

THE MILITANT

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

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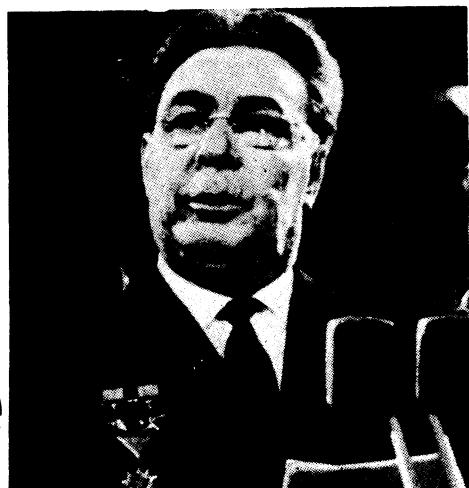


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STUDENTS REPUDIATE NIXON'S COTERIE: Students launched protest actions against friends of Nixon on several campuses recently.

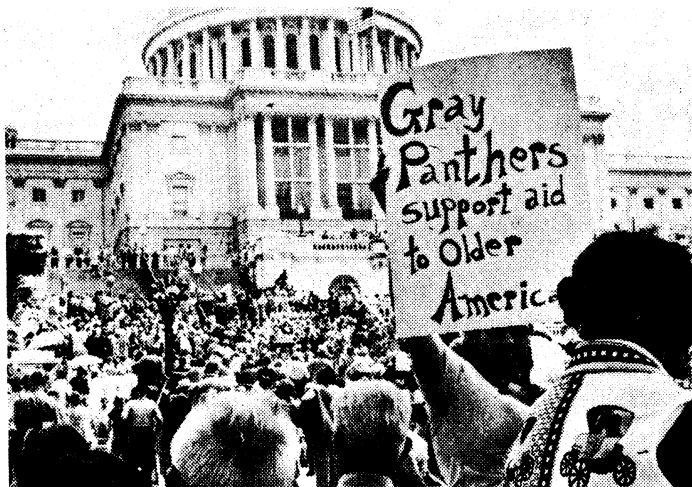
Attorney General Elliot Richardson decided that discretion is sometimes the better part of valor and cancelled a commencement address at Georgetown University after threatened with a massive boycott.

At Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minn., students, faculty, and alumni signed a petition repudiating the honorary degree awarded to Watergater Maurice Stans back in 1970.

The petition pointed out that even discounting his most recent criminal dealings, there was "no adequate justification for the belief that Mr. Stans was worthy to receive an honorary degree from Gustavus in 1970."

Maybe they should have awarded him a plumber's license.

ELDERLY PROTEST NIXON'S POLICIES: More than 7,000 older people protested June 7 in Washington, D. C., against increasing costs in Medicare, the federal housing moratorium, and Nixon's budget cutbacks affecting the aged. Most speakers linked war spending to budget cuts affecting the elderly and demanded congressional action.



Nelson Cruikshank, 70, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens, the sponsoring organization, charged the Nixon administration with a "string of broken promises."

Walter Newburgher, 81, and vice-president of the council, added that while the aged "don't want programs that smack of charity"; on the other hand, "the administration has not shown any feeling for our problems."

The demonstration was part of a three-day conference on the aged called by the council.

CHICANOS PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY IN CHICAGO: In the wake of another in a series of police attacks on community residents, Chicanos in Chicago's Southwest side are organizing against cop brutality.

On May 28, police allegedly chasing a "loitering" youth demanded entry into the home of May Santiago. According to Juan Velaz, executive director of El Centro de la Causa, the cops "degraded the women, called the people spics."

When Santiago, her three sons, and several friends protested, 25 cops beat them up. The police then arrested 10 persons, including the Santiagos. They were charged with aggravated battery, mob action, resisting arrest, and disorderly conduct.

At the police station, the victims were beaten again. Some received multiple head injuries requiring stitches.

More than 75 Chicanos met at El Centro soon after the attack to plan a united response to this brutality. There were participants from Casa Aztlan, La Raza Unida Party, the Brown Berets, and the local Head Start program.

BLACK LITERARY FIGURE DIES: Arna Bontemps, one of the few surviving writers from the Black cultural awakening known as the Harlem Renaissance, died in Nashville June 4. He was 70 years old and was serving as writer in residence at predominantly Black Fisk University.

Bontemps produced more than 25 novels, anthologies, plays, and studies of Black life during the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the years following. Among his best-known works are *Black Thunder*, *Negro American Heritage*, and *Drums at Dusk*, a novel about the Haitian revolt in the eighteenth century.

Other Black writers from that period include Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, W. E. B. Du Bois, and James Weldon Johnson.

AIM LEADER TOURS UPPER MIDWEST: In the latter part of May, the Upper Midwest Young Socialist Alliance and the Coalition for Justice in Wounded Knee sponsored a tour for Clyde Bellecourt, national field director of the American Indian Movement (AIM). Bellecourt addressed audiences at the University of Minnesota,

St. Cloud State College, and Anoka-Ramsey Junior College, among others.

He explained how the agreement ending the occupation of Wounded Knee had resolved none of the major issues. He predicted continued actions demanding the removal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Pine Ridge Reservation, and enforcement of the 1868 treaty.

Bellecourt told how supporters of the occupation on the reservation have been harassed and threatened since the agreement was signed.

Six hundred dollars was raised on the tour for the legal defense of those victimized for the occupation, but funds are still needed. Contributions can be sent to: Wounded Knee Defense Fund, c/o National Bank of South Dakota, Account Number 29-57033, Rapid City, S. D. 57701.

Christopher St. action

The fourth annual New York City Christopher Street demonstration has been called for June 24. Marchers will assemble at 11 a.m. on West 61st through 64th streets between Broadway and Central Park West. The march will proceed downtown and will culminate in a "Gay Pride Gala" in Washington Square Park from 4 to 6 p.m.

The first demonstration in 1970 was called to commemorate a spontaneous protest that erupted in 1969 in the West Village when cops raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar.

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor, issued a statement in support of the Christopher Street action and urged people to participate in this expression of opposition to gay oppression. Oliver again scored the City Council's General Welfare Committee for failing to release Intro 475 onto the floor of the council. This bill, which has been bottled up in committee for nearly three years, would ban discrimination in hiring and housing on the basis of sexual orientation.

Oliver had previously pledged his support to the Christopher Street action at a candidate's night sponsored by the Gay Activists Alliance on May 13. He will march in the Celebrity Contingent with other invited candidates for office.

More information on Christopher Street Liberation Day can be obtained by calling the Mattachine Society at (212) 691-1066.

WOMAN WINS SEX BIAS CLAIM: Marilyn Johnson recently won a two-year case against Standard Oil and the state of California for sex discrimination in a job she held.

Johnson resigned from her job with Chevron Chemical of San Francisco in May 1971. She left after being turned down for a raise she requested upon learning she was paid 25 percent less than male employees doing the same job.

She was also refused unemployment insurance. Officials told her that her claim of sex discrimination was not a good enough reason for quitting her job.

Johnson filed suit against both Standard Oil and the state. Her determination paid off. She won \$1,865 from Standard Oil and \$1,495 from the state unemployment office.

— BAXTER SMITH

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*.

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NIXON-BREZHNEV SUMMIT

MEANING OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DETENTE

By CAROLINE LUND

One thing that President Nixon, Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid Brezhnev, and Brezhnev's followers in the American CP all agree on is that the Watergate scandal should not be allowed to jeopardize Brezhnev's scheduled visit to the U.S. June 18-26.

The *Daily World*, organ of the CPUSA, approvingly quotes a statement from the Hungarian CP newspaper belittling the Watergate exposures and saying that "the stakes at the coming Soviet-American summit

economies; they need capital and technological advances to catch up, in order to satisfy the growing demands of Soviet and Chinese working people for a higher standard of living. This pressure is exacerbated by periodic agricultural crises in both the USSR and China, as a result of the contradictions introduced by bureaucratic rule.

Another factor entering into the picture is the sharpening Sino-Soviet dispute, which is fed by the narrow, national, bureaucratic outlook of both Moscow and Peking regimes as each

short of victory. Brezhnev was saying that the Kremlin would side with Nixon against their struggle, since the Moscow-Washington détente was more important in his mind than the Vietnamese revolution.

One of Nixon's goals in the coming Brezhnev visit is to try to get the Kremlin to apply the same pressure against the Arab revolution as they used against the Vietnamese revolution.

Meanwhile, the Kremlin is vying for military contracts with the murderous dictatorship of the shah of Iran, who

could only get together and talk things out, we could avert the threat of wars and nuclear destruction.

The great fallacy of this type of thinking stems from the fact that wars, class struggle, and revolutions are bred by the capitalist system itself. The "peace" of the status quo is continually upset as the masses of people throughout the world strive for democratic freedoms and an end to the exploitation, national oppression, illiteracy, poverty, degradation, and torture that are enforced by the capitalist rulers.



NIXON, BREZHNEV, BRANDT, CHOU: Cooperating to try to alleviate economic problems, stop revolutionary struggles

meet are too high" to let Watergate get in the way.

What are the stakes in Brezhnev's visit, and what does this summit represent?

Brezhnev's visit is a new step in the developing worldwide détente between the major imperialist powers and the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. This international deal involves both economic and political agreements.

On the economic side, U.S. capitalists are looking for ways to break into the "Eastern market." They see

try to build "socialism in one country." In face of the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" enunciated during the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and the power of the Soviet bureaucrats, Peking has responded by seeking diplomatic deals with NATO members and Japan for military security.

Nixon, Brezhnev, and Chou En-lai all say the détente will mean "a new era of peace," the "relaxation of international tensions," and the "peaceful coexistence" of different social systems.

As far as the U.S. rulers are concerned, the détente means a change from their previous policies of "containment" threatening the eventual military rollback of the anticapitalist revolutions that have occurred thus far. They are prepared to accept—for the time being—the reality of the workers states that now exist, but remain determined to prevent the further advance of revolution. And they feel the need for help from Moscow and Peking to hold back such revolutionary struggles.

For the colonial world—an area of great so-called international tensions—the meaning of the détente was graphically illustrated in the developments surrounding the Vietnam war. Brezhnev's and Mao's part in their deals with Nixon was to turn their backs on the struggle of the Vietnamese people, to keep quiet while Nixon bombed Vietnam with the greatest intensity in history, to pressure the Vietnamese fighters to accept a compromise negotiated settlement, and to use the Vietnamese dependence on military aid from Moscow and Peking to do this.

This was summed up in the pictures last year of Brezhnev and Nixon, smiling broadly and clinking champagne glasses in Moscow while U.S. bombers were streaming over Vietnam causing the death and mutilation of thousands of Vietnamese.

The message was obvious: Brezhnev was telling the Vietnamese that his idea of "world peace" and "relaxation of international tensions" was for them to give up their struggle

plans to use these weapons to help crush any popular struggles in the entire area around the Persian-Arab Gulf.

The Peking bureaucrats gave the same message to the Vietnamese as their Moscow counterparts did; they entertained Nixon last February in the midst of an escalation of U.S. bombing in Vietnam. Peking had already given Nixon evidence of its willingness to aid in betraying revolutions and maintaining the status quo. It supported the Pakistani dictatorship against the Bangladesh liberation fighters, and also supported Sri Lanka Premier Sirimavo Bandaranaike in her savage repression of young rebels in that country.

But the détente is even broader than Nixon's deals with Moscow and Peking. It includes such important developments as the "normalization" of relations between East and West Germany; the long-term political and economic agreement between Bonn and Moscow; agreements between Bonn, Warsaw, and Prague; China's efforts to work out a deal with Japan; and the negotiations between North and South Korea. These agreements have been accompanied by increasing competition among all the imperialist powers for a share of the "Eastern market."

While the Moscow and Peking regimes have made deals with one or another imperialist power before, the current détente is of a scope that represents something new: economic cooperation and a generalized counter-revolutionary political deal between the imperialist rulers and the Stalinist overlords of the workers states on a world scale.

The CP's *Daily World* claims that in the context of the détente, Brezhnev's visit to Washington will be "a milestone on the road to a lasting peace." In this way the CP tries to appeal to the deeply felt but misplaced hope in the minds of masses of Americans that if the leaders of the capitalist states and the workers states

The very structure of the capitalist system is a violent assault on the rights and lives of the masses of people. Malcolm X once explained this by comparing the capitalist system to a vulture. "The system of capitalism needs some blood to suck," he said. The imperialist stage of capitalism operates by spreading throughout the world to suck more profits from the sweat of working people and poor peasants. This is why the imperialists need to keep areas like Southeast Asia and the Arab East safe for their investment and exploitation.

Brezhnev and the American CP are lying to the people of the world in claiming that a lasting peace—either between classes or between capitalist states and workers states—is possible as long as imperialist rulers like Nixon run the world.

Brezhnev's agreement with Nixon to aid in eliminating "international tensions" and "trouble spots" such as Southeast Asia and the Middle East means telling the Vietnamese and the Palestinians to accept the status quo of imperialist domination and exploitation without resistance. In short, both Brezhnev and Mao have agreed to aid Nixon in upholding the imperialist order throughout the world.

Brezhnev and his followers have the same perspective in the advanced capitalist countries, as was indicated by a remark the Soviet bureaucrat made in West Germany last month. Brezhnev said he looked forward to working in cooperation with West German capitalists for "30, 40, or 50 years." He *doesn't* look forward to the possibility of a revolutionary struggle by the German working class to take over the industry from the capitalists.

Brezhnev has no interest in revolution, or in struggles of the oppressed against their oppressors; in fact he fears such struggles. Most of all he fears that the example of struggles for freedom will infect the Soviet people and inspire them to rise up and

Continued on page 22

SWP LEADER TO SPEAK ON DETENTE

A city-wide public forum will be held at 8 p.m. Fri., 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. Catholic Center, New York University, 58 Washington Square South. Enter on Thompson St. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Party Campaign. Donation: \$1. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

the opportunities for trade and investment in China, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe as one way to attempt to cope with the new problems faced by U.S. imperialism. These include growing competition from Japanese and Western European imperialisms, the emergence of a serious balance of trade deficit, and the problems of the dollar.

The Moscow and Peking regimes also look to trade with the West as a means of alleviating their own economic problems. The workers states cannot escape the fact of the technological superiority of the imperialist

Dean spills the beans

Trail of dirty tricks leads to White House

By PETER SEIDMAN

JUNE 12—A vast extension of the known list of White House "dirty tricks" was the big Watergate news this week. Former presidential counsel John Dean leaked new details to the press as he unsuccessfully bargained for immunity from the federal grand jury probing Watergate. Dean has, however, been granted partial immunity by the Senate Watergate Committee.

The June 18 *Newsweek* reports that Dean told investigators he has ample documentation, including recordings he made at the White House ("Taping," Dean said, "was rather widespread over there.") to prove that:

- The White House covertly pressured the federal judge hearing the Watergate civil suit brought by the Democratic National Committee to get a favorable ruling.

- The White House, trying to justify its own illegal use of the FBI in the Watergate case, ordered a secret report on the abuses carried out by past presidents. The report, *Newsweek* sources said, "told in anecdotal detail about how Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson had used or abused the bureau for political purposes—but curiously omitted Mr. Nixon's old patron, Dwight Eisenhower."

- The White House called off a promising tax prosecution involving Governor George Wallace's brother after Wallace agreed to run as a Democrat—and not a third-party candidate—in the 1972 presidential election.

- Nixon was personally aware that the dairy industry's secret contributions (which totalled, according to *Newsweek*, \$322,000) to his reelection war chest in 1971 were intended to influence the government to increase milk-price supports.

- Nixon was personally aware of the cover-up and that he and his agents have lied frequently about it. Dean told *Newsweek* reporter John Lindsay that Nixon's "definitive" May 22 statement on the case is "less than accurate" in places. "I suspect," he told Lindsay, "that most of it will become inoperative soon."

Attacks on radicals

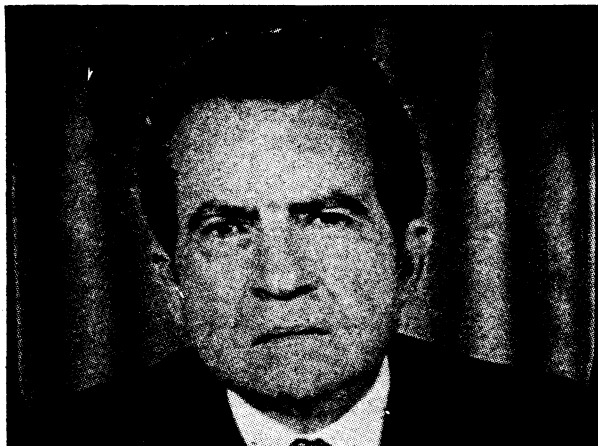
A series of other reports, many also "leaked" by Dean and his associates, appeared during the week, lending weight to Dean's charge that Nixon's

Bares murder plot

A U.S. plot to assassinate Panama's military dictator Omar Torrijos was among the Watergate crimes leaked by John Dean this week. Torrijos had succeeded in embarrassing Nixon by forcing the U.S. to use its United Nations Security Council veto to block a resolution urging the U.S. and Panama to work out a new canal treaty "without delay." This was only the third time that Washington has been forced to exercise its UN veto. Thirteen of the 15 Security Council members backed Panama in the dispute.

According to the June 18 *Newsweek*, "Dean's story is that the Administration suspected high Panamanian Government officials of being involved in the flow of heroin from Latin America into the U.S., and were also concerned about strongman Omar Torrijos's uncooperative attitude toward negotiating the Panama Canal treaty. Thus, in Dean's telling, some officials found a Torrijos hit doubly attractive. The contract, he said, went to E. Howard Hunt, later a ringleader in the Watergate break-in; Hunt, according to Dean, had his team in Mexico before the mission was aborted."

The U.S. has propped up the corrupt drug-pushing regimes of puppets in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand for years. It is reasonable to assume that it wasn't the heroin flow that drove the White House to plot the assassination of Torrijos. Rather, it was the fact that Torrijos sought to enhance his support among the Panamanian people by pretending to struggle for their self-determination. For this, he became a White House target.



NIXON: Defense in tatters?

May 22 statement is "less than accurate." In that statement, Nixon announced, among other things, that a secret government spy plan authorizing illegal acts against radicals had been canceled within five days of its inception because of opposition from then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover.

A banner headline in the June 10 *Washington Post* contradicted this lie: "Break-Ins, Bugging Said to Fit Rejected Spy Plan." The *Post* article detailed how "to one degree or another the public record of trials involving radicals and antiwar activists contains instances in which government or quasi-governmental agents have used break-ins, electronic surveillance and infiltration as spying methods since July, 1970" [when the plan supposedly was cancelled].

Watergating the 'establishment'

The *New York Post* of June 9 reported that Charles ("I'd walk over my grandmother to reelect the president") Colson, a former White House counsel, "suggested to a White House intelligence operative that an office in the Brookings Institution . . . be burglarized and then fire-bombed. . . ." to cover up for the burglary.

The Brookings Institution is a Washington, D.C., "think tank." Colson, a powerful figure in the Nixon administration, made this proposal in an attempt to gain information about Morton Halperin. Halperin, a former aide to Henry Kissinger, was suspected of "leaking" government secrets to the press.

The fact that a high official in the administration proposed firebombing the Brookings Institution, long an intellectual bastion of the "establishment," enhances the credibility of the charges made by radical and socialist organizations who have been bombed or burglarized that these attacks are part of the government's "game plan" against the left.

An article in the June 6 *New York Times* suggests that the aborted Colson firebomb plan was only one of a series of clandestine missions organized out of the White House by John Ehrlichman, formerly Nixon's chief domestic policy adviser.

These included:

- Discussions with participants in and eyewitnesses to the massacre at My Lai in South Vietnam. The *Times* sources say these discussions, held in late 1969 or early 1970, were to determine if the first newspaper accounts of the atrocity were correct. However, it is far more likely the discussions were held to "orchestrate" the trial and



HALPERIN: May sue government over illegal wiretaps

cover up for U.S. genocide in Vietnam.

- An investigation into the background of Congressman Mario Biaggi, recently defeated candidate for the Democratic nomination for mayor of New York, after he criticized some "law enforcement" policies of the Nixon administration.

- Research into "the Chappaquiddick incident involving Senator Edward Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts, in 1969; a potentially embarrassing incident involving Representative Carl Albert, House speaker; possible financial links between Senator Edmund Muskie, a Democrat of Maine, and some corporations with pollution problems; the funding of Senator Hubert Humphrey's 1968 campaign for the presidency; and rumors that the brother of a leading Democrat might have been involved in a homosexual incident."

Kissinger too

Even Henry Kissinger has been caught with his hand in the cookie jar. In his nationally syndicated column, Jack Anderson reported June 11 on testimony by Charles Colson implicating Kissinger. Colson said that despite Kissinger's claim not to know anything about White House wiretapping, he "got the President so 'psyched up' over security leaks that he authorized the plumbers to plug the leaks. Afterward, Kissinger tried to run the plumbers squad through his aide David Young. . . ."

By the end of the week's revelations, the June 18 *Newsweek* was describing Nixon's state as follows: "His defenses . . . lay in tatters. He had



COLSON: Urged fellow Nixon staffer to firebomb Brookings Institution.

long since been driven back from his position that the whole nasty business had been transacted behind his back. His subsequent argument that he did whatever he had done out of concern for national security was coming unraveled. His own Attorney General, Elliot Richardson, refused last week to vouch for the President's innocence; he would say only that the evidence is 'inconclusive.' Mr. Nixon plainly stood at the last line of defense, alone with a handful of men who may someday have to choose between him and prison."

J. W. Fulbright, Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called on Nixon to resign.

And today, six liberal Democrats began a discussion of impeachment on the floor of the House. They are trying to hold the discussion that Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.) was unable to complete last week because House Republicans refused to assemble a quorum. The six Democrats are Bella Abzug (New York); Patricia Schroeder (Colorado); Fortney Stark, Yvonne Burke, and Ron Dellums (California); and Parren Mitchell (Maryland).

In another move, Morton Halperin announced June 9 that he is considering filing a suit against Nixon administration officials responsible for illegally tapping his telephone. Taps on Halperin's phone were revealed during the Daniel Ellsberg trial.

Halperin says that Kissinger and General Alexander Haig (Nixon's newly appointed White House chief of staff) will be among the defendants named in his suit. The suit will be based on the Safe Streets Act of 1968, which bans illegal wiretapping. The law requires that violators pay \$100 a day for each day of violation to any persons illegally wiretapped.

Move to silence Ervin hearings blocked

By CINDY JAQUITH

JUNE 12—Federal Judge John Sirica ruled today that live TV coverage of the Senate hearings on Watergate may continue, striking another blow at efforts to keep the hearings from the public.

Last week Archibald Cox, Nixon's appointee to head the Watergate prosecution, tried to convince the Senate panel to postpone its hearings for three months. He claimed the testimony at the hearings could make it more difficult to get convictions later on, because of "pretrial publicity."

In rejecting this argument, Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.), the head of the Senate panel, argued that "government has come to a virtual standstill. . . . The most important problem pending . . . is for the people to learn the truth, and the truth can only be revealed by the carrying out of the Senate investigation in a full and fair and courageous manner."

Ervin's dispute with Cox reflects a disagreement over how best to restore confidence in the capitalist government. The senator obviously believes that the climate of outrage over Watergate necessitates the public hearings on the scandal.

Cox's second ploy was a request for a court ban on live coverage of the hearings. Jeb Stuart Magruder, deputy campaign manager of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), and John Dean, the former White House counsel who has vowed to "take on Nixon and the administration" when he testifies, are scheduled to appear next week. The White House's deep concern over what these two men are prepared to say even prompted Vice-President Agnew to enter the fray yesterday with a public attack on the hearings.

Agnew, who has never been known to worry about "impartial" trials for radicals, decried the "Perry Masonish impact" of the Senate hearings. All this "hearsay" testimony, he claimed, could destroy individual reputations and make fair trials impossible.

Hypocrisy

Agnew's statement was riddled with hypocrisy, especially considering the revelations of how the Nixon administration has done everything from trying to bribe federal judges to burglary directed at defense lawyers in order to win convictions.

Sirica's ruling grants immunity to Dean and Magruder when they appear before the Senate hearings. However, Sirica refused to give immunity to Dean when he appears before the federal grand jury investigating Watergate.

In addition to worrying about what Dean and Magruder can prove, the

Watergate fans protest

Associated Press reports that the Minneapolis-St. Paul CBS-TV affiliate was deluged with angry phone calls June 7 when it telecast a baseball game in place of the Senate Watergate hearings. This doesn't jibe too well with earlier reports that TV viewers were bored with the Watergate show. Unless, of course, those earlier protests were more of CREEP's "dirty tricks."



White House wanted to prevent live TV coverage of Dean and Magruder testimony to Senate Watergate panel.

Nixon administration also has to worry about the widening scope of the Senate hearings.

Ervin announced June 8 that the Senate panel will investigate the 1971 burglary at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist and other CREEP activities relating to harassment of antiwar activists and radicals.

1970 spy plan

According to Sanford Ungar, writing in the June 8 *Washington Post*, this investigation could reach into other cases, "such as the Harrisburg, Pa., trial of the Rev. Philip Berrigan and other Catholic antiwar militants," as well as the Justice Department's Internal Security Division and the 1970 secret plan to spy on radicals.

Ervin made it clear, however, that he thinks the Senate should limit its investigation by "not going into the substance of the 1970 plan," as the *New York Times* put it.

Even a limited investigation, however, threatens to bring out new information about the government's conspiratorial methods of framing up and otherwise harassing radicals. Thus the Ervin proposal drew criticism from one member of the Senate panel, Senator Edward Gurney (R-Fla.). Investigating the 1970 spy plan, Gurney insisted, is "no function of our committee at all." Gurney has also urged the panel to speed up its hearings and immediately get the question of Nixon's role out of the way.

Of course a serious investigation of the 1970 spy plan would have to include testimony by antiwar activists, Black liberation fighters, socialists and other radicals—the victims of Nixon's secret-police operations. Ervin has given no indication that he will allow such witnesses to testify at the hearings.

This past week, the witnesses who have appeared have exposed new facts about corruption and spying by the Nixon campaign. The hearings reopened June 5 after a short recess with testimony by Sally Harmony, the former secretary of convicted Watergate burglar G. Gordon Liddy.

Harmony admitted that CREEP had special stationary printed with the word "Gemstone" that was used for reports on wiretapping and spying. As Liddy's secretary, she typed memos

on this stationary concerning wiretaps on the Democratic National Committee.

Following Harmony, Robert Reisner, assistant to Jeb Stuart Magruder, testified. Reisner made it clear that former attorney general John Mitchell and ex-White House aide H. R. Haldeman routinely followed CREEP's wiretap reports. All the documents on spy operations regularly went into a file for Mitchell, he said, and "a duplicate copy was sent to Mr. Haldeman's office."

'Sedan Chair 2'

Reisner revealed that among its many agents CREEP had a spy in the Humphrey campaign apparatus. This individual, whose code name was "Sedan Chair 2," was "someone who had disagreed with the Humphrey committee and wished to report on it," according to Reisner. Sedan Chair 2 was paid \$1,000 a month for his services to CREEP.

Most embarrassing for the White House was Reisner's statement that no one—neither FBI agents nor federal prosecutors—had ever questioned him about Watergate until the Senate panel subpoenaed him. This statement was one of numerous examples that show the earlier Watergate investigations were really just part of the White House cover-up.

When Reisner was subpoenaed, however, Magruder called him right away, requesting a meeting. Since Magruder was in hot water himself by that time, Reisner said he decided not to talk to him. Magruder's reaction was "extremely agitated."

"He said, 'I can't understand this,'" Reisner testified. "'... are you not going to be cooperative? ... everyone else has been cooperative. ...'"

Magruder called back again later. "Did he tell you at that time you should be careful about what you said because people's lives and futures were at stake?" asked Senator Ervin.

"Yes, he did," replied Reisner.

Further damaging testimony came from Hugh Sloan, CREEP treasurer.



SLOAN: White House aide told him 'important thing is that the President be protected.'

In testimony on June 6, he said Magruder tried to get him to lie about the huge amount of funds given to Liddy for his "plumbing" expeditions. Sloan says he authorized giving Liddy a total of \$199,000, but that after the Watergate break-in, Magruder said to make the figure only \$75,000.

The White House wanted very much to conceal the extent of CREEP operations run by Liddy. Sloan said that

White House aide Frederick LaRue told him "The Liddy money is a problem. It's very politically sensitive."

Faced with questioning from the FBI, Sloan said he went to John Mitchell for help. Mitchell's advice: "When the going gets tough, the tough get going."

At one point, Sloan said, White House aide Dwight Chapin told him to take a vacation. "He suggested that the important thing is that the president be protected."

Today, CREEP staff member Herbert Porter completed his testimony with revelations about a courier for the Muskie campaign who was also in the pay of CREEP. The courier brought copies of Muskie documents to CREEP officials.

Porter described on June 7 a discussion he had with Magruder about how to cover up the money given



PORTER: 'not sure' that CREEP's 'dirty tricks' have stopped.

to Liddy. Magruder told him, "Now, Gordon was authorized money for some dirty tricks, nothing illegal, but nonetheless things that could be very embarrassing to the president of the United States, and to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Haldeman. . . ."

Magruder and Porter decided to make up something "a little bit more legitimate sounding" as the purpose of Liddy's projects. They came up with the story that Liddy was given money to infiltrate radical groups! This is the story Porter gave when questioned by the FBI and the federal grand jury.

Porter made it clear that "dirty tricks" were a routine matter in the campaign. Asked by Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) if he ever felt guilty, the following exchange took place:

PORTER: "I am not sure of any tinge of conscience, Senator. I had been told by others in the campaign that this kind of thing was a normal activity in a campaign. . . ."

BAKER: "That is a terrible indictment of politics. Being a politician, I am really distressed to hear that."

"Are you telling me, in effect, it was your opinion that this sort of thing went on in politics with Democrats and Republicans, and it was fair game. . . .?"

PORTER: "That is exactly what I felt, Senator."

BAKER: "How do you feel now?"

PORTER: "Well—I am not sure that they have stopped."

Wiretapping, spying, and other illegal activities are the rule, not the exception, in capitalist politics. This is one of the aspects of Watergate that the White House wants to keep under wraps.

WATERGATE: '70 spy plan

Bugging, burglary, and opening mail

Nixon approved 'clearly illegal' acts

By PETER SEIDMAN

JUNE 8—On May 22 Nixon issued a statement in which he attempted to justify his role in covering up the Watergate scandal by explaining that the burglary team, which had been caught in the act of wiretapping phones at Democratic Party national committee headquarters, was in fact part of a White House "national security" plan. This plan was drafted in response to the massive upsurge of antiwar action against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in May 1970 and the killing of four Kent State students.

This secret plan, which authorized illegal acts, was approved by Nixon, the FBI, the CIA, the National Security Agency (NSA), and the Defense Intelligence Agency. The plan was written by Nixon aide Tom Huston. Copies of the plan were stolen by former White House counsel John Dean and have now been turned over to federal prosecutors and the Senate Watergate committee. Senator Sam Ervin, chairman of the committee, said after reading the documents that they revealed a "gestapo mentality."

Despite Nixon's claim that the plan never went into effect, numerous sources—including the *New York Times*, the *New York Daily News*, syndicated columnist Jack Anderson,

U.S.A.) and organized crime targets, with only a few authorized against subject of pressing internal security interest."

Huston claimed that "everyone knowledgeable in the field, with the exception of Mr. [then FBI director J. Edgar] Hoover concurs that existing coverage is grossly inadequate. C.I.A. and N.S.A. note that this is particularly true of diplomatic establishments, and we have learned at the White House that it is also true of new Left groups."

The CIA's concern with "diplomatic establishments" flowed from Nixon's idea that the May antiwar upsurge had been organized and financed from abroad. This absurd belief revealed Nixon's contempt for the intelligence and antiwar convictions of the U.S. people. This belief, which contradicted all the information available to the CIA, led Nixon to want to tap embassy phones to find out exactly how this "conspiracy" was being organized.

● *Step up "mail coverage."* This means, in non-Watergate language, government spying on mail. There are two kinds of mail coverage, "legal," and "illegal." "Legal" coverage is when a government spy records the return addresses on all mail sent to a person under surveillance and the destination

operations with great success and with no exposure. . . .

"Surreptitious entry of facilities occupied by subversive elements can turn up information about identities, methods of operation, and other invaluable investigative information which is not otherwise obtainable. This technique would be particularly helpful if used against the Weathermen and Black Panthers."

● *Improved development of "campus sources."* At a time when the antiwar upsurge had produced larger and more frequent open, mass meetings than any other period in the history of the fight against the Vietnam war, the White House felt it could only find out what was going on by infiltrating the campuses. Huston's proposal demonstrates the importance that Washington attached to the student movement and its potential for reaching out to mobilize the U.S. population in action against the war:

"The campus is the battleground of the revolutionary protest movement. It is impossible to gather effective intelligence about the movement unless we have campus sources."

Huston felt the FBI's infiltration was limited by the fact that they did not recruit spies among individuals below 21 years of age. This was because, Huston claimed, "Mr. Hoover is afraid of a young student surfacing in the press as an F.B.I. source, although the reaction in the past to such events has been minimal. After all, everyone assumes the F.B.I. has such sources."

Huston reported that "the intelligence community . . . feels strongly that it is imperative the [unclear] increase the number of campus sources this fall in order to forestall widespread violence."

Since other Watergate revelations show that many of those "inciting to riot" on the campuses were in fact paid agents of the "intelligence community," this last claim is especially cynical.

Huston's plan also called for stepped-up spying by the CIA on U.S. students studying overseas.

The sections of the Huston plan published in the *Times* are only the tip of an iceberg. They indicate, for example, that a separate, still secret, report includes a 23-page "assessment of the existing security threat, our current intelligence coverage of this threat, and areas where our coverage is inadequate."

But these revelations are significant because they give further proof that



NIXON & AGNEW: oath to uphold the Constitution 'inoperative'?

the massive outpouring of antiwar protest during the May events sent a chill of terror down the spines of the Watergate thieves in the White House. During that upsurge, many thousands of students and other opponents of the war on campuses across the country were holding massive, open, democratic meetings to chart out how to express their hatred of the government's policies.

In response to this, Nixon and his gang—unable to convince the masses of people that their criminal invasion of Cambodia was in the best interests of anybody's "national security"—could only plot secretly a gestapo-like campaign of espionage and sabotage against this mass upsurge and the organizations that spearheaded it. This campaign was so blatantly unconstitutional that it violated the government's own laws.

These documents prove that Nixon's claim to be for "law and order" is a lie. Nixon's "OK" on these plans proves that the government regularly and as a matter of course breaks the law and violates the civil liberties of its opponents in the socialist, labor, Black, and other movements.

"Law and order" Democrats and Republicans are not opposed to the use of these police-state methods against the left. These hypocritical capitalist politicians are upset by Watergate because it shows that police-state methods are sometimes used against them as well.

But the contents of the Nixon "secret plan" make clear that it is those who struggle against Washington's imperialist wars and the other injustices of the capitalist system who are the real targets of the government.



and *Newsweek*—have revealed that, in fact, the government has carried out numerous actions included in the plan.

Three of the documents have now been leaked to the *New York Times*. The documents, published on June 7, include Huston's proposals for reinforcing and reorganizing the government's secret police activities in the wake of the May upsurge. They also include a "decision memorandum" signed by Huston in a move designed to cover up Nixon's approval of the plan. (Huston explained this to top Nixon aide H. R. Haldeman. "We don't want the President linked to this thing with his signature on paper (because) all hell would break loose if this thing leaks out," he said, according to the June 8 *New York Times*.)

Because parts of this plan are undoubtedly currently in use, the disclosure of these texts provides a chilling glimpse of the government's police-state tactics. Huston recommended, among other things, that the government:

● *Intensify its "electronic surveillance and penetration."* Huston reported that "at the present time, less than [unclear] electronic penetrations are operative. This includes coverage of the C.P. U.S.A. (Communist Party,

of all mail sent out by that person. "Illegal" coverage is when a government spy opens the mail of a person under surveillance!

Huston explained that "there is no valid argument against use of legal mail covers except Mr. Hoover's concern that the civil liberties people may become upset. This risk is surely an acceptable one and hardly serious enough to justify denying ourselves a valuable and legal intelligence tool."

Next, in a document he fully expected Nixon to approve, Huston wrote: "Covert coverage is illegal and there are serious risks involved. However, the advantages to be derived from its use outweigh the risks." (Emphasis added.) Clearly, Huston understood the limits of Nixon's commitment to "law and order!"

● *Modify restrictions on "surreptitious entry."* Once again showing his appreciation of presidential morality, Huston wrote: "Use of this technique is clearly illegal: it amounts to burglary. It is also highly risky and could result in great embarrassment if exposed. However, it is also the most fruitful tool and can produce the type of intelligence which cannot be obtained in any other fashion."

"The F.B.I., in Mr. Hoover's younger days, used to conduct such

W'gate: another day, another lie

One aspect of the Watergate revelations that has delighted many conservative columnists has been the claim that former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover opposed certain aspects of the government's secret spy plan. These columnists enjoy the spectacle of seeing defenders of civil liberties suddenly confronted with Hoover as a supposed ally, instead of as a foe.

The truth is, however, that Hoover, the nation's top spy-master, was opposed to the new spy plan only because Nixon would not put his authorization for it in writing. Hoover just didn't

want to be made anybody's "scapegoat." New proof of this came this week.

According to the *New York Daily News*, Republican Senator Lowell Weicker, who is on the Senate Watergate committee, told reporters June 10 that Hoover had indeed ordered "recruitment of campus informers, discreet probes of black student groups and investigation of the daughter of Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.)." Reuss's daughter was a peace activist. The Hoover orders were found in memos dated two to four months after Nixon said he rejected the plan.

CREEP hired Nazis in effort to remove Wallace party from Calif. ballot in '72

By MURRAY CONRAD

The Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) spent \$10,000 in secret funds on an elaborate plan aimed at removing the American Independent Party (AIP) from the California ballot in the 1972 campaign. A report by Leroy Aarons in the June 7 *Washington Post* reveals that part of this money was used to pay the American Nazi Party for its part in this CREEP effort.

Other Watergate revelations have already shown that CREEP has been willing to use counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles as terrorists and burglars. CREEP has also resorted to espionage, phony letter-writing campaigns, sham newspaper ads, and sabotage against its opponents.

It is particularly significant that the revelations of CREEP-Nazi ties come to light around the use of the discriminatory California ballot laws. If the Republicans were willing to use Nazis to keep their right-wing opponents in the American Independent Party off the ballot, can anyone doubt they have also used illicit measures to bar socialists and independent Black and Chicano candidates from the ballot when it has suited their purposes?

According to Aarons, Nixon's California plot began when Robert Walters, an advertising man and former Wallace supporter, approached CREEP deputy campaign director Jeb Stuart Magruder in late 1971. Walters, a virulent right-winger in Orange County, Calif., told Magruder that for \$10,000 there was a way to purge the AIP voter list so they wouldn't have enough registered voters to qualify for the California ballot.

Magruder checked with Lyn Nofziger, who ran the Nixon campaign in California, and got Nofziger's help in finding someone reliable to super-

vise Walter's work. This person was Jack Lindsay, a former official in the administration of California Governor Ronald Reagan. Nofziger admits that he picked up what he assumed to be the \$10,000 cash from CREEP and gave it to Lindsay.

Aarons quotes Glenn Parker, a former aide to Walters, to explain what happened after this apparatus was set up and financed. "Parker, a Nazi sympathizer who broke with Walters, met with John Mitchell [who at this time was Nixon's attorney general, "the nation's number-one law enforcement officer"], Magruder and a group of unidentified aides in the Los Angeles Hilton in late October, 1971, to discuss the reregistration plan.

"Mitchell started the conversation," said Parker. "He said he had heard there was a way to remove the AIP from the ballot. He said they had run a poll between Muskie, Nixon and Wallace that showed that without Wallace, 4/5ths of the Wallace vote would go to Nixon. He emphasized that they thought they were in trouble, and that Nixon especially wanted to win California."

The plan to bar the AIP from the ballot was based on a provision in the California election code—aimed primarily at small radical and socialist parties—that requires a political party's registration to exceed one-fifteenth of total state registration to stay on the ballot.

Walters's scheme was to convince all but 10,000 of the 140,000 registered AIP voters to reregister into another party by Jan. 1, 1972. This would knock the AIP off the ballot for failure to meet the one-fifteenth requirement.

Given the go-ahead by Mitchell and Magruder, Walters proceeded to put his campaign into operation. He tried



Militant/Dave Warren

American Nazi Party members counter-picket demonstration in Los Angeles, April 4, 1972. These fascists had been paid by Nixon committee to try to get American Independent Party voters to reregister, thus disqualifying AIP from ballot.

to recruit reregistration workers from members of the right-wing United Republicans of California. Walters told them the reregistration drive was being conducted by the Committee Against Forced Busing. This committee was supposedly trying to get Wallace supporters to reregister as Democrats or Republicans so they could vote against pro-busing candidates of those parties in the primaries.

Then, Committee activists told AIP voters, they could reregister in their original party or vote for Wallace anyway in the election.

Walters's scheme ran into trouble, however, when the United Republicans found out that his plot was actually aimed at helping Nixon eliminate AIP from the ballot. The United Republicans were opposed to Nixon for his

policy of détente with China; they denounced the scheme and refused to cooperate.

Aarons reports that it was after this development that Parker and Walters then turned to the Nazis for help. "Parker had been a longtime Nazi sympathizer and is now a member of the National Socialist White People's Party. He had met Walters during the 1968 Wallace campaign. . . . Walters, 31, was a right-wing activist in his college days at UCLA, and had written a book condemning racial mixing. Walters was also a member of the Citizens Council of America, a white supremacy group.

"Parker said he and Walters met with Joseph Tommasi in mid-November, 1971, and offered him \$5,000 if

Continued on page 22

Says gov't must turn over files on Weatherpeople Judge orders disclosure of illegal spying

On June 5, a Detroit federal judge ordered the government to disclose whether it had used illegal burglaries, sabotage, electronic surveillance, agents provocateurs or "other espionage techniques" in its prosecution of a group of 15 alleged members of the Weatherman group.

According to the June 6 *New York Times*, lawyers for the Weatherman defendants sought this ruling on the basis of the many recent revelations of illegal activities conducted by the government to victimize its opponents. They cited the Ellsberg and Watergate cases in particular.

The government uses these methods against activists and organizations in the antiwar, Black, labor, and socialist movements. For this reason, Judge Damon Keith's ruling in favor of the Weatherpeople creates a precedent that is an important civil liberties victory.

Judge Keith ordered a wide-ranging government disclosure by June 18 as to whether "representatives of the White House" had participated in "any activities" in investigating the case or in drawing up the indictment that would include: "Burglaries, acts of sabotage, mail searches, electronic surveillance devices, provocateurism, breaking and entering or any and all other espionage tactics."

In addition to White House repre-

sentatives, the court order also required a full disclosure of any such illegal acts on the part of the Intelligence Evaluation Committee (a clandestine Justice Department operation aimed at radicals) and the White House special-investigations unit known as the "plumbers" (the group that burgled the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist). The order further included the Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency, the Departments of the Treasury and Defense, and the Secret Service.

The court also ordered the government to disclose any role it may have had in a fire and burglary in the New York offices of one of the defense attorneys, Gerald Lefcourt. Lefcourt discovered a file relating to Weatherman leader Mark Rudd strewn all over the floor of his office after the fire.

The June 8 *New York Times* reported that the government has handed over wiretap transcripts to the defendants but has refused to turn over any log books of its taps.

The defendants are charged with plotting a campaign of bombing and terrorism during a December 1969 meeting in Flint, Mich. The prosecution was engineered by the government's number-one frame-up orga-

nizer—Guy Goodwin. Goodwin, chief of the special litigation section of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division (a special team of lawyers set up to organize legal harassment of radicals), has won grand jury indictments against many radicals. These include the Berrigan brothers and the Camden 28 for their role in draft board raids, and Leslie Bacon for her alleged role in the bombing of the Capitol building in Washington, D. C.

Recent Watergate revelations have

shown that Goodwin also organized the work of a key Weatherman bomb expert, Larry Grathwohl. Grathwohl was an agent provocateur who reported directly to Goodwin. The *Times* account of the Detroit trial notes that "a key factor in the preparation of the case is believed to have been the activities of Larry Grathwohl, who joined the group as a Federal agent and has said that he gave instruction in explosives and fuse making and helped to plan bombings."



Oct. 11, 1969. Weatherpeople under arrest in Chicago after trashing action.

Atlanta socialists protest bugging

ATLANTA, June 1—Debby Bustin, 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, demanded today that all information pertaining to wiretaps, burglaries, agents provocateurs, and sabotage carried out against the SWP and its supporters be publicly revealed, and that all such activities be immediately stopped.

Appearing at a news conference, Bustin declared, "It is not the Socialist Workers Party, or the antiwar movement, or Black people, or students who have carried out acts in violation of the Constitution such as the illegal war in Vietnam and the bombing of Cambodia. It is not us who have systematically lied, stolen, made illegal wiretaps, and sabotaged the electoral process."

Recently, she said, the FBI has systematically harassed members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party.

Bustin told reporters that in January and February of this year, two members of the Atlanta SWP were visited by FBI agents at their homes,



BUSTIN: 'It is not the SWP that has lied, stolen, made illegal wiretaps, and sabotaged the electoral process.'

one at 6:30 a.m. and one at 8 a.m. They were asked questions about the SWP, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Weathermen.

Bustin, who has been a leader of the antiwar movement, told reporters that a reporter from the *Miami Herald*, John McDermott, traveling with Nixon during his campaign tour last fall, told a member of the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition that he had witnessed provocateurs attempting to provoke incidents among antiwar demonstrators wherever Nixon was speaking.

And, she said, "at an Atlanta demonstration against Nixon in October 1972, witnesses reported seeing people wearing Nixon buttons crossing police lines and attempting to sabotage the sound system for the demonstration."

New FBI appointee no friend of Blacks

By BAXTER SMITH

With so many of his top aides and officials resigning as a result of the Watergate scandal, Nixon, hustling to save his "image," claims to be filling their empty posts with "good guys."

Speaking of his nomination of Clarence Kelley to be director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Nixon boasted, "We picked the best man in the country for the position." Kelley is chief of police in Kansas City, Mo.

But the nomination of Kelley proves, once more, that Nixon has no intention of making any changes in the racist, unconstitutional functioning of the country's secret police force.

The nomination has evoked protests from Black leaders who know Kelley. Bruce Watkins, president of Freedom, Inc., an organization of Kansas City Black groups, said that "Kelley is considered to be an expert cover-up artist and would appeal to the Nixon philosophy."

Kelley has a background of 33 years of cop experience. His supporters claim this makes him an "outstanding choice" for the job of top cop. He spent 21 years in the FBI, working his way up through the ranks to become chief of the bureau's Memphis office. He resigned in 1961 to take the position of chief of police in his hometown of Kansas City, Mo.

During his reign as police chief, Kelley never won the reputation as "a friend of Blacks." He earned a special enmity for his brutal handling of a Black uprising that erupted following the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

Bruce Watkins stated Kelley added "fuel to the fiery 1968 riots, instead of quenching them." Kansas City cops crushed the rising in short order, leaving six dead and scores injured. This bloody action sparked Black protests demanding his removal, and Kelley eventually admitted that some "errors" were made.

While Kelley was boasting of "cutting crime" in the Black community and other parts of the city, scandals were breaking out in his own department.

In 1963, five cops were discovered operating a burglary ring. Then in 1969, it was revealed that Kelley had turned over 113 confiscated weapons to a former army major-general who was selling them for profit. Kelley testified that he had been "misled" into believing that the weapons were intended for a "military police museum." Kelley also admits to cop harassment of local radicals and activists.

One Kansas City NAACP official summed up his response to Kelley, "He is insensitive to the needs of the Black community. If they want an establishment man in that job (the FBI post), they've got one."



Clarence Kelley

Denver news conf. hits gov't spying

DENVER, June 8—The Socialist Workers Party and La Raza Unida Party held a joint news conference here today to protest police and FBI harassment of their members and campaign supporters.

Present at the news conference were Nita Aleman, La Raza Unida Party candidate in the Denver school board elections, and John Maley Jr. of the Colorado Socialist Workers Party.

Aleman declared, "La Raza Unida Party is a legal political party and in the last election received 10 percent of the vote. Yet, open harassment is only part of the kind of activities the government has been carrying out against La Raza Unida Party in an effort to destroy it."

Aleman explained that La Raza Unida Party of Colorado has been subjected to open attacks, including the attack by police on March 17, 1973, in which one person was killed and several others wounded. Three supporters of La Raza Unida Party have been indicted in connection with this attack.

Government agencies are now try-



Militant/Harry Ring

Part of the Tlatelolco school that was bombed during police attack in March 1973.

ing to whip up a racist hysteria around the May 21 bombing of the Denver school administration building in their attempt to fabricate a case against members of the Crusade for Justice and La Raza Unida Party and frighten the Chicano community.

Maley charged the FBI with a recent wave of harassment and intimidation. In the past several weeks supporters and members of the Denver Socialist Workers Party have been approached by FBI agents and asked questions concerning their political activities. Skip Ball and Marie Head, two correspondents for *The Militant* who covered the events at Wounded Knee, were among those recently visited by the FBI. The agents asked questions such as, "Who was at Wounded Knee?" and "What were you doing there?"

In addition, at least one landlord who rents to SWP members has been visited by the FBI in its continued harassment of SWP members.

Maley declared in his statement, "These blatant attempts to intimidate us into silence will not succeed. The people who gave you Watergate want to try and shift the onus for their crimes onto the radical movement. We will not allow this to occur."

"The disclosures associated with Watergate have shown us who the real bombers and criminals in this society are. They are the rulers and the agents of the U. S. government," he said.

Dixon campaigns in housing project

By LINDA NORDQUIST

DETROIT, June 11—Supporters of Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Maceo Dixon campaigned door-to-door in the Brewster-Douglass Housing Project today after a rally called to enable residents to "meet the candidates" fizzled when most of Dixon's Democratic and Republican party opponents failed to appear.

Brewster Projects was built in 1938 and houses approximately 8,500 people. The vast majority of the residents work at poorly paid jobs, or are on welfare or Social Security. It is a depressing place. The apartments look like prison cells. There is no grass, few trees, and scant recreational facilities for the children.

Ed Bell, Black Republican candidate for mayor, sent a few of his campaign supporters to the rally. Dressed for an elegant affair, they pulled up in their late model cars, stood aloof from the crowd, and made no effort to talk to people. Mel Ravitz, white liberal Democratic candidate, stayed for only 15 minutes and then left.

Dixon campaign supporters talked with more than 200 people and were well received, especially when people heard that Dixon lives in the project. One older woman exclaimed, "Damn, it's about time we had somebody who understood the problems of poor folks. I'm with you 100 percent."

A young man responding to the fact that Dixon is a socialist said, "I'm glad. That's what we need." And a drug store owner agreed to pass out campaign literature from his store.

SWP supporters passed out 250 leaflets containing Dixon's answer to proposals by Black Democrat Coleman Young and Ed Bell calling for the rehiring of more cops. Dixon also answered Young's proposal to give the police a raise and institute a pay incentive to encourage cops to go to school.

Dixon's statement read: "Hiring more police isn't going to solve the 'crime problem' because it doesn't speak to what causes crime. Poverty, unemployment, drug addiction—that's what causes crime."

"Giving Detroit cops a raise isn't going to make life any better for Black people either. Detroit police already have the highest salaries in the country. Sending them to school isn't going to change their behavior. Having a more 'educated' police force will not attack the roots of what causes crime."

"I call for the replacement of the present police force with a self-defense organization, drawn from the Black community, and under the complete control of popularly elected committees from the Black community, including the power to hire and fire."

"As a first step towards solving the crime-producing problems of poverty and unemployment in the Black community, I call for the use of federal, state, and local funds in a crash program to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals, recreation centers, and jobs."

Thieu objects to PRG control of territories

From Intercontinental Press

Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho unexpectedly broke off their talks in Paris June 9 without issuing a communiqué or signing a new document on "implementing" the January 27 Vietnam cease-fire agreement. Kissinger flew back to Washington. He was expected to return to Paris June



Cambodian victim of U.S. bombs

12 to continue his talks with the North Vietnamese negotiator.

By all accounts, the break in the discussions resulted from a repeat of last year's performance by Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu, whose objections to a proposed agreement served as Nixon's excuse to delay signing it in order to launch massive air attacks on North Vietnam and force additional concessions from the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

Thieu is reported to be objecting to allowing the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam to exercise political control over the areas it holds militarily. That is, he interprets the January 27 agreement as requiring the PRG to sit by

while he runs the entire country for the benefit of U.S. imperialism.

Meanwhile, the puppet army is continuing its attacks on areas held by the PRG. On June 10, fighting in South Vietnam reached its highest level since mid-February. The largest battle was reported near Lai Khe, thirty-five miles north of Saigon, where Thieu's forces, backed by tanks and planes, attacked a section of highway held by the PRG since the 1972 offensive.

An indication of the extent of Thieu's violations of the cease-fire agreement was provided by Fox Butterfield in a dispatch to the June 10 *New York Times*. He wrote that "almost all of the 300 villages that the Communists took over at the end of January, shortly before and just after the peace agreement, have been recaptured by South Vietnamese Government troops."

Nixon is under considerable pressure to come up with an agreement to offset several Congressional votes against the bombing of Cambodia and the widespread opposition to the continuation of the war that those votes reflect. Prior to the opening of the latest talks June 6, administration spokesmen implied that the Kissinger-Tho negotiations would settle all outstanding problems if Congress only "held firm" and allowed Nixon to go on bombing. A failure now to reach any agreement at all would increase the likelihood of Congress passing legislation leaving no loopholes for continued bombing.

While there have been recurrent rumors in the U.S. press of future negotiations between Norodom Sihanouk and the puppet "government" in Phnompenh, Sihanouk has repeatedly said that no such talks are in prospect.

Reuters reported June 4, however, that in an interview in Algiers Sihanouk said he had made peace proposals to Nixon through an unnamed African government. Sihanouk said his proposals called for U.S. recognition of his government and withdrawal of its support to Lon Nol.

Protests vs. Cambodia bombing

On June 16 protests are scheduled in numerous cities calling for an end to U.S. bombing of Cambodia and an end to all U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. The main action will take place in Washington, D.C. The assembly point is at noon at the Kennedy Center Plaza. The march will begin at 1 p.m. and will pass by the White House to the Justice Department.

Speakers at rallies along the march route will include Arthur Kinoy, vice-president of the National Lawyers Guild; Dr. Benjamin Spock; and Pentagon papers defendant Anthony Russo.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Sponsors of the action include the National Peace Action Coalition; Student Mobilization Committee; People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; American Indian Movement; Washington D.C. Coalition for Survival; National Welfare Rights Organization; New American Movement; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; United Farm Workers Union; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; David Hunter, deputy general secretary of the National Council of Churches; Muhammad Kenyatta of the Black Economic Development Conference; and Robert Lewis, staff counsel of the United Electrical Workers.

On May 29 the Washington Teachers Union passed a resolution calling for "the immediate end to the bombing of Cambodia and the immediate and total withdrawal of all [U.S.] personnel and materiel from Southeast Asia," as well as a resolution endorsing the June 16 protest.

Buses will leave New York for Washington at 6:30 a.m. Saturday morning from Union Square and other locations. For more information about bus transportation from New York, call (212) 255-1075.

Charges exposed as lies

Antiwar POWs may face courts-martial

By CAROLINE LUND

JUNE 12 — Five Army and three Marine Corps enlisted men have been charged with refusing to obey orders to refrain from making antiwar statements while being held in a North Vietnamese prisoner-of-war camp called the Plantation. The charges, brought by Air Force Colonel Theodore Guy, are now being considered by the secretaries of the Army and Navy to determine whether courts-martial charges will be brought.

In addition to charging the enlisted men with expressing antiwar views, Colonel Guy charges that they formed a "peace committee," "collaborated" with the North Vietnamese and attempted to join the North Vietnamese army, and promoted "disloyalty" and undermined discipline among other POWs.

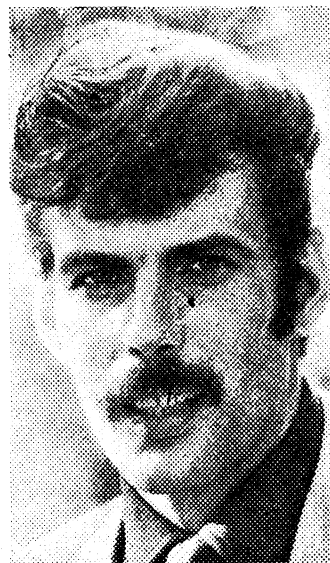
The maximum penalty for conviction on these charges is life imprisonment or death, if the Supreme Court ruling against capital punishment is

the war and many of the officers opposing the enlisted men—but having no access to them to impose their will."

The Pentagon is reportedly not eager to give the go-ahead for courts-martial proceedings against the antiwar POWs. No doubt the brass fears that the publicity engendered by the trials would put a damper on the patriotic, prowar campaign surrounding the returned POWs, and might even encourage expressions of antiwar sentiment among GIs.

There have already been numerous signs of growing antiwar feeling among the B-52 bomber crews that have been assigned to carry out the raids against Cambodia over the past months.

On June 5 the Pentagon announced that three Air Force officers had been taken off the B-52 runs because of "unreliability." Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.) told reporters that the three were grounded be-



YOUNG (left), GUY: Antiwar enlisted men victimized by prowar officer

held inapplicable to military law.

Sergeant John Young, one of the accused ex-POWs, responded to the charges in an interview with *Washington Post* reporter William Claiborne.

"There was no such thing as a peace committee," he said. "That's a name the officers gave to those of us who were against the war and made statements. It wasn't our name."

He went on to explain that the officers had labeled the antiwar enlisted men "PCs," which meant interchangeably "pro-communists" or "peace committee."

Colonel Guy claims he tapped out orders in code on his cell wall telling the antiwar POWs to stop expressing their views, but Young explains that officers and enlisted men were segregated in the camp. Thus the enlisted men were free to develop their own chain of command, according to military procedure.

Young was captured in 1968. He described how he began to question the war as soon as he was sent to Vietnam in 1967. "I saw a lot of hatred for the Americans and I saw a lot of suffering," he stated.

At one point he found himself in charge of four peasant prisoners "who were captured while hunting crabs on a beach." He disobeyed orders and freed them.

Young flatly denies the charge that he applied to join the North Vietnamese army.

According to the *Washington Post* interviewer, "Young portrayed The Plantation as a camp sharply divided between officers and enlisted men, with many of the enlisted men opposing

cause they had joined in a suit she initiated challenging the constitutionality of the bombing of Cambodia.

The three flyers are Captain James Strain, Captain Michael Flugger, and Lieutenant Arthur Watson.

In an earlier development, a group of women calling themselves "B-52 Wives" began taking legal steps to try to get their husbands—all B-52 flyers in Cambodia—back home.

Gerald Hegarty, attorney for the group, said, "They and their husbands see the bombing in Cambodia as meaningless and fruitless and are interested in ending it and getting back on to a normal kind of overseas rotation."

The women have not publicly identified themselves because of fear of retaliation against their husbands.

The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords

by Barry Sheppard and Dick Roberts

25¢

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

Nixon's price freeze

In his speech on the economy June 13, Nixon tried to tell us that despite rapidly rising prices, the American people actually have the best of all possible worlds. "Our" economy, he claimed, is "the wonder of the world." He tried to convince us that our "real per capita disposable income"—that is, after taxes and inflation—has risen 7.5 percent since 1971.

Whose income is he talking about? Working people know that *their* buying power has not gone up by anywhere near that amount.

What Nixon didn't explain is that this figure of 7.5 percent includes corporate dividends and executive salaries, which have been shooting up at one of the fastest rates in history. Profits have increased by 66 percent since the last part of 1970! But workers are struggling harder and harder just to pay the bills. Just in the last five weeks, for example, the cost per week of feeding a family of four in New York climbed \$2. Not to mention rent, medical bills, and other expenses.

Nixon said, "More Americans have jobs today than ever before." But he failed to add that the number of unemployed has not declined significantly, and now officially stands at 4.4 million.

To cover up the real hardships workers face from rising prices, unemployment, and speedup, Nixon talks about "the people" as a whole. He pretends there are no classes in this country, that workers and the capitalist rulers have common interests.

It is true that the capitalists have never had it better. For the rest of us, however, Nixon's rosy picture is a fraud. He imposed a 60-day freeze on retail prices, but not rents. However, prices are supposedly frozen at the outrageously high levels of the first week of June! And the lesson of all previous price "freezes" is that the capitalist government is incapable of really controlling prices.

Nixon said he would not impose a new wage freeze as long as union leaders continue to be "responsible" in their wage demands. These labor bureaucrats have proved in practice that they are ready to sell out the interests of their members and help spread the capitalists' lie that wage increases cause inflation.

The job the union bureaucrats have done in preventing any real struggles for adequate wage increases was praised recently by A. H. Raskin, an editor of the *New York Times* and a spokesman for the capitalist rulers. He remarked that "the level of settlements in major industries has been averaging only a little above the old Phase 2 guidepost of 5.5 percent, though living costs have been racing uphill at a 9.2 percent annual rate in the last quarter."

Nixon's speech threatened to lower the boom and impose stricter wage controls, however, if the workers decide to challenge this unjust situation.

Other aspects of Nixon's "answer" to inflation were to continue cutting back on federal spending for social projects that aid working people and the poor; to impose export controls on food so as to supposedly "put the American consumer first"; and to try to help the economy and lessen war spending through deals with the Soviet Union.

Nixon also claimed he had brought "peace in Vietnam." But what kind of peace is there while the U. S.-financed Thieu army continues its assaults throughout Vietnam, and while U. S. planes continue bombing Cambodia?

Nixon's measures are aimed at placating the anger of American working people over rising prices, and at stabilizing the dollar in international finance. But his proposals will bring no relief to the squeeze on working-class families. To wage a successful fight against high prices, unemployment, and deteriorating social conditions, working people must begin by rejecting the view that the solution to these problems lies in workers and capitalists "working together" as one "American people" pitted against the other peoples of the world.

The capitalists in the U. S. and around the world are only interested in maximizing their profits, at the expense of working people. U. S. workers need to look not to the American capitalists but to their own power and to the international working class.

The only way for working people to protect themselves from the mounting problems of this capitalist economy is to reject all government wage controls. They can use the tremendous power of the labor movement to fight for adequate wage increases and cost-of-living escalator clauses to compensate for inflation. The class-collaborationist, "America first" outlook of people like Meany, Brennan, and Fitzsimmons must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership that will challenge Nixon's lies and unjust policies.

Terrorism

I agree with your article condemning the use of terrorism in Argentina (June 8). But you have published articles by Gerry Foley excusing the use of terror by the Official IRA (Marxist) in Northern Ireland.

Please explain the difference between the Argentine situation and that of Northern Ireland.

N. Cassidy
New York, N. Y.

Gerry Foley replies—Socialists recognize the long oppression of the nationalist minority in Northern Ireland and the fact that they have been the main victims of reactionary pro-imperialist terrorism. At the same time, bombings and assassinations weaken and demobilize the struggle for freedom of the masses of the oppressed population.

In all my articles I have carefully pointed out the negative effects of counterterrorism by the nationalists and have recommended alternatives. Moreover, I analyzed and argued against all the terrorist aspects of the Official republican policy in the articles that make up the pamphlet *Problems of the Irish Revolution*, 60 cents, published by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N. Y., 10014

'Eskimo' derogatory term

Enclosed is an article from the *Detroit News* about the Inuit Tapirisat, the national organization representing Canada's 17,000 Arctic inhabitants. The group claims that "Eskimo"—meaning "raw meat eater"—is a derogatory term and asks the Northern Affairs Department to use "Inuit" instead.

I'm not familiar with the movement of the Inuit Tapirisat, but thought that perhaps it would be a movement *The Militant* could research and publicize. I think the demand for recognition by their chosen name of the Inuit people deserves some coverage.

G. S.
Farmington, Mich.

'You did my thing'

Thank you for the article on the events relating to the Watergate plane crash [*The Militant*, June 8]. You did my thing for me in your usual fashion—you're my moral support while I'm in prison. [Some weeks ago this reader sent *The Militant* a clipping from *Muhammad Speaks* charging that the plane crash which killed Watergater Dorothy Hunt, along with 44 others, was not accidental.]

I'm being transferred to Sing-Sing—make sure my subscription follows me. (I never go any place without my *Militant*.) Thank you.
A prisoner
New York

Confidence in socialism

The more I read the *Militant* and its straightforward and honest attempt to tell the American people exactly what is happening in our so-called democratic form of government, the more confident I am that socialism is the only real alternative.

The Watergate conspiracy shows that not only is the present govern-

ment unresponsive to the majority of Americans, but is trying to mentally indoctrinate the American people's political and social thoughts.

I pledge my full support to the Socialist Workers Party.

J. C.
Rock Island, Ill.

One honest party

I've enclosed \$10 for subscriptions for prisoners so more can read *The Militant*. In this age of dishonest politics it's good to know there is at least one party (SWP) that believes in human rights.

I would like to read articles on the socialist theory of the judicial system.

W. K.
Fellows, Calif.

All-in-all, best issue

I read this week's *Militant* [June 1] and was really pleased by the several-page coverage of the Farm Workers Union struggle. In fact, I found that issue—I believe the headline was "Watergate Revelations"—to be all-in-all the best I'd read since I first saw a copy back in 1970.

I think I appreciate your labor news most. I was raised by parents who believed in "building their union as they would build their home."

If we are to combat the natural tendency for people to accept the ideology of the ruling class, we must show them that they face the antagonism of a ruling class with interests hostile to theirs *every day*, and that the labor struggle is a class struggle.

M. M.
Lexington, Ky.

Moving

Perhaps it is too late to catch the next issue, but after June 10 I will be living at a new address. So many things have been brought to my attention through *The Militant*, I am astounded with the lack of coverage in the everyday capitalist press.

Please transfer my address as soon as possible.

K. H.
Gainesville, Fla.

A criticism

I have found your paper to be a valuable source of information, but I have several criticisms. For one thing, you often fail to distinguish between theory and fact.

For example, in one article Miguel Pendas stated that the reason the ruling class allows the drug traffic to continue is because it divides and weakens the working class. This is a plausible view, but it is a theory, not a proven fact.

Mark Weissler
Oxon Hill, Md.

No charity

As you are no doubt aware, many hundreds of my gallant Countrymen are interned in concentration camps and prison throughout Ireland. Despite the privations suffered by these heroic freedom fighters and their families, they absolutely refuse to accept



Chicano mov't & the farm workers

any "charity," but endeavour to supplement the all too often uneatable rations by selling hand-made leather goods, woodcraft etc.

On the behalf of our comrades, we ask you and your organisation to support the Internees Co-operatives by getting orders from your members.

To place orders for Co-op handicrafts, or to obtain further information, write to:

Sean P. O Brian
54 Elderfield Rd.,
London E5, OLF
England

Prisoners resist

We would like to see something about the resistance to the S.T.A.R.T. Program printed in *The Militant*.

S.T.A.R.T. is the "Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training" program at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Mo.

The S.T.A.R.T. program opened Sept. 11, 1972; originally there were seven men put in it without having any say so as to whether they wanted treatment or not. Three of them began a food strike protesting S.T.A.R.T. They were never placed in the hospital as were the Berrigan Brothers or the Danbury Ten but were left in their cages 24 hours a day. They stayed on the food strike for 65 days.

As soon as the protest ended they started bringing more people into the program and racially segregating the unit in an effort to keep the prisoners divided. Six of the men then began another strike consisting of total noncooperation. Two days after they began the strike, all six of the resisters were handcuffed with their hands behind their backs and leg irons connecting their feet to the end of solid steel beds. They were harassed daily. One resister was driven insane. To this day six men continue the protest.

The S.T.A.R.T. program is an attempt to eliminate all revolutionary thought from its captured populace and replace it with a remote control mentality!

Louella Wooley
Warrensburg, Mo.

Marijuana laws

I would like to compliment you on your excellent news coverage. I would like to see more articles on the legalization of marijuana. The capitalists running this country have used these laws for too long as a tool of repression.

L.J.A.
Miami, Fla.

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.

Farm workers in Coachella are striking over the right to join the union of their choice—the United Farm Workers Union. A coalition of grape growers and Teamsters union bureaucrats is trying to muscle the UFWU out of the grape fields for good. With a sweetheart "contract," signed behind the backs of the workers, they are relying on strikebreakers, goons, labor contractors, and sheriff's deputies to smash the black eagle.

The only reason the *rancheros* and Teamsters think they can get away with this kind of back-room deal is because of their arrogant racism. Most farm workers in California are Chicanos or are from Mexico. The rest are mainly Filipino, Black, Japanese, or Arab. So the *rancheros* and Teamsters think they can treat them like animals with no rights at all.

Relative to minority people, Anglo workers are better off. The growers know they can't get enough of them to harvest their crops under the wages and conditions they are ready to offer. Instead they look to Chicanos and other oppressed peoples to break their backs under the blazing sun, live in filthy shacks, and get paid pennies for making the exploiters millionaires.

The Teamsters see an opportunity to collect some dues without having to do anything for the workers in return. The desires of the farm workers mean nothing to them—after all, they are "just Mexicans."

Many *mexicano* field workers have said they like the UFWU because its president, César Chávez, is also a *mexicano*. By this they are saying that as Raza workers they have a *double* need for a union.

They need a union that can help protect them as workers in relation to wages, hours, and working conditions. And as members of an oppressed nationality, they need an organization that is concerned with and ready to resist the racism of the *gringo* bosses. Clearly they can't look to Teamster hacks for that.

And that's why the Chicano community has a

special reason and very important role to play if the farm workers are to be victorious.

The boycott of table grapes is an important way that all of us can help in the farm workers struggle even if we do not work in the fields.

The entire Chicano community must be aroused and alerted to the danger to the Farm Workers Union. Support must be won from student groups, community organizations, and trade unions. Chicano unionists will be especially anxious to organize committees in their locals to aid the Farm Workers. There are many Chicanos in the Teamsters union who reject the actions of their top officials. A special effort should be made to work with them.

We must determine how to make the grape boycott most effective in the Chicano community. Committees of activists can be formed where they don't already exist. We can mobilize large picket lines at A&P and Safeway stores and ask people not to shop there until they handle only union grapes with the black eagle on the label.

Boycott committees can investigate school cafeterias, restaurants, and every grocery store and supermarket to see if they are carrying scab grapes. They too will be picketed until not a single scab grape enters the barrio.

Rallies can be organized with representatives from the Chicano community, trade unionists, and others speaking in support of the farm workers.

Strike supporters can collect food and money for the strikers and their families so they will not go hungry.

If the farm workers are defeated, it would be a setback for the entire Chicano movement. Let us not forget that it was the struggle of our brothers and sisters in the fields that did so much to help develop the Chicano liberation movement in the urban barrios. Now we must rally to their defense. *Unidos venceremos! Viva la huelga!*



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Changing the guard at the NMU

The month-long election for top officers of the 50,000-member National Maritime Union (NMU) ended May 31. All ballots cast by eligible voters—and probably a few extras—have been counted. To the surprise of no one, the bureaucracy's candidate was returned to office. Shannon Jerome Wall defeated challenger James Morrissey by a 2-to-1 margin.

Wall will preside over the NMU for a four-year term at \$49,000 a year, plus some expense money. He expects to remain in office for the next period—however long that may be.

The last period extended from the founding of the union in 1937 until this year. Those 36 years are now known as the "Curran era," so called because Joseph Curran was the only president the union ever had until Wall took over.

Curran retired with a million dollar pension last February and appointed Wall as his replacement.

That was no change so far as the method of running the union is concerned, but it did represent a change of the guard. Wall provides continuity, but he is different from Curran because he is the product of a different era in the history of the trade-union movement.

Curran rode with the rising tide of the great CIO movement of the 1930s to organize the unorganized and establish industrial unionism. Millions of workers in those days hoped the CIO would create a new social order based on industrial democracy.

Curran was never much of a leader and probably never understood the scope or meaning of the CIO movement. In the beginning of his career he was a creature of the waterfront section of the Communist Party. As such, it was easy for him to shift his services to the waterfront employers and the U.S. Maritime Commission during World War II. This required no break of relations with his Stalinist mentors, who also served the shipowners and the government during the war.

Curran's break with the Stalinists came with the

Cold War. He fingered the Stalinist officials of the NMU and all militant seamen when the U.S. Coast Guard screened the industry and lifted the shipping papers of every radical on the waterfront.

For the past twenty years Curran fattened himself at the trough of the NMU treasury while the industry underwent transformation and the union declined to a quarter of its wartime size.

On June 21, a \$100-a-plate testimonial dinner at the Americana Hotel in New York will mark Curran's formal departure from the industry and from the union. It is fitting that AFL-CIO President George Meany should be the honorary chairman of the testimonial committee. Also listed among the sponsors are other top labor skates, representatives of the shipping trusts, and some capitalist politicians. These are Curran's closest associates. Not a single sailor sponsored the testimonial dinner, which is not to say that there were no cheers from the fo'c'sle of a ship somewhere at sea—sailors happy to be rid of Curran.

The dinner invitation says that "proceeds benefit United Seamen's Service," a proper postscript. Curran always fostered the notion that sailors deserve all the crumbs that fall from the banquet table of the shipowners and their friends.

This is the spirit Shannon J. Wall is pledged to perpetuate. He is qualified for this assignment, having started his career as a wartime sailor and then schooled as a Curran protégé. Wall is unencumbered by anything in the early militant tradition of the CIO movement. He knows only what came after. His idea of what must be done was stated recently in a *New York Times* interview. He said, "We have gone as far as we can in cooperating with the shipowners. We certainly don't intend to be anything less than cooperative because we can't afford to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs."

Wall is in for a big surprise. There are no golden eggs left.



Charming — Enjoying the influx of visitors, Watergate jewelers is offering a specially designed pin, the Watergate Bug. It's a tiny elephant wearing a headset with antennae. In sterling with eyes of sapphire, \$75. Gold with ruby eyes, \$225. The owner was concerned it not be "offensive." The elephant is "cute," he explained. "He has the expression of a little boy caught with his hand in the cookie jar."

The silver lining — Washington's increasingly popular Spy Shop reports sales have doubled on its \$2,500 telephone debugging device. Recent customers include members of Congress, governors, and police chiefs.

Safety first — On orders from the White House, the firing pins were removed from the rifles of the Marine honor guard that paraded before Saigon puppet Thieu at the Western White House this past April.

Morality dep't — Los Angeles Police Chief Edward Davis, who recently advocated that there be public airport hangings of skyjacks, says Watergate confirms that "the end does not justify the means when we are talking about the law."

Relax, enjoy! — Japanese experts assure that humans would have to eat 10 to 20 ounces of tuna a day for at least a month to suffer the effects of mercury poisoning.

Free advice — New York's Mayor Lindsay urged people to save electricity by going to the beach instead of turning on their air conditioners. He didn't say what to do if you don't have one.

Thought for the week — "We cannot simply rush headlong into policies designed to enhance the environment without running the risk of destroying the free enterprise system which has served us so handsomely." — Robert Rooney, a California conservation official.

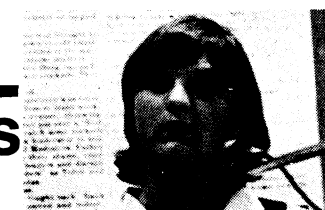
No panaceas — Coffin-nail addicts who switch to cigars may be even worse off, according to British researchers. A study of a group of

heavy smokers who switched showed they all continued to inhale and absorbed the same high level of carbon monoxide into their bloodstream. And cigar tars include even more potent carcinogens than cigarettes.

No sale — H. R. Haldeman's briefcase was supposed to be auctioned off at a fund-raiser for the National Cathedral School for Girls, where his daughter is a student. It was expected to bring a top price even though his gold initials had been removed along with such partition labels as "Current," "File," "Hot," and "Destroy." But the school returned it to spare his daughter "embarrassment." Besides, it may be needed for getaway money.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Miss USA, but Ms. Amanda Jones

A week before the Miss USA Beauty Pageant, the *New York Times* ran an article gleefully predicting that the future Miss USA would be "no Women's Libber."

"Women Liberationists may rant and burn their bras, but being chosen the fairest of them all is still the dream of many a wholesome, well-stacked American girl," said *Times* writer Angela Taylor.

It just couldn't happen, she told us, that the 'ideal' American woman could be anything but politically "conservative," show little individuality, and want to marry the boy next door.

Well, the *Times* was wrong. When the current Miss USA introduces herself she says, "I'm Miss USA and Ms. Amanda Jones."

Amanda Jones participated in antiwar demonstrations. On abortion, she says, "It's the decision of the woman and the woman alone. And she deserves every bit of assistance—legal and medical—that she can get."

She's not even too interested in the boy next door. "It isn't vital to me that I get married. I'd eventually like to have children, but I could adopt, even as a single parent," she told Associated Press.

She also believes that "women are perfectly capable of carrying on any career they want. And

I'm definitely in favor of equal pay for equal work."

If Taylor hadn't been blinded by her own stereotyped notions of what a feminist is, she might have been able to see the handwriting on the wall. She assumes that feminist ideas appeal only to "kooky" people. The truth is that they appeal to broad layers of women, including some who enter beauty contests.

Feminist ideas also appeal, incidentally, to growing numbers of women journalists, and it's a pity that Angela Taylor isn't one of them. The *Times* article is bad enough, but the fact that it's written by a woman makes it more obnoxious. Taylor can't help mentioning "Miss Virginia's impressive bosom . . . Miss Maryland's pretty legs . . . and the whistle-worthy cleavage of Miss New Mexico."

In her article, she points out that several of the contestants interviewed said they entered the contest for the money—the winner gets \$15,000. One contestant told her, "I'm not a real women's libber, but I'd like to be able to support myself, even if I marry." One contestant was a championship swimmer, another a teacher, another a sergeant in the Air Force. And Taylor might have remembered that Miss Oregon of a few years ago has

become an activist in the feminist struggle.

Taylor apparently based her prediction on the fact that when asked the question, "Who do you think is the greatest person in the world today?," many of the women listed their fathers, or President Nixon, or Billy Graham. But then, if you were in the contest for the money, and you knew that the judges included Joe Frazier, some John Wayne-types, and some fashion designers, who would you list? Certainly not Gloria Steinem or Fidel Castro!

Beauty contests were one of the first targets of the feminist movement in the late 1960s. Women began to object to the degrading, "livestock" display of women's bodies. These contests reinforce the idea that the only thing that counts about a woman is the way she looks. They try to establish the "perfect" way all women should look—white, tall, and 36-24-36.

As feminist consciousness grows, and more and more people protest the objectification of women, beauty contests will lose their support. But at least Amanda Jones, as an antiwar activist and believer in women's rights, is a more accurate representative of young American women than the beauty pageant organizers bargained for.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Of justice and chickens

Most Blacks have long known that they frequently get the short end of the stick in the courts. Blacks are often the victims of all sorts of cruel schemes involving racist prosecutors and judges, lying cops, high bonds, unfair juries, and other factors that render the courts a powerful weapon against us.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* recently completed a seven-month survey of criminal "justice" in Philadelphia, which has a Black population of close to 40 percent. The study was based on more than 1,000 court cases of major crimes in 1971 and produced statistics to bear out our long-time claims.

It found that Blacks are more likely to be convicted of a crime if the victim is white rather than Black. Blacks are sentenced to longer terms than whites for committing similar crimes. The statistics, as reported in the May 26 *New Republic*, also reveal:

- Blacks convicted for a violent crime are sent to jail in 64 percent of the cases compared to 42 percent of the cases for whites.

- Blacks convicted of a violent crime are sent to jail for seven months or longer in 69 percent of the cases while whites are sentenced to prison terms of that length in 49 percent of the cases.

- Blacks accused of serious crimes against whites are found guilty by judges of the major charge against them in 49 percent of the cases. This compares to 37 percent of the cases when both the offender and victim are Black.

- It also found that the court system is heavily weighted against persons under the age of 30. Those under 30 who plead guilty or are found guilty are sent to jail in 65 percent of the cases. Persons 30 and over who plead guilty or are convicted of a violent crime are sent to jail in 48 percent of the cases.

What do many of the victims of the Philadelphia court system have to face? Holmesburg prison.

This is the 77-year-old institution in Northeast Philly that a three-judge Common Pleas Court panel last year declared to be "unconstitutionally cruel and unusual punishment." Among other things, the panel called the food "inadequate to maintain the health of an average prisoner, and harmful to one with such conditions as diabetes, or an ulcer."

This prison was built to hold fewer than 700 prisoners, but it generally holds 1,200. Two or three men are now shoehorned into cells originally, and none too generously, built for one.

Brutality has been common at Holmesburg. In 1970, a *Philadelphia Daily News* reporter witnessed a group of prisoners being beaten while forced to run a gauntlet of guards armed with clubs.

At one time, the guards used to isolate "problem" prisoners in a special "Klondike" cell. The cell contained a giant torture radiator designed to heat an area many times larger. Four prisoners were roasted to death there in 1938.

Last week at Holmesburg the warden and deputy warden were stabbed to death by two Black prisoners.

Such desperate acts will not end the injustices of capitalism—the Man can replace wardens as well as presidents.

But after reading of the stabbing deaths, and remembering the statistics on "justice" Philadelphia-style, I couldn't help but recall an expression of Malcolm X. He was referring to the assassination of President Kennedy. He said that in view of all the violent crimes that the government had inflicted in one way or another against Blacks and other oppressed peoples around the world, Kennedy's assassination was a case of the chickens coming home to roost.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 22, 1973

Chilean workers mobilize to meet rightist threat

[Hugo Blanco, a Peruvian Trotskyist leader, was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison as a result of his work in organizing peasant unions in the early 1960s. He was released from prison in 1970, after serving eight years. In 1971 he was deported to Mexico because of his revolutionary activity. He is currently living in exile in Chile.]

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

MAY 18—A superficial glance at Chile might lead one to conclude that everything is moving to the right. Among the parties of the right, the fascist movement Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom] is becoming stronger. In the Christian Democracy the right wing has carried the day. The right wing of the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity] is getting stronger. Even the left wing of the Socialist party and the left MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] are softening their line, and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] itself goes so far as to defend Bachelet, the military official who has brought about a retreat from the distribution of goods under popular control.

Yet the workers vanguard is boldly moving into action in the face of the right-wing escalation. This is clearly shown by the Vicuña Mackena Cordón. *Cordón* is the term used to refer to the concentration of factories along certain avenues in Santiago. These concentrations are called cordones industriales [industrial belts].

The working class is organized into unions on a factory basis, and these unions are grouped into federations of the various industrial branches; these federations in turn belong to the Central Unica de Trabajadores [CUT—Workers Central Union]. The leadership of the CUT is bureaucratized and serves as a brake on the workers, though to a lesser extent than in other countries, owing to workers mobility. The main political force in it is the Communist party, though it also includes even Christian Democrats.

As in every prerevolutionary process, the masses are beginning to create new organizations that are more responsive to their struggle, though for the moment they are not abandoning the old ones. The cordones are a partial innovation in the

sense that they continue to make use of the unions, but they are linked by zone, by cordón, rather than by industrial branch. At first the top leadership of the CUT refused to recognize the cordones, and the CP called them illegal bodies. Today this position is no longer tenable, and the reformists now reluctantly recognize them in view of the fact that their own rank and file has refused to heed their effort to ignore the cordones. At the same time, they are demanding that the cordones subordinate themselves to the CUT leadership. The cordones are paying no attention to this demand.

Going back, the history of the spread of the cordones began with the "Workers Command of the Cerrillos Cordón" in June 1972. It was formed in connection with three serious workers struggles in the zone at the time. The second was the Vicuña Mackena Cordón, which was formed in August 1972, but reached its high point during the bosses' strike last October.

The big advantage of organizing by cordones lies in their ability to quickly assemble the masses and leaders, which is something that federations by industrial branch cannot do. In a period of "emergencies" such as the present one, this is a quality of no small value. Their big weakness is also tied to "emergencies," since it is only during such periods that they surge forward in a demonstration of workers power.

During periods of relative calm, the workers representatives who continue to attend cordón meetings are overwhelmed by petty-bourgeois elements, who are also allowed to attend because the vanguard workers are not sectarian. In these cases, interminable "high-level" discussions can be heard, heavily flavored with personal recrimination and superficiality ("fish-head stupidities" is the way the Chilean worker describes this); and along with all this are MIR-ist proposals for artificial "mobilizations" that are not prepared at the rank-and-file level.

But now, when the workers sense an imminent threat from the right or the capitulation of the reformists, they are returning to their cordón and calling a gentle but firm halt to the behavior of their generally well-intentioned petty-bourgeois friends.

This can be seen very clearly in the case of Vicuña Mackena. In face of preparations for a new strike by the bosses in the transportation industry (in spite of the fact that the government is rewarding their strength by

offering them 2,000 vehicles); in face of the escalation of the right wing in the political and economic spheres, especially as regards the problem of distribution; in face of the escalation in activity by the bands of Patria y Libertad; in face of the threat of seditious actions by the right during the [May 21] ceremony opening the next session of the national Congress, at which Allende will be speaking; in face of this entire offensive by the bourgeoisie, the cordón is stirring like a colossus awakening from slumber.

Unlike previous meetings, during which the cordón languished with little worker representation, the workers vanguard from the zone was strongly represented at the last one. It got right to the point and some important concrete agreements were arrived at:

1. It was agreed that in case of a strike by the bosses, the workers in the cordón would organize transportation in a centralized fashion so that the workers will be able to reach their factories. This is to be done with vehicles belonging to the factories.

store in the cordón.

3. Reactivate the Vigilance Committees for the Protection of Enterprises in places where they existed last October, and create them where they did not. These are pickets that are more or less equipped to defend industries, since there is a danger that the reactionary forces will attempt to take them over. In addition, these committees and all the workers in general are to remain on the alert for any seditious activity by the right wing.

4. Agitation and propaganda are to be stepped up. Since only a small number of the factories in the zone are affiliated with the cordón, the work of the cordón must be made known to the broadest layers of the rank and file. It is felt that the people's store, which is taking charge of a vital problem for Chile, will enhance both the prestige of the cordón and the need for it.

5. Not to return to private ownership the Hilandería Andina [Andina Spinning Mill], which was taken over by the workers and is operating better



Workers' assembly in Chile discusses participation in management of a nationalized plant.

2. Workers in two unions, one of which is in the "Monserrat" supermarket (which is in the hands of the workers), have formed a committee to organize a people's store for the cordón. It will operate out of one of the factories.

The following was projected: a) that industries that produce food or other consumer goods will supply the store with them; b) that industries that produce something needed by the consumer-goods-producing industries will supply them; c) that factories that have been taken over by the workers and that possess vehicles will make them available for transporting the above; d) that the cordón demands that the Distribuidora Nacional [DINAC—National Distribution Agency], which is owned by the state, supply goods; e) that the private distribution agency, CODINA, will also be pressured to do the same; f) that a meeting will be held of all the popular and peasants groups in the area in order to organize the distribution of goods to them via the people's

than ever since it lost its boss. The Supreme Court has ruled in favor of returning it.

Problems like the distribution of goods are not mere conjunctural problems. As a result, they can serve as a permanent axis for developing the dynamism of the cordón.

Thus the working class is offering a challenge not only to the right wing and its escalation, but also to the retreat of the forces of reformism in the face of this escalation.

The producing class is beginning to take up the problem of organizing the distribution of the goods that it produces. In itself this is a very serious matter. But it is all the more so in a context in which the bourgeoisie has been making statements such as the one made in the May 12 editorial of *El Mercurio*: "Civil war, or at least confrontation, appears inevitable."

It is in view of all these factors that the great proposal of the CP for the present situation takes on its full savor: "Collect signatures against civil war." □

Grigorenko denied medical treatment Kremlin bureaucrats threaten life of imprisoned oppositionist

By Marilyn Vogt

The case of Pyotr G. Grigorenko stands as stark testimony to the brutal measures Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin are utilizing in their campaign to destroy dissident communists.

According to information recently received from the Soviet Union, a judicial-psychiatric commission ruled January 29, 1973, that Grigorenko must continue to undergo compulsory "psychiatric treatment."

A former Soviet army general and a prominent leader of the opposition movement, Grigorenko has been undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment since 1970 because of his activities in defense of arrested dissidents and oppressed nationalities in the USSR. He has been confined in a prison psychiatric hospital in Chernyakovsk in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic on the Polish border since June 1970.

A press release from the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners reports the following recent developments in Grigorenko's case:

"A telephone call placed to Zinaida Grigorenko [Pyotr's wife], on May 2, 1973, revealed that she had been called by the Moscow KGB [secret police] for questioning. In view of the fact that she refused to discuss anything except her husband, she was let go. But she was told on a number of occasions that it might be a good idea for her to travel to Chernyakovsk . . . because the scheduled court trial may decide to release him, and 'perhaps you may take him home.'

"Upon arriving in Chernyakovsk at the end of April, she was told by the [prison] officials that the trial had already taken place on January 29, 1973, and the court had decided neither to release Grigorenko, nor to have him transferred to a regular hospital. She was reminded by the officials that on a previous occasion, when her husband was released [April, 1965], he continued his 'activities' . . .

"When she saw her husband, she was shocked to learn that he is completely blind in one eye, and that he was not being treated for this. He did not know of the court's decision and she did not tell him. Grigorenko did not receive any of her letters during the course of the 32 days which preceded her visit.

"Friends of Grigorenko are appealing that his case be given attention, for there is a real fear that the regime is trying to kill Grigorenko in the same manner as they killed Yuri Galanskov."

(Galanskov, an imprisoned dissident, was refused proper treatment for his acute case of stomach ulcers. He died in October 1972 after being "operated on" by an inmate in the Mordovian prison camp.)

Pyotr Grigorenko was born in 1907

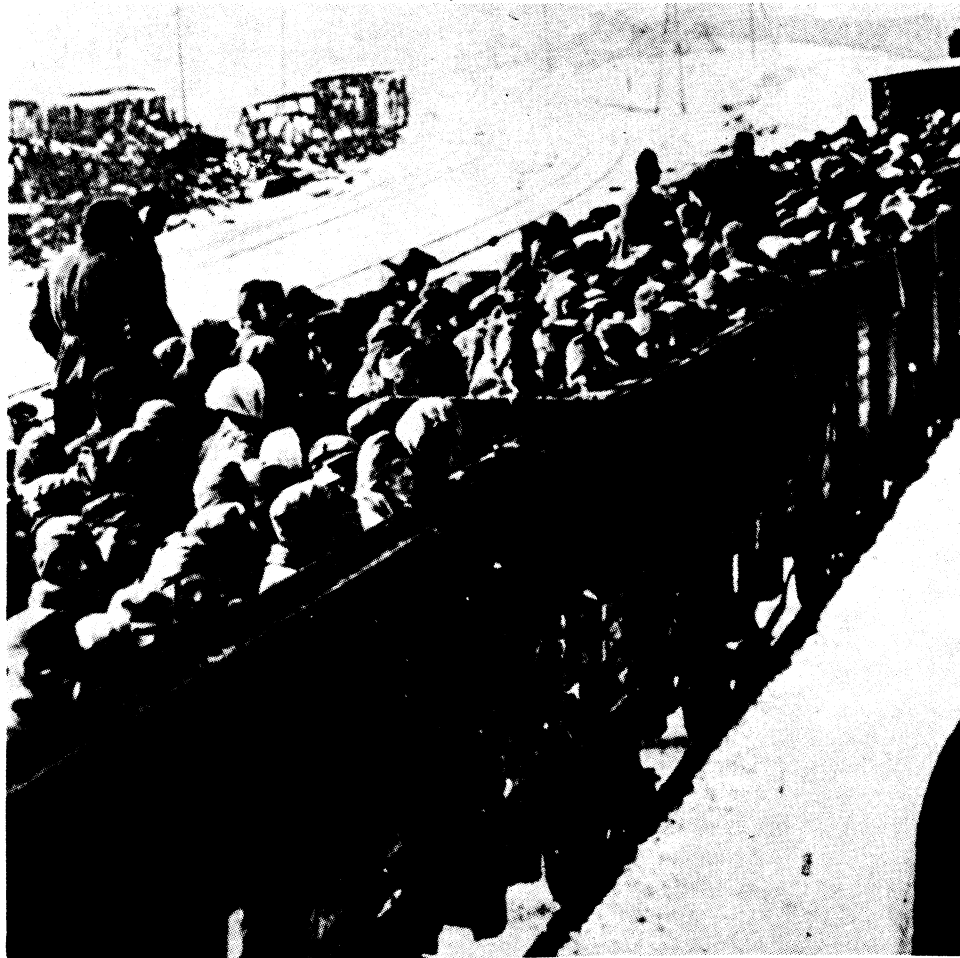
in Zaporizhka Oblast, in the Ukrainian SSR. A graduate of the Academy of the General Staff, he served in the Soviet Army during World War II and received numerous military decorations for heroism. In the early years of the war he was reprimanded for speaking out against the poor state of preparedness of the Soviet armed forces. During the fighting in 1944 he received a heel injury that made him an invalid.

Following the war he was a senior lecturer at the Frunze Military Academy, and in 1959 he was appointed head of the Department of Military Administration.

In 1961 he spoke out at a party meeting against the departures from Leninism in the party. According to

that because the government had "departed from Leninist norms and principles . . . it was essential to conduct explanatory work among the people, aimed at 'breaking down' the existing order. He studied Marx and Lenin and pondered the mistakes of the political leadership, [and] tried to map out the right course."

According to the "out-patient forensic psychiatric diagnosis" conducted in Tashkent (on the premises of the KGB) in August 1969 while Grigorenko was in the Far East, he had decided "to struggle against the existing order, 'to conduct an explanation of Leninist tenets among the people, and spread Leninist principles.' He began to prepare leaflets and to duplicate them on a typewriter. The



In the last four months of 1941, 500,000 Soviet prisoners of war, like those above, died. Grigorenko has done much to record the real role of the Stalinist bureaucrats in World War II.

the November 1969 "in-patient forensic psychiatric diagnosis" of the Serbsky Institute (supplied to the West by Vladimir Bukovsky, a Soviet dissident, himself now imprisoned), Grigorenko had come to the conclusion "that not all the consequences of the 'personality cult' had been liquidated, that there remained in the party 'Bonapartist methods of work.'"

For his opposition to bureaucratic rule, Grigorenko received a party reprimand, lost his post, was demoted in rank, and was transferred to the Maritime Province near Vladivostok in the Far East, where the bureaucrats hoped he would be politically isolated and ineffective.

They were wrong. Grigorenko continued his opposition activities.

The same forensic report states that during 1962-64 Grigorenko concluded

leaflets issued from a self-styled "Union of struggle for the revival of Leninism."

For these activities Grigorenko was arrested in February 1964 and charged under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ["anti-Soviet activity"]. To avoid a trial that could have proved embarrassing to them, the bureaucrats declared Grigorenko insane. He was ordered to undergo compulsory psychiatric treatment in August 1964.

His "insanity" was characterized, according to the psychiatric commission, "by the presence of reformist ideas, in particular for the reorganization of the state apparatus; and this was linked with ideas of overestimation of his own personality that had reached messianic proportions."

After his release from the special

psychiatric hospital in April 1965, Grigorenko's personal situation was extremely difficult—he had lost his pension and was unable to obtain work in his field because of his past political activity. Despite the fact that he was an invalid and almost sixty years old, he was forced to work as a loader in order to survive.

Between 1966 and his arrest in 1969, Grigorenko played a leading role in the defense of arrested dissidents, in the protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in defense of the right of the Crimean Tatars to return to their homeland from which they had been deported en masse by Stalin in 1944. In his activities in defense of the Crimean

The May 28 and June 4 issues of *Intercontinental Press* contain lengthy articles by Gerry Foley that may be of interest to *Militant* readers. Foley discusses the situation in Ireland in the course of a polemic against the sectarian Socialist Labour League of Britain. He takes up, among other things, the role of nationalism and its relation to the overall class struggle in Ireland, the question of terrorism, the need for a revolutionary party and some of the problems in building such a party.

To order these issues send \$1 to *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Tatars, Grigorenko worked closely with Aleksei Kosterin, an Old Bolshevik who died in November 1968, his death having been hastened by incessant KGB harassment.

In his speech to Crimean Tatars on Kosterin's seventy-second birthday in March 1968, Grigorenko stated:

"Your rights are trampled underfoot. Why? . . . the main reason for this lies in the fact that you underestimate your enemy. You think you are dealing only with honest people. This is not so. What happened to your people was not the work of Stalin alone. And his accomplices are not only still alive, they hold responsible positions. . . .

"You address humble supplications to the party leadership . . . [Instead you should] start to demand! And do not just demand fragments—demand everything that was unlawfully taken away from you. Demand the reestablishment of the *Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic!*

"Do not limit yourselves to the writing of petitions. Strengthen your demands by all the means that are available to you under the constitution—make good use of the freedom of speech and of the press, of meetings, street processions, and demonstrations.

"A newspaper is put out for you in Tashkent. But its editors do not support your movement. Kick them out and choose your own editorial staff.

"If you are prevented, boycott the newspaper and start another one, your own press.

"In your struggle, do not lock yourself in a narrow nationalist shell. Establish contacts with progressive people in other nations of the Soviet Union—first of all with those nationalities among whom you live, the Russians and Ukrainians who have been and continue to be persecuted like your people."

In May 1969, while in Tashkent, where he had gone to work in defense

of arrested Crimean Tartar activists, Grigorenko was arrested again. He was forced to undergo two psychiatric examinations — one in Tashkent [Uzbek SSR] and another at the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow. The first examining commission found Grigorenko sane. The examining board of the second, which included the notorious Professor D. R. Lunts, who works at least part-time for the KGB, concluded:

"Grigorenko is suffering from a mental illness in the form of a pathological paranoid development of the personality, with the presence of reformist ideas that have appeared in his personality . . .

"Confirmation of this can be seen in the psychotic condition present in 1964, which arose during an unfavorable situation and expressed itself in ideas . . . of reformism and persecution. . . . The paranoid condition was not completely overcome. Reformist ideas have taken on an obstinate character and determine the conduct of the patient; in addition the intensity of these ideas is increased in connection with various external circumstances which have no direct relation to him

[the bureaucrats' suppression of dissidents and minority peoples in the USSR]. . . . The above-mentioned condition of mental illness excludes the possibility of his being responsible for his actions and controlling them; consequently the patient must be considered of unsound mind."

This diagnosis was upheld by a Tashkent court in February 1970 and Grigorenko was sent to Chernyakovsk in May 1970.

The Kremlin is determined to keep Grigorenko confined until he renounces his ideas. His poor health, which has further deteriorated because of the harsh conditions of his confinement, the prospect that he may soon be totally blind, and the prison authorities' refusal to provide the necessary medical treatment are evidence that the Stalinist bureaucrats are determined to destroy Grigorenko in prison if he will not recant.

Grigorenko's case is reviewed every six months. It is scheduled to be discussed again this June. Revolutionists around the world must organize in his defense and demand that the bureaucrats free Pyotr Grigorenko. □

Thai students demand closing of U.S. bases

Thai students are preparing a nationwide protest movement against the presence of U.S. air bases in their country, according to a report in the May 28 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. The movement is expected to get under way in July, when university vacations end.

There are presently about 45,000 U.S. servicemen in Thailand, most of them at large air bases from which B-52 bombers are sent to bomb Cambodia. Their presence is also intended as a continuing threat to North Vietnam.

Review correspondent Norman Peagam reported that the Thai government was considering banning the national student organization that is planning the campaign against the bases. "Such a move could come with the demonstrations against the US bases, since US military aid (around \$600 million since 1964) is the lifeblood of the armed forces, upon which the Thai Government is based, and it is given so freely and so plentifully in return for American use of Thai

airbases, ports and communications facilities, and Thai cooperation in Laos and Cambodia."

There is another payment for the bases not mentioned in Peagam's report: U.S. assistance against the guerrilla movement in Thailand's northeastern provinces. In the May 12 issue of the U.S. weekly *New Republic*, Tad Szulc reported that Nixon is now supplying "counterinsurgency experts" to "advise" the government in its anti-guerrilla operations. Most of the "advisers" involved gained their counterinsurgency experience in South Vietnam.

The military assistance is being provided through the Agency for International Development (AID) in order to keep an "economic" cover. The AID mission in Bangkok now includes more than 250 persons.

The planned protests are part of a rising student movement that has been taking up issues ranging from university conditions to Japanese influence on the economy. □

World news notes

New blow to U.S. blockade of Cuba

On May 28 Argentine President Héctor Cámpora announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with Cuba, making Argentina the eighth Latin American or Caribbean country to do so. The others are Barbados, Chile, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago.

In 1964 the Organization of American States (OAS), at Washington's insistence, passed a resolution requiring its members to break off diplomatic, trade, and transportation ties with revolutionary Cuba. Only the Mexican government refused to obey the resolution.

The first major breach in the U.S. blockade came shortly after the election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile in September 1970. Allende announced the resumption of diplomatic relations on November 12.

The military government of Peru recognized the Cuban government in July 1972, and the other countries mentioned restored diplomatic relations last October. With Argentina following suit, it becomes even more difficult for Nixon to keep other governments in line.

Nixon's own policies have undoubtedly contributed to the growing unwillingness to participate in the U.S. blockade. When it suited U.S. interests, Nixon was willing to "recognize" the Cuban government to the extent of signing the antihijacking agreement in February. And the establishment under another name of diplomatic relations between Peking and Washington makes the imperialist blockade of Cuba appear all the more absurd.

Palestinians protest in occupied territories

In the first organized general protest in more than four years, Arab shopkeepers in East Jerusalem staged a general strike June 5. The date marked the sixth anniversary of the six-day war in which Israel occupied the West Bank of the Jordan River.

"Israeli soldiers with buckets of black paint marked the front of about 20 stores with an X in a circle—a symbol that in past years meant the shops would be closed and their goods confiscated. The purpose today seemed to be to intimidate the shopkeepers," reported Terence Smith in the June 6 *New York Times*.

Smith also reported that ten shopkeepers who refused to reopen were arrested, but that no charges were lodged against them. Other protests included the raising of Palestinian flags and the painting of slogans. Actions were reported in a number of areas on the West Bank, including Ramallah.



Israeli soldiers marking store of Palestinian who participated in protest strike.

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Hard to follow the leader when the mail's late

Followers of Gerry Healy's sectarian Socialist Labour League in Britain and his U.S. disciples, the Workers League, are being offered a choice of analyses of what is happening in the Watergate scandal.

The May 22 *Workers Press*, Healy's paper, explains that "Nixon is under siege in the White House, with a powerful section of the American ruling class growing more and more determined that he must go. . . .

"The moneyed interests which stand behind the 'Washington Post' and the 'New York Times' are interested, above all, in clearing the decks for all-out trade war and deflation."

Looking through the same glasses, the editors of the *Bulletin*, the paper of the Workers League, saw an entirely different picture. They say in their May 28 issue:

"This crisis has come at just the moment when the capitalist class requires a strong government to carry on a trade war against Europe and a virtual civil war against the American working class, and all sections of the ruling class are beginning to come to Nixon's defense, trying to prevent the complete downfall of his government."

Regime abolishes monarchy

Greek naval officers fail in attempt to dump colonels

By Allen Myers

"Let the king's voice be heard," proclaimed the Athens daily *Eleftheros Kosmos* May 25 in a front-page editorial. "Rightly or wrongly the impression was created in the armed forces and public opinion that the king is directly or indirectly implicated in the navy episode."

The "navy episode" first came to public attention May 24, when a spokesman for the Greek military dictatorship announced that a "handful" of naval officers had been arrested on the night of May 22 for plotting to overthrow the government.

"Two retired naval officers," the spokesman said, "misled some naval officers in active service. Under their plan, they would have put three warships out to the open sea, addressed a message to the Greek people and issued an ultimatum to the government. . . . But those who issued the orders failed to show up. They stayed at home, frightened, and were arrested there."

The two retired officers were identified as Vice Admirals Ioannis Mineos and Constantine Engolfopoulos. Engolfopoulos was naval chief of staff prior to the 1967 coup that brought the colonels to power.

Four days later, the Defense Ministry issued a communiqué claiming that "more officers had been in the plot than was originally believed."

"The plan of the insurgents," the ministry said, "was to move the largest possible number of ships, which would have made a rendezvous at the harbor of Hermoupolis, on Syros Island, in the central Aegean Sea."

"There the insurgents issue a proclamation outlining the political targets of the putsch, solicit the support of the army and the air force, and demand the government's resignation. Until their demands were met, they would proceed to a show of force by sending small landing parties to various islands of the Cyclades, where there are no military garrisons, in order to bolster the morale of the population."

"Depending on the number of ships that would join the mutiny, they had plans to blockade the ports of Piraeus and Salonika. If the plot failed, the fleet would have left for Italy."

The ministry also said that an underground group called Greek Antidictatorial Youth had planned to join in the uprising by carrying out sabotage and political assassinations on the mainland.

Thirty-five naval officers were said to be involved in the plot, thirty-two of them of high rank.

During the four days between the two government statements, the officers and crew of the destroyer *Velos*, which was participating in NATO maneuvers, mutinied and sailed to Italy, where they were granted asylum.

The May 28 communiqué named three more alleged leaders of the plot. They were Nicholas Pappas, the captain of the *Velos*, Captain George Konofaos, and Admiral Ioannis Rozakis. Konofaos and Rozakis were both thrown out of the navy because of their participation in the king's attempted countercoup of December 1967. Konofaos was reported to have been arrested May 24. Rozakis had left Greece for Italy on May 19.

Even prior to the May 22 arrests, there had been signs of an increased unity and activity among the bourgeois sectors that would like to replace the Papadopoulos dictatorship with a regime less offensive to domestic and world opinion. This bourgeois opposition seems to have coalesced around the figure of the exiled King Constantine.

The king's role is explained in part by the traditionally royalist attitude of the navy's top officers. (All of the officers so far mentioned as leaders of the plot are well known as monarchists.)

The split in the armed forces revealed by the attempted coup is based on more than ideology, however. Since 1967, the army colonels have displaced the admirals in the enjoyment of the privileges of rank. As John K. Cooley put it in the April 21 *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The new power elite . . . is a generation of Army officers who came from lower-middle-class or humble rural and village backgrounds, but whose pay, allowances, fringe benefits, and educations have vastly improved with their assumption of political power."

The navy officers and the king are thus the natural allies of the bourgeois opposition politicians.

One month before the planned uprising, a considerable stir was created by a statement from former Premier Constantine Karamanlis, who headed the right-wing National Radical Union and was premier from 1955 to 1963. He issued the statement in Paris, where he has lived for the past ten years.

Karamanlis called for the return of King Constantine to Greece and the establishment of an "experienced and strong government" that would have "extraordinary powers for a limited period" while preparing a return to a parliamentary regime.

When three Greek papers published all or part of the Karamanlis statement, the Papadopoulos regime betrayed considerable indecisiveness in its reaction.



PAPADOPOULOS: announces deposing of King Constantine.

The three papers—the Athens *Vradyni*, Salonika *Thessaloniki*, and the English-language *Athens News*—were confiscated or forced to remove the offending passages. On April 25 a judicial council in Athens approved the seizure of *Vradyni*. But at the same time, another council in Salonika removed the ban on sales there of both *Vradyni* and *Thessaloniki*, saying that the Karamanlis statement was "not a manifest incitement to re-



PAPPAS: government of colonels 'is bad for America. The U. S. must do something.'

bellion." Meanwhile, a third council permitted the sale of *Athens News* on the grounds that most of its readers are foreigners.

The April 26 *New York Times* reported that "qualified observers" expected no action against the papers' editors because under the Greek press law Karamanlis "would have to be indicted along with the executives of the newspapers. These observers reasoned that the Government was unlikely to risk the 66-year-old leader's return to Athens to face trial because it might create problems for public order."

A considerable part of Karamanlis's threat to the Papadopoulos regime resides in the fact that he would be acceptable to Washington if he succeeded in replacing the colonels—even though there is no indication that U. S. imperialism is willing to risk the instability that could result from actively backing the bourgeois opposition. In an April 29 dispatch to the *Manchester Guardian*, David Tonge gave the following description of the ex-premier:

"He is the spiritual leader of much of the country's right wing. He receives a grudging respect from many of the officers, though few seem prepared actually to follow him. He is accepted by the center, and even by many Communists, as the only man who could lead an interim government to break the present political impasse. . . ."

"Some of Karamanlis's credibility stems from it being known that he is liked by Washington. Many Greeks, however mistakenly [sic], believe that this is where their country's fate is decided. They know that in 1955 Karamanlis was initially helped to power by the Americans, and that he has never burned his bridges to Washington."

Karamanlis's April 23 statement was reported to have drawn public declarations of support from other prominent bourgeois politicians, including George Mavros, head of the Center Union, and former Premier Panayotis Canellopoulos, who followed Karamanlis as leader of the National Radical Union.

The series of student antigovernment demonstrations over recent months were undoubtedly a factor in the crystallization of the bourgeois opposition at this time. The student movement would be seen as both a potential source of support and as a danger

that might be diverted by the installation of a parliamentary regime.

In a May 14 statement distributed to foreign reporters in Athens, Canellopoulos came to the verbal defense of the students in the name of "those who in the past represented the nation through free elections, regardless of party affiliation."

Canellopoulos condemned the widespread arrests of students, many of whom are being held in secret and have been denied any contact with relatives or lawyers.

But the last thing these bourgeois politicians want is to see the students or any other oppressed sector of the population engaged in mass struggle. Their perspectives do not go beyond the twin strategies of military coup and persuading U. S. imperialism that they can do a better job than Papadopoulos of representing its interests.

With the failure of the May 22 coup attempt, the other half of the strategy becomes dominant for the time being, even as it becomes less convincing to Washington.

At a May 28 press conference in Rome, the captain of the *Velos* told reporters that the government of the colonels "is bad for America. The United States must do something. I don't say the Sixth Fleet has to stage a landing and throw the colonels out. But there are other ways."

Captain Pappas went on to make the unlikely assertion that "former Communists" are involved in the present regime and that this represented a danger to NATO.

For their part, the colonels are using the occasion to consolidate their hold and divert attention from such problems as the student demonstrations, the apparently deadlocked negotiations concerning Cyprus, and the inability of the regime to persuade the European Development Bank to grant badly needed loans.

The dictatorship is carrying out a thorough purge of the navy. Vice Admiral Constantine Margaritis, head of the navy, was forced into retirement May 31. According to the June 1 *New York Times*, some 200 naval officers are being held for "questioning" in connection with the attempted coup.

On May 27, the Athens press began printing reports on the impending abolition of the monarchy, and on June 1 the regime announced that Constantine had been deposed. It said a plebiscite would later be held to ratify this decision. □

New 'Labor Committee' gangsterism in N.Y.

SWPer seriously hurt in NCLC assault

NEW YORK, June 12—Three members of the Socialist Workers Party were assaulted by five armed goons from the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) on Saturday, June 9. The attack, the latest in a series of such violent incidents, left SWP member Jesse Smith seriously injured. Smith remains hospitalized for treatment of a badly broken arm, gashes on his face and head requiring 11 stitches, and numerous welts and bruises on his back and arms.

The two other victims, Ken Shilman, Lower Manhattan organizer of the SWP, and Rebecca Finch, coordinator of the New York SWP mayoral campaign, were not seriously injured.

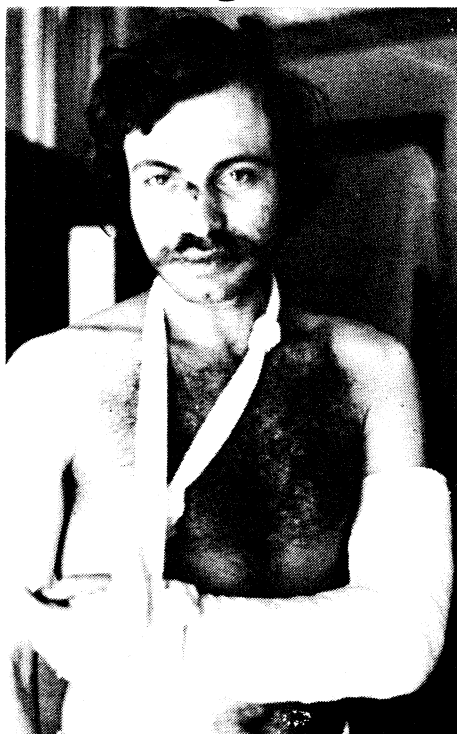
The three SWPers were about two blocks from the SWP campaign headquarters at 706 Broadway when they were jumped from behind by the thugs, who were armed with leather wrapped sticks, lead pipes, and nunchakus, karate weapons. The attack took place at 7 p.m., when it was still daylight.

Witnesses reported that the hooligans had followed the SWPers from the direction of the headquarters. One of the attackers was identified as Steve Getzoff, a longtime member of the NCLC.

The thugs identified themselves as NCLC members and yelled, "This is for Seattle," over and over as they were beating Smith. The reference was apparently to the SWP's participation in a meeting in Seattle organized by the Black Panther Party to protest NCLC assaults. Several weeks ago a letter had been left at SWP campaign offices demanding the SWP "repudiate" its participation in the Seattle meeting.

Yesterday, an NCLC phone caller to the SWP campaign committee stated the NCLC was responsible for the June 9 attack, and referred again to Seattle.

Representatives of the Communist Party told *The Militant* that on June



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Jesse Smith suffered badly broken arm and required 11 stitches as a result of beating by NCLC goons.

11, Ron Tyson, a staff writer for the CP's *Daily World*, and a companion were attacked by NCLC goons near the Center for Marxist Education in New York. Police arrested two of the attackers, who were identified as Getzoff and George Turner. They were released on their own recognizance and ordered to appear for trial June 26.

These attacks are a continuation of NCLC assaults begun several months ago against the SWP, the CP, and other radical groups.

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor, issued a statement today denouncing the attacks, and pointing to the urgent need for a united response from all civil libertarians and the entire radical movement to isolate

the NCLC.

"The attack on June 9," Oliver said, "represents a new level of escalation of the NCLC gangster activities. Previously, the NCLC tried to disrupt public meetings by mobilizing large numbers of armed attackers. But they have been repeatedly repulsed, and ejected by well-organized defense guards."

"Now, they have resorted to terrorist attacks by small bands on individuals walking the streets."

"When they attacked a meeting at Columbia University on April 24, the NCLC brought 50 to 60 people. The absurdity of their attempts to 'destroy' the CP and the SWP has become apparent, and they are evidently incapable of mobilizing on that scale any longer. But the frustration of the handful of fanatical sectarians who remain, goaded on without doubt by police agents in their ranks, raises the danger of much more deadly attacks, like the one that sent Jesse Smith to the hospital. The viciousness of this latest attack is an ominous sign."

"The need for a united defense of the right of all groups to function without assaults by NCLC gangsters is greater than ever before," Oliver stated.

Oliver demanded immediate arrest of these criminals. "The city has known about these attacks since they began," he said, "but has refused to act to put an end to them."

He also demanded a public report of any undercover police operations involving the Labor Committee. "Are there or are there not police provocateurs encouraging these attacks?" Oliver demanded to know. He recalled past revelations of New York City undercover police agents participating in planning of violent acts, such as the infamous "Statue of Liberty" case.

"Even the Watergate 'plumbers' have drawn from the well of police spies in the New York police department,

coming up with characters like John Caulfield and Anthony Ulasewicz. These two of 'New York's finest' graduated from local police undercover work to White House employment in 1969, when Nixon began to set his Watergate operations into motion," Oliver said. "Are unsavory types like these now using the NCLC to attack the SWP and other radical groups?" he asked.

A press conference is being organized to protest the cowardly NCLC beatings and to demand that the city administration take action to compel the police and the district attorney to bring criminal charges against the NCLC goons. A statement demanding action by the city is being circulated for wide endorsement to maximize pressure for immediate and effective action by the police.

The statement reads, in part, "For the past several months in New York City, the National Caucus of Labor Committees has conducted a systematic campaign of physical disruptions of public meetings involving candidates for office and individual supporters of these candidates."

"In other cities, physical attacks have been leveled against meetings of labor, civil rights, peace and community organizations. . . .

"The NCLC has taken full responsibility for these gangster-like attacks in the pages of its newspaper, *New Solidarity*, and through letters, telephone calls and leaflets. . . .

"We, the undersigned, demand that the NCLC immediately cease these violent assaults on the democratic rights of organizations and political candidates to express their views and hold public meetings. . . .

"We demand immediate action from the city administration to force the District Attorney's office and the New York Police Department to arrest these hooligans and stop these attacks."

Will N.Y. students have to 'prove residency'?

New protests hit 'illegal alien' raids in LA

JUNE 13—The massive roundup of undocumented workers begun three weeks ago in Los Angeles appears to have tapered off for the time being. As of June 9, 7,100 people had been arrested in the dragnet raids.

A demonstration has been scheduled for L.A. on June 16 to protest the deportations and to call for defeat of the Rodino-Kennedy bill. This bill, which has been passed by the House and is pending in the Senate, would further victimize undocumented workers.

On June 10, a meeting of the Cali-

fornia Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535 passed a resolution that sets an example for the entire labor movement. The union resolution declared:

"We oppose and call for the defeat of the discriminatory Rodino bill presently under consideration in the U.S. Congress and ask that the AFL-CIO withdraw its support for the bill."

"The bill, if enacted, will result in even worse abuses against workers without documents than are now occurring, such as the recent roundup. . . .

"We support the June 16 demonstration called for Los Angeles by CASA—Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers)."

Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in the recent election, also released a statement. She urged participation in the June 16 demonstration, saying, "I condemn the deportation of the thousands of undocumented Raza workers in Los Angeles and demand that such actions be halted. The exploitation of the so-called illegal aliens and the cruel dragnet raids threaten the rights of all Chicanos and all working people."

The government anti-"alien" drive has also had repercussions elsewhere in the country. In New York, one city



Antideportation demonstration in Los Angeles last year

Militant/Harry Ring

councilman urged June 11 that school officials require parents of new pupils to furnish proof of legal residency. There are an estimated 400,000 "illegal aliens" in New York. Of these, about 65,000 are in the city schools.

The proposal to use the schools as police agencies against undocumented workers was rejected by the chairman of the board of education, Murry Bergtraum. Although agreeing that there is a "problem of illegal aliens," Bergtraum opposed the idea of keeping their children out of school, and

said, "We also will not use children to turn in their parents."

The same councilman who complained about the cost of educating the children of undocumented workers also called for raising the tuition of foreign students at the City University of New York from \$900 to \$2,100 a year. Just as the politicians try to blame unemployment on the undocumented workers, they also try to blame second rate educational systems and inadequate school budgets on the children of undocumented workers.



Militant/Harry Ring

RODRIGUEZ: 'Dragnet raids threaten the rights of all Chicanos and all working people.'

...Behind energy crisis

Continued from page 24

ment that the firms use to withdraw is uneconomic. I would like to know when the State of Minnesota became 'uneconomic' to Gulf. . . . Yet as they withdraw Exxon comes in and moves in harder with more stations."

The effects of these moves by the oil monopolies have already begun to be felt. In April retail prices of gasoline and motor products rose at an unadjusted rate of 1.5 percent, an annual increase of 18 percent. If the majors are able to strengthen their monopoly of service stations through this maneuver, this will be only the beginning of gas price increases.

Free enterprise system

Oil company executives are quite frank about the way they see things. Humphrey quoted one who said:

"These companies that you are talking about are part of the private enterprise system. We are sellers, and in a sellers market, and we have no obligation to the public in any form of the legal sense."

The attitude of the oil industry to the energy crisis is summed up in the headline on an article in the June 4 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*. "There'll be enough gas and oil if people pay the price."

To nobody's surprise, Nixon's statement on the energy crisis, which was sent to Congress April 18, reflected the same view. Nixon assured the American people that "in the years im-

been urged against offshore drilling and strip mining.

Crocodile tears

None of the senators who have been weeping crocodile tears over the callousness of the oil monopolies and their effects on consumers are opposed to higher prices, tax subsidies for the industry, or the removal of environmental restrictions. Many of them came out specifically in favor of such measures during the Senate debate.

The "independents" that these senators are trying to protect from the monopolies are huge companies in their own right, running chains of hundreds of service stations. Amerada Hess, for example, one of these "independents," is number 107 on *Fortune's* list of the 500 largest U.S. corporations. Clark Oil and American Petrofina, others among the "independents," are also on the *Fortune* list.

As Senator Jackson said, "what we are really trying to do is just make the system work better."

Along with their solicitude for the capitalist system, which is responsible for the energy crisis in the first place, these politicians hope to get some mileage out of their antimonopoly rhetoric. The Senate bill to ensure the independent companies of a continuing supply of petroleum products will probably be about as effective in maintaining competition as the 1911 Supreme Court decision that ordered the dissolution of the Standard Oil



'If the majors are able to strengthen their monopoly of service stations through this maneuver, this will be only the beginning of gas price increases.'

mediately ahead, we must face up to the possibility of occasional energy shortages and some increase in energy prices."

He proposed to increase the supply of natural gas by removing all federal controls on natural gas prices from new wells and, after current contracts have expired, from old ones as well. Previously, the oil companies refused to develop new natural gas fields because they couldn't sell the gas at enough of a profit.

Nixon also proposed a series of new tax subsidies to the oil industry. He, in essence, proposed that the government underwrite losses in exploratory drilling, while leaving the profits, as always, to the private companies. On top of these gifts to the oil billionaires, Nixon also called for tripling the annual acreage leased for oil drilling on the continental shelf by 1979, and for "the highest national priority" being given to expanding coal production.

These last two proposals are clear portents of a new drive against the environmental restrictions that have

trust, and which succeeded in forcing the Rockefellers to set up a number of separate companies instead of one big one.

There are genuine problems posed by the increasing need for energy, the relation between the production of energy and the environment, and the necessity to develop new forms of energy. But the American people can't even begin to tackle these problems without full and accurate information on them.

A realistic program for dealing with these problems must start with the demand that the corporations open their books to the public, so that we will know what the actual situation is. And it must end with the fact that it is the system of capitalist anarchy and profit-grubbing that is responsible for these problems. The preservation of the environment and the maintenance of a steady supply of power are necessities for everybody in society. The decisions about these questions cannot be left in the hands of the Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Kennedys, and the Fords.

Chi teachers hear Black unionist rap Shanker

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO—The debate in the Chicago Teachers Union that began last April, when American Federation of Teachers Vice-president Albert Shanker was invited to address a CTU conference, has continued. The original invitation to Shanker was withdrawn as a result of the angry reaction from Black community groups, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the *Daily Defender*, a Black community newspaper.

So many people refused to speak on the same platform with Shanker that CTU President Robert Healy was forced to admit that "we realized that we could not have an integrated conference."

Instead, Shanker was invited to speak to a CTU House of Delegates meeting. On June 5, Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, addressed the House of Delegates, replying to Shanker's speech.

Hayes began by pointing out the role of Black trade unionists during the January 1973 Chicago teachers strike. They were instrumental, he said, in building community support for the strike, in getting groups like Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) to support the strike, and in helping in the organization of alternate schools in the Black community.

The unity between the Black community and the teachers union, and between Black and white teachers, that was developed during the strike would be destroyed, Hayes warned, if the CTU became identified with Shanker and the policies he stands for.

Among the policies Hayes cited were

Shanker's backhanded support to Nixon in the 1972 elections; his support to the war in Vietnam; and his association with Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan, who as head of the building trades unions in New York organized construction workers to at-



SHANKER & BRENNAN: Both bureaucrats pursue racist policies.

tack antiwar demonstrators in May 1970.

But the action that has done the most to give Shanker his well-earned reputation as a racist was his sponsorship of the New York teachers strike in 1968. This racist strike was directed against the right of the Black community of Ocean Hill-Brownsville to control its own schools. It represents a tradition Shanker has continued with his campaign against the community school board and Luis Fuentes in New York's District 1.

Farm Workers office vandalized in Denver

By RAUL GONSALES

DENVER—On May 30 the offices of the United Farm Workers Union in Denver's East Side barrio were broken into and vandalized. Richard Longoria, Denver coordinator of the UFWU and the lettuce boycott, told *The Militant* what happened.

Boycott activists learned of the raid through the quick thinking of a boycott supporter. Her husband, Dr. Sylvan Baer, had been called early on the morning of May 31 by a person identifying himself as a Denver police officer. The officer told the doctor that the FBI had raided the offices of the UFWU and had found drugs that had been traced to the doctor's office. The cop asked if they had been stolen. The doctor said no.

"Someone had given it [the medicine] to us for the farm workers in San Luis. They didn't need it, so we left it there in the back room," Longoria said. After receiving the call, "I took my attorney and we went to the office and documented the destruction by pictures and writing."

The vandalism was extensive. "There were two fireplaces in the house . . . they were just ripped out. The paneling around them was ripped out."

In addition, mirrors were shattered, banisters on the stairs ripped out, paint spilled, windows punched out.

"There was also blood on the floor. We suspect some of the narcs cut themselves."

Longoria and his lawyer spoke to the neighbors, who said they had seen police cars and cops poking around the office the night before, May 30.

When Longoria spoke to Denver Assistant District Attorney Yale Huffman, Huffman claimed he had no prior knowledge of the raid. He suggested the Teamsters might have put people up to it. Yet Huffman made a few calls and apparently "found out" that the Metropolitan Enforcement Group (MEG) had carried out the raid.

The MEG is a coalition made up of drug divisions of various city, state, and federal drug agencies in Denver. The MEG had denied any knowledge of the raid.

This raid is one of many the UFWU has been subjected to nationally.

Since the March 17 attack on the Crusade for Justice by Denver police, the harassment of the Chicano community has been stepped up. The raid on the UFWU offices is the latest of these incidents, which include the following of Crusade activists by unmarked police cars, the increased brutalization of Chicanos on the street, and the suspected bugging of phones of community activists.

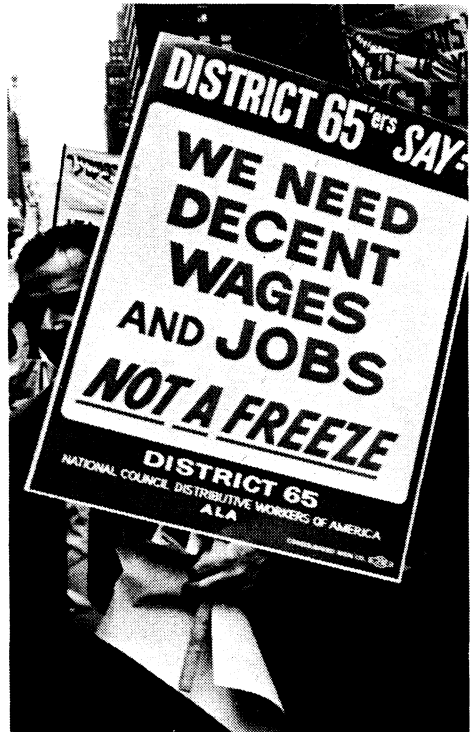
WILL GE & OTHER UNION SETTLEMENTS PROTECT WORKERS FROM RISING PRICES?

By FRANK LOVELL

With the year half gone, wages continue to lose ground against runaway prices, and the trade-union bureaucracy blocks at every turn new opportunities to mobilize the union movement to defend the standard of living of working people.

On June 7, the U.S. Department of Labor announced the highest peacetime rate of increase in wholesale prices for a single month since World War II. Farm prices rose 6.1 percent in May, up a staggering 39.4 percent from a year ago. The annual rate of increase in farm prices for the past three months is 43.3 percent and showing no sign of leveling off.

At the same time this unprecedented price jump was announced by the



Militant/Mark Reynolds

Labor Department, the General Electric Company and two unions—the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers and the independent United Electrical Workers—announced a tentative wage settlement for more than 100,000 workers in the electrical industry.

The wage increase for GE workers covered by the new three-year contracts will reach 88 cents per hour in November 1975. At present, the average wage of GE hourly rated workers is \$3.80, so the annual increase is approximately 7.5 percent.

Under a limited cost-of-living escalator clause in these contracts the workers will receive five cents in November of this year, 14 cents the following year, and 12 cents in November 1975. These increases are included in the 88-cent three-year package.

Union negotiations with GE were closely supervised by the Nixon administration from the beginning of this year. The employing class and the union movement regarded them as a possible pattern for the current round of wage settlements in other industries such as oil, rubber, trucking, and auto, affecting some five million workers.

Strong government pressure is exerted to hold annual wage increases within the 5.5 percent Phase 2 guidelines despite the rapid price rise under Phase 3 of the New Economic Policy.

The GE negotiations were an accurate reflection of the general attitude of the union officialdom because bargaining was conducted by a Coordinated Bargaining Committee representing 14 unions in the electrical industry. The committee was formed

under the aegis of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and George Meany served as advisory chairman.

Union negotiators hoped GE would grant concessions in the face of government pressure to avoid a round of strikes this year. A tough company position provoked a 101-day strike at GE in 1969-70.

GE has long considered itself the antiunion leader among major corporations, having successfully kept the workers in its empire divided and disorganized. It recognizes 14 separate unions, and only 60 percent of its plants in this country are covered by union agreements. Its \$3.80 average wage scale is approximately \$1 an hour below the average in the auto and steel industries.

In the tentative settlement this year, it was the union negotiators who capitulated in order to avoid a strike, not GE.

Secret negotiations

While negotiations were conducted secretly—a general rule urged by government mediators and readily accepted by both company and union representatives—union spokesmen have since announced that they sought a union-shop agreement covering all GE plants and an unlimited escalator clause gearing wages to rising prices.

They failed on both counts. Apparently willing to settle for a modest first-year wage increase in exchange for company concessions on union representation and protection against rising prices, the union negotiators ended up holding the bag. And the bag had nothing in it but a meager wage settlement that guarantees a continuing decline in the standard of living of electrical workers.

Many workers had been watching the GE negotiations, hoping that at least a pattern would be set for an unlimited escalator clause in all contracts, a clause better than that won by the auto workers in their 1970 strike against General Motors. But on June 7 they got a double dose of bad news—soaring prices and anchored wages.

This was preceded by the Labor Department announcement on June 1 that unemployment remains at 5 percent. The total unemployed in May was 4,381,000, not counting those "discouraged" workers who no longer report to the government employment centers in search of nonexistent jobs.

GE WORKERS DISSATISFIED

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Many electrical workers here are dissatisfied with the GE settlement. John Pelka, a newly elected union steward in a GE plant, expressed his contempt: "We have been sold down the river again," he said. Another worker, Tom Bagsarian, commented cynically, "It's twice as much as I expected from this lousy union."

Without an unlimited cost-of-living escalator, these workers' real wages will drop each year of the three-year agreement because of rising prices. Before entering negotiations, the IUE pointed out that in 1972 GE made \$29,000 in profit on each employee. Union members are comparing this exorbitant figure to their average annual wage of \$8,300.

The unemployment rate for Blacks rose to 9.4 percent, more than twice the 4.4 percent for white workers. For adult women the rate dropped slightly to 4.6 percent.

As chances of work shifted from the better organized and higher paying basic industries to the low-wage "service trades," the number of unemployed factory workers went up from 4.3 to 4.5 percent. There was a decline in the factory workweek to 40.8 hours, and a decline in overtime from 4.1 to 3.9 hours a week.

These statistics show that more goods are being produced with fewer



Militant/Michael Baumann

For the 4.4 million unemployed, chances of work have shifted from higher-paying basic industry to low-wage 'service trades.'

workers at a time when the economy is expanding rapidly.

Efforts by the government to "control inflation" by slowing down the economy will lead to further layoffs and increasing misery for the working class. The prospect of mounting unemployment and continuing price rises is a built-in feature of the economy. It's accounted for in the negotiated wage settlements that guarantee profits to the employers but offer no protection to the workers.

This is the central feature of the settlements in the rubber and oil industries, announced just prior to the tentative terms negotiated with GE for electrical workers. On June 3, Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers in Akron, Ohio, voted to end the Goodrich strike on the company's terms. The contract calls for an increase totaling 82.8 cents over three years, with no escalator clause to adjust wages to rising prices. URW International President Peter Bommarito called it "a tremendous settlement."

Manufacturers imposed a price increase of 5.5 percent on car and truck tires June 11. They attributed it to "rising costs."

In the oil industry a general agreement was reached on June 1, and strikers at Shell refineries in the states of Washington, California, and Louisiana began returning to work. They got a 30-cent-an-hour raise this year and 27 cents for next year, averaging about 5.5 percent. President A.F. Gropiron of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union said a compromise health and safety clause was negotiated and the boycott of Shell products was off. He thanked

unions and environmental groups for their support of the boycott.

These developments have satisfied representatives of the employers, who are hauling in greater profits than ever before. Chief GE negotiator John Baldwin gloated over the "good, competitive agreement which reflects a balance between employee equity and business needs." He, like other signatories to the agreement, said nothing about workers' needs.

'Controlled recession'

The employing class and the government fear that inflation is out of hand. In the international money markets the value of the dollar has sunk to new lows. On June 7 gold sold for \$130 an ounce, three times its official price. In order to strengthen the dollar and stabilize the world monetary system, Washington is turning toward policies aimed at inducing a "controlled recession."

Banks have raised prime interest rates to big business borrowers to 7.5 percent, causing a cutback in construction starts. The Federal Reserve Board raised its official discount rate to 6.5 percent, the highest since 1921.

The Democrats in Congress are demanding another wage-price freeze to break this cost-price circuit, stabilize the currency, control the inflation, and possibly reestablish a favorable balance of foreign trade and foreign payments. The Nixon administration is under pressure to administer once again the "tight controls" nostrum.

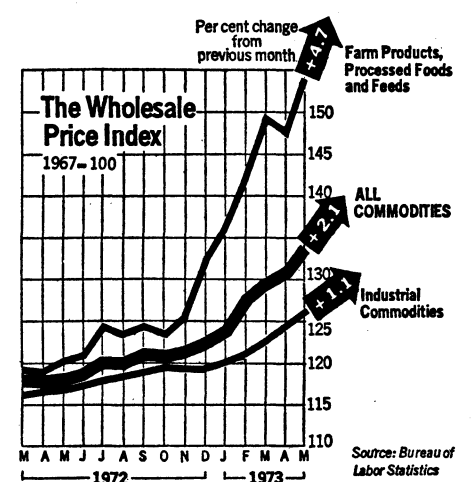
In this situation, the union bureaucrats are anxious not to do anything, and hardly make any noises, that might be interpreted as contributing to inflation. They are more worried about the balance of foreign trade, the value of the dollar, high interest rates, and all the other workings of the capitalist system than they are about the living standard of the workers in this country and around the world.

The problems of society today can be solved by the working class, and only by the working class. But workers will never solve anything until they stop worrying about the problems of the employers and start worrying about their own problems.

This means that all secret negotiations between union bureaucrats and company representatives should be ended. Workers have a right to know what is being sacrificed at the bargaining table in the interest of peaceful labor relations and the national economy.

The present rate of inflation requires that every union contract contain a meaningful escalator clause to keep wages up with rising prices. All un-

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Rise in wholesale prices in May was largest for single month since WW II.

Want independent union

Crystal City Del Monte workers to vote on union representation

A petition for the decertification of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters as bargaining agent for Chicano workers at the Del Monte plant in Crystal City, Texas, was filed June 4. The move for an election was made by Obreros Unidos Independientes, a union that has the support of almost all the workers at the plant and is seeking recognition as their legal bargaining agent.

According to Paul Rich, attorney for *Obreros Unidos*, similar elections will be sought in Del Monte plants in other areas, including California.

The Del Monte plant is the biggest single employer in Crystal City. Throughout the year several hundred men and women from the area, al-

most all Chicano, work there. During the height of the season, the work force expands and includes people brought in from Mexico.

The Teamsters local was organized at Del Monte in the late 1950s as part of a catch-all local based in San Antonio. The Del Monte workers were simply incorporated into the San Antonio local. They had no elected officers and functioned under a business agent appointed by officials in San Antonio.

Initially, organization by the Teamsters brought some improvement for the Del Monte workers. But afterward, apart from the collection of their dues, they were largely ignored by the union brass. Grievances were not processed and the workers had to fend for themselves in dealing with the racist, profit-hungry corporation.

A number of years ago, the workers tried to get organized as a separate local, with their own elected officials. Their San Antonio-appointed business agent, who supported the idea, was fired, and a more compliant replacement was appointed.

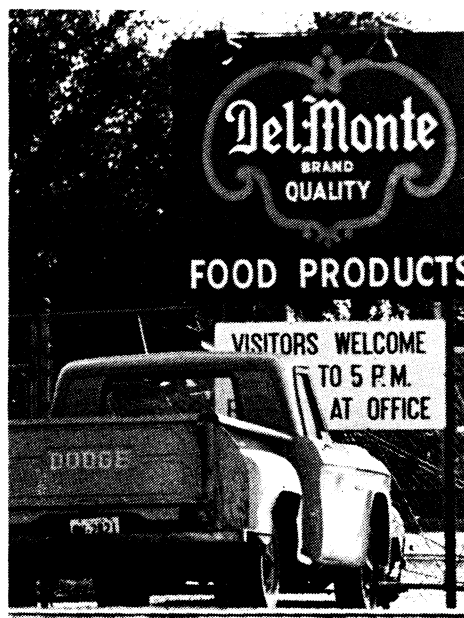
After La Raza Unida Party won control of the municipal administration in Crystal City, the Del Monte workers, active supporters of the party, turned to it for assistance.

A delegation was sent first to the Teamsters regional office in Dallas, and then to Washington. They got no satisfaction in either place.

They then decided to affiliate to the AFL-CIO, but they couldn't find an AFL-CIO union that was interested in having them.

It was then that the workers decided to form their own Chicano union, *Obreros Unidos*.

When the Teamster contract expired in 1970, *Obreros Unidos* filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for a decertification election. The NLRB first explained to



Militant/Howard Petrick

Crystal City, Texas, Del Monte plant

them how to properly petition for such an election, and then, after the papers were in, told them it was too late.

The Teamster officials from San Antonio agreed on a new contract with Del Monte—needless to say, without consulting the workers.

Then the workers were assembled and asked to vote their approval.

Stormy dissent reached the point of fury when the workers realized they had been locked in the plant.

The anger was such that the doors were opened and a brief walkout occurred. Although 250 workers officially resigned from the Teamsters and only about ten remained members, the new contract was signed.

That contract expires this coming September, and it is expected that the election will be held in October. The ballot choice will include *Obreros Unidos*, the Teamsters, or no union. In an honest election, the victory of *Obreros Unidos* is assured.

Baltimore dockers refuse Rhodesian chrome

By OMARI MUSA

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 9—Supporters of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) in Washington and Baltimore held a militant picket line today at the Canton Railroad Ore Pier in Baltimore to protest the arrival of a shipment of Rhodesian chrome.

The American Committee on Africa had informed Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) and the Washington and Baltimore ALSC chapters of the arrival of the *African Meteor*. The ship carried a thousand-ton cargo from the racist white settler-state.

Members of the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) refused to continue unloading the chrome, when they found out where it had come from. One Black longshoreman told this reporter that they wouldn't have come to work at all had they known in advance that the Rhodesian chrome was the cargo.

Another brother added that this was the least they could do for their "brothers on the continent to show support." He went on to add that they would not unload the ship once the demonstration had left. He said, "the company will have to move the ship somewhere else" and urged the demonstrators to contact other ILA locals to make sure it wasn't unloaded at all.

This marks the second time Baltimore longshoremen have refused to unload Rhodesian chrome since the United Nations imposed sanctions against trade with Rhodesia.

Bill Booth, a New York city judge and president of the American Committee on Africa, said the action was an important victory. He pointed out that the only countries buying chrome from Rhodesia are the U. S. and Portugal.

Donald Isaacs, chairman of the Washington ALSC, said the demonstration was important because it allowed the ALSC to link up with Black workers. Further collaboration between the Baltimore - Washington ALSCs and the longshoremen is now being planned.



Militant/Dave Wulp



Militant/Joel Britton

La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City helps Chicanos fight for *Obreros Unidos*, an independent union.

R.G. Sloan Co. out to break Calif. local of United Rubber Workers

By MIGUEL PENDAS

SUN VALLEY, Calif.—Support activities are continuing here on behalf of striking rubber workers. Since March 12 about 750 members of United Rubber Workers Local 621, most of them Chicanos and Latinos, have been on strike against R. G. Sloan Company, a plastic pipe-fittings plant.

A June 8 showing of *Sal Si Puedes*, a film about the United Farm Workers Union organizing in Arizona, helped to raise funds, which were divided evenly between the UFW and the Rubber Workers. Representatives from the Farm Workers and the Rubber Workers strike committee addressed the meeting at Santa Rosa Catholic Church.

Most of the strike support activities have been organized by the San Fernando Valley chapter of the Raza Unida Party. The strikers turned to the Chicano party for help after failing to receive assistance from their international union.

Supporters arranged for the strikers to address Chicano studies and other classes at California State University at Northridge, where donations amounting to \$145 were solicited in one day. Strikers also attended a convention of the California Teachers Association, where \$180 in contributions

was collected.

These and other donations have enabled strike supporters to publish a run of 20,000 copies of the first edition of a strike newspaper, which has been sorely needed. It explains the issues in the strike and is written mostly in Spanish.

The Militant went to the Local 621 headquarters and spoke to some of the strikers to get a more detailed picture of what is at issue in the strike. One of those we spoke to is Victor Vélez, 60, past president of the union, who works as a tool crib operator. He has been at R. G. Sloan Company for 13 years.

He told us that the workers want a three-year contract with raises of about 25 cents each year and for the work schedule and other basic contract terms to remain the same.

Under the old contract, which expired March 5, the work schedule is a five-day, 40-hour week with any overtime being voluntary. Saturdays were paid at time-and-a-half; Sundays, double-time; holidays, triple-time. Anything over eight hours a day or 40 hours a week was considered overtime. There were bonuses paid for working swing or graveyard shifts.

There was a seniority system and the plant was a union shop.

But the company has made an ultimatum offering an 11 cent hourly raise. They also want to do away with seniority and most overtime and make the plant an open shop. An open shop, of course, is tantamount to destroying the union.

In addition to this, the company wants to implement a schedule known as "continuous operation" with workers having three 12-hour shifts and one six-hour shift a week. But at the same time they propose to do away with overtime for anything but the two hours a week worked over 40 hours. They would eliminate overtime for working more than eight hours a day and bonuses for night shifts.

Before, the workers were accustomed to working a certain amount of voluntary overtime to supplement their income. Losing this would be a big economic blow to them. On the average they would lose \$42 a week under the company's new plan. Starting pay is \$2 an hour, the average pay is about \$3.50 an hour.

One of the workers in the union hall was reading out loud for all to hear an article about the strike in the May 23 *Wall Street Journal*. The paper quotes a company spokesman as follows: "If the strikers don't accept the company's last and final offer, the company will implement its offer uni-

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Delay in grape harvest helps Calif. strikers

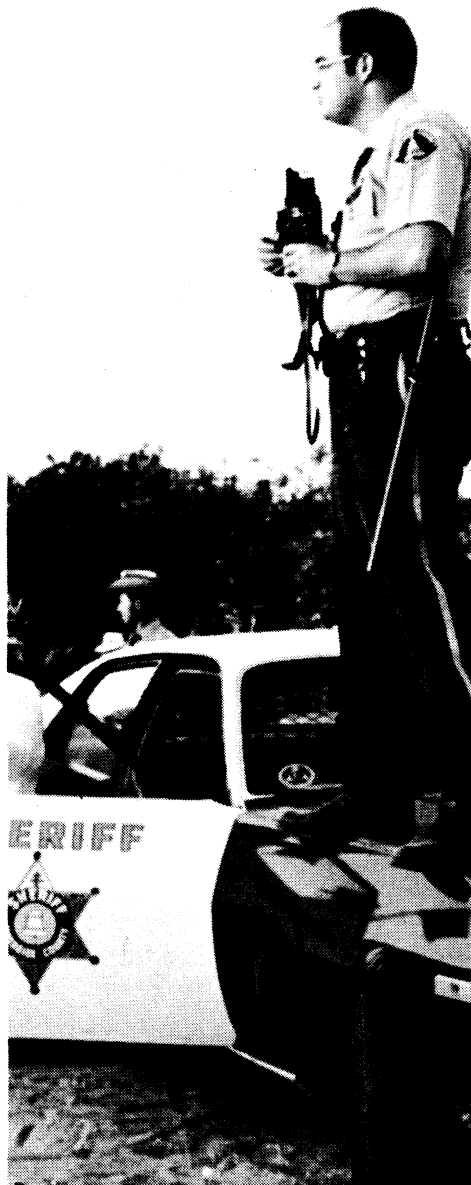
Farm workers wait for showdown

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., June 11 — With freakishly "cool" weather continuing in this desert area, the showdown between the striking members of the United Farm Workers Union and a grower-Teamster alliance remains in the offing.

Grapes mature here most rapidly when the temperature ranges between 100 and 110 degrees. This spring most days have been in the 90s, resulting in a record delay in harvesting.

As of today, 27,655 boxes of grapes have been harvested. By the same date last year there were 1,719,017 boxes, more than half the total harvest.



Militant/Harry Ring

Riverside County sheriff deputy. Cops harass UFWU pickets.

The test should come within the next week, when it is expected that the full yield of grapes will be ready for harvest and some 5,000 workers will be needed to pick them quickly. If the grapes are not harvested within days after they mature they wither on the vine and are lost.

More than 700 workers have joined the strike of the United Farm Workers, and it is hoped many more will swell their ranks as the peak of harvest activity approaches.

Many other migrant workers have left the area for work in the citrus fields, others are passing up the grape area because they have gotten word of the strike. Many of the local workers who normally turn out for the harvest are staying away from a strikebreaking role.

Floyd Marlowe of California's Farm Labor Service told one area newspaper, "If the picking season doesn't start soon there's going to be a serious situation, strike or no strike. The workers will be moving on to other jobs. . . . We may be

ending up with a very bad situation."

Milt Karahadian, biggest of the scab growers and chairman of the Grape Growers League, asserted that if a labor shortage does develop it will be because of a delayed harvest and because workers have moved on.

"And," he added, "I'll also acknowledge that he (UFWU leader César Chávez) may have scared off some of the workers."

Karahadian said that he had enough workers for the present stage of the harvest. But, he admitted, "I don't know what things will be like next week."

In addition, the growers may have problems with the quality of the grapes they will be shipping out. During the preharvest period of thinning the vines, the union was able to draw out more than 500 workers, including the most experienced. They then made regular appeals to those still working to slow down.

The growers admitted the slowdown had an effect.

Now, two families of workers who walked out of the fields at different ranches June 11 to join the strike confirmed that as a result of improper thinning the quality of the grapes they had been picking was inferior.

As the harvest approaches, growers are banking on labor contractors to be able to bring in enough strikebreakers from Mexico to get the crop out.

Among those being brought in are "green cards," that is, those with U.S. work permits, and undocumented workers, the so-called illegal aliens.

The union had sought to stem the flow of such strikebreakers by educational activity in the border areas from where most Mexican workers are recruited.

Now the union leadership seems to be making the error of relying on the federal government to deal with the problem of strikebreakers by keeping out "illegal aliens."

How to support grape and lettuce boycott

COACHELLA, Calif. — These are the facts to remember in helping to promote the grape and lettuce boycott:

There are now only two grape growers that have contracts with the United Farm Workers Union.

Boxes of grapes from these companies bear the union label of the UFWU, which is easily recognized by the black Aztec eagle.

The brand name labels of the two growers under union contract are:

"Lionel," "Travertine," "Desert Diamond," and "Primo."

The lettuce boycott is focused on iceberg lettuce, the principal kind grown in California and Arizona. Other types of lettuce, such as romaine, are not considered scab products.

At one period the UFWU leadership had supported legislative moves to curb the entry of undocumented workers. This was out of step with the leading forces of the Chicano movement, which have opposed government victimization of undocumented workers.

Recently, the UFWU took the welcome step of joining with the rest of the movement in opposing the Rodino-



Farm workers and supporters picket Coachella grape field

Militant/Harry Ring

Kennedy bill and other deportation legislation. The present call by Chávez to have the Immigration Service "enforce the law" represents a retreat from that position.

Meanwhile, there are reports that the top AFL-CIO leadership is negotiating with the Teamsters for a settlement of the dispute.

The Teamsters bureaucracy has joined with the growers in their efforts to break the UFWU. When the Farm Workers contract expired this past April, the growers refused to renew and instead signed back door sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters. The strikers are demanding cancellation of those phony agreements and renewal of the contracts with the UFWU.

On June 9 it was reported that a secret meeting had been held between AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamsters union head Frank Fitzsimmons.

The next day an AFL-CIO "fact finding" team arrived here for meetings with the Farm Workers leadership. The AFL-CIO team included Joseph Keenan, an AFL-CIO vice-president; Paul Hall, head of the Seafarers' International Union; and AFL-CIO counsel Al Woll.

Hall brought with him a dozen SIU staffers who he said would be used to help protect strikers from assaults by the goons hired by the Teamsters to ride herd on strikebreakers.

In an interview, UFWU Director of Information John Bank said the union welcomed any effort to achieve a settlement with the Teamsters so long as it did not trample on the right of farm workers to join a union of their choice.

He said the UFWU favored a secret ballot of the workers involved to have them affirm which union they wanted. He said there was no question they would choose the UFWU and that the Teamsters would have to withdraw.

On such a basis, Bank said, efforts to resolve the issue were to be welcomed.

"We want to organize field workers," he said, "and it's not in our interest to be fighting the Teamsters. We'd rather be getting on to the lettuce workers, the citrus workers, and oth-

ers. We want to be organizing workers in the tomato fields of Ohio, vegetables in New Jersey, citrus in Florida. This thing with the Teamsters doesn't help us at all. It just delays our organizing timetables."

Bank recalled that after negotiations with Meany, the Teamsters had agreed to give up their similar raiding operations in the lettuce fields. An agreement was signed and the farm workers called off their lettuce boycott. Then the Teamsters, in collusion with the growers, reneged on the agreement and the boycott of lettuce had to be resumed.

The union doesn't want that kind of "settlement" in the grape fields, Bank said. Bank, like Chávez, stressed the crucial importance of developing the power of the boycott as the key to victory in the strike. He said the union had called upon the Safeway chain

COACHELLA, Calif. — The UFWU is now paying record strike benefits of \$90 a week. Originally, the small, financially strapped union was able to pay only up to \$35 a week per family. Then, with a \$1.6-million contribution from the AFL-CIO and a pledge of further contributions on a similar scale, it was increased to \$75 per individual striker. On June 11 it was increased to \$90.

However, contributions of food and money are still needed. Contributions should be sent to:

UFWU Strike Headquarters, 1014 Building 11, 6th and Highway 86, Coachella, Calif. 92236.

to follow up on its advertised declaration in favor of a farm workers election by discontinuing the sale of scab grapes and lettuce until such an election was held.

Meanwhile the boycott of Safeway and A&P, the principal purchasers of scab grapes and lettuce, continues. Banks said other supermarket chains are being called on to declare they will not handle scab grapes and lettuce until the workers are permitted to register their choice.

Buckley, Daley, Hatfield, join forces

New attacks on right to abortion

By LINDA JENNESS

JUNE 9—Reactionary forces continue their efforts to attack women's right to abortion.

On May 31, Senator James Buckley (Conservative-Republican-N.Y.), introduced a proposal for an anti-abortion constitutional amendment. If passed in Congress and ratified by 38 states, the amendment would overturn the recent Supreme Court decision on abortion and make abortions illegal again, except to save the life of the woman.

The Buckley bill is cosponsored by six other senators, including Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.). Senator Hatfield is considered a "liberal" on most other issues.

Buckley's bill attempts to extend the legal term of "person" to fetuses, regardless of their stage of development. This is in clear contradiction to the Supreme Court decision, which specifically states that the term "person" does not include the unborn.

The day before the Buckley bill was introduced, more than a dozen women's, abortion rights, and civil liberties groups held a news conference in Washington, D.C., to protest a rider to the Health Services bill. This rider, now passed by both the House and the Senate, would permit any hospital, even if federally funded, to refuse to perform abortions.

In the meantime, the state and fed-

eral courts continue to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. The restrictive abortion law in Montana, for example, was recently ruled unconstitutional, leaving the state with no prohibitions against abortions.

The Rhode Island law, which flatly banned any abortions, has also been ruled unconstitutional. Even though the state legislature in Arizona is vehemently opposed to the Supreme Court ruling, the Arizona state board of regents has been forced to allow abortions at the University of Arizona Hospital in Tucson.

Despite these developments, anti-abortion groups are continuing their campaign against the Supreme Court decision.

In Portland, a so-called right-to-life demonstration on May 26, which the organizers had predicted would draw 10,000 people, drew a maximum of 400. The demonstrators included 20 people on horseback who told reporters, "We don't necessarily agree with these people, but we were hired to come here."

In response to the demonstration, the Portland Women's Abortion Action Coalition sponsored an abortion rights rally at Portland State University on June 1.

The anti-abortion forces in Illinois have also been visible. In the St. Patrick's Day parade, Chicago Mayor

Richard Daley sat in the reviewing stand as five anti-abortion floats passed by. The floats were decorated with flowers, babies, priests, and huge photos of fetuses. The Illinois Right-To-Life Marching Band, in brand new uniforms, led the floats.

The Illinois Department of Health has arbitrarily placed its own restrictions on abortion. A woman in Illinois must undergo a 48-hour waiting period, and any doctor who performs an abortion from which complications arise will have her or his license revoked. In addition, several anti-abortion bills are before the Illinois state legislature, including one that would require consent of parents or husbands for all abortions past the first three months.

On May 20, about 300 people participated in a "March for Life" called by the Massachusetts Citizens for Life, an anti-abortion group in Boston. The demonstration was called in support of reactionary anti-abortion legislation being debated in the Massachusetts state legislature. On very short notice the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition organized a picket line of 50 women to protest the right-wing demonstration.

On May 18, a three-judge federal panel invalidated Missouri's 137-year-old abortion law, and the following week the first abortion clinic opened in St. Louis.

The mayor of St. Louis, John P. Pendergast, called a news conference to announce he would do everything in his power to block abortions in St. Louis. The St. Louis Women's Abortion Action Coalition responded with a picket line at the mayor's office demanding that he implement the Supreme Court decision and instruct the city hospitals to open abortion facilities immediately.

On the same day, more than 200 joined a "right-to-life" picket line in front of the new St. Louis abortion clinic.

Both Missouri and Illinois have joined the 11 state legislatures that have passed bills similar to the Buckley amendment.

Child care campaign set in S.F.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 6—A news conference held today announced the launching of a campaign to put the issue of child care on the San Francisco ballot this November. The campaign was announced by Child and Parent Action (CAPA), a coalition of parents, trade unionists, teachers, community groups, and others.

Present at the news conference were Tony Lopes, executive director of the San Francisco Classroom Teachers Association; Gil Brigham, an aide to California State Assemblyman Willie Brown; Susan Gentry, a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the California Nurses Association; Iris Daigre, a concerned parent; and Carole Seligman, representative of CAPA.

The coalition is seeking to place an initiative on the San Francisco ballot that states: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that low cost, quality child care be made available to all San Francisco children. Child care shall include infant care, pre-school and after school programs. Policy shall be made by the parents and faculties at each center. Funding shall be procured by the City and County of San Francisco."

In order to place the initiative on the ballot, the coalition must collect 12,600 signatures of registered voters by Aug. 6.

Asked by reporters where the funds to maintain child care centers would come from, CAPA representatives pointed out that the federal government should stop wasting tax money on war and should instead spend it on the needs of working people.

The child-care issue is an explosive one in San Francisco. Because of federal cutbacks in child-care funds and new guidelines for eligibility in child-care centers, many programs in San Francisco and elsewhere are fighting for their very existence. Most threatened by the cutbacks are working parents. Without these centers many will be forced to give up their jobs and go on welfare.

CAPA organizers see the initiative campaign as a way to organize child-care supporters in a public way that the politicians cannot ignore.

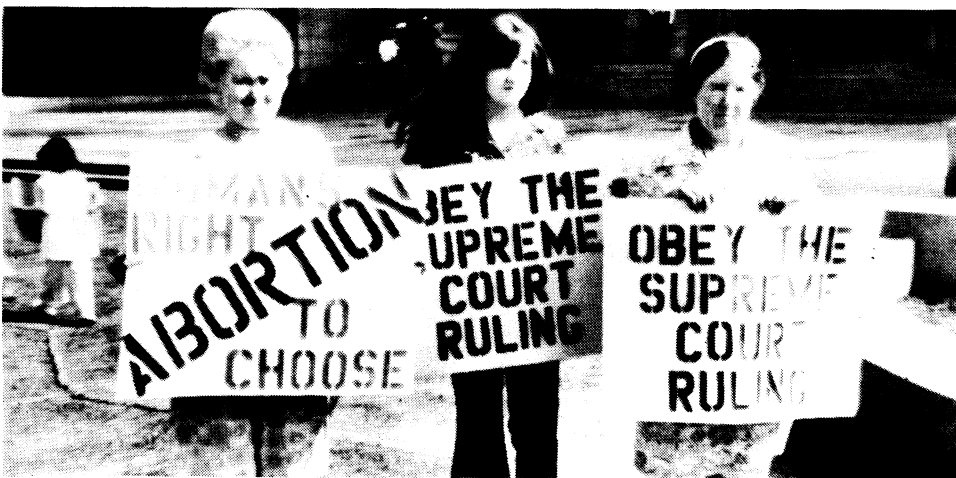
Support for the campaign has already come from the Coalition for Effective Schools; the San Francisco Federation of Teachers; San Francisco NOW; Dr. Lee Dolson, member of the board of education; the San Francisco Classroom Teachers Association; Children's Council; and San Francisco National Women's Political Caucus.

CAPA has established an office at Trinity Methodist Church at 16th and Market streets in San Francisco. Volunteers are needed to help gather signatures.



Militant/Howard Petrick

San Francisco, March 2. Parents and children protest Nixon child-care cutbacks.



Militant/Barbara Mutnick

St. Louis Women's Abortion Action Coalition picketed mayor's office

S.F. trial: sailor not guilty of sabotage

By LAURA DERTZ

SAN FRANCISCO, June 12—After four hours of deliberation, a court-martial board of three enlisted men and two officers acquitted Navy Fireman Patrick Chenoweth today on the charge of sabotage "in a time of war."

As the verdict was returned, the courtroom broke out in clapping and cheers. Chenoweth stepped outside and read a statement. "Today," he said, "I feel we have won a great victory against the most dehumanizing machine in the world."

Chenoweth, who spent 10 and one-half months in the Treasure Island brig because he had been refused bail, announced that he would seek an immediate honorable discharge from the Navy. His tour of duty still has 13 months to run.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 11—The prosecution has rested its case in the court-martial trial of antiwar Navy Fireman Patrick Chenoweth.

Chenoweth, 21, is accused of sabotaging the aircraft carrier *Ranger* by dropping a paint scraper and two 12-inch bolts into the ship's reduction gears on July 1, 1972. The sabotage caused \$986,330 damage and disabled the carrier, which was being readied for return to Vietnam, for three months. If convicted, Chenoweth

faces up to 30 years in prison.

This is the first time since World War II that a serviceman has been tried for military sabotage "in a time of war." Chenoweth's attorney, Eric Seitz, sought unsuccessfully to invalidate the charges since the war in Vietnam has never been officially declared. However, Captain James Keys, the original judge in the case, ruled that it was a "de facto" war.

Protest from Chenoweth's supporters prevented the Navy from transferring his trial to the Philippines. The sailor's defense committee pointed out that the threatened transfer was designed to isolate Chenoweth from his supporters. The trial is being held here at Treasure Island Naval Station.

The prosecution claims Chenoweth committed the sabotage because he had a "negative attitude about the Navy." The defense has argued that Chenoweth is being victimized in an effort by the Navy brass to halt a wave of sabotage incidents by sailors. Seitz noted, for example, that the July 1 sabotage was only one of two dozen attacks on Navy equipment from June 7 to October 16.

The witnesses thus far have exposed the contradictions in the prosecution's case. On June 6, the key prosecution witness, Fireman Ross Bailey, refused at first to testify, taking the Fifth

Amendment. Bailey was Chenoweth's roommate and best friend.

When Bailey sat mute in the witness stand, his lawyer rose from a group of Chenoweth's supporters and said Bailey had been "threatened and coerced" in an effort to get him to testify. The lawyer demanded a separate hearing on this matter.

After being granted immunity, Bailey did testify. He contradicted earlier reports of an alleged "confession" by Chenoweth to other crew members, saying he was unsure exactly what day Chenoweth made this "confession." Bailey also said he had been threatened with imprisonment in the brig if he failed to tell the "truth."

Many *Ranger* crew members took credit for the sabotage, Bailey said. "I seen lots of people say 'I done it,'" he testified.

Machinist's Mate James Miller, the maintenance supervisor for the sabotaged machinery, said it was possible for many other crew members to have entered the reduction gear area without being detected. When Navy investigators initially asked him who might have committed the sabotage, he gave them two or three names, none of which were Chenoweth.

The defense should rest its case soon, with a verdict coming out shortly thereafter.

Evelyn Reed in Japan, Australia, New Zealand: 'Sisterhood is international'

By LINDA JENNESS

Evelyn Reed, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and author of *Problems of Women's Liberation*, talked with me about her recent tour of New Zealand, Australia, and Japan. During her six weeks abroad in April and May, Reed delivered 41 formal lectures on "Feminism in the U.S. Today" and "Is Biology Women's Destiny?" Many of her meetings drew audiences in the hundreds. For instance, in Osaka, Japan, 500 people came to hear her lecture. And at Melbourne University in Australia more than 600 people crowded into a lecture hall.

While on tour Reed also gave many press interviews and appeared on dozens of radio and TV shows. In almost every city, beginning with Sydney, Australia, she was met by all the major media at the airport, or was interviewed later.

ASAHI, the Japanese equivalent of the *New York Times*, gave a news report of her arrival and kickoff meeting on May 12 in Tokyo as well as an extensive feature article for the women's page.

"The first point I want to make," Reed told me, "is that the similarities are far greater than any differences among women liberationists of diverse nations. They ask the same questions, display the same intense interest, share the same types of reservations, and grasp the same solutions once these are presented."

"In other words," she said, "national boundaries dissolve under the impact of women's common needs and universal oppression. This is true not only of Western countries like New Zealand and Australia, but also of Japan. For a long time we have been told by the imperialists that the 'gulf' between East and West is unbridgeable. The truth is that national boundaries are bridgeable by women fighting for their liberation. We can talk to each other and learn from each other."

"So that when I opened my speech by saying 'Sisterhood is International,' it wasn't merely a phrase, but the reality. Sisterhood is, indeed, the common identity of women struggling for their liberation."

Abortion rights a key issue

Reed reports that the struggle for abortion rights is the most prominent women's fight in all the countries she visited. Abortion is illegal in both New Zealand and Australia, and the abortion law in Japan is under attack by reactionary forces.

"The Eugenics Protective Law"—the name of the abortion law of Japan—has existed since the '30s. Under the

law a woman is granted the right to legal abortion if it is ascertained that her fetus would be born defective. After the U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this law acquired an acute meaning in Japan. This law also includes an "economic clause" under which a woman who pleads economic hardships and cannot afford to have a child is granted a legal abortion.

The law, however, requires that a woman's husband must co-sign her appeal for abortion. If she does not have a husband she must "invent" one: have a male friend sign as her hus-

band. This, it is felt, is humiliating and discriminatory against unwed women.

Whatever its inadequacies, however, the abortion law is under attack. The day after Reed arrived in Japan she read in the *Japan Times* about a bill that was introduced to drop the "economic clause." If this reactionary proposal is successful, poverty will no longer be a reason for a woman to have an abortion. At present some three million women annually avail themselves of this clause, according to the *Japan Times*.

It is not surprising that Japanese women were most interested in how U.S. women won the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.



400 packed meeting hall in Tokyo on May 12 to hear Evelyn Reed's Marxist view of women's liberation.

In both New Zealand and Australia groups have formed to fight for the right to abortion. In response to this militancy, the Catholic Church hierarchy has launched a reactionary counteroffensive. "They want to stamp out the movement before it gets a

good start," Reed reports. "A lot of working people, particularly in Victoria Province in Australia, are Catholic and have been frightened and terrorized by the Catholic Church about abortion. So I got a lot of questions about the 'ethics' of abortions."

'Peoples' Movement?

Amendment, and women's studies courses were also topics of much debate and discussion. "The idea of women's history courses electrified the women in my audiences," Reed said. "They would want to know what kind of classes we have in the U.S., who teaches them, etc."

In some audiences the point would be raised, usually by a man, as to the need for a separate women's movement. They felt that instead a "people's" or "human" movement should be built. "I would tell them," Reed explains, "that under capitalism the term 'people' usually means men, with women tagging along vaguely in the mist behind them."

"It's true that all working people are oppressed under capitalism, but so are women as a sex, and working women are doubly oppressed. Women have arisen in response to their oppression. To call for a 'peoples' move-

ment is a diversionary proposition that has as its aim the liquidation of the feminist movement. But it is impossible today to liquidate the struggle for women's equality. A strong feminist movement today will help to create a stronger workers movement in which both sexes will fight together against their capitalist oppressors."

Evelyn Reed spoke as a feminist, a Marxist, and an anthropologist, and her press interviews covered a wide variety of topics. On one call-in radio show, lasting two hours, the discussion centered on the difference between Stalinism and Trotskyism.

In another Reed was asked several questions about radicals using "force and violence." "I told them that if they wanted to talk about force and violence they should interview the White House and the Pentagon, where violence is perpetrated on a genocidal scale. The aim of socialist revolutionaries is to abolish a system founded upon imperialist aggrandizement and its ruthless slaughter of working people."

Intimidation is universal

"One thing that my tour brought home to me," Reed continued, "was that the numerous forms of intimidation of women that we are familiar with exist on every continent. One way that women are intimidated is by telling them that if they become feminists they will lose their 'femininity.' Young women won't get dates; they will be isolated and treated as outcasts. Another form of intimidation is to tell women that if they have an abortion they will feel guilty for the rest of their lives. Questions on this subject of intimidation were frequent and stimulated a lot of discussion."

Reed reported that the differences in the development of the feminist movement in the U.S. and Oceania are simply one of degree, resulting from uneven development.

"The movement began in North America, and in that sense American women are ahead. They arose earlier, made certain gains, and provided the 'shock troops' of the struggle. The women of countries and continents that moved into action later do not necessarily have to pass through all the experiences we have had. They can make leaps through the process of combined development and surpass the American women in achieving some of their demands. We, in turn, would then work to catch up with them. All of this is the outcome of a movement that has passed beyond national boundaries and has become a dynamic international struggle."

Reed tour makes headlines

Evelyn Reed's tour caused quite a stir. One indication is the widespread coverage of her tour by the press.

The Press in Christchurch, New Zealand, ran a feature article headlined "Women Will Not Go Back." Referring to Reed as "an internationally known spokeswoman for women's liberation" and "a much-translated author," they report that she "sees part of her role as something of a 'stirrer.' 'I go along rather bold and brassy and give them [women] confidence.'"

The Dominion of Wellington, New Zealand, titled their article, "Evelyn

waxes hot on right-to-lifers." The article says that "Evelyn . . . exudes a certain dynamism, dedication, and drive."

An article called "A Strong Reed in Lib. Waters" appeared in *The Age* in Melbourne, Australia. "At 60, Miss Evelyn Reed is a pretty formidable women's liberationist . . . She flew into Melbourne on a lecture tour 'to get rid of some of the myths and mysteries propagated about women.'"

"Libbers 'Granny' Gives Advice" is an article that appeared in *The Ad-*

vertiser in Adelaide, Australia. It states that "Miss Reed, who says she's a feminist because she believes in female equality, an anthropologist because she has an inquisitive mind, and a Marxist for 30 years because she wants a humane society . . . isn't a man hater."

The Evening Star of Dunedin, New Zealand, writes, "'I want to make women proud to be women. Social forces have oppressed and forced them to become the second sex.' These were the battling words of Evelyn Reed. . . ."



REED: 'an internationally known spokeswoman for women's liberation.'

SIHANOUK'S SHAKY BALANCING ACT

My War With the CIA by Prince Norodom Sihanouk as related to Wilfred Burchett. Pantheon Books. New York, 1973. 273 pp. \$7.95.

Norodom Sihanouk's memoirs are obviously intended to be much more than a mere blow-by-blow account of the series of plots that eventually led to the coup d'etat of March 18, 1970. As Wilfred Burchett puts it in his foreword, Sihanouk sees the book "as a weapon in the struggle to regain his own country's independence, and as a warning to other countries marked

Books

down as future victims."

The weapon, unfortunately, is a rather blunt one. To judge from his memoirs, Sihanouk believes that U.S. imperialism's plans for Cambodia will be defeated by restoring the pre-1970 status quo—that is, the same situation that led to the March 18 coup.

Sihanouk has been a partisan of "neutralism" since the time when Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Mao, and others tried to organize the underdeveloped countries into a bloc that would maintain a position independent of both sides in the international class struggle. Sihanouk was one of the stars of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and even today, when his supporters are fighting arms in hand against U.S. imperialism, he continues to insist that victory will mean a neutral Cambodia.

Sihanouk's belief in his ability to balance permanently between the forces of imperialism and revolution may have arisen during the First Indochina War, when French defeats at the hands of the Vietminh allowed him to win formal independence without a mass armed struggle. But the resources of the U.S. bourgeoisie were not as limited as those of the French, and by Sihanouk's own account Washington began plotting his forcible overthrow the moment he declined to put Cambodia under the "protection" of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO).

The first such plot nearly to succeed was uncovered in February 1959. From that point until March 1970, new attempts occurred almost with the regularity of clockwork, rang-



SIHANOUK: still hopes to walk tightrope between imperialism and Indochinese revolution.

ing from assassination attempts to the financing and training of the Khmer Serei guerrillas to invasions of Cambodian territory by Saigon puppet troops and attacks by U.S. warplanes.

Through it all, Sihanouk continued his balancing act, moving now left, now right, accepting U.S. "aid" and then breaking relations with Washington, nationalizing and denationalizing banks and industries, and juggling cabinets to balance every shift in the domestic and international relationship of forces.

For example, Sihanouk claims—and there is no reason to doubt him here—that he had known for years that Sirik Matak was in the pay of the CIA. This did not prevent Sihanouk, five months before the March coup, from appointing Matak first deputy premier in what Sihanouk at that time called a "government of national salvation."

The premier of that same government was none other than Lon Nol. Just what was envisioned under the term "national salvation" is indicated when Sihanouk describes his attitude only one week before the coup:

"At the time I was thinking exclusively in terms of Sirik Matak, the deputy Prime Minister and his group of rightists. I still had complete confidence in Lon Nol, and thought that he would use the army to deal with any attempt at an overthrow. I knew that Sirik Matak had been in close touch with the US embassy from the time diplomatic relations had been re-established in June 1969. . . ."

Walking a tightrope above the armed conflict between imperialism and the Indochinese revolution, Sihanouk put Sirik Matak on the right side of his balance pole, and Lon Nol on the left. Putting the masses in Lon Nol's place would have unbalanced and toppled him just as surely as did the general's abrupt leap to the other side.

There is one other aspect of Sihanouk's attempted tightrope act that deserves attention. This is the unswerving backing (with a brief exception during the Cultural Revolution) given by the Chinese government to his neutralist illusions. He writes of Mao Tse-tung:

"At our first meeting [in 1956], Chairman Mao set forth the broad lines of China's policy, the importance attached to countries being really independent and not falling under the domination of others. . . . Mao agreed that neutrality was the best course for Cambodia to steer. China would always support this. From that time until now China has kept her word."

From his base in Peking, Sihanouk—still with the approval of the Chinese bureaucrats—continues to plan a renewed attempt to exempt Cambodia from the class struggle. He describes his plans for the future:

" . . . I am more than ever convinced that neutrality for South-East Asia affords the optimum conditions for peace and mutually friendly relations between all countries of the area. It is imperialism that has whipped up ancient hostilities and set us at each other's throats over the past century. Neutrality is the best umbrella under which a new era of peace and stability in the area can be developed, and outsiders with hostile intent kept



Anti-Sihanouk demonstration in Phnom Penh, March 1970, just before 'neutralist' prince was overthrown.

at a distance.

"Our internal policy will be socialist and progressive, but not communist. State, state-private, and private enterprise will coexist. 'Social justice, equality and fraternity' are the aims as set forth in the Political Programme [of the National United Front of Cambodia (NUFC)]. There are Marxists and non-Marxists in the NUFC leadership and, as they cooperated in drawing up the Programme, there is no reason to doubt similar cooperation in applying it."

It is to be hoped, however, that the Cambodian masses now fighting U.S. imperialism and its puppets will have drawn from the struggle the lesson that the choice facing them is not imperialism or neutralism but imperialism or socialist revolution. Their past behavior indicates that Sihanouk and the Chinese leaders are incapable of absorbing that lesson.

—DAVID BURTON

BLACK PRISONER ASSERTS HUMANITY

Prison Letters of Thomas Crowder by Thomas Crowder. Published by American Friends Service Committee. Chicago, 1973. 31 pp. 50 cents.

One encouragement for those who doubt the ability of the human spirit to overcome physical and psychological degradation is the mass of writings now coming out of the prisons. Prison cells have been the writing-studies for many great rebels, among them Thomas Paine, Antonio Gramsci, James P. Cannon, Eldridge Cleaver, and George Jackson.

In 1970, Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014) brought out *Black Voices from Prison*, written by Etheridge Knight and other in-

mates at Indiana State Prison. From the same penal institution has now come *Prison Letters of Thomas Crowder*, published by the American Friends Service Committee.

Crowder is a 27-year-old Black prisoner serving his fourth year in sol-

Pamphlets

itary confinement. He was convicted in 1967 of conspiracy to commit a robbery. In 1968, after he joined a prison sitdown demonstration, he was transferred to Indiana State Prison.

Crowder writes that he is "not an artist." But, like many of the works published in *Black Voices from Pris-*

on, Crowder's words are so full of humanism and dignity that there often is a literary quality to them.

In one letter he writes, "Are we supposed to stop thinking, feeling, and expressing ourselves as human beings because some unscrupulous politician or racist degenerate says that one breach of society's codes demands we be confined while his own crimes go unchecked?"

For prisoners like Crowder, who overcome the authorities' attempts at degradation, the experience of affirming their own humanity seems to lead them to challenge much more than the immediate system of physical incarceration. Crowder discusses many topics from a critical point of view: capitalism, health care, racism, reli-

gion. He writes that "all my life I've believed in God, but being in here at one time caused me to doubt."

In the introduction to this pamphlet, a former prison chaplain writes that "the purpose in publishing these letters is not to indict prison officials." Perhaps not, but Crowder's letters cannot help but serve that function, centered as they are on the daily experience of a Black inmate in a white-run American prison.

The funds from the sales of this pamphlet will go to Thomas Crowder's legal defense fund. It's worth reading and may be obtained for 50 cents from AFSC, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60605.

—DAVID KEIL

Nixon's attacks on libraries and education

The traditionally insulated world of books and education is feeling shock waves from the hypocritical budget cutbacks imposed by the Nixon administration in the name of fighting inflation. And librarians aren't taking it sitting down.

Librarians across the country staged a "dim-out" on May 8 to protest Nixon's cutbacks. Library lights were dimmed or turned out in response to a call by the Chicago branch of the American Library Association.

The April 15 issue of the prestigious *Library Journal* characterized the cutbacks as "a quiet bloodletting" and urged librarians to "act swiftly to convince Congress of what is needed to serve the education and information needs of American

News from Pathfinder

society." Their anger is well founded. Nixon is pushing to abolish all direct federal aid to book and library programs.

The first large-scale grants to enable libraries to buy more books and to encourage more reading of books were made in 1965 under Lyndon Johnson's lame-duck administration.

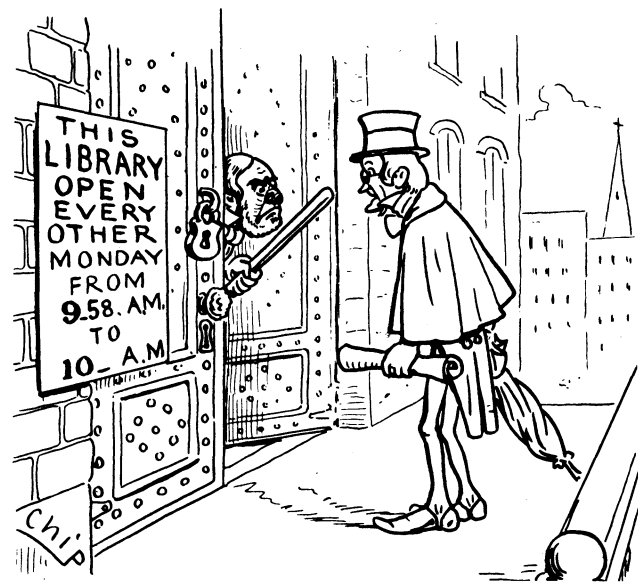
Strong impetus for these grants came from the nationwide expression of outrage when scores from tests of students' reading ability revealed that 60 to 70 percent of the country's inner-city school children couldn't read the books usually read by their grade level.

The grants were small, considering the magnitude of the task. But they were presented with great fanfare. At one point, the Nixon administration promised to allocate \$500-million to the Right to Read program and give it "the kind of concerted effort required to land a man on the moon." It sounded like a good start.

But in 1970 Nixon became the first president in history to veto an education appropriations bill. Then he went on to veto three more in his first term of office. "Reckless spending," he called it. In his proposed budget for the fiscal year beginning July 4, 1973, Nixon is asking for \$12-million for the Right to Read program. Similar cuts are proposed in other library and book subsidies.

The Watergate scandal has exposed some of the government's crudest attempts at thought control. This frontal attack on libraries and education is another. It seems that the rulers of this country are afraid the citizens will read.

Library Journal summarized the situation like this: If approved, the 1974 budget would "turn out the lights in libraries throughout the nation. The question to ask—and act on—now is: who is going to control the switch?"—PEGGY BRUNDY



This cartoon originally appeared in Life magazine in 1892.

West Point: The 'silent' treatment

For the 19 months before he graduated, West Point cadet James Pelosi ate alone at a table set for 10. He bunked by himself in a room meant for three. Few of the 3,800 other cadets would talk to him except to deliver a message or give an order. His mail was sometimes destroyed; his clothing was once soaked in the shower and then dragged through the latrine.

In short, West Point subjected Pelosi to complete social isolation—a treatment they call "the Silence."

Two years ago the Cadet Honor Committee accused Pelosi of filling in an examination answer after the instructor had given the order to stop writing. Although he denied the accusation, produced witnesses to back him up, and eventually had the charge dismissed, the Honor Committee wasn't satisfied. This military kangaroo court still thought he was guilty and voted to impose the Silence. No appeal is possible.

The Silence is rare because most cadets faced with the prospect prefer to resign. But Pelosi isn't the first to become its victim. In keeping with West Point's rich racist traditions, cadet Benjamin O. Davis was silenced during his entire four years, 1932 to 1936, simply because he is Black.

The real target of a brutal practice like the Silence is not just an individual like Pelosi or Davis. It's the 3,800 other cadets as well. If they can be conditioned to impose such a punishment on a classmate and friend, the academy assumes, they

American Way of Life

can probably be counted on to carry out the Army's dirty work at home or anywhere around the globe.

The U.S. Army requires officers who will not question a command, whether it be to napalm a village or break up a demonstration. And West Point thinks it knows how to produce them.

There are signs, however, that the service academies are heading for rough times. It's becoming



more difficult to instill the rigid discipline and no-questions-asked attitude they prefer. Toward the end of Pelosi's ordeal, more than half his classmates refused to continue the Silence.

At the Air Force Academy, more than half of the 1970 graduates say they would never go near the place if they could choose again. And more than 40 percent of the class that entered the academy in 1970 has already quit or been expelled. Officials now fear that half or less of the original class will graduate in 1974.

Image-conscious officials claim there's really no problem. The dropouts, they explain, are merely people who "experience a change in career goals while at the academy." When pressed a little further they admit that yes, the war in Southeast Asia and the antiwar mood of the country might have something to do with it. And yes, discipline is a problem.

These new cadets, one Air Force general complained, don't seem to understand that "the military is not run on a democratic vote. . . . What we mean by giving them more responsibility is that we hand down policy, and they carry it out."—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Summertime sales off on good footing

Last week *The Militant* reported final figures for its spring sales campaign, but that doesn't mean we've run out of the campaign spirit that carried us over our goal. Most of the areas that were listed on the weekly scoreboards are now planning summer sales using many of the same places and methods used during the sales campaign and supplementing those with new seasonal ones. Weekly goals for each area are being maintained, some of them even higher than during the campaign this spring, and some adjusted lower for the summer.

Reports indicate that sales of the June 8 issue of *The Militant* started summer sales off on a sound footing. For example, Chicago (with a sum-

Militant Gets Around

mer goal of 500) sold 508. Saturday and Sunday sales in the Black community accounted for 256 of those.

Cleveland aimed for a goal of 200 and sold 206, including 60 at plant gates and 60 on campus. Detroit's summer goal is 350, and they surpassed that last week selling 382, mostly at shopping centers. Sales of 60 at the Rose Festival in Portland put supporters there over their goal of 200, with a total of 214 sold. And in Washington, D.C., 351 *Militants* were sold, including 78 at the old people's protest on June 9.

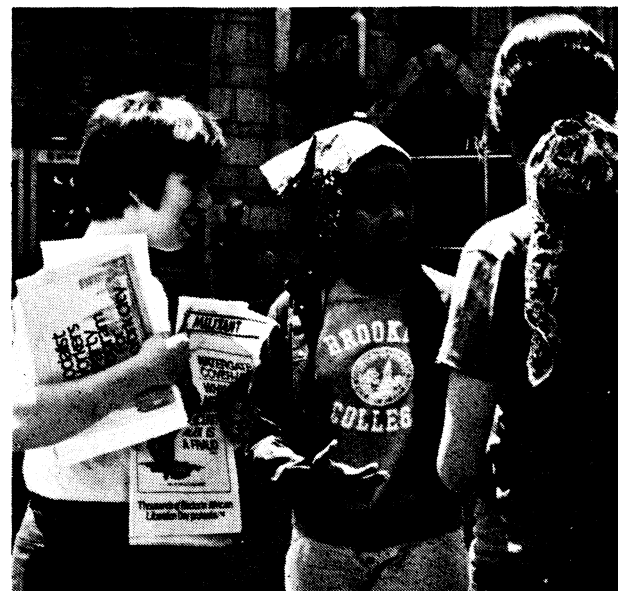
Campus sales usually decrease during the summer, but colleges with summer sessions can continue to be a regular place to sell. Atlanta supporters last week sold 43 *Militants* at summer school registration at Georgia State University. They sold 272 total, with a goal of 250.

Socialist Workers Party election campaign tables should provide even better sales of *The Militant* this summer than they did in the spring. Lower Manhattan supporters sold a total of 660 last week, most of them from campaign tables. One hundred were sold at the SWP campaign street rallies held the previous Saturday. When supporters returned to the same area last week to sell *Militants*, several people stopped to ask if they were going to have another rally.

Twin Cities supporters tried campaign tables for the first time last Saturday. They set up one table downtown and then dispatched sales teams from it for the remainder of the day. This resulted in 200 *Militants* sold (in 100 degree weather), and they now plan to repeat this three times each week—all day Saturday and during rush hours on Monday and Tuesday. Their total sold for the week was 303.

While Twin Cities inhabitants may buy *The Militant* regardless of temperature, some areas are trying out special locations to sell at when it's really hot. These include indoor air-conditioned areas, like shopping malls and airports, and outdoor places where people have gone for relief from the heat, like beaches and parks.

—NANCY COLE



Militant/Mark Satinoff

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.

BOSTON

MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY. A panel discussion with Del Rayson, former Protestant minister for 26 years; and others. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

LOS ANGELES

CONFLICT IN NORTHERN IRELAND. Film: A Place Called Ardoyne. Speakers: David Thompson, producer; Kathleen O'Nan, member of Friends of Ireland and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

POLITICAL REPRESSION IN PUERTO RICO. Speaker: Fred Perez, Puerto Rican Independence Party. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

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

...detente

Continued from page 3

throw out him and the other narrow-minded, privileged bureaucrats who rule over them.

Ironically, one of the side effects of the détente will be to encourage such antibureaucratic struggle and political revolution in the Eastern European countries, as deals with the West undermine the grip of Moscow

on the economies of these countries.

Actually, Brezhnev's betrayal of revolutionary struggles and support for the imperialist status quo has the effect not of bringing peace but of emboldening the imperialist warmakers, as was illustrated in Vietnam. After each escalation, the U. S. imperialists would watch to see if they would get away with it or if there would be a response from Moscow or Peking in defense of the Vietnamese. When there was no response, the imperialists would move on to greater escalation.

The fact is that the status quo of imperialist domination of the world must be fundamentally changed before humanity will be able to build a new world of peace, cooperation, and freedom.

It is the mighty struggles of the workers of the world and their allies that will sweep both the capitalist rulers and the bureaucratic usurpers into the trash can of history and establish a socialist world of peace.

...Nazis

Continued from page 7

he would use some of his storm troopers as registrars. Tommasi, 22, a lieutenant who runs the Southern California branch of the Nazi Party out of a swastika-decorated frame house in El Monte, a suburb of Los Angeles, confirmed the offer. He said that a group of about 20 of his men, dressed neatly in civilian clothes, fanned out in the area, carrying registration lists denoting AIP-member homes."

A report in the June 7 *New York Post* reveals that these Nixon campaign workers were very ineffective. California AIP registration actually increased by 6,500 voters over the period Walters and his group were trying to wipe AIP off the ballot. Perhaps for this reason, the Nazis were paid only \$1,200 and stopped their work for CREEP after a few weeks.

According to the June 8 *New York Times*, Nixon's California campaign director Lyn Nofziger believes that the only thing wrong with the use of Nazis was that it was "impractical."

"As far as I'm concerned," Nofziger said, "it was legal, moral and good politics, and I'd do it again. . . ."

Nofziger is now managing the 1974 gubernatorial campaign of California Republican Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke.

Other evidence surfaced in Aarons's investigation that ties the Nazis not only to the 1972 Nixon campaign, but also to the agribusiness effort to place Proposition 22 on the California ballot in the 1972 election. This proposition, up for voter approval, was designed to destroy the United Farm Workers Union. If it had become law it would have, for all practical purposes, nullified the rights of farm workers to organize, to negotiate a contract, or to strike.

Walters pleaded "no contest" last fall to fraud charges in connection with the petition campaign to place Proposition 22 on the ballot. This campaign was characterized by California Secretary of State Edmund Brown as "the worst case of election fraud to ever be uncovered in California."

Tommasi, according to Aarons, produced a contract signed by Walters in connection with using Nazis in this fraudulent signature collecting drive.

...GE

Continued from page 15

employment compensation, Social Security benefits, welfare allotments, and pensions ought to be adjusted monthly to conform to the rapid rise in prices.

The threat of unemployment and the inroads of open-shop contractors against many craft unions, especially in the building trades, requires that the union movement demand of the government a massive federal works program, paying union wages, to rebuild this country.

Shorter hours of work with no reduction in take-home pay is another important demand. Union negotiators often talk about it before negotiations, but they quickly shunt it aside in the course of bargaining.

These elementary demands for shorter hours and for rising wages geared to prices are the indispensable means of protecting the standard of living of the workers against threatening unemployment and steep price rises.

...rubber

Continued from page 16

laterally." R. G. Sloan, no small outfit itself, is part of an even larger conglomerate, the Susquehanna Corporation, the article pointed out.

One striker in the room commented bitterly, "They must be crazy. They must be stupid. To be working there 13 years and come back for \$40 less is impossible. This is not the only job we can do."

Another explained how this plant grew and made great profits by hiring Chicanos at low wages. "They forget how Mexican and Latin people made that plant," he said.

By the seemingly innocuous phrase "implement its offer unilaterally" the company, of course, means that they are trying to smash the strike by any means necessary.

There has been violence from scabs, company representatives, and cops. About 40 strikers have been arrested. Another 135 have been cited on trumped-up charges such as disturbing the peace. Before the court injunction limiting pickets to two at each entrance, there had been picket lines of up to 300 persons every day.

Incidents of company-provoked violence were used as a pretext for limiting the pickets. One striker told *The Militant* of an incident where one of the foremen ran down a couple of pickets with his car, sending one to the hospital.

The strikers are determined to hang tough. Living on only \$25 a week strike benefits is difficult, but La Raza Unida is organizing a food drive to assist the strikers. Donations and messages of solidarity may be sent to the Huelga Fund, 551 S. Maclay, San Fernando, Calif. 91340. Telephone: (213) 361-7341 or 361-4826.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: 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.

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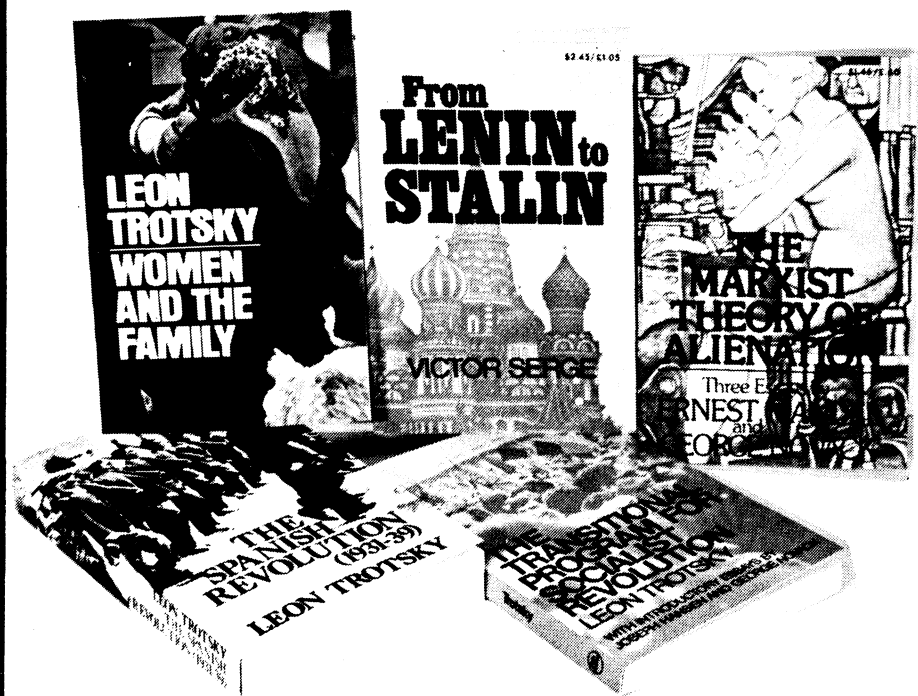


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The 'energy crisis' Behind empty gas pumps -monopoly superprofits

By DAVE FRANKEL

In the last few months "energy crisis" has become a household term in the U.S. About 1,000 independent gasoline stations have been forced to close, and another 1,800 are threatened with closing for lack of gasoline supplies. Gasoline shortages this summer and fuel oil shortages next winter are widely predicted.

Texaco, the country's largest gasoline retailer, began rationing on March 28 in Los Angeles. Sun Oil Company announced rationing in the Washington, D.C., area April 18, and Union Oil soon followed suit in the Far West. Beginning in early May, Phillips Petroleum cut sales to all of its customers east of the Rocky Mountains by 10 percent. In Illinois, the Amoco Oil Company began limiting sales to about a half-tank per car. Standard Oil of California was rationing gas in the Western states by early May.

Major oil companies blame the problem on increasing demand. "There is just not sufficient refining capacity in the United States to meet the total needs of the American public for petroleum products," the president of the American Petroleum Institute told a Senate committee in May.

An artificial crisis?

However, on April 6 the director of the Office of Emergency Preparedness reported that U.S. refineries were running at 88.7 percent of capacity, the lowest since last December. A number of senators have charged that the major oil companies are utilizing the so-called energy crisis to drive their smaller competitors out of the retail distribution market. Some claim that the whole fuel shortage is an artificial one consciously precipitated by the oil monopolies.

The advantages to the oil companies of such a shortage are obvious. It can be used to sweep away environmental objections and restrictions, to justify higher prices and new tax credits, and to tighten their control on the market.

Is the energy crisis, at least in the immediate sense, a creation of the oil monopolies? Only the capitalists who run these giant corporations know for sure. Senator James Abourezk (D-S.D.) complained in a letter to President Nixon June 1 that "the only information we have about our energy reserves in this country is unaudited and unreliable industry data."

"The major oil companies, needless to say, have refused to cooperate in

producing needed data and no effort is being made to secure this data."

Senator Thomas McIntyre (D-N.H.) was also upset. He pointed out that "when the Federal Trade Commission puts out subpoenas to the major oil companies, asking them to come in, sit down, and testify at a hearing, the major oil companies have ignored these subpoenas."

John Mitchell and the rest of the Watergate gang might well envy these corporations for their immunity to subpoenas. But this immunity isn't accidental. The major oil corporations

of smaller capitalists.

It has been revealed in Senate debates on the fuel shortages that the major oil companies, in arguing against lifting import quotas last year, assured the government that there would be "sufficient refining capacity available in the U.S. to meet anticipated demand. . . ."

Also, while the oil companies justified big price increases for fuel oil last winter by pointing to shortages, every major oil company, with only one exception, maintained lower stocks of heating oil in August 1972

go out and try to rake in some more. But whatever their reasons for moving at this time, there's no question at all about what they're up to. The five major companies already mentioned now control 32.5 percent of the domestic market in the area of distribution. And together with the other largest companies they are moving to drive out the independent distributors and to jack up prices.

The profits of the five biggest companies jumped 26 percent between the first quarter of 1972 and 1973, for a net profit of almost \$2-billion, with



Militant/Michael Baumann

"A realistic program for dealing with these problems must start with the demand that the corporations open their books to the public, so that we will know what the actual situation is."

are the richest and most powerful companies in the world, and they are owned by people who count among their holdings the other giants of American industry and banking.

The big five

Of the 12 largest corporations in the U.S., ranked by sales, five are oil companies. Ranked by assets, these five are among the nine largest corporations in the U.S. They have total assets of \$60.215-billion. Three of these corporations, Exxon (formerly Standard Oil of New Jersey), Mobil, and Standard Oil of California, with total assets of \$38.859-billion, are owned by the Rockefeller family. Gulf Oil is owned by the Mellon family, while Texaco is controlled by a group

than they had a year earlier.

Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) was among those who argued in the Senate that the domestic shake-up in the oil industry stems from international factors. Pointing to increasing nationalizations and the tripling of taxes on oil produced by the major international companies in the Middle East during the last two years, Jackson warned that "there is a real problem that is going to develop. And it is something that we have to look into, because the American companies that have been taking the bulk of their profits abroad . . . are now going to have to make their profits out of refining operations and domestic marketing in the United States."

The profit hogs who run American industry never needed any excuse to

Exxon's profits jumping 43 percent. Hubert Humphrey pointed out, "it is strange that the major oil companies would be pulling out of so many markets in the country at a time when they are, in fact, so prosperous. Prosperity should be a time for expansion."

"Yet Gulf is withdrawing in Maryland, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Delaware, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, Montana, Wyoming, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and northern California. . . . Exxon, Phillips, British Petroleum, Atlantic Richfield, Amoco, Sunoco, and other firms are withdrawing in similar patterns from major sections of the country."

"There seems to be almost a sort of division of labor here. . . . The argu-

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Why Nixon's 'price freeze' won't meet workers' needs