian army, and U. S. "advisory teams" are assigned to supervise the infantry, navy, and the entire rural police force.

This growing U. S. military presence in Iran and the appointment of Helms as ambassador occur in the context of an unprecedented military build-up by the dictatorship of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi. The May 21 issue of *Newsweek* says it is "the world's biggest military buildup since the American deployment in Vietnam."

Nixon wants to build up this dictatorship as a counterrevolutionary bulwark against the Arab revolution, as a military base against the Soviet Union, and as a protector of the oil cartels, which take superprofits out of Iran and the rest of the Mideast.

The shah described this role to *Newsweek* magazine: "Not only do we have national and regional responsibilities but also a world role as guardian and protector of 60 per cent of the world's oil reserves. . . . The Nixon doctrine says the U. S. will help those who help themselves. That's what we're doing."

Operating as a counterrevolutionary

force throughout the Arab-Persian Gulf area, the shah sent marines to take over strategic islands in the Gulf in 1971, and this year sent troops to Oman to help crush a guerrilla rebellion with widespread popular support.

In policing the Middle East, Iran cooperates not only with the U. S. but also with Israel, another state used by the imperialists against the Arab revolution. Hundreds of Iranian army officers have been sent to Israel to



Richard Helms, from spy to ambassador

receive advanced military training. And, according to *Newsweek*, the governments of the U. S., Israel, and Iran maintain a joint intelligence network on military developments in the Middle East.

How did the U. S. find such a compliant regime as the shah's—ready and willing to spend billions on military hardware to protect the interests of the imperialist oil companies while the Iranian people suffer from dire poverty, illiteracy, and disease? This is where the CIA came in in 1953.

In 1951, the year Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh was elected the new premier of Iran, more than 80 percent of the Iranian population suffered from chronic malnutrition and 90 percent were illiterate. At the same time hundreds of millions of dollars in oil profits were being extracted from the country by British capitalists.

In the 1940s and 1950s, mass demonstrations, strikes, and uprisings shook the country. This prevented the imperialists from stabilizing their control and led up to Mossadegh's nationalization of the oil industry in April 1951. Mossadegh came to power on the tide of a general strike of 60,000 oil workers.

Despite severe economic sanctions applied against Iran by the British

government and the international oil cartels, the Mossadegh regime held out for two years because of the massive popular support for the nationalization.

Finally, in August 1953, the U. S. government moved in, motivated by fear that the Iranian example would spread to other Arab countries. The Eisenhower administration sent CIA-agent Norman Schwartzkopf, formerly the commander of the New Jersey State Police, to Iran to work out a plan for the overthrow with General Zahedi, a former Nazi supporter and a strongman of the shah's forces.

Loy Henderson, U. S. ambassador to Iran, then traveled to Switzerland, where he met with Allen Dulles, head of the CIA, and Princess Ashraf, a sister of the shah. On Aug. 19, 1953, less than a week after this meeting, Mossadegh was overthrown.

A first attempt at a coup several days before had met with defeat, and on Aug 16 the terrified shah had fled the country. Aug. 17 saw an anti-royalist demonstration in Teheran of 100,000 workers, who cut down statues of the shah.

The forces that finally succeeded in carrying through the Aug. 19 coup included pro-shah army forces in American-made tanks and a mob of mercenaries armed and paid by the CIA.

Since Mossadegh was no revolutionary, he failed to call for a mobilization of the workers and peasants, the only force that could have saved his regime.

The Tudeh Party, which was heavily Stalinist-influenced, had significant support but made no attempt to lead a revolutionary struggle in defense of the nationalization. In fact, prior to the Mossadegh regime, this party had had a policy of pressuring the government for oil concessions to the Soviet Union and thus had not even fully identified with the movement for nationalization.

After the shah was reinstalled and the nationalization reversed, the U. S. and Britain negotiated for a year over how to divide up the spoils, and a new oil contract was ratified in 1954. The U. S. moved in immediately with massive military and financial support to the shah's regime.

And who is this shah that Nixon supports as a part of the "free world"? He is similar to the other hired crooks who serve the U. S. government such as burglar E. Howard Hunt and spy-chief Richard Helms.

The shah has an enormous secret police force of killers and torturers who terrorize the Iranian people. His jails

Continued on page 22



Afrique-Asie

Iranian army and police are trained and 'advised' by U. S. and Israel.

CIA financed Italian rightists

From Intercontinental Press

The Nixon administration in 1970 considered subsidizing a conservative wing of the Italian Christian Democratic party, according to a report by Seymour M. Hersh in the May 13 *New York Times*. Graham A. Martin, then U. S. ambassador to Italy, was said to have recommended that \$1 million be given to the wing of the Christian Democrats led by former Premier Amintore Fanfani.

Martin's recommendation came to light May 9 during Senate hearings on his nomination as ambassador to Saigon. Senator William Fulbright asked Martin whether he had ever suggested using secret funds to influence Italian politics. The ambassador refused to answer in public.

Martin's recommendation was designed to reestablish a former policy

rather than to create a new one. Hersh reported:

"Former intelligence officials said that the covert C. I. A. financing of the Christian Democrats began after World War II and averaged as much as \$3-million a year through the late nineteen-fifties, when it was sharply reduced. The program was completely eliminated by 1967, the officials said."

By the time that Martin arrived in Rome in 1969, Washington was concerned about the political situation:

"Italy had been rocked the year before by repeated government crises, worker strikes and student riots—one of them sparked by a visit by President Nixon to the Vatican in February."

Hersh wrote that shortly after his arrival, Martin began a series of secret meetings with Fanfani. The re-

porter quoted one of his sources as saying, "For years Fanfani had been trying to convince the embassy that with a little support he could bring himself back into power. Our guys had been disregarding him, but Graham [Martin] took him seriously."

Nixon also seems not to have taken Fanfani seriously, for he vetoed Martin's proposal. Or perhaps Nixon was motivated by the practical considerations voiced by another of Hersh's sources:

"There are half a dozen factions in the Christian Democratic party all jockeying for position. Martin was going to back one of them. That would have been foolish—the others would have blown the payments within five minutes. At least in the old days we bought off everybody."

How Roosevelt used Watergate tactics against the opponents of World War II

By PETER SEIDMAN

When did Watergate-type operations begin? When did the government begin to resort to secret police to spy on, infiltrate, and sabotage those who politically disagreed with the government?

Many newspaper columnists, liberal and conservative alike, are trying to give the impression that these police-state measures were introduced only in the last couple of years by Nixon and his gang. They argue that the techniques and methods that have come to light in the past few weeks—the use of agents provocateurs, blatant political frame-up trials of antiwar militants, secret police raids on political headquarters—are aberrations, and not an integral part of government security operations.

Nothing could be further from the truth. A dispatch in the May 24 *New York Times* explains that "... Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt on have permitted covert electronic surveillance and have authorized illegal burglaries to protect the country against what they perceived as threats to its existence.

"From 1941 until 1966, for example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation pursued a policy of making otherwise illegal entries in connection with domestic intelligence-gathering operations."

Actually harassment by federal and local secret police of antiwar, radical, and labor organizations began long before 1941. Former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover, for example, started his career through the Palmer Raids, aimed against the newly formed Communist Party and other radicals in 1920.

The year 1941, however, is significant. The government used the Smith "Gag" Act for the first time that year. This ultrareactionary legislation was sponsored by Representative Howard Smith of Virginia, leader of the anti-labor bloc in Congress. The Smith Act was the first statute since the Alien & Sedition Acts of 1798 to make mere advocacy of ideas a federal crime.

It is no accident that the first victims of this law and of the stepped-up tactics against radicals were General Drivers Union Local 544-CIO in Minneapolis and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

SWP

The Smith Act was used against the SWP because the SWP opposed the U.S. role in World War II. The SWP believed that this war, like the first world war, was essentially a war between the imperialist powers to re-divide the world. Further, the SWP believed that all the capitalist countries, the "democracies" as well as the fascist states, shared a common objective—the destruction of the world's first workers state, the Soviet Union.

For these reasons, the SWP urged the workers not to give support to their government in the war, but rather to struggle for a workers government, which would be able to conduct a fight not only against fascism but the social system that caused it. Further, the SWP believed that the workers can't depend on the capitalist government to defend the Soviet Union.

Because of these views, the SWP opposed the rapid drive of the U.S. imperialists into the war then raging across Europe. But the SWP was alone among the working-class parties in taking this position.

The Communist Party, which subor-



Because of its opposition to World War II, the Socialist Workers Party was first victim of Smith Act.

minated the interests of the U.S. workers to the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin, sought to bring the U.S. into the war as an ally of the Soviet Union following the attack on the USSR by Hitler's armies in June 1941. The CP leaders sought to win influence with Roosevelt by showing him they could use their authority over the workers to dampen the class struggle in the U.S. as their part of the "war effort." The Communist Party actually supported the prosecution of the Trotskyists under the Smith Act.

Meaning of war for unions

The SWP warned the U.S. workers that the government would ruthlessly use the war to justify attacks on their standard of living. Invoking "national security" and a false unity against a common enemy, the bosses would oppose all strikes and independent activity by the unions.

In contrast to the CP, the SWP stood opposed to the hypocrisy of these slogans, which in fact simply asked the working class to subordinate its interests to those of the capitalist rulers.

The SWP was a small organization, but it nonetheless had played a major role in organizing General Drivers Union Local 544 of the Teamsters in Minneapolis.

Local 544 grew out of the militant struggle of the teamsters in Minneapolis for the right to form an industrial union. A series of strikes in 1934 had won recognition for the workers' right to organize in what had previously been an open-shop town. The new union not only won higher wages for the Minneapolis teamsters but served as a powerful union organizing base throughout the Northwest.

Local 544 was part of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, a

craft union affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Daniel Tobin, the president of the IBT, was an ally of the boss class inside the labor movement. He had served, for example, as the chairman of the Democratic Party's labor committee.

And the capitalist class he served was concerned above all, in 1941, with getting ready for the entry of the U.S. into the European war. The capitalists viewed the existence of militant unions like Local 544 and of a revolutionary party like the SWP, whose examples might well spark opposition to the government's policies, as a threat to be eliminated.

In early June, Tobin and Roosevelt launched their drive "to get" (as they say in the White House) Local 544 and the SWP.

In response to attacks by Tobin on the local, and in defense of their union's right to exist as a democratic, class-struggle organization, the members of Local 544 voted to leave Tobin's AFL and accept an invitation to affiliate with the more democratic and militant Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

In response to this decision of 544's membership Tobin's political patron, Franklin Roosevelt, publicly entered the fight against the Minneapolis union.

On June 13, FDR issued a news statement expressing concern "that this is no time ... for labor unions, local or national, to begin raiding one another for the purpose of getting membership or for similar reasons."

Roosevelt's open intervention into an intraunion dispute in this manner was unprecedented. Furthermore, FDR's charges were completely fabricated.

Roosevelt's aid to Tobin in attempt-

ing to smash the independence of Local 544 went beyond the issuing of press releases.

The Militant of July 5, 1941, describes how on June 27, "The Federal Government sliced into the tense and turbulent trade-union struggle in the Twin Cities when two separate squads of U.S. marshals and FBI agents raided the Minneapolis and St. Paul headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party. . . .

"The raiders [acting on FDR's orders] carried off several boxes full of *THE MILITANT*, "The Fourth International" and other Trotskyist publications, two Socialist Workers Party flags, photos of Lenin and Trotsky, and literary material on public sale. . . ."

Four days after the raids, a federal grand jury was convened, on Justice Department instructions, to seek indictments against leaders of the SWP and Local 544. *The Militant* of July 12, 1941, describes how "among the chief witnesses summoned before the Grand Jury, according to the Minneapolis TRIBUNE of July 3, were FBI agents who had joined the Socialist Workers Party and the General Drivers Union. This reveals that the Department of Justice sent agents provocateurs . . . into trade unions and working-class political parties to spy upon and help frameup militant workers in these organizations."

On July 15, the grand jury handed down indictments on "seditious conspiracy" charges against 29 CIO and SWP members.

Parallels with today

The Smith Act persecution of the SWP and CIO leaders ultimately led to prison sentences for 18 of the defendants ranging up to 16 months. The antiwar militants were convicted the same day that Congress declared war against Japan, bringing the U.S. into the world war.

The parallels with today's Watergate revelations are striking. They prove that Watergate is not an exception to the general functioning of the capitalist government. Washington has and will continue to use every means at its disposal to crush the struggles of working people against war, inflation, unemployment, and for trade-union democracy.

The use of FBI raids, provocateurs, conspiracy trials, and prison terms against the antiwar unionists and socialists of Local 544 and the SWP were steps that Roosevelt took in preparing to get the U.S. into an imperialist war. The same measures, the Watergate revelations show, are taken today by the government against opponents of its imperialist war in Southeast Asia.



December 1943. Smith Act defendants surrender to U.S. marshals to begin serving prison sentences

Street rallies build Oliver campaign



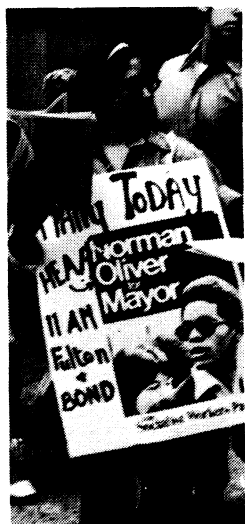
Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Mark Satinoff



Militant/Martha Harris



Militant/Alan Becker



Militant/Mark Satinoff

On Saturday, June 2, more than 100 supporters of the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign participated in five street rallies in Brooklyn and Manhattan. The rallies were built by leafleting, paste-ups, and sandwich-board advertising (bottom left). Mayoral candidate Norman Oliver (right) spoke at all the rallies, joining other candidates in local races such as Eva Chertov (bottom right), SWP candidate for city council District 3 on the Lower East Side, and James Mendieta (bottom center), SWP candidate for Brooklyn district attorney. One rally, held in school board District 1 at Delancey and Clinton Streets, was conducted almost entirely in Spanish (top left). The SWP campaign stressed its support for the struggle of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese residents of this area to control their own schools. More than 630 copies of the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, were sold during the day, as were about 150 copies of the *Young Socialist*.

Cleveland hearings blast police brutality

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, June 4—On March 27, two Cleveland cops kicked down the door of William Sheppard, a 37-year-old Black resident of Cleveland's East Side. One shot him in the head with a sawed-off shotgun, and the other put three .38-caliber slugs in his shoulder. Eventually 28 police entered his home, although no search warrant was ever produced. Later, at the police station, Sheppard was beaten and asked "Nigger, why don't you die?"

Sheppard was later charged with aggravated assault. After he was held for 20 days, police informed his wife that they had "made a mistake." Her husband was the wrong William Sheppard!

This account was presented to a police brutality hearing held in Cleveland on June 1. About 60 people attended the hearing, the second of a series, which was sponsored by CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), Black Unity House, and the Spanish-American Committee. The hearing was held at the offices of the Spanish-American Committee.

Victor Claudio, a Puerto Rican broadcaster on radio station WZAK, told of being jailed for a minor traffic violation. After stopping his car to talk with a friend in another car, he was taken into a police car and placed under arrest. When he asked why he was told, "Number one, you've been violating the law, and second, you've been bullshitting with that nigger."

When Pedro Ilerio, director of the Spanish-American Committee, followed him to the police station and inquired about him, the clerk asked, "Are you Puerto Rican? Is he? Well, no wonder."

The hearings are being held, according to Bishop A. E. Ward of CORE, to oppose the increased police brutality against members of the Black and Spanish-speaking communities in Cleveland. CORE is calling for a civilian review board to investigate the charges of brutality.

Several representatives of the police force and city council were present to answer questions at the hearing. Their comments were generally greeted with jeers and boos. When asked why the police continually harassed a Black youth driving his new car, claiming it might be stolen, one officer replied, "It's not just new cars. We stop a lot of young men in older cars too."

Councilman Gerald McFaul, Democratic majority leader on the city council, urged people to take their problems to their councilman, who could "get in to see the chief quicker."

Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, challenged McFaul, pointing out that the predominantly Democratic city council had voted unanimously to supply the police department with its \$35.6-million budget for 1973. Although McFaul and others interrupted her while she spoke, her remarks were well received.

Bishop Ward, who chaired the meeting, said there would be more hearings in the future. He said he was heartened by the turnout.

N.Y. SWP offers plan for free transit

By VIRGINIA SCOTT

NEW YORK, June 2—On May 17, William Ronan, chairman of New York's Metropolitan Transit Authority (MTA), announced that unless a \$300-million MTA deficit was overcome, subway and bus fares in New York would zoom to 60 cents early next year.

"Save the 35-cent fare" soon became a campaign theme of the four candidates for the Democratic Party mayoral nomination. But at public hearings held the week of May 21 and sponsored by the Institute for Public Transportation, these Democrats presented the same proposals to "save the fare" New Yorkers have been hearing for years, while transit fares have soared and service has deteriorated. In the words of the *New York Times*, "none of them were new."

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York mayor, also spoke at the hearings. In his testimony, Oliver opposed any proposal to increase the 35-cent fare. Instead, he demanded that the present high fare, low-service transit system be replaced with a system of high-quality and free public transportation for everyone. And Oliver presented a plan for how this could be achieved.

All the Democratic Party candidates speaking at the hearings sought to "solve" the transit crisis by calling for more municipal taxation, more state aid, and higher "efficiency and productivity," a euphemism for attacks on the wages and working conditions of transit workers.

These politicians, liberal and conservative alike, all repeated one version or another of the capitalist lie

that higher fares result from the struggle of transit workers for higher wages.

Congressman Herman Badillo, considered by many to be the most liberal candidate of the four, testified that "if the next mayor is not a tough negotiator when the workers' contracts expire, we will need more than \$300-million in funds to keep the fare at 35 cents." Another liberal, Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, stated his intention to invoke the Taylor Law, which outlaws strikes by public employees, to help keep transit wages down.

Norman Oliver, in his testimony, exposed the real roots of the transit problem in New York—the robbery of millions in tax and fare dollars by the profiteering banks and financial institutions, not the wages of transit workers.

"The city bought the bankrupt IRT and BMT subway systems in 1940 by issuing \$310-million in municipal bonds," Oliver said. "Annual payment on this debt is made by issuing even more bonds."

"These bonds are issued in very high denominations with very high interest rates. The purchasing of these bonds is well beyond the reach of working people. The bonds are bought by banks, insurance companies, real estate companies and the super-rich who own these institutions."

Oliver explained that state regulations requiring the MTA to be "self-sustaining" mean only that the profits of the big banks that hold MTA bonds are guaranteed before the needs of working people for decent mass transit. "The Fire Department or any other

city department isn't self-sustaining, so why should transit be? Transportation is a service that should be provided free, just as fire protection and sanitation."

Oliver then outlined a four-point program for how a city run in the interests of working people would solve the transportation problem:

"1) Open the books of the MTA and Port Authority. Put an end to the secrecy of so-called public corporations and let the public see what the true financial picture is.

"2) Cancel all payments on the debt services and tax the banks 100 percent on all profits they have made on municipal bonds. In fact, the entire corporate taxation system in New York should be reorganized. Corporations—and not working people—should be taxed to guarantee adequate, free services in all areas.

"3) Demand that the federal war budget—a mammoth \$82-billion—be dismantled. This money should instead be spent on sorely needed social services, including the expansion of modern, efficient mass transit on a national scale.

"4) Abolish the Metropolitan Transit Authority and the Port Authority. Public ownership of all transit facilities under workers control."

Oliver explained that the complex transit problem boils down to a single solution, "eliminate the profiteering of the banks and corporations." He said that the hundreds of millions of tax and fare dollars handed to these financial giants by the city should be used to provide safe, efficient, and free mass transit instead.

Socialist candidate raps Detroit cops

Dixon: 'Democrats keeping Blacks down'

By LINDA NORDQUIST

DETROIT—On June 2 the United Black Coalition (UBC), an organization composed largely of liberal Democrats, invited the three Black candidates for mayor to address their meeting. About 50 people attended and heard Democrat Coleman Young, Republican Edward Bell, and Maceo Dixon, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Speaking first, Dixon described the problems Black people face in Detroit and then assailed the role of the Democratic Party in "keeping Blacks down."



Militant/Joel Aber

SWP mayoral candidate Maceo Dixon wants police in Black community replaced by community-controlled force.

"What has the Democratic Party ever done for Blacks?" Dixon asked. "When has it ever organized the Black community against STRESS [a plainclothes police terror unit operating principally in the Black community] or against slumlords? It hasn't. And the reason is that it's a capitalist party, just like the Republican Party, whose policies both on a national and a local level are opposed to the needs of the masses of Blacks in this country."

Asked how he would improve police-community relations, Dixon said, "The present police department has proven that it is totally incapable of protecting Blacks. It is an occupation force in the Black community with authorization to kill. I think it should be dissolved and replaced by a self-defense organization drawn from the Black community and run by popularly elected councils from the Black community that have the power to hire, fire, and oversee its activities."

Edward Bell said he would improve police-community relations by "putting more uniformed police on the streets because uniformed police are a natural deterrent to crime." Asked if he would support community control of the police, Bell responded, "No. There is nothing wrong with the present structure of the police department; it

just needs to work."

Coleman Young gave a history of his political activities since he left the executive committee of the CIO in 1948 "because of racism" and joined the Progressive Party (a third capitalist party that ran Henry Wallace for president in 1948). He rejoined the Democratic Party 10 years later, after being "blacklisted and in limbo" because of his association with the Progressive Party. He said he is in the Democratic Party because it is "only 50 percent racist while the Republican Party is 90 percent racist."

Young called for higher salaries for cops because "more money would professionalize the police. I would institute a pay incentive so the police would go to school."

Young was then asked about his role at the National Black Political convention last year in Gary, Ind. He said he led the walkout by most of the Michigan delegates since the "convention was a tool used by Nixon because it called for a Black political party. The people who attended that convention were stupid. For example, in discussing quality education, they voted against busing."

(Young misrepresented the busing discussion. The delegates voted that Blacks should make the decision as to whether or not their children are

to be bused and they voted for Black control of the schools in the Black community with adequate finances. Moreover, the Michigan delegation, led for the most part by Black Democrats and United Auto Workers bureaucrats, walked out to protest passage of the radical and nationalist Black Agenda. The Agenda called for, among other things, Black community control of the police.)

Young was then asked why he walked out of the Gary convention but did not walk out of the Michigan Democratic Party convention when the followers of Alabama Governor George Wallace succeeded in killing an anti-STRESS proposal. He responded feebly, "You can't leave an organization unless you have another to stand on. I've left the Democratic Party in the past, no doubt I'll leave again in the future, and I'll probably come back."

All three candidates called for the abolition of STRESS. The UBC itself was formed last January to urge congressional hearings on STRESS. The UBC supported, and some of its members served on, the Independent Black Commission for Inquiry into Police Terror, which held community hearings early this year on the activities of STRESS.

San Diego SWP backs city workers' fight

By SHARRON COONTZ

SAN DIEGO, June 1—At a campaign kickoff rally held here this evening, Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, blasted "the present city council, composed of Democrats and Republicans" because it "doesn't support the right of city employees to strike for higher wages." In fact, she said, it "has threatened to fire any city worker who goes on strike."

Kolis, a 22-year-old student, explained that she and her seven running mates on the SWP ticket "not only support the city and county employees right to strike, but can be seen on the

picket lines and elsewhere fighting for that right."

The San Diego city council is laying vicious antilabor plans for a possible strike of city and county workers here this summer. The council has made a final wage offer already declared unacceptable by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, one of the four unions involved. In addition, the council has threatened to hire 600 Public Employment Program (PEP) workers, currently facing layoff due to federal funding cutbacks, for use as scabs against the city workers' strike.



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

On May 10, more than 500 members of Social Services Union Local 535 picketed San Diego County administration building as part of city employees' struggle against soaring inflation.

The Public Employment Program is a community service agency providing drug counseling and other social services. Its funding has been cut by the Nixon administration.

At a city council meeting held May 31, PEP workers opposed the council's threat to use them as scabs. They urged the council to keep them working at their present jobs by allocating the city's federal revenue sharing funds to the agency. The SWP candidates supported this demand in a statement distributed at the council hearing.

The campaign kickoff rally was attended by 50 people. The speakers, in addition to Kolis, were Leslie Dork, running for city council, and Holbrook Mahn, a former high school teacher who is one of the two SWP candidates for the San Diego school board. Dork, 22, is the chairwoman of the San Diego Young Socialist Alliance.

Other candidates on the SWP ticket were announced at a news conference held here May 30.

SWP city council candidates in addition to Dork and Kolis are Susan Christie, 25, a legal secretary who has been active in the Wounded Knee Solidarity Defense Circle here; and Lori Adolewski, 26.



Dave Goldman

San Diego SWP candidates Marta Richmond, Holbrook Mahn, Reiko Obata, and Leslie Dork.

There are two SWP candidates for the Community College Governing Board: Dennis Scarla, 22, a student at San Diego State University (SDSU); and Marta Richmond, 33, also a SDSU student and a mother of three children now attending public schools.

Running with Mahn for San Diego School Board is Reiko Obata, a 17-year-old student at Morse high school. Obata has been a leader of struggles in her school to halt the forced transferring and firing of Black, Asian, and Chicano teachers.

Calif. ballot restrictions hit in Supreme Court

On May 25, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) submitted arguments to the Supreme Court in support of candidates who are challenging California's requirements for independent ballot status.

The lawsuit now before the court was initiated by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Gus Hall, Communist Party 1972 presidential candidate, and other independent candidates. To win a ballot position in California, a candidate can collect signatures only from people who do not vote in the primary.

Currently, 429,797 valid signatures,

equal to 5 percent of those who voted in the previous election, are required for statewide candidates. No independent candidate running for a statewide office in California has ever met this requirement.

The outcome of this suit is expected to set important precedents for future challenges to state election laws regarding independent or smaller party ballot rights.

The original ACLU suit challenged only the restrictions on who may sign petitions and the short period of 25 days for collecting signatures. It did not challenge the 5 percent requirement itself.

According to Ron Reosti, CoDEL legal director, who prepared the California brief for CoDEL, the object of CoDEL's intervention is to show that the 5 percent requirement itself is unconstitutional. (In 1970, the Supreme Court upheld Georgia's 5 percent requirement, in a case brought by Linda Jenness, then Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Georgia.)

The CoDEL brief argues that the petitioning requirement would take such a large financial outlay that it prevents all but the best financed or wealthiest candidates from getting on the ballot.

The CoDEL brief shows how such restrictive ballot requirements serve to exclude independents and third parties from the ballot. In 1972, no candidate for president qualified by petitioning for ballot status in any of the states having a 5 percent requirement.

These arguments in the Supreme Court will be supplemented by a CoDEL suit in California's northern district federal court. This suit challenges the excessive requirements for forming a political party in California. Contributions to help defray costs may be sent to CoDEL, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

UNREST IN THE AUTO PLANTS

The Company and the Union by William Serrin. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1973. 352 pp. \$7.95.

In the fall of 1970, after five years of uninterrupted inflation, speedup, and deteriorating job conditions, automobile workers were anxious to shut the industry down. Their strike at General Motors was one of the largest and most expensive in U.S. history.

The central issue in the dispute was the United Auto Workers demand for a substantial increase in wages and an unlimited cost-of-living clause for protection against further inflation. The 340,000 strikers won the escalator clause after two and a half months, despite the union leadership's limited strategy of striking only one of the auto companies at a time.

The negotiations leading to the strike, and the relations between GM, the UAW officials, and the workers is

Books

the subject of this useful study by William Serrin.

The history of the UAW's heroic early years and the radical rhetoric of its late president Walter Reuther has given the union a left-of-center reputation. In reality, it is a conservative, undemocratic union.

While 40 percent of UAW members are under 30, the union's top officials are pushing 60. Almost a third of the union membership is Black, and Blacks make up 60 to 70 percent of the workers on the urban assembly lines. Yet only 125 of the union's 925 staff members are Black.

Serrin writes: "Many young Blacks in the plants today believe that the UAW is no different from G.M., Ford or Chrysler when it comes to aiding Blacks. 'We are still on the plantation,' says a Black Ford worker. 'That's what the plant is . . . short for plantation.'"

"Another Black Ford worker says, 'Nobody does anything for us—not the companies, not the union.'"

"While 14 percent of the workers in automobile plants are women," Serrin observes, ". . . few women are active in leadership roles in the UAW."

High absenteeism is not restricted to the dirtiest and most disagreeable jobs. "In the Chrysler glass plant, a place that the UAW's Doug Frazer called 'scrupulously clean, very quiet, by the nature of the operation' the absenteeism rate stands at 8 to 9% in the middle of the week and around 15% on Fridays and Mondays."

The union bureaucrats and company managers both complain, "The kids are extremely difficult to discipline, if not impossible." Says UAW President Leonard Woodcock, "It's all very puzzling"—but not too puzzling to the new generation of auto workers.

—HERMAN KIRSCH



COLD WAR

Truman ushered in cold-war period by anti-Soviet drive during Greek civil war.

The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947 by John Lewis Gaddis. Columbia University Press. New York, 1972. 396 pp. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$3.95.

The author of this work has tried to impeach the views of the "revisionist" historians while not agreeing entirely with the apologists for the ruling class.

Although Gaddis has researched his subject thoroughly, his analysis remains on the surface of events that led to the cold war. He deals largely with diplomatic maneuvers and counter-maneuvers between the Soviet Union and the United States and does not probe into the basic reasons for the breakup of the wartime alliance.

Gaddis acknowledges that Soviet aims in the war were modest—to protect the Soviet Union from further invasions from western Europe. By implication, therefore, the reader must conclude that the anti-Soviet campaign launched in America after the war must be attributed to the imperialist ambitions of the United States, not to alleged "revolutionary expansionist" plots of Soviet rulers.

The wartime alliance was actually based on the common aim of defeating Hitler and after that, Japan.

Strains on the alliance began early in the war when Roosevelt failed to redeem a promise that the U.S. and England would open a second front in France in 1942 to relieve the Red Army from the

Books

burden of opposing almost the entire Nazi army.

After the surrender of Italy in 1943 the Americans and British excluded the Soviets from any meaningful role in deciding Italy's future. A similar conclusion was reached with regard to France. These steps became the pretext for Stalin to exclude the U.S. and England from any role in Eastern Europe.

The termination of lend-lease even before hostilities were ended, American monopoly of the atom bomb, and failure to agree on many important postwar problems at the July 1945 Potsdam conference served to sever the wartime alliance.

When Truman launched an anti-Soviet drive in 1947 by giving aid to Greece and Turkey on the grounds that they were threatened by Soviet "imperialism," the cold-war period was begun.

But American policy makers were inspired by the needs of their capitalist economy, not by idealistic considerations of keeping the world at peace.

Gaddis concludes that "officials in Washington and Moscow brought to the task of policy formulation a variety of preconceptions, shaped by personality, ideology, political pressures, even ignorance and irrationality, all of which influenced their behavior. Once this complex interaction of stimulus and response is taken into account, it becomes clear that neither side can bear sole responsibility for the onset of the Cold War."

This leaves out of account Stalin's betrayals: his orders to the French and Italian Communist parties to enter their respective capitalist governments instead of opposing them; his failure to aid Greek revolutionaries fighting British troops; his instructions to American and British Stalinists to subordinate themselves to their capitalist classes; his dissolution of the Communist International in 1943 to please Roosevelt and Churchill.

In the 25 years since the cold war began, the United States has stationed armed forces around the world, intervened militarily in Korea, Indochina, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. It has spent hundreds of billions for war purposes.

On the other hand, Soviet officials have disavowed any revolutionary ambitions and have tried only to get "peaceful coexistence." Stalinists in all parts of the world are nonrevolutionary.

The overall picture is that despite Stalin's treacherous retreats and surrender of revolutionary principles, American imperialists adopted aggressive policies that place responsibility for the cold war squarely on their doorstep and nowhere else. —MILTON ALVIN

SOUL OF NIGGER CHARLEY

The Soul of Nigger Charley. Starring Fred Williamson. Paramount Pictures.

"Ain't none of us ever gonna be free as long as a single Black man's a slave." With these words, Nigger Charley (played by Fred Williamson) sets out on a mission to free 71 Black slaves held captive in Mexico.

Nigger Charley and his sidekick Toby are two slaves who fled a Virginia plantation. In this film they join ranks with a group of Mexican bandits after stealing \$100,000 in gold from an ex-Dixie colonel who maintains a slave empire south of the border. Nigger Charley hopes to buy the slaves' freedom from the colonel with the colonel's own gold.

Of course, "no nigger can get away with doing this" to a Dixie colonel. Thus, Nigger Charley, with 14 Blacks he's picked up along the way and the Mexicans, are forced to take on the colonel's gang of cutthroats, an

Film

ornery bunch of low-down rebels who make periodic runs into the U.S. to capture ex-slaves.

Needless to say, in the end, the Blacks and Mexicans (a touch of Third World solidarity) defeat the col-



Fred Williamson as Nigger Charley

onel and his bunch and free the slaves. And rather than kill the surviving whites, Nigger Charley shows he's not revengeful and lets them go.

This film is a sequel to *The Legend of Nigger Charley*. However, it didn't leave me as fulfilled as the original. It didn't seem to flow as well, and it is roughly done. In one scene, for example, as Nigger Charley and his men ride too close to one "dead" man, he moves his arm.

These Nigger Charley films are designed to present an entertaining, though fictionalized filmed version of the ordeals of ex-slaves. Like other Black films, they're designed to appeal to Black awareness—and they work. It's a joy to see Blacks struggle and win against racist whites and an oppressive system, even if only for 90 minutes or so.

—BAXTER SMITH

New books from Pathfinder

Look for these recently published books at bookstores in your area or order directly from Pathfinder Press 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Problems of Everyday Life and Other Writings on Culture and Science by Leon Trotsky. Introduction by George Novack. The Russian revolution of 1917 was not simply a political overturn. It was also a social revolution affecting every aspect of society—from religion and primitive isolation in the countryside to the old cultural seams of the family. Trotsky's writings on the problems of everyday life, science, culture, and philosophy reflect his concern with the relationship between cultural developments and the progress of the socialist revolution. In confronting the tasks of building a new society on the debris of the old, he stands out as one of the earliest advocates of "socialism with a human face." Many of these articles appear in English for the first time. Others have been out-of-

News from Pathfinder

print for decades. A Monad Press book, distributed by Pathfinder Press. Notes, Index. 352pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45.

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State? by Maxime Rodinson. Introduction by Peter Buch.

This essay, now available in English for the first time, sparked an international controversy when it first appeared in Jean-Paul Sartre's journal *Les Temps Modernes*. I. F. Stone in *New York Review of Books* wrote, "M. Rodinson's contribution is by far the most brilliant in the whole volume." Irene Gendzier, *The Middle East Journal*, hailed the essay as "... by far, the most profound, if not the most controversial, summary of the position that Israel is a colonial fact. ..."

Rodinson is a noted French scholar and director of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes of the Sorbonne. He draws upon Hebrew, Arabic, and Western sources to support his thesis that Zionism,



despite its unique features, fits into the pattern of Western colonialism. Rodinson is also the author of *Israel and the Arabs* and *Mohammad*. A Monad Press book, distributed by Pathfinder Press. Notes, Index, Maps. 128pp., \$4.95, paper \$1.75.

Letters From Prison by James P. Cannon. Introduction by Jack Barnes.

Originally published in 1968 by Merit Publishers in a cloth edition only, this new paperback edition will be an important addition to every revolutionary's library. Along with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544-CIO, James P. Cannon was sent to prison in 1944 for his opposition to the second world war.

This is a collection of the letters Cannon wrote from prison during the period of rising radicalization that developed as the war drew to a close. Cannon addresses himself to problems of politics and organization that occur during a time of rapid growth of the revolutionary party. Today, three decades later, also a time of radicalization and party growth, these problems of building the revolutionary party retain their relevancy: the importance of education on national and international questions, the need for professionalism, the vital role of the revolutionary press, the building of a leadership team, and many more. Notes, Index. 362pp., paper \$3.45. —PEGGY BRUNDY

Indy 500: death trap on wheels

Sudden death is an occupational hazard in the auto racing business. Last month's Indianapolis 500 was no exception.

The statistics were grim, even for this modern version of the Roman circus. DEAD: Driver Art Pollard (killed in a qualifying heat) and mechanic Armondo Teran (struck by a fire truck racing to a crash scene). MAIMED: Drivers Swede Savage and David "Salt" Walther, both trapped in flaming crashes. INJURED: Twelve spectators, sprayed with napalm-like flaming fuel from Walther's crash.

Walther's smash-up carried his car high above the track for 300 feet. When it slammed back down on the field, he was still inside as it burst into a ball of flame.

Savage's crash was even worse. Travelling at 190 miles an hour, his car struck a barrier, tumbled 800 feet, struck another, and exploded.

It's a miracle that Savage is still alive. As it is, his right hand is burned so badly that he may never be able to use it again. Both his legs are shattered, and his left lung collapsed soon after he was taken to the hospital.

The auto and tire manufacturers, who draw millions in free publicity from death traps like the Indianapolis 500, used to justify the races on the grounds that they were necessary to test new engine and chassis design. But as *New York Daily News* sportswriter Gene Ward pointed out, "That has become a joke. If adapted by industry, airfoils, treadless tires, superchargers, etc., would make a more complete shambles of the highways than they are already."

As it is now, racing cars are nothing but 200 mile per hour fuel tanks on wheels. The drivers sit virtually surrounded by rubber tanks inflated

American Way of Life

with 75 gallons of highly explosive racing fuel. The tanks frequently burst on impact.

Averaging 214 mph in the straightaways and 180 mph on the corners, the machines have become so fast that reaction time for the drivers has been cut to as little as eight-tenths of a second. At 200 mph this translates to 30 yards.

Driver Jerry Grant, who narrowly escaped both crashes at Indianapolis this year, explained just what this means: "The crashes happened right in front of me. There was nothing I could do but keep going straight ahead. No skill was involved on my part, just blind luck."

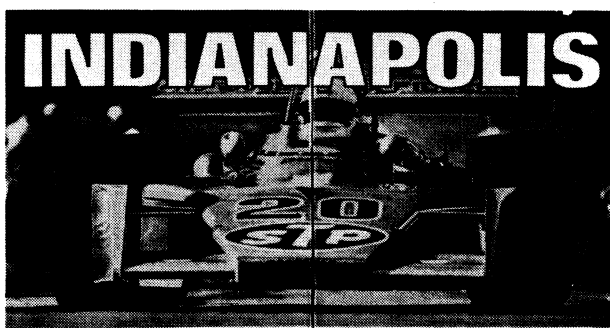
Other drivers complained about the new wider, treadless tires the manufacturers have been pushing. Combined with the airfoils, they're supposed to give better traction. Goodyear and Firestone to the contrary, it doesn't always work that way.

The new tire "is not so effective when there is an absence of good, clean air movement," driver Jackie Stewart of Scotland explained before the race. When a car travels in the wake of another, it's moving in a cone of dead air. This cancels out the adhesion of the treadless tire to the track.

If Walther's car had veered in the opposite direction, or if Savage's car had gone out of control a few hundred yards farther down the track, both would have caromed over a two-foot retaining wall and landed among the fuel pumps. The resulting explosion could have killed hundreds of spectators within seconds, probably before they knew what had happened.

Cock fighting is illegal in the U.S. It is considered inhumane to put two roosters in a ring until one rips the other to death. But each year Goodyear, Firestone, STP, and other automotive manufacturers are allowed to stage far bloodier events, pitting human beings against impossible odds in a race with death. That, you see, is a "sport."

—MICHAEL BAUMANN



Gordon Johncock Wins on Goodyear Tires
It's too late to ask driver Art Pollard what he thinks of Goodyear tires.

...Militant sales

Continued from page 3

Goodman also made a visible impact the previous week, as a *New York Times* reporter noted in an article on the Democratic mayoral contender Mario Biaggi. Under the heading "Biaggi Visits Herald Sq. And Finds It a Busy Spot," the second paragraph ends this way: "Over the heads and noise of it all, 23-year-old Marty Goodman, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, waved a copy of *The Militant*, a Socialist weekly, yelling:

"After you shake hands with the fraud, check out *The Militant*. Read about how the Democrats are wiretapping. Biaggi is a Democrat, that's his party. Read about how the Democrats are going soft on Watergate."

Other areas hitting their peak during the last week of the drive were Atlanta with 469; Los Angeles, 570; Brooklyn, 533; and Cleveland, 570.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

In addition to the broad response to *The Militant's* coverage of Watergate and African Liberation Day, interest in the farm workers struggle has resulted in increased sales. Chicago supporters sold 47 *Militants* at a June 3 farm worker support rally.

Los Angeles and San Diego SWP and YSA members attending a strike support rally in Coachella Valley sold 51 copies. "The response was excellent," Los Angeles sales director Jessica Starr reports. An additional 170 copies were distributed to strikers.

The Militant will continue to have on-the-spot coverage of the farm workers struggle, which salespeople plan to get out to as many people as possible throughout the summer. Already *Militant* supporters in nine cities report they plan to maintain their spring sales goal; two others even plan to increase it. Some areas are still thinking out how they can maintain their regular sales spots as well as test new outdoor locations.

If you or your group can take a bundle to sell during the summer, just fill out the coupon below and send it into the business office.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD WEEKLY		SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK
	LAST WEEK	GOAL	%
Lower Manhattan	1,265	500	253 (1,129)
Oakland/Berkeley	1,133	500	227 (521)
Cleveland	570	300	190 (360)
Upper West Side	668	400	167 (448)
Brooklyn	533	325	164 (491)
Boston	806	500	161 (845)
Atlanta	469	300	156 (343)
Denver	345	225	153 (266)
Nashville	60	40	150 (40)
Seattle	325	250	130 (374)
Los Angeles	570	450	127 (450)
San Diego	312	250	125 (310)
San Francisco	602	500	120 (507)
Washington, D.C.	287	250	115 (301)
Philadelphia	297	275	108 (417)
Detroit	363	350	104 (262)
Portland	208	200	104 (217)
Chicago	514	500	103 (602)
Austin	152	150	101 (160)
Twin Cities	353	350	101 (249)
San Bernardino	25	25	100 (*)
Storrs	15	15	100 (22)
Central New Jersey	30	32	94 (14)
Houston	400	500	80 (330)
Hartford	18	30	60 (15)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK 10,320			
GOAL 7,000			
(*no report)			

HELP SELL THE MILITANT!

Please send me a weekly bundle of (12.5 cents/copy, payable after you sell them): 5 10 25

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Calendar

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Strategy for World Revolution. Every Tuesday and Thursday at 7:30 p.m. from June 12 through June 28. At the Militant Bookstore, 1801 Nueces. Six classes on the transitional program. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BROOKLYN

POLITICAL DISSENT IN SOVIET UNION. Speaker: Marilyn Vogt, staff writer for Intercontinental Press; Roman Kupchynsky, Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners. Fri., June 15, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Preforum dinner, 6:30 p.m., \$1.50. Aup: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

HOUSTON SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Kris Vasquez, SWP candidate for Houston school board; Dan Fein, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston; Melissa Singler, former SWP candidate for mayor of Austin. Theater by Teatro Bayuca. Sat., June 16, 6 p.m.: refreshments; 7 p.m.: dinner and rally. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$4, dinner and rally; \$1, rally only. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

FRAME-UP, BLACKMAIL, AND INTIMIDATION: The record of America's secret police. Speakers: Karl Broege, Camden 28 defense lawyer; Allen Myers, staff writer for Intercontinental Press covering Watergate revelations. Fri., June 15, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

SAN DIEGO

WATERGATE SCANDAL. Speakers: Brent Seltzer, KGB radio; Susan Christie, Socialist Workers Party; and others. Fri., June 15, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. (across from Hamburger House). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE WATERGATE REVELATIONS. Speaker: Peter Seidman, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., June 15, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. (NOTE NEW ADDRESS.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...antiwar

Continued from page 3

campuses. Among those organizations was the Student Mobilization Committee. Agent 33 was only one of hundreds of government agents provocateurs whose jobs were to spy on and disrupt campus antiwar organizations across the country."

"We will not be intimidated by the government attempts to destroy the antiwar movement," Bailey declared. "We will protest on June 16 to show

that Nixon will not get away with attempts to cover up the truth about U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia."

Abe Bloom, a national coordinator of NPAC, announced logistics for the demonstration in Washington. Demonstrators will assemble at the Kennedy Center Plaza (near the Watergate). Starting at 1 p.m., protesters will march past the White House to the Justice Department. There will be speakers at all three locations. Bloom said all necessary permits for the demonstration have been secured.

Among the endorsers of the Washington protest, in addition to NPAC and the PCPJ, are Benjamin Spock, Washington Teachers Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Dr. Ralph Abernathy, Father James Groppi, Socialist Workers Party, Washington Labor for Peace, George Wiley, and the Reverend Paul Mayer.

For further information contact NPAC and SMC at 1345 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 293-3855.

...UFWU

Continued from page 5

they didn't think a successful boycott could be pulled off again. But the response, he said, both nationally and internationally, is greater this time than it ever was in the past.

Delores Huerta spoke about the A&P boycott. She said that already in Boston, five large chains have stopped buying grapes and lettuce, and that the New York and New Jersey A&Ps are not buying lettuce. She emphasized the impact of the boycott and urged the participants in the rally to mobilize as much support as they possibly could.

Reverend Willie Barrows of Operation PUSH spoke, stressing the need for everyone to unite behind the strike and go back to the community to publicize the things that are going on. Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the Meat Cutters Union, AFL-CIO, and national leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, stated his support of the strike. He announced that the recent national

convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists also supported the strike.

Other prominent trade unionists who spoke or were introduced were Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Meat Cutters; Dan Healy, regional director of the AFL-CIO; Jacob Mitchell, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Robert Healy, president of the Chicago Federation of Teachers. Several telegrams were read, including one from Neil Bratcher, executive director of District Council 19 of AFSCME.

Angel Moreno, Illinois chairman of the Raza Unida Party, and independent candidate for Congress in the 7th Congressional District, participated in the march and was introduced at the rally.

...Iran

Continued from page 16

held 20,000 political prisoners in 1969, according to Bahman Nirvmand's book *Iran: The New Imperialism in Action*, and probably many more today. His police used sub-machine guns against high school students demonstrating for better schools in 1959.

While the Iranian people starve, the shah gives his empress gifts such as a crown worth nearly \$3-million. The shah's sister, Princess Ashraf, on the other hand, was arrested in Switzerland in 1960 carrying suitcases full of heroin.

But these killers, torturers, and heroin smugglers are Nixon's kind of people. Together with such forces as South Vietnamese President Thieu, Israel's Golda Meir, exiled Cuban counterrevolutionaries, and other so-called free world forces, they are committed to keep the world safe for imperialist exploitation, by any means necessary.

...W'gate

Continued from page 24

under LBJ.

During the governmental debate produced by the 1968 Tet offensive

in Vietnam, Clifford's insights into the political risks posed by further escalation of the war played a key role in producing the new policy, which came to be known as "Vietnamization." This included the reinforcement of the South Vietnamese army and the use of air-power to allow the withdrawal of U. S. ground troops.

Clifford argued that to continue the escalation of the war would lead to skyrocketing battlefield casualties and soaring inflation that would "tear the country apart." He played a key role in convincing LBJ to call a secret meeting of what *Newsweek* called non-governmental "'wise men'—mostly members of the Eastern Establishment," for a critical policy review.

The *New York Times*, on March 6 and 7, 1969, published a list of 14 men invited to this meeting. Not one of them was elected to any public office. They were Democrats and Republicans alike.

Following a late-night discussion of this group LBJ got the message that, as the *Times* summarized the decision, "We had better start looking for another way to get this war settled."

Also following this meeting, LBJ made his decision not to seek reelection in 1968.

The capitalist ruling class dumped one president and is perfectly willing to dump another if he is no longer capable of meeting its needs. The publication of Clifford's call for the resignation of Nixon and Agnew shows that at least some of the rulers want Nixon to know he is expendable.

But just as replacing Johnson and his Vietnam policy of "nailing the coonskin to the wall" with Nixon and Vietnamization did not change the fundamental aims of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam—neither will Clifford's proposal to substitute some other capitalist politician for Nixon put an end to the Watergate-style functioning of the capitalist government in Washington.

What must be replaced is not just Nixon, Agnew, and their gang, but the whole capitalist system that places secret police, armies, prisons—the whole governmental apparatus—in the service of a ruthless minority class that profits from the exploitation of the majority it oppresses.

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 Zone, 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: 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) TE1-6135.

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 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 Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

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.

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, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(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.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Maxime Rodinson

ISRAEL

A Colonial-Settler State?



"M. Rodinson's contribution is . . . brilliant."—I.F. Stone, NEW YORK REVIEW OF BOOKS

Was Palestine a "land without a people for a people without a land?" Was the Israeli fight against the British an anti-imperialist liberation struggle? Were Zionist crimes against the Arab people solely the responsibility of "extremist" groups like the Irgun terrorists? What was the real place of Kibbutz collectivism in the establishment of Israel?

In this incisive essay, Maxime Rodinson, French Jewish scholar and one of Europe's leading Mideast authorities, argues that despite its unique features, Zionism fits into the general pattern of Western colonialism and that Arab opposition to Israel is the opposition of a colonized people towards their colonizers. A MONAD PRESS BOOK, exclusively distributed by Pathfinder Press, Inc. Notes, Maps, Index. 128 pp., \$4.95, paper \$1.75

Order from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014 Tel. (212)741-0690

Do something that matters.

Join the YSA!

The YSA is a revolutionary socialist organization for young people who want an alternative to this decaying society. A total transformation of society and the construction of socialism is what the YSA is fighting for. If you want to work for a revolutionary change, join the YSA.

- Send me a free copy of the Join the YSA brochure.
- Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies of the Join the YSA brochure at two cents each (\$2/100).
- I want to join the YSA.
- I would like more information about the YSA.
- Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months (6 issues) of the YOUNG SOCIALIST.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. (212) 989-7570.

TEAMSTER REBELLION

FARRELL DOBBS

192 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.25

COMING SOON

TEAMSTER POWER

A MONAD PRESS BOOK

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street,
New York, N.Y. 10014

Bert Corona Speaks

on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare. In English or Spanish. 35 cents.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street,
New York, N.Y. 10014

in the June
International Socialist Review

Cities in Decay

What's Behind the Urban Crisis?
by Ernest Harsch

Subscribe. 3 months \$1 / 1 year \$5

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

In the June

YOUNG SOCIALIST



'How to
fight
Nixon's
racism'

a speech by
Andrew Pulley

The YOUNG SOCIALIST is an action news-
paper reporting on the struggles of young
people here and throughout the world.
Subscribe today.

- () Enclosed is \$1 for six months.
- () Enclosed is \$2 for one year (11 issues).
- () I would like to order a bundle of _____
YOUNG SOCIALISTS a month at 12-1/2 cents
per copy.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

YOUNG SOCIALIST, Box 471 Cooper Station, New
York, N.Y. 10003.

MEMORIAL MEETING
FRIDAY • JUNE 22 20
YEARS



ETHEL
and JULIUS
ROSENBERG

SPEAKERS:

Morton Sobell • Father Ned Murphy • Carlos
Feliciano • George Merritt • Rose Sobell
• Charlene Mitchell • Walter & Miriam Schneir
(authors of "INVITATION TO AN INQUEST:
A New Look at the Rosenberg-Sobell Case.")
READING: Howard Da Silva • SONGS: Pete
Seeger • CHAIR PERSON: Helen Sobell

7-9 PM • FDR HALL (Local 1199)
310 West 43rd St., New York City
For information call (212) 243-8555

Supporting the UNITED
DEFENSE TO FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS
Sponsored by the
NATIONAL ROSENBERG-SOBELL COMMITTEE

you are invited to a

BANQUET

sponsored by Houston Socialist Workers
Campaign Saturday, JUNE 16

Program

7:00 p.m. Dinner
Followed by Teatro Bayuco

Menu

Gazpacho	Tortillas
Tapado de Pollo	Pasteles
Paella	Vino Blanco
Frijoles	Café con leche

Speakers

Kris Vasquez: socialist candidate
for school board, former editor
of Papel Chicano, and organizer
of national Chicana Conference

Helissa Singler: recent Socialist
candidate for Mayor of Austin

Dan Fein: socialist candidate for
Mayor of Houston

\$4.00

admission:
for reservations contact:
Socialist Workers Campaign
3311 Montrose
526-1082

Labor Donated

FRAME-UP: OUTRAGE IN THE DESERT

The Political Trial of Gary Law-
ton, Nehemiah Jackson, and
Larrie Gardner

16 pp. 35 cents. Available from the
Riverside Political Prisoners Defense
Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Ber-
nardino, Calif. 92412. Also available
at all Militant Bookstores. See listing
on page 22.

THE MILITANT

More Watergate revelations Can Nixon ride out the storm?

By PETER SEIDMAN

JUNE 5—As the Senate Watergate Committee resumed its hearings today, new revelations provided additional proof that Nixon personally headed the Watergate gang.

The *New York Times* reported that former attorney general John Mitchell, Nixon's closest political collaborator, personally chose three sites, including the Watergate complex, for electronic bugging in 1972. Further, the Senate Committee heard testimony that transcripts of wiretapped phone conversations had been sent to the office of H.R. Haldeman, the White House chief of staff and another close Nixon collaborator.

The Committee also heard that copies of Watergate political espionage reports were prepared for John Mitchell. This was the first public testimony under oath linking Mitchell to the illegal eavesdropping.

In another development, former White House aide John Dean revealed June 3 that he met with Nixon more than 40 times between January and April of 1973 to discuss "taking care of" the Watergate case. Although the White House initially denied this

For more on Watergate, see pages 15-17.

charge "categorically" and accused the press of prosecuting "a case against the President . . . using innuendo, distortion of fact and outright falsehood," it later admitted that the meetings had indeed taken place.

Even Nixon's feeble attempt to justify his role in the Watergate cover-up on the grounds of national security was blasted to bits. On June 4, the *New York Times* reported that a series of high-level CIA memos proved that "the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency and high White House officials viewed the



Nixon and Agnew: now they're swimming against Watergate stream.

investigation in the weeks after the Watergate bugging . . . as a potential political bombshell and not as a legitimate matter of national security. . . ."

With each expansion of the credibility chasm between Nixon and the U.S. public, the small but growing group of influential figures calling for his impeachment or resignation gains new strength.

On June 3, liberal Republican Representative Paul McCloskey, who opposed Nixon for the GOP presidential nomination in 1972, announced he would discuss impeachment on the

floor of the House of Representatives. While not committing himself to formal proceedings against Nixon, McCloskey said he wanted to start a discussion in the Congress of its responsibilities with respect to impeachment.

McCloskey explained his move by noting that the White House "plumbers" unit, which carried out the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist as well as the Watergate breakin, had committed criminal acts. And, not convinced by Nixon's explanation that he had to keep these acts secret in the name of "national security," McCloskey said that "to take steps 'to insure' that criminal activities not be exposed, under ordinary rules of criminal law, is to obstruct justice, a felony."

Then on June 4, Democratic Governor Partick Lucey of Wisconsin, contending that the scandal had brought government programs to a standstill and that the economy was faltering, issued a statement calling on Nixon to resign. Lucey argued that a resignation would be much better than impeachment, which would be so divisive that "the cure might be worse than the disease."

Also on June 4, Clark Clifford, secretary of defense in the Johnson administration, called for the resignation of both Nixon and Agnew.

Clifford's statement, which appeared in the *New York Times*, is of particular importance.

Clifford is a lawyer for the DuPont family, one of the most powerful ruling class families in the United States. The DuPonts own the General Motors Corporation, the largest industrial corporation in the world.

The majority of the U.S. population no longer doubts that Nixon is guilty, and would probably be happy to see him go. But the ruling class is painfully aware of what damage such a move would do to the government. However, as doubts grow about Nixon's ability to ride out the storm, some are concluding that removing him, however costly, will be cheaper in the long run. As Clifford says, "The damage done to the Nixon Administration is irreparable."

In his call for Nixon's resignation, entitled "A Government of National Unity," Clifford insists that the interests of the capitalist system as a whole be placed ahead of Nixon's personal

survival in the White House.

"Under our system of government," Clifford says, "a President cannot function without the confidence of the American people. Parliamentary systems recognize this fact and a government resigns following a vote of no confidence. Under our system, however, the country finds itself facing and a half years of spreading paralysis."

Clifford's estimate is that "the executive branch virtually has ceased to function." And the situation can only get worse: "Much more damaging facts will be revealed as additional witnesses tell their stories and as men, faced with the forbidding prospect of lengthy prison sentences, decide to tell the truth."

What to do? Clifford studiously avoids mentioning the impeachment of the president. Undoubtedly he fears the grave damage an extended trial of Nixon would do—both in exposing the entire gang of crooked, thieving politicians in Washington and in paralyzing the ability of the state to function most efficiently in behalf of the capitalist rulers.

Clifford's plan calls for Agnew to resign. Exercising his responsibility under the twenty-fifth Amendment to the Constitution, Nixon could appoint a new vice-president. Then Nixon himself would resign, and his newly designated vice-president would become

president.

Clifford proposes that the new president come from a list proposed by Congress, and agree in advance not to accept nomination as a presidential candidate in 1976.

He believes this new executive should install "a new, clean slate, a new White House staff, a new Justice Department, a new, experienced and respected head of the F.B.I."

Clifford's plan attempts to meet the arguments raised by many Democratic politicians that the simple resignation of Nixon would leave Agnew in office, and give the vice-president a big advantage as the incumbent in the 1976 presidential campaign.

Further, by giving Congress a voice in naming an interim president, Clifford seeks to meet the objections raised by many Democratic and Republican politicians that the White House had, in Clifford's words, "come to treat Congress as an inferior branch of the Government."

Clifford wants to create only the appearance of reform in order to put an end to the Watergate crisis. He is acutely aware of the importance of maintaining the illusions of masses of people in the democratic functioning of the government. This is shown not only by his statement in the *New York Times*, but also by the role he played when he was secretary of defense

Continued on page 22

New W'gate burglaries exposed

On May 31, Senator Sam Ervin, chairman of the Senate Watergate probe, told reporters that the 1970 "secret plan" directed against the left, which was approved by top national security departments of the government, revealed a "gestapo mentality."

Nixon had tried to soften the impact of the disclosure of the plan by claiming that it was never put into effect. Last week, *The Militant* reported on facts in the *New York Times*, the *New York Daily News*, and Jack Anderson's syndicated column that exposed Nixon's claim as a lie.

Additional facts have now surfaced to corroborate this. The June 11 *Newsweek* quotes "high Administration officials" as admitting that "burglaries were committed in connection with the Seattle Seven, Chicago Weatherpeople, Detroit Thirteen and Berrigan cases." There are also allegations that "Administration operatives broke into the Brookings Institution, a . . . Washington think tank. . . ."

The FBI is also investigating whether E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy broke into the New York offices of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund a few days after the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.