

THE MILITANT

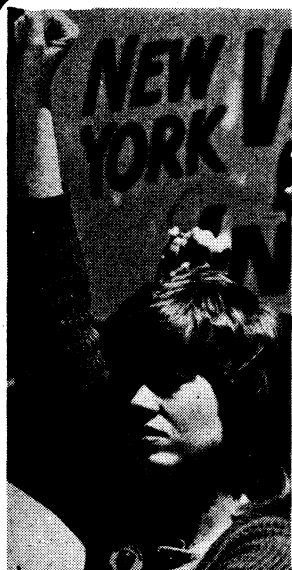
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Can Peron curb workers' struggle? Massive upsurge sweeps Argentina

—page 13



Mass mobilizations, occupations continue as workers press demands. Above, Buenos Aires demonstration at inauguration of new Peronist regime.



JANE FONDA: Listed for antiwar activities.

Nixon 'enemy list' aimed at stifling right to dissent

—page 6



DICK GREGORY: Listed for support to Black struggle.

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Summit agreements: no step toward peace
- 4 Miners strike continues in Chile
- 5 Portland antiwar mv't fights for rights
- 6 Dean explodes Nixon W'gate cover-up
- 7 How White House put 1970 spy plan into action
- 8 Nixon 'obsessed' with antiwar movement
- 9 Communist Party and Watergate
- 14 L.A. march protests deportations
- 15 Thousands join gay pride demonstrations
- 17 YSA leaders plan campus, high school actions
- 18 Protests hit Atlanta killer cops
- 19 Answer to Communist Party on Badillo
- 24 Teamster goons attack Farm Workers pickets

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

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Behind Iceland-Britain fishing dispute
- 2 Polish workers challenge bureaucratic rule
- 4 Belgian dockers in eight-week strike

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HAITIAN EXILES FACE DEPORTATION: On June 27, more than 50 Haitian refugees gave themselves up to Immigration Department authorities in Miami, Fla., as demonstrators outside protested the government's continuing effort to deport 117 Haitian political exiles. A U.S. District Court judge refused on June 18 to consider an appeal that 28 Haitians be held in "preventive detention until deportation" be freed. He ordered the Haitian's lawyers to surrender the 81 Haitians still at liberty by June 27 or soon after.

At a meeting June 23, the Haitians decided to surrender to Immigration authorities, but to also call demonstrations outside to show the government they consider the action unjust and to stress that defense efforts will continue.

A meeting in New York of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Committee for the Defense of the Haitian People, CASA (the Los Angeles-based antideportation organization), and El Comite decided to hold a picket line and press conference at noon July 5. The picket will be held in front of the Immigration office at 20 West Broadway in New York. The groups also plan a July 28 rally to unite the different antideportation movements around the case of the 117 Haitians.

The case is now being appealed directly to the U.S. attorney general. Telegrams of protest should be sent to Attorney General Elliot Richardson, Room 5115, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20530. For more information, call USLA at (212) 691-2880, or the Committee for the Defense of the Haitian People at (212) 491-6580.

VICTORY IN CAMDEN: Charges against the 11 remaining defendants in the Camden conspiracy case were dropped on June 22. One defendant who had pleaded guilty was allowed to retract her plea and the charges of conspiracy against her were dropped.

Seventeen other defendants in the Camden 28 case were acquitted last month. During their trial it was revealed that the draft board raid, for which the Camden 28 were on trial, had been largely planned and organized by an undercover FBI agent.

FEMINISM ON TRIAL IN PORTUGAL: Three Portuguese women, Maria Teresa Horta, Maria Velho da Costa, and Maria Isabel Barreno, face trial July 3 on charges of committing "an outrage to public morals and good customs" by writing a book against the oppression of women in Portugal. The book, *New Portuguese Letters*, has been confiscated by Portuguese secret police and banned.

If convicted, "The Three Marias" could receive up to six years in prison.

The trial of these women raises civil liberties as well as women's rights issues. While books have been confiscated in Portugal before, this is the first time the Committee of Censorship has arrested the writers of such books.

International protest actions have been organized to coincide with the first day of the trial and efforts are underway to send women to the trial as observers. Demonstrations are slated in several U.S. cities on July 3, including San Francisco, Boston, Los Angeles, Houston, and Chicago.

In New York, a demonstration in defense of The Three Marias will be held July 3 outside the offices of the Portuguese Consul General at 630 Fifth Ave., beginning at 11:30 a.m.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES DENIED BASIC RIGHT: In a gross breach of civil liberties, the Supreme Court has upheld archaic state and federal bans on the right of government employees to participate in partisan political activities.

Under the Hatch Act, adopted in 1939, and similar state statutes, the country's more than 5.5 million public employees cannot run for public or party office, solicit campaign funds, manage a campaign, or solicit votes. However, the statutes have been selectively applied by the government against radicals and political activists, as in the case of antiwar activists in the Postal Workers Union.

Justice Douglas, arguing against the majority decision, said that "vague and generalized prohibitions" in the law has a "chilling effect" on the freedom of expression of civil servants. And Ralph Flynn, head of the Coalition of American Public Employees, said that denying government workers the right to participate in political parties and campaigns "is to deny them a basic civil liberty."

PUERTO RICAN ACTIVIST VICTIMIZED: Chanting "Free Juan Otero, Now!", 100 spirited demonstrators marched through New York's South Bronx June 23.

Otero, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was arrested last year on trumped up charges of burglarizing the apartment of an ex-detective. Later, he was also charged with burglarizing the apartment of some of the detective's "friends." Otero, who has been active in various community struggles, had previously been threatened by arrest unless he ceased his organizing activities.

In the trial on these charges last March, several people testified they were with Otero at the time he allegedly committed the burglaries. But he was still found guilty and was sentenced to five years in prison. The judge refused to grant bail.

The case is currently being appealed and a bail hearing will be held July 11. The Juan Otero Defense Committee is calling on supporters to attend the hearings and join a picket line outside the Appellate Courthouse at 25th Street and Madison Avenue in Manhattan, June 11.

Money is needed for legal expenses and bail costs. Contributions should be sent to the Juan Otero Defense Committee, P.O. Box 631, Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011.

RAIL SETTLEMENT REPUDIATED: The June 21 *Machinist*, official publication of the International Association of Machinists, reports that the IAM has disaffiliated itself from the AFL-CIO Railway Employees Department.

This move is based on dissatisfaction with the tentative rail settlement announced last March. The settlement limits wage increases to 4 percent over the next 18 months and fails to put the Railroad Retirement Fund on a sound financial footing. It also does nothing to protect the jobs of IAM members.

The *Machinist* says that the Sheetmetal Workers have also decided to disaffiliate. IAM and Sheetmetal officials say the AFL-CIO settlement is a trap to prevent action against provocations by the rail companies.

NEW BOOK ON TROTSKY: 'Trotsky—Great Lives Observed,' is a recently published compilation of Leon Trotsky's writings, the writings of his contemporaries about him, and material that views Trotsky's role in a historical perspective. This book, edited by Irving Smith, is one of a series dealing with "the character and achievements of great world figures." It includes both favorable and negative comments on Trotsky from such figures as Winston Churchill, Isaac Deutscher, and Marxist scholar Ernest Mandel.

That a book like *Trotsky*, apparently designed for use in classrooms as a source in the study of history, has been written reflects growing interest in this leader of the Russian revolution. *Trotsky* is published by Prentice-Hall and costs \$2.45.

—MIRTA VIDAL

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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U.S. bombing of Cambodia continues

Summit agreements no step toward peace

By CAROLINE LUND

In his speech to the American people broadcast June 24, Leonid Brezhnev explained the developing international détente as a result of the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist world. He claimed the détente could secure "a truly lasting peace on earth for many generations."

The hollowness of these words could be seen from the fact that throughout the week of Brezhnev's visit to the U.S., American planes were bombing the people of Cambodia at a rate of 200 strikes per day.

Nixon has been trying for years to convince the American people that he was seeking an "honorable peace" in Southeast Asia while he carried out the most brutal bombing and warfare against the people of Vietnam. Through the summit talks he was again able to have this lie vouched for by none other than Brezhnev, the self-proclaimed representative of the ideals embodied in the Russian socialist revolution.

As proof of the "progressive" results of the summit, Brezhnev pointed to the signing of the document that will supposedly prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. In a statement June 24, Secretary of State William Rogers asserted that this agreement was "a sol-

emn commitment not to use force or the threat of force versus each other, versus an ally of each other, or against any other country," including both nuclear and conventional warfare.

Brezhnev hailed this pact as "of historic significance." His followers in this country, the Communist Party USA, chimed in, claiming the summit agreements opened "a new stage of relations between the socialist and capitalist nations," and that "important capitalist circles have accepted peaceful coexistence as the only realistic basis for the coexistence of states with different social systems," (*Daily World*, June 22.)

However, the agreement supposedly preventing war and the additional agreement relating to arms limitation are both so flimsy that even the capitalist press felt compelled to point out their loopholes.

The June 24 *New York Times* noted that "although both sides hailed the accord signed yesterday on the prevention of nuclear war, each was hard pressed to explain its practical consequences." The document on arms limitation, said the *Times*, "specifically reserved to both nations the right to modernize and replace strategic weapons, a reservation that could conceivably be used to circumvent any arms limitations."

Nixon's actual intentions in relation to the arms race could be seen from the recent statement by Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements. On June 13 he told the press that despite the détente, the Nixon administration would ask for an increase in the \$85-billion military budget for the coming fiscal year.

Hollow 'peace' pacts

The clearest proof of the hollowness of these "peace" agreements is the fact that they have no application to U.S. aggression going on right now: the U.S. bombing of Cambodia. When questioned about the meaning of the agreements for Cambodia, Henry Kissinger told reporters that U.S. bombing there was exempted from the agreement because the bombing was



BREZHNEV & NIXON: Struggles of oppressed peoples considered 'hotbeds of tensions'

"in progress when this agreement was being negotiated," and because "it was not raised as applying to that particular situation."

What he means is that Brezhnev did not even "raise" the Cambodia bombing, much less insist it be stopped.

"Nor was it quite clear," said the June 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, "that the agreement would result in Mr. Nixon's pulling back from threats to again bomb Moscow's ally, North Vietnam, if the cease-fire breaks down."

Brezhnev made it clear to Nixon in Moscow last May that the Soviet bureaucrats would not come to the defense of the Vietnamese in the event of U.S. bombing. At the 1972 Moscow summit they discussed "peace" agreements with Nixon while raising no protest about the U.S. bombing and blockade of North Vietnam occurring at that very moment.

In both summit meetings Brezhnev has demonstrated what the Kremlin bureaucrats mean by "peaceful coexistence" — that the workers and op-

pressed peoples of the world should not challenge the crimes of the imperialist system, as the Vietnamese were doing, but should instead accept the status quo.

Brezhnev tried to explain this policy in his speech to the American people. As noted in the June 25 *New York Times*, "Brezhnev hinted more broadly than ever before at a behind-the-scenes Soviet role in promoting a Vietnam settlement by declaring that improvement in Soviet-American relations 'undoubtedly played its useful role' in bringing the war to an end. Although he gave no details, diplomats have said that Moscow urged Hanoi to negotiate with Washington at times when it was reluctant."

That is, the Kremlin bureaucrats twisted Hanoi's arm to accept Nixon's terms even though the Vietnamese were ready to continue their armed resistance to Nixon's aggression. Through their intervention in support of Nixon's terms, the Soviet bureaucrats were a tremendous aid to the U.S. rulers in maintaining and legit-

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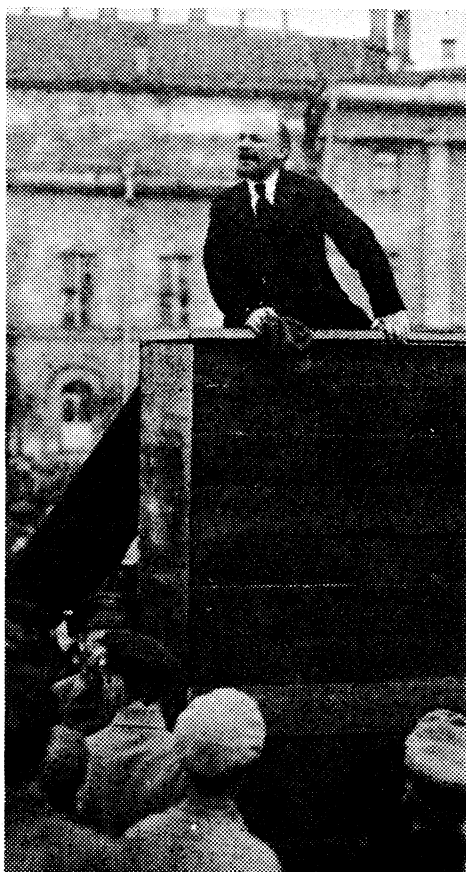
Summit pact to 'prevent war' ignores U.S. war against Cambodian people.

Lenin vs. Brezhnev on 'peaceful coexistence'

In his June 24 speech, Brezhnev claimed that the policy of "peaceful coexistence" was developed by Lenin. But anyone who reads what Lenin actually wrote about war, peace, and imperialism will see that Brezhnev's assertion is a complete lie and that Brezhnev's policies are totally alien to Leninism.

Lenin's view was that the cause of war was the capitalist system itself, and there could be no "lasting peace" as long as the capitalist system continued to exist.

Lenin wrote in 1920, for example: "In the concrete situation which has been created by militarism, imperialism, all over the world, and most of all in the most advanced, powerful, most enlightened and free capitalist countries, the world imperialist butchery and the Versailles 'Peace' — the very thought of peacefully subordinating the capitalists to the will of the majority of the exploited, of the peaceful, reformist transition to Socialism, is not only extreme philistine stupidity, but also downright deception of the workers, the embellishment of capitalist wage



LENIN: No peace under capitalism.

slavery, concealment of the truth."

In 1920 the Third International, led by Lenin and Trotsky, adopted the following as one of its conditions for membership: "Every party that wishes to affiliate with the Third International must not only expose avowed social-patriotism, but must also expose the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism; it must systematically point out to the workers that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international courts of arbitration, no talk about reducing armaments, no 'democratic' reorganizing of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars."

Lenin's position did not exclude negotiations and trade agreements between the Soviet Union and capitalist countries; the early Soviet government was very interested in such trade arrangements in order to benefit from the advanced technology in the capitalist world. But Lenin would never make political concessions to the imperialists in payment for trade concessions.

For example, Lenin would never have told the people of the world —

as Brezhnev did during the summit meeting — that Nixon, the Vietnam war criminal, is a man of peace, or that Nixon's signature on any pact to limit arms or end wars was worth the paper it was written on.

Lenin understood and spoke to the deeply felt desire for peace on the part of the masses of people throughout the world. The demand for peace is even greater today, with the very real possibility of the horrors of nuclear war. But Lenin scorned those who would turn this popular desire for peace toward support to, or trust in, the imperialist warmakers themselves.

Brezhnev's summit policies of capitulating to Nixon and prettifying the imperialist warmakers will not lessen the danger of nuclear war; rather these policies will embolden Nixon and strengthen his hand.

The only answer to the danger of nuclear conflagration and to the other problems of humanity is resolute struggle to resist the injustices of the capitalist rulers and ultimately to take the power out of their hands through a socialist revolution.

...summit

Continued from preceding page
imatizing the grip of the Thieu dictatorship over the people of South Vietnam.

'Hotbeds of tension'

In his speech to the American people, Brezhnev indicated his readiness to play the same role in the Arab East that the Soviet rulers played in relation to Vietnam. He called the Arab East one of the "hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world," comparing it to the situation in Southeast Asia before the signing of the Paris accords.

Referring to discussions with Nixon on the Arab East situation, Brezhnev said "We [he and Nixon] believe that in this area justice should be assured as soon as possible and a stable peace settlement reached that would restore the legitimate rights of those who suffered from the war and insure the security of all the peoples of that region."

The *New York Times* noted the

Brezhnev on women

In his speech to a group of the biggest U.S. capitalists on June 22, Brezhnev tried to ingratiate himself by means of a sexist joke. Talking about the advantages of U.S. trade with the Soviet Union, he said, "and, of course, in the field of consumer goods it is the women who are the most anxious for the development of that kind of trade because we men are all right, we can get by just wearing one old coat on our shoulders but the women all want to change their clothes at least three times a day."

What a disgrace to the traditions of the Marxist movement in championing the women's liberation struggle!

"moderate language" of this statement in "balancing Arab demands for lost territory with Israel's security interests." By "moderate," the *Times* means conciliatory to the interests of Israel and U.S. imperialism.

Brezhnev's policy of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, and the pact to "prevent war" signed in Washington, means the Kremlin bureaucrats will turn their backs on liberation struggles of oppressed peoples as soon as they threaten to come into conflict with imperialism.

This policy also covers up the continuing threat the imperialist system poses to the system of nationalized property relations in the Soviet Union and other workers states. The truth is that the fundamental dynamic of the capitalist system is to expand throughout the world, attempting to destroy any barrier to the penetration of private property, investment, and exploitation.

Brezhnev's hoax of "peaceful co-existence" flies in the face of the actual policies of the imperialist rulers over the past epoch of wars and revolutions—from the two world wars to the U.S. intervention in Korea, the Congo, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, and Vietnam. These policies continue. It is utter utopianism to believe that imperialism can be made "peaceful."

The Teniente miners strike and the 'threat of civil war' in Chile

From *Intercontinental Press*

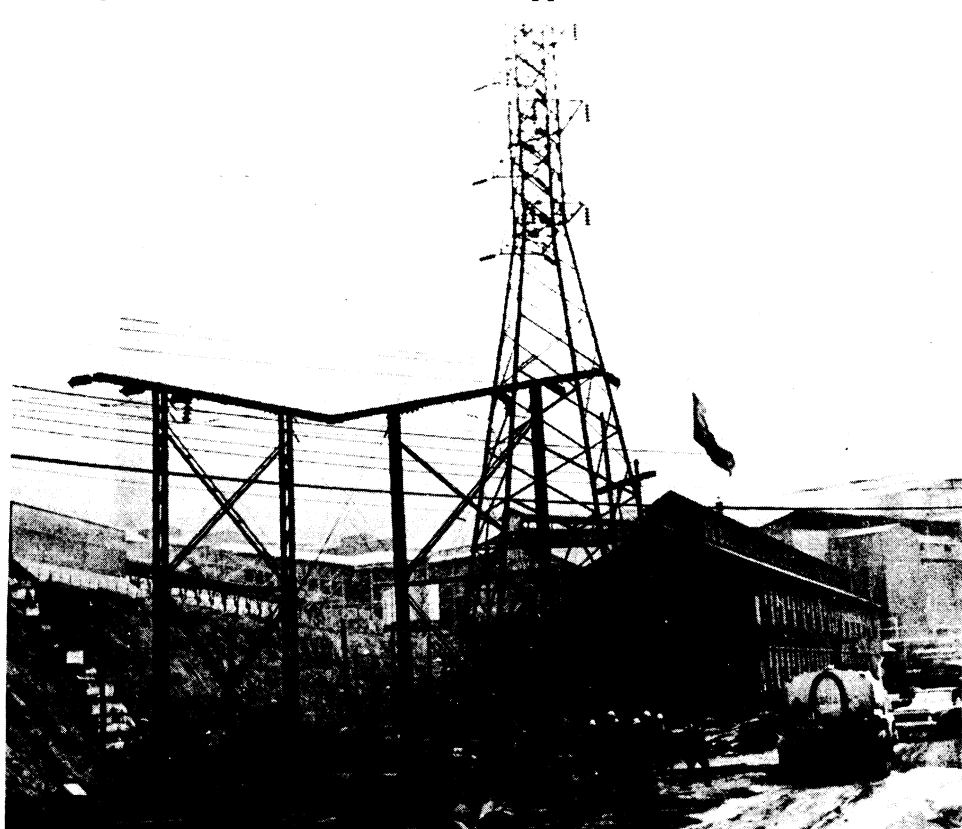
By HUGO BLANCO

Santiago

JUNE 9—For some two months now, the reformists in the UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity] coalition, in particular the Communist party, have been shouting at the top of their lungs that there is an immediate threat of civil war prepared by the right and that it must be stopped by avoiding the creation of any problems

ward without regard for the parliament and the armed forces. Unfortunately, not all the workers are as clear on the matter as these compañeros. As a result, the right is taking advantage of this fact and is "supporting" certain strikes, thereby confusing the class even more.

This is what is happening in the case of the workers in the El Teniente copper mines.



Chile's El Teniente copper mine. Miners are fighting to defend their standard of living in the face of rapidly rising prices.

for the government, by maintaining calm, by producing more, and by collecting signatures against civil war.

It is true that there is a powerful right-wing offensive and that it is becoming increasingly bold. It is true that the fascist organization Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom] is getting stronger. It is true that urban transport owners paralyzed services.

But all this is a far cry from the imminence of civil war. The overall aim of the right is to make the government retreat, and it is achieving this aim.

At the present time, when the working class is still strong, the right knows that the best tool for crushing the workers is not civil war but the reformism of the UP, which serves as a brake on struggles.

Of course, the dynamic of the class struggle in Chile daily is moving closer to violent confrontation between the classes. And the UP is, in reality, seeking to prevent it in the only way possible under the circumstances—by lulling the workers and making them retreat little by little. It is turning the working class, bound hand and foot, over to the clutches of reaction.

Faced with the rising cost of living, some sectors of workers, such as those in Public Works and the urban transport workers (who staged a strike, separate from the one of their bosses), have engaged in struggles for salary increases. The government branded them agents of the right like those who take part in *tomas* [take-overs of factories, land, etc.]. The workers in the Public Works sector replied with great clarity that they were prepared to take over *El Mercurio* (a far-right daily newspaper) and to move for-

These workers struggled for the nationalization of the mines together with their brothers at the Chuquicamata mine. They have pretty much always been the vanguard of the Chilean workers movement; thanks to them it won gains like the sliding scale of wages. It should also be pointed out that they voted 70 percent for the UP during the last elections.

Today they are defending the sliding scale of wages, which the government, though recognizing it, is trying to observe only grudgingly. The pettifogging arguments it uses to justify this approach are not worth mentioning.

The present strike, which began on April 15, holds serious implications for the working class. The miners are defending their standard of living and they are showing that they are not rightists but that they support the general process of change that is occurring.

The government and the UP have furiously torn into the strikers, branding them agents of fascism. In this, as in everything, it is the CP that stands out; it is organizing parades in Santiago against the miners, calling on the government to use a "firm hand," since in its view there is no difference between this strike and the bosses' strike last October.

The MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] is tail-ending the UP; although it criticizes the use of repressive methods and asks that they be replaced by methods of persuasion, it ends up qualifying the miners as "economists" and is against the strike. The position of the left wing of the Socialist party is even more capitulationist, more or less approx-

imating the position of the overnment.

Every shade of opinion on the right is "supporting" the strike.

All this is undoubtedly confusing the masses. With the exception of the province in which the mine is located, even sectors of the proletarian vanguard are against the strike.

In the midst of all this, it is worth calling attention to the courageous position of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario [PSR—Revolutionary Socialist party], the Chilean section of the Fourth International. It is on the side of the miners. That this position is correct can be seen from the following:

Chile is a capitalist country. The nationalization of "basic industry," leaving derivative industry in the hands of private capital, involves nothing more than a kind of state capitalism. The number of factories that have been "taken over" by the workers and that the government has found itself forced to "intervene" is relatively small. Distribution remains 70 percent in private hands, and most of the remainder is also carried out with the aid of private concerns.

In this situation, all the efforts of the workers in the so-called Social Sector of the economy end up in the pockets of the capitalists.

The black market is full of products made by workers in the Social Sector at low cost. The difference between the production cost and the price obtained on the black market goes to the speculators.

The dollars earned by the efforts of the copper workers are sold at a low price to importers of essential consumer goods, machines, and raw materials. The consumer goods go to the black market. The machines and raw materials go at bargain rates to private factories, which nevertheless sell their products at a high price.

Thus the sacrifice of the miners is swelling the profits of capitalism.

As the PSR points out in one of its publications, only in a socialist society, in which production and distribution in their totality are nationalized and administered by the workers, will anyone have the right to call on the miners to make sacrifices for Chile and not to be economist.

In view of the fact that inflation is continuing at a galloping rate, as is the right-wing trend in the government, it is probable that we will soon see more strikes that will be dubbed "economist." This will aid the working class to see which side the government is on.



ALLENDE: 'Striking miners agents of fascism.'

Morse, Spock endorse defense effort

Support won in campaign to defend antiwar mov't's right to demonstrate in Portland

By MOLLY McALLISTER

PORTLAND, Ore. — On June 14 the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) sponsored a performance of *Sticks and Bones*, a controversial antiwar play that was recently banned from network television. The proceeds raised will go to finance an important civil liberties case now taking place in Portland.

More than a year ago, on May 11, 1972, 2,000 people marched downtown to protest Nixon's mining and bombing of North Vietnam. A permit had been obtained for the demonstration. Toward the end of the march a small group of individuals broke away and smashed some windows in the Georgia-Pacific Corporation Building. The majority of the demonstrators completed the march in a peaceful manner.

Six days later, Georgia-Pacific — Oregon's largest corporation — filed a civil suit against the Student Mobilization Committee, 100 "John Does," and 15 named antiwar activists. Two of those named were George Kontanis and Sue Welsh, "managing directors" of the SMC. Welsh is also a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance at Portland State University. Also among those names as defendants are selected members of the Farmworkers' Boycott Committee, the Portland State Women's Union, and a member of the Oregon State Legislature.

The suit is asking for \$14,000 in property damages and \$100,000 in punitive damages. The suit also asserts that a conspiracy to cause violence took place. Georgia-Pacific is seeking a permanent injunction against further demonstrations at or near their building, an area that could be interpreted as the entire downtown

section of Portland.

Initially, the suit attempted to hold the Student Mobilization Committee responsible for damages because the SMC took out the permit for the march. Through subsequent legal motions the name of the SMC was stricken, but the SMC coordinators may still be held responsible for the actions of all those on the march.

The Georgia-Pacific suit is an attempt to prove "conspiracy" between people who never met and has little chance of standing up in court. If allowed to go unanswered, however, the charges would seriously misrepresent the antiwar movement, as well as restrict the possibilities of organizing future demonstrations.

If Georgia-Pacific is successful, civil liberties will suffer a severe setback, not only in Portland, but throughout the country. Major corporations and police departments would be able to use this precedent as an excuse to deny antiwar protesters, and all others seeking permits for demonstrations, the right to assemble.

At the time the suit was filed many people recognized the need to oppose this blatant attack on civil liberties and formed the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest (CODRP). Throughout the past year the committee has been explaining the issues and informing the public of developments in the case so that it isn't shoved under the rug as Georgia-Pacific would so much like to see.

A broad range of individuals and organizations have shown their support by endorsing the committee. Among them are former U.S. Senator Wayne Morse, Shirley Gold of the Portland Federation of Teachers, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Jim Montoya of the Chicano and Indian Studies Center of Oregon, and Portland WILPF.



Militant/Len Goodman

Antiwar demonstrations could be banned in downtown Portland if Georgia-Pacific, Oregon's biggest corporation, wins suit against the Student Mobilization Committee.

The last technical motion was heard in January. The defense attorneys filed a motion asking that the case be dismissed. At the hearing Georgia-Pacific cited a number of legal precedents for their case, all of which were court decisions that clearly violated civil liberties.

Three of these precedents, denying students the right to protest on campus, came after the 1970 antiwar upsurge against the invasion of Cambodia. Georgia-Pacific also cited a case in which an injunction was granted denying the Hoptowit Indians their fishing rights. These examples point to the type of "justice" they are seeking.

The defendants' motion for dismissal was denied, and the case will come to trial in late August. The committee is now involved in a campaign to publicize and raise funds for the case. In

addition to the "Sticks and Bones" benefit, the committee held a "One Year After" party on May 11, which reacquainted supporters with the case and raised \$250 for the legal fund.

To publicize the case, CODRP has launched a new drive for endorsers and is sponsoring a speaking tour to high schools, colleges, unions, and community groups. The committee is also asking prominent individuals and organizations to be a "Sponsor for a Day" in court.

Legal fees for the case will be at least \$250 for each day of the trial. CODRP is appealing to all supporters of civil liberties to help win this case. If you are interested in more information, in endorsing the case, or in sending a contribution, write the Committee to Defend the Right to Protest, P. O. Box 8224, Portland, Ore. 97207.

Reveal massive level of Cambodia bombing

From Intercontinental Press

"In the week since the Vietnam cease-fire was reaffirmed," Joseph B. Treaster reported in a June 23 dispatch from Saigon to the *New York Times*, "fighting across the country has dipped to about the same level as in late May. Little else has changed."

The June 13 communiqué worked out in Paris by Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho has changed nothing. As the agreement specified, both the Pro-

visional Revolutionary Government (PRG) and the Saigon puppet regime formally called on their troops to stop shooting on June 15. But the Thieu dictatorship has no intention of ending its attacks on liberated areas, and there has not been even a pretense of progress at settling such issues as demarcating zones controlled by each side.

"Most military men said they felt that a week was not enough time to tell whether a trend had developed on the battlefield," Treaster reported. "But Western attachés as well as Saigon Government officers suggested that despite reports of reduced military aid to North Vietnam from the Soviet Union and China, they believed that Vietnam was in for more heavy fighting sometime in the future."

"Saigon has got the upper hand now, but I don't think the P.R.G. are going to accept being forced against the wall," said one Western officer. . . .

"They are going to find that they can't get a fair election, they can't get what they want in the delineation of zones and they're going to reach for the hand grenade," he said."

Statistics released by the U.S. Defense Department meanwhile showed the intensity of the war that Nixon is fighting in Cambodia. Figures indicate that more bombs have been dropped on Cambodia in the last four months than in the preceding three years. United Press International reported June 21:

"In the three years before the January cease-fire, American aircraft dropped 175,000 tons of bombs there [Cambodia], but in March, April and May of this year, 140,000 tons were dropped on Cambodia."

"The Pentagon has said the bombing this month is continuing at roughly the same rate as previously, so that by now the tonnage should have passed 175,000 tons."

The present rate of about 50,000 tons of bombs a month compares with 36,000 tons dropped on North Vietnam during the massive assault last December.

The bombing of Cambodia in fact approaches the level of attacks on all of Indochina during earlier periods of the war. In the June 5 *Boston Globe*, Thomas Oliphant provided figures comparing the bombing in 1973 with that in the 1966-72 period.

During the first four months of 1973, U.S. planes dropped 265,658 tons on all of Indochina, primarily Laos and Cambodia. The figures for the first four months of previous years were: 1966 — 148,741 tons; 1967 — 285,314 tons; 1968 — 447,127 tons; 1969 — 500,674 tons; 1970 — 414,166 tons; 1971 — 315,493 tons; 1972 — 286,690 tons.

"The enormity of the bombing's impact on Cambodia," Oliphant wrote, "can be underscored when it is noted that the tonnage total so far this year is far larger than the 160,800 tons

of conventional bombs dropped on Japan during all of World War II."

JUNE 26 — Yesterday the House of Representatives voted 235 to 172 to approve an antiwar amendment previously passed by the Senate. The measure, introduced by Senator Thomas Eagleton, would cut off any funds ever appropriated by Congress for U.S. military operations in or over Cambodia or Laos.

The bombing ban is expected to be quickly approved again by the Senate as part of a compromise supplementary appropriations bill to finance various federal departments. President Nixon then will have 10 days in which to veto it or approve it.

In the debate in the House, minority leader and administration defender Gerald Ford (R-Mich.) argued against approval of the antiwar measure on the grounds that it would undermine "secret" negotiations over the future of Cambodia. However, House members defeated a compromise motion that would have given Nixon 60 more days for bombing, and then went on to approve the full ban on funds.

In the coming days the House is expected to consider additional antiwar measures that would be "veto-proof" because they will be tacked onto financial appropriations crucial to government operations.



Present rate of bombing of Cambodia is greater than massive assault on North Vietnam last December.

Dean explodes Nixon cover-up story

By CINDY JAQUITH

JUNE 27—The world is now watching to see if Nixon and his supporters can recover from the bombshell testimony of ex-White House counsel John Dean. On June 25 Dean said that the president not only knew about Watergate but played a central role in the cover-up. Furthermore, Dean asserted that the cover-up involves members of the Senate Watergate committee itself.

The most serious of Dean's charges are the following:

- H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, and Charles Colson, Nixon's three closest advisers, all helped organize the cover-up from the beginning. Dean paints his own role as that of an intermediary between these men and the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) officials, the FBI, and federal prosecutors.

- The famous Aug. 29, 1972, statement by Nixon that Dean had submitted a report exonerating all those "presently employed at the White House" was a lie. Dean never conducted an investigation and didn't even know that Nixon was going to say he had.

- Nixon congratulated Dean on his work in the cover-up on Sept. 15, 1972. According to Dean, "The President told me that Bob [Haldeman] had kept him posted on my handling of the Watergate case, told me I had done a good job. . . ."

- In the same discussion, Dean told Nixon that CREEP lawyers were successfully putting pressure on Judge Charles Richey, who was presiding in the suit brought against CREEP by the Democrats. "Well, that's helpful," Nixon replied.

- Nixon also told Dean at this meeting "to keep a good list of the press people giving us trouble, because we will make life difficult for them after the election."

- Nixon agreed to promise E. Howard Hunt executive clemency in return for his silence about Watergate.

- Nixon personally requested the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Egil Krogh, head of the White House "plumbers," told Dean he had received orders for the break-in "right out of the Oval Office."

Another side of Dean's revelations is his testimony that the White House has directly tampered with every single investigation of the Watergate scandal, including the Senate committee.

Dean said that he, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman discussed manipulating the Senate hearings:

"The White House will take a public posture of full cooperation, but privately will attempt to restrain the investigation and make it as difficult as possible to get information and witnesses. . . . The ultimate goal would be to discredit the hearings and reduce their impact by attempting to show that the Democrats have engaged in the same type of activities."

To this end, Dean explained, Nixon held a secret meeting with Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), the Senate committee's vice-chairman, last February. "After the President met with Senator Baker," said Dean, "I was informed by Haldeman that the Senator appeared to be very interested in being cooperative and that the President has the impression that he might be helpful."

"Also Senator Baker told the president that he wanted his contact point to be Mr. Kleindienst rather than someone on the White House staff. . . . I was told that both the President and Senator Baker had discussed that there should be an effort to get the hearings over as quickly as possible."

Regarding Senator Edward Gurney (R-Fla.), another member of the Senate committee, Dean explained that no meeting with Nixon was necessary. "Senator Gurney would help the White House and would not have to be told to do so," Dean said.

The White House maneuvers to



'The Shredder'

By Fischetti, © 1973, Chicago Daily News

cover up its Watergate tracks began with Henry Petersen, the Justice Department official who first headed the Watergate "investigation." As Dean delicately put it, Petersen "realized the problems a wide-open investigation of of the White House might create in an election year."

Petersen kept Dean informed of the September 1972 grand jury proceedings in the Watergate case. He also arranged to have certain White House aides testify in private so that they could avoid questions from the grand jurors.

At the same grand jury hearings, Dean arranged that Earl Silbert, the U.S. attorney in charge of Watergate prosecutions, would refrain from asking "embarrassing" questions of dirty-tricks agent Donald Segretti.

The White House also managed to derail a potentially dangerous investigation of CREEP finances last fall

by the House Banking and Currency Committee. Assisting in the effort to undermine this investigation was John Connally, who was then secretary of the treasury, and Congressman Garry Brown (R-Mich.), according to Dean.

Perhaps fearing that any statement made too soon would become "inoperative" almost immediately, the White House initially said it would make no comment at all this week on Dean's charges. Then today, under mounting pressure, the White House issued a statement claiming that Dean had "masterminded" the cover-up, while John Mitchell was the organizer of the Watergate break-in.

It remains to be seen how long this story will last. Haldeman summed up the White House's dilemma in a comment to Dean earlier this spring: "Once the toothpaste is out of the tube, it's going to be very hard to get it back in."

White House secret 'enemy' list bared

JUNE 27—The White House keeps a frequently updated "enemies list," composed of trade unionists, Blacks, antiwar activists, politicians, reporters, movie stars, and others, John Dean testified today before the Senate Watergate committee.

The ex-White House counsel read the names of several people from the "Opponents List and and Political Enemies Project" — including syndicated columnist Jack Anderson and Teamsters Vice-president Harold Gibbons. The *Washington Star-News* and CBS-TV today reported scores of other names that were on the list.

Gibbons is one of several trade-union leaders on the list. Others include Alexander Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education; United Auto Workers head Leonard Woodcock; and Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). A memo from ex-White House counsel Charles Colson calls Gibbons "an all-out enemy, a McGovernite, an anti-Nixon person." Colson recommends that "an audit should be started at once."

This is a common recommendation,

according to Dean. People on Nixon's list are often targets of tax audits arranged by the Internal Revenue Service. Another memo from Colson calls these audits "the federal machinery to screw our enemies."

It is likely that in Gibbons's case, however, more than just a tax audit was initiated by the White House. Gibbons was recently ousted from his position as head of the Teamsters Central States Conference by Frank Fitzsimmons, a loyal friend of Nixon's. As president of the Teamsters, Fitzsimmons has led the drive to help California growers in their attempt to smash the United Farm Workers Union.

Others on the secret list as of 1971 include all 12 Black members of Congress, and the National Welfare Rights Organization. After the name of Black Democrat John Conyers of Michigan was the comment, "has a known weakness for white females."

Morton Halperin, the former National Security Council consultant who is now suing White House aides for bugging his phone, is also on the list. "A scandal would be most helpful here," the document says.

Antiwar actress Jane Fonda is named, as is Gregory Peck, who produced a film about Father Daniel Berrigan last year. General Motors heir Stewart Mott is also listed, with the complaint, "nothing but big money for radical causes."

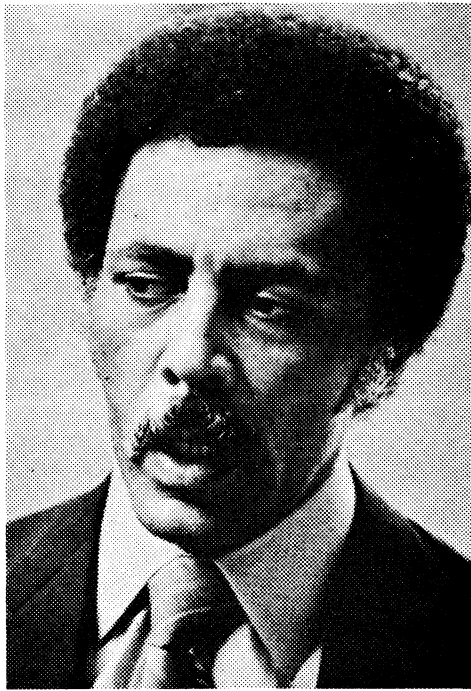
Others are Governor George Wallace, actor Paul Newman, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.); conservative columnist Rowland Evans; New York Mayor John Lindsay; Harvard economist John Kenneth Galbraith; and *New York Times* columnist James Reston.

The list even includes New York Jets quarterback Joe Namath, erroneously described as playing for the New York Giants. Namath must have piqued Nixon by antiwar statements he made after returning from a trip to Vietnam several years ago.

The names revealed thus far are obviously only a fraction of the people singled out by the White House for victimization. It would be interesting to read the comments about Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg, for instance. He is surely on the list.

It would also be interesting to see if a full revelation of the plans to

"screw our enemies" provides some answers to the many burglaries and bombings that have "mysteriously" occurred in the homes and headquarters of activists in the antiwar, Black liberation, and socialist movements.



DELLUMS: On Nixon's secret 'enemy list'

WATERGATE: 1970 spy plan

JUNE 26—"I think it has become clear here this afternoon that another step has been taken, another step further along the road, the plan of 1970, which plan included bugging, breaking in, burglary and the like. . . ." With these words Republican Senator Lowell Weicker summed up his interrogation of John Dean in the second day of Dean's testimony before the Ervin Watergate Committee.

The plan referred to by Weicker is the secret "national security" plan men-

orders and had a series of discussions with then Attorney General John Mitchell and Haldeman about how to begin. Dean made a series of suggestions about how the White House could overcome objections by former FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover balked at getting the FBI formally involved in illegal wiretapping and other criminal acts without Nixon's "OK" in writing.

Dean testified that he proposed, as the first step towards implementing the

the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department and also the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP).

Confidential IEC reports were forwarded to both John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman, the president's two closest advisers.

Dean testified that "there was a continual request [to the IEC] for information regarding demonstrations and particularly information that would embarrass individuals in connection

a review of the system by which domestic spying is carried out by the FBI, CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, and National Security Agency. The Senate Committee has agreed that it will not disclose this document because it "relates in substantial part to foreign intelligence."

However, the committee did have Dean read aloud his memo to Mitchell concerning the disguised implementation of the secret plan. The committee said it will also make public a series of memos between H. R. Haldeman and the author of the secret spy plan, former White House consultant Tom Charles Huston. These memos go through at least September 1970—two months after the secret plan was supposedly made "inoperative." One of these memos also deals with appropriations for the Subversive Activities Control Board, a government agency whose purpose is to harass radical groups.

Questions from Weicker

Toward the end of his interrogation of Dean, Weicker asked, "Did you receive any information from these entities which was of a political nature—and I do not consider information on demonstrations," he said, "to be of a political nature. That's something that should be applied to all sides. But [information] that could be used politically?"

By this question Weicker made it clear that what he really wanted to know was whether the government secret police apparatus was being used for narrow partisan purposes, instead of on behalf of the ruling class as a whole.

In reply, Dean showed that the White House had indeed used the IEC "politically." He reported that Secret Service agents assigned to "protect" McGovern during the 1972 campaign were in fact sending spy data on him to the White House. Presidential counsel Charles Colson leaked to the press a Secret Service report that one McGovern fund-raising event in Philadelphia was going to be attended by "Communists" and "former Communist supporters." Dean also revealed that the Internal Revenue Service had harassed *Newsday* reporters who wrote an exposé of Nixon's crony Bebe Rebozo.

Weicker wanted to know if the FBI, CIA, Internal Revenue Service, military intelligence outfits, Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division of the Treasury, and the Secret Service—the vast spy apparatus aimed against the left by the IEC—was also being directed against the Democrats. Dean's answer was "yes." This is why Watergate really upsets Weicker and his fellow Democratic and Republican party politicians.

—PETER SEIDMAN

Nixon caught lying again How White House put secret plan in operation

tioned by Nixon in a May 22 statement. This plan—which projected a series of illegal acts against radicals—was launched in response to the massive antiwar upsurge that took place after the U. S. invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. It was used to justify



MITCHELL: Plotted with Dean to put secret spy plan in motion.

plan, that an "Interagency Evaluation Committee" (IEC) should be set up. The IEC would be projected as a "legal" information coordinating body. Dean hoped Hoover might agree to this "because it was not good to have the FBI standing alone without the information of other intelligence agencies and the sharing of information is always good and avoids duplication."

Dean read the Senate committee a memo he sent to former Attorney General John Mitchell Sept. 18, 1970, in which he explained how the full secret plan could be put into operation after Hoover's approval was won for this first step. ". . . the most appropriate procedure would be to decide," he said, "on the type of intelligence we need, based on an assessment of the recommendations of this unit and then to remove the restrictions [on illegal activities] as necessary."

Clipping service?

Dean's memo also outlined a plan for disguising the existence of the IEC by getting Hoover to find appropriate "housing" for the agency in the Justice Department. Dean and Mitchell agreed to have the IEC operate out of the IDIU, a division of the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. Until that time, Dean said, the IDIU had been primarily a "clipping service" for periodicals and other publications of the radical movement.

Dean's memo also explained that he and Mitchell discussed what kind of "right-hand" man was needed to run the secret spy plan operation. "It would seem that what is needed is a man with administrative skills, a sensitivity to the implications of the current radical and subversive movements within the United States, and preferably some background in intelligence work."

"To maintain the cover, I would think it appropriate for the man to have a law degree in that he will be a part of the Department of Justice. You suggested the possibility of using a prosecutor who had had experience with demonstrations or riot type cases."

Dean confirmed that the first director of the IEC had been John Dorrity, who has been succeeded by Bernard Wells. He also reported that Jack Caulfield was assigned to serve as the White House liaison with the IEC. Caulfield, who has been implicated in a number of Watergate crimes—including attempts to buy the silence of the White House burglary team—later carried out secret-plan activities from

with their relationship with demonstrators or demonstration leaders."

Dean had turned over a set of top secret documents from his White House office to federal Judge John Sirica. Sirica, in turn, gave copies to the Ervin Committee.



"They needed their own secret police to watch the secret operatives they hired to organize phony demonstrations against themselves. . . ."

Most of these papers deal with the secret plan. A list of them was read in today's hearings. One document entitled "Special Report Interagency Committee of Intelligence," constitutes

the existence of a White House burglary team whose capture set off the Watergate crisis now rocking the government.

Nixon has said that the secret plan was never put into effect. A great amount of material has already appeared proving that this is a lie. In his testimony before the Ervin Committee, Dean, who was a highly placed White House staff member, shed new light on the way Nixon and his gang not only went about putting the secret and illegal plan into operation, but covered up its existence at every point.

Implementing secret plan

Dean testified that "it was approximately one month" after he arrived at the White House, that is, in August 1970, that he was told by top presidential advisor H. R. Haldeman to see what he "could do to get the plan implemented." According to Nixon's story, the plan had already been scrapped by that time!

Dean claims he thought the plan was "totally uncalled for and unjustified." However, he dutifully carried out his

LaRue pleads guilty

Frederick C. LaRue, a Mississippi oil millionaire and official of the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), pleaded guilty June 27 to conspiring to obstruct justice in the federal investigation of the Watergate scandal.

LaRue's plea meant he would not face trial on other counts in exchange for his pledge to cooperate with federal prosecutors. LaRue has admitted being present at a March 30, 1972, meeting in Florida where Watergate bugging plans were discussed. Former CREEP official Jeb Magruder has testified that John Mitchell was also at that meeting and approved the bugging plans. Mitchell has denied this. Hence

LaRue's decision to aid the prosecution may corroborate Magruder's charges against Mitchell.

LaRue was the head of Nixon's 1968 campaign in Mississippi and was a key architect of Nixon's racist "Southern Strategy."

Although he was the first person to be charged in the Watergate cover-up, LaRue—who faces a maximum five-year prison term and a \$10,000 fine—was not the first Watergater to agree to cooperate with the federal prosecutors in exchange for a reduced sentence. Waiting in the wings to sing are Magruder and Herbert Kalmbach, Nixon's personal lawyer.

Nixon 'obsessed' with antiwar protests

JUNE 26—In his testimony before the Senate Watergate inquiry yesterday, John Dean drew a detailed picture of the impact the antiwar movement had on Nixon and his administration. The facts disclosed by Dean stand as dramatic refutation of the arguments of those who discounted the effect of mass antiwar demonstrations, or who took for good coin Nixon's repeated claims of indifference to the demonstrations.

One of the most notorious of these assertions of presidential indifference came right after the Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march and rally in Washington, which was attended by 500,000 people. Nixon pointedly told reporters he had been unaware of the protesters because he was busy watching a football game on TV.

The reality, however, was somewhat different. As the *New York Post* put it, Nixon was "almost obsessed with any protests against his war policies," and his staff was "prepared to take 'any means—legal or illegal' to keep demonstrators away from him."

Dean himself led the offensive against the Nov. 15, 1969, march. As a representative of the Justice Department, he stalled negotiations over permits and routes for the march. His job was to conduct a smear campaign, claiming that there were plans for massive violence at the demonstration. An atmosphere of crisis was cultivated, and Dean added to the uncertainty by "going duck hunting" in the middle of the permit negotiations, further delaying their outcome.

"Prior to and during a demonstration," Dean testified, "my office would prepare summary reports for the President of the anticipated size of the demonstration, a description of the activities of the demonstrators and the government's handling or anticipated handling of the demonstrations."

Surveillance of groups involved in planning the demonstrations was a key task of the secret spy operation set into motion in the summer of 1970.

Dean even had a number of hot-

line telephones for use during "demonstration time." These phones connected him to the D. C. metropolitan police department, the Pentagon, the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, the mayor's command post, and the Secret Service command post.

During the Vietnam Veterans' encampment on the mall in front of the Capitol Building just before the April 24, 1971, mass march and rally, Dean said, he sent Nixon "hourly

"said the sign had to come down."

Dean talked to Nixon aide Dwight Chapin, "who said that he was going to get some 'thugs' to remove that man from Lafayette Park." But since that would take several hours, Dean suggested calling the Secret Service instead. The Secret Service called the Park Police, and "within 30 minutes the man had been convinced he should move" from White House view.

Haldeman, said Dean, was "delighted."



Antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., April 24, 1971. Protests by Vietnam veterans during that week so disturbed Nixon that he demanded hourly reports on status of the actions.

reports" on what was happening with the protesters!

Nixon was so disturbed at visible expressions of antiwar sentiment that a single demonstrator was enough to send him into a frenzy. Dean recalled that in the winter of 1971, "the President happened to look out the windows of the White House and saw a lone man with a large 10-foot sign stretched out in front of Lafayette Park" across the street.

Haldeman's office called Dean and

It became White House and CREEP policy to keep the president from being exposed to the offending antiwar signs and banners because Nixon became visibly upset when he ran into demonstrators on his trips around the country.

Dean recalled that in Akron, Ohio, in the fall of 1971, Nixon was greeted by a spirited antiwar picket line. Nixon turned to the Secret Service agent beside him and "in some rather blunt synonyms, told him to get the dem-

onstrators out of there."

Nixon repeatedly tried to come up with evidence linking the McGovern campaign to the antiwar movement. He hoped to be able to offer a defense against the Watergate investigation by proving that McGovern had planned violence against him. His investigators, however, could come up with nothing to indicate McGovern was involved in helping to organize antiwar protests—violent or peaceful.

And, in fact, as those who participated in the antiwar movement knew all along, the McGovern campaign repeatedly refused appeals from antiwar activists to participate in building or supporting protest actions. McGovern's goal was to get the demonstrators off the streets and back into the Democratic Party; he wanted their votes, but he opposed their demonstrations.

Nixon was frustrated by the failure to produce evidence linking the protesters to the McGovern camp. Dean said there was "dissatisfaction with the available intelligence reports. The most frequent critic was Mr. Haldeman, but the President himself discussed this with me in early March of this year, as part of the planned counter offensive for dealing with the Senate Watergate investigation."

"The President wanted to show that his opponents had employed demonstrators against him during his reelection campaign. However, with each demonstration that the President was confronted with, and each incident that occurred during the campaign, my office had sought to determine if it had in fact been instigated by political opponents of the President—Senator McGovern, the Democratic Party or whomever. We never found a scintilla of viable evidence indicating that these demonstrators were part of a master plan; nor that they were funded with Democratic political funds; nor that they had any direct connection with the McGovern campaign."

Learning to lie the White House way

Will the average American believe Nixon the next time he makes a major address on Watergate? No, according to the latest Louis Harris poll, compiled from June 14 to 18. Fifty-eight percent of the population now thinks Nixon "has withheld important information" on Watergate, the poll shows, and 70 percent give Nixon a negative personal rating on his handling of the scandal.

Considering the pace at which White House statements in recent months

have become "inoperative," it's easy to understand why the American people think Nixon is lying to them. Now, with this week's testimony by ex-White House counsel John Dean, there is even more evidence that lies and deceit are a regular part of "public relations" work at the White House.

In his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee on June 26, Dean explained that White House aides routinely prepared "press briefings" for Nixon and other spokesmen who had to appear before reporters. These briefings contained possible questions to expect, and, often, suggestions for how to get around telling the truth.

For example, Dean explained how press secretary Ron Ziegler was told to deal with reports that the White House had a secret fund of campaign donations in violation of federal law. "We talked about the secret fund . . . and [Ziegler] said, how do I handle that?"

"I said, well, that's a matter of interpretation. It is a secret to some people, but since we know of it, it obviously is not a secret, so you don't need to say it was a secret fund."

On another occasion, Dean said, "the leak to *Time* magazine of the story

regarding surveillance of the White House staff and newsmen . . . did present a real quandary to me, so I called [John] Ehrlichman for guidance. . . . He said, just flat out deny it. Now that was a flat out lie."

During questioning by Senator Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.), Dean went through the major speeches Nixon has given on Watergate since the scandal began. He pointed to the lies in each statement, saying, "frequently the President made references in press conferences to things that never had, in fact, occurred."

Nixon's May 22 speech, which he still stands by, contains many assertions that are directly contradicted by Dean's testimony—including the president's denial of participation in the cover-up, knowledge of the Ellsberg burglary, and complicity in paying off defendants.

The June 27 *New York Times* printed a transcript of one "coaching" session White House aides held for Ron Ziegler. The occasion was an impending news conference where Ziegler expected to be asked about White House assistant Dwight Chapin and his relationship to Donald Segretti. Chapin had hired Segretti to sabotage

the campaigns of other candidates.

Ziegler presented his initial denial of any relationship between Chapin and Segretti, and then the White House aides played devil's advocate:

"QUESTION: Ron, that was a self-righteous, self-serving statement. Simply, is the answer yes or no?"

"ZIEGLER: Gentlemen, I have nothing to add to what Mr. Chapin has already said on this. . . ."

Another aide suggested a more offensive posture, proposing that Ziegler try something like: "What is the right of anyone to expect an answer from this podium on a story which is based on sources you will not reveal? Good citizens are being vilified based on irresponsible, unidentified stories. . . ."

The transcript ends with three possible responses to reporters, all based on what Dean called the "hedge and bob and weave" technique:

"RESPONSE A: . . . The President is under no obligation nor should he get into discussion or comment on these [campaign] tactics."

"RESPONSE B: I have already made my comment. . . ."

"RESPONSE C: The President does not comment on allegations of campaign tactics. . . ."



ZIEGLER: Coached in the 'hedge and bob and weave' technique.

WATERGATE: The summit

Nixon gets a hand from Brezhnev

The Communist Party & Watergate

By DAVE FRANKEL

The U.S. Communist Party is in an uncomfortable situation these days. For weeks the *Daily World*, the CP newspaper, has been insisting, as in the editorial in its June 12 issue, that "The significance of Watergate is that Richard Nixon—the prime political agent for monopoly capital—prepared a plan and set the stage for an eventual takeover of power by the White House through the secret police and the military."

But at the same time, the CP has been hailing the "historic steps towards world peace" supposedly being taken at the Nixon-Brezhnev summit.

The CP has been forced into political contortions in order to preserve its credibility as an opponent of Nixon and his policies while gushing praise for the negotiations between Nixon and Brezhnev and "the further development of relations of peaceful coexistence between the U.S. and the USSR."

This contradictory political stance toward Nixon is similar to the position the CP was in at the time of the 1972 summit in Moscow. Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union occurred while the U.S. was subjecting the Vietnamese to brutal bombing raids and blockading the harbors of North Vietnam. The response of the world antiwar movement was one of outrage and renewed determination to act to end the war.

But the CP subordinated the needs of the international antiwar movement and the Vietnamese revolution to the foreign policy maneuvers of the Kremlin bureaucrats. It hailed the Moscow summit as a major stride toward peace, helping Nixon refurbish his image as "peacemaker" at the very moment of his drastic escalation of the Vietnam war.

The Watergate political crisis confronting Nixon just at the time of Brezhnev's visit posed a similar problem. At first the CP denied there was any contradiction between enthusiastic backing for the summit meeting and politically exposing Nixon. The May 16 issue of the *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the CP, claimed, "In fact, Brezhnev will be making what is mainly a business trip to the U.S.—he won't spend any time doing anything that will bolster Nixon's position."

Nixon's 'strongest card'

But this front wasn't tenable for very long. A month later, in the June 16 *Daily World*, Conrad Komorowski admitted that "caught in the Watergate conspiracy scandal, Nixon turned to the public with the plea that he be allowed to carry on his work of improving the climate of peaceful coexistence. He felt he had to play his strongest card."

In the June 23 *Daily World* John Pittman writes, "Leftwing critics assert that Brezhnev's visit is a disservice to the U.S. population because it gives Nixon support at a moment when he should be impeached or forced to resign for his role in the conspiracy that led to Watergate."

Improving Nixon's standing

Pittman admits that "the talks would never have gotten off the ground and the agreements would never have been reached if U.S. monopolies had not anticipated profiting from them. . . . Unquestionably, therefore, the talks and agreements will benefit the monopolies and improve Nixon's standing

among the people."

The justification Pittman gives for helping to "improve Nixon's standing among the people" is that "the talks and the agreements . . . strengthen objective conditions and create new ones favorable to struggles of the U.S. population. . . ."

Watergate has been a test of the political tendencies that claim to speak in the interests of the working class. The dramatic exposure of the methods used by the capitalist class to maintain its rule has raised the consciousness of millions of Americans about the real nature of capitalist government. Watergate has created the opportunity, and the obligation, for the socialist movement to explain the significance of the events and to present a clear-cut explanation of how the rule of the Watergate criminals can

home the fundamental lesson of Watergate: that the capitalist system itself, the entire government apparatus and both political parties are rotten to the core and need to be replaced.

The "impeachment" demand as raised by the CP actually reinforces the illusions of those who think the problem can be solved by replacing the "bad" politicians with better ones, without transforming the social system that is at the heart of Watergate. Such slogans are typical of the CP's reformism.

'Welcome Brezhnev!'

But even the impeachment demand was discreetly shoved aside during Brezhnev's visit. For example, the CP had a large contingent in the "March for Life" demonstration that took place June 16 in Washington, D.C., called to protest the bombing of Cambodia

nev." Not a word of protest was added about the extra week given Nixon to work up a defense against Dean's testimony, much of which had already been leaked.

The main focus of this issue of the *World* was the page-one article, headed "U.S. and Soviets Sign Four New Agreements." "The signing took place this morning in an atmosphere of cordiality beneath the crystal chandeliers in the Benjamin Franklin room on the eighth floor of the State Department," we are informed by *Daily World* staff writer Tim Wheeler. Clearly, it would have been out of place to have John Dean's devastating testimony intrude in this "atmosphere of cordiality"!

"Brezhnev, seated in an arm chair beside Nixon opposite the signing table, gestured broadly, his face wreathed in smiles, as he talked privately with Nixon during the 10-minute signing ceremony." After the signing was over, "trays of champagne were brought in. Brezhnev turned and clinked his glass against Nixon's as the throng cheered."

What revolutionaries believe

Revolutionaries start from the premise that while it is necessary and advantageous for workers states, like the Soviet Union, to enter into negotiations and conclude various economic and diplomatic agreements with capitalist governments, such negotiations and agreements must always be in accord with the interests of the international working class and the needs of the class struggle.

In contrast, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and its supporters in the CPUSA subordinate the interests of the world working class to the attainment of diplomatic agreements and trade deals with the capitalist countries.

For the CP, as for Brezhnev, signing agreements with Nixon was more important than educating the American people about Watergate and mobilizing popular opposition to Nixon and his policies. The perspective of the fight for socialism was replaced by champagne parties in the White House.

The CP would like to divert the class struggle away from a fundamental challenge to capitalism and limit it to a means of applying pressure on the capitalists for more concessions and better relations with the Soviet Union.

This perspective eliminates the fight for a socialist revolution—the only path to the elimination of the danger of war and an end to the threat to the Soviet Union.

The logic of this position was driven home in Brezhnev's parting remarks. He made another date with Nixon for next year and scheduled a return visit to the U.S. in 1975. The implied message is clear: since Nixon is so amenable to working with Brezhnev, and since any successor to Nixon might not be, is it really such a good idea to oppose him? Brezhnev, in setting these future dates, expressed his confidence—or at least hope—that Nixon will survive the Watergate scandal and remain in the White House.

The test of Watergate reveals once again that the Stalinist theory of peaceful coexistence is based on acceptance of the status quo. Because of its support to this theory and its servile obedience to the conservative bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the CPUSA is reduced to a cheering section for Soviet diplomacy. This is a role that ensures it will never help make a revolution in the U.S.



Dean's devastating testimony implicating Nixon in Watergate was postponed 'in deference' to Nixon-Brezhnev meetings. The Communist Party supported this move and downplayed criticism of Nixon during Brezhnev visit.

be ended.

But the CP, instead of doing everything in its power to deepen the crisis faced by Nixon and to drive home the lessons of Watergate, was led by its political subservience to the Kremlin to downplay Watergate and set aside its campaign against Nixon during Brezhnev's visit—precisely when the disclosures were centering on Nixon.

At one point the *Daily World* had been carrying on a regular campaign for Nixon's impeachment. It carried front page banner headlines like: "Nixon Speech Stirs Talk of Impeachment;" "Nader Urges Public Pressure to Force Nixon Resignation;" "Phone Union Urges AFL-CIO to Work for Nixon Ouster;" "AFL-CIO Urges Probe, Mum on Impeachment"; and so on.

But as the summit talks approached, such headlines got rarer, and the coverage of the "epochal achievements of this summit" edged out headlines about impeachment.

Of course, the CP's demand for "impeachment" does nothing to drive

and the Watergate crimes. But the main CP banner mentioned neither of these issues. Instead, it proclaimed, "Trade Means Jobs—WELCOME Brezhnev!"

Another example of how the CP held its fire on Watergate was the *Daily World's* reaction to the postponement of the explosive testimony of John Dean before the Senate Watergate committee. Earlier, when special prosecutor Archibald Cox had tried to halt live TV coverage of the hearings, or get them postponed, the *Daily World* protested with a front-page story headlined "Senate Probers Fight TV Blackout Demand."

But when the entire hearings were recessed for a week, the June 20 *World* ran only a small item on the White House attempts to discredit Dean. In passing, the article blandly noted:

"Dean had been scheduled to testify today, but the hearings were postponed by a vote of the committee yesterday in deference to the negotiations between President Nixon and Soviet Communist leader Leonid Brezh-

'Frozen' prices rise

Price freeze or no price freeze, the outlook is still very grim for the already burdened budgets of working people.

- Consumer prices continued climbing steeply in May at an annual rate of 7.2 percent. Wholesale prices jumped at an annual rate of 25.2 percent—and will be translated into further retail price rises.

- A survey by the New York Department of Consumer Affairs found that a typical "market basket" of food for a family of four cost \$52.58 at the end of the first week of Nixon's "freeze"—28 cents more than a week earlier.

- Nixon's Cost-of-Living Council is already discussing the possibility of lifting the "freeze" for certain goods even before the end of 60 days. And, believe it or not, the foods they are thinking of "unfreezing" are eggs and chicken—just what many of us have been relying on more heavily these days. One specialist from the government Farm Bureau has predicted that eggs will go up to \$1 a dozen as soon as the freeze is lifted!

- Meanwhile, the Senate Agriculture Committee has voted to allow the biggest milk monopolies to raise milk prices with the government's blessings. Columnist Jack Anderson reports that the measure was drafted by the milk companies themselves. Seven members of the Senate committee were "convinced" to approve it, says Anderson, after their pockets were lined with \$50,000 in contributions from the milk monopolies.

- Finally, the government is trying to scare consumers into tolerating higher prices by raising the possibility of food shortages and even rationing as a result of the price freeze. Some big farmers are killing off tens of thousands of chicks, instead of raising them to sell as chickens, because they claim they can't make enough profit selling chickens.

Nixon's new price "freeze" is simply another fraud. Throughout "Phases 1, 2, and 3," prices have continued to rise while wage increases have been effectively depressed. This government is bought and paid for by the big monopolies. The senators who voted for the milk price increases are a case in point. How can anyone expect these politicians to clamp down on the profit-gouging of the capitalists?

Working people cannot rely on Congress or the White House to protect their standard of living. Workers must look to their own power and fight for adequate wage increases and cost-of-living escalators to keep up with inflation, along with a shortening of the workweek at no cut in pay to produce jobs for all.

Problems like inflation and the destruction of food to boost profits are products of the capitalist system itself—a system based on production for private profits, not human needs. These problems will only be solved when working people take over the industries and the corporate farms and replace the capitalist government with the democratic rule of the majority.

Kent case reopened

The Watergate revelations have forced the government to reopen the question of the May 1970 killings at Kent State University. In 1971 John Mitchell, then the U.S. attorney general, refused to convene a federal grand jury to investigate the Ohio National Guard action that left four students dead and numerous others seriously injured.

Mitchell's decision was taken despite his own statement that the shooting was "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable," and despite the fact that the FBI had established probable cause for filing criminal charges against the guardsmen. Since then Mitchell has been indicted on charges of perjury, conspiracy, and obstruction of justice in the Vesco case. He faces additional criminal proceedings stemming from the Watergate scandal.

The exposure of the crimes committed by Mitchell while he was the nation's top lawman has forced even some Justice Department officials to concede that he may have acted improperly in the Kent case. The Civil Rights Division has reopened its investigation of the Kent State massacre. And on June 25, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review lower-court decisions dismissing damage suits against the governor of Ohio and Ohio National Guardsmen by the parents of three of the slain students.

The fact that the government has been forced on the defensive by Watergate may finally bring out the truth about Kent State and bring those responsible for the massacre to justice. This would be an important victory for the antiwar movement and for the civil liberties of us all.

Prisoners superexploited

This is in response to the letter from N. T. from Boston in your June 15 issue, which stated that prisoners are superexploited because they are forced to work for 15 or 25 cents an hour. While at the reformatory at Hutchinson, Kans., I would have been happy with 15 or 25 cents an hour. I was getting only 10 cents a day. Half of this was for savings, the other half to spend as you please.

The greed of capitalism is even greater than, N. T. thinks.

J. S.

Bentley, Kans.

Palestinian revolution

To start with, I have to admit that *The Militant* is playing a very important role in the coverage of the national and international struggle against U.S. imperialism. But I feel that *The Militant* should give more coverage to the Palestinian revolution and the struggle of Arab peoples in the Gulf against the British government and the American government.

I am not asking this because of my nationalist spirit but because they are very hot spots, and because *The Militant* is one of the few papers that could give the right analysis of these two problems. The coverage is also important because of the ignorance of many radicals and the majority of the American people about the Arab revolution.

A Palestinian

Warren, Ohio

Nixon-Brezhnev summit

Upon hearing the last speech of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit I believe I could hear V. I. Lenin turning over in his grave again!

It is my hope that someday soon true socialism will exist in the Soviet Union and the United States. But Brezhnev, Chou En-lai and other bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking are not helping any. We cannot turn our backs on the colonial revolutions as the bureaucrats have done.

J. C.

Dekalb, Ill.

'Plentiful foods'

Despite Nixon's recent claim that we've never had it so good in terms of what our paychecks will buy, the steep rise in food prices has caught at least one government department with egg on its face. The Agriculture Department announced recently that as of Aug. 1 it will have to terminate the "plentiful foods" promotion program.

Since 1945 this program has been used to advise consumers about the best bargains in the grocery stores. But apparently its most recent list tells the truth a little too sharply for Nixon to tolerate. The bulletin for July could do no more than suggest price-conscious consumers stick to a menu of dry beans, rolled oats, cornmeal, and grits.

L. B.

New York, N. Y.

Chicano student killed

Rodolfo (Rudy) Santillan, a Texas A&I University student and resident of nearby Robstown, Texas, died June 8 at Memorial Hospital in Corpus Christi after a "scuffle"

with two Robstown policemen.

According to the usual authoritative report by the two involved officers, they attempted to arrest Santillan for driving "erratically." They further alleged that he ran from them, throwing away a package they claim was marijuana.

Santillan was reported to have attacked one of the policemen, and they struck him "once."

Those who viewed his body at Ramon's Funeral Home of Robstown were shocked at the multiple bruises on his face.

The police chief's reply to all questions and comments was, "I don't know anything."

An A&I student

Kingsville, Texas

Cruel & unusual punishment

Enclosed please find my check for a one-year subscription to *The Militant* for a young prisoner, a former student of mine, who has begun a 35-year sentence for armed robbery.

I know little of "the law," but I'm convinced that statistics would show that such a sentence is given only to Blacks who rob whites or Blacks who rob "prominent" whites. It is clearly "cruel and unusual punishment."

C. A.

Kittrell, N. C.

Kim Il Sung

Clearly your reader M. B. considers it a matter of some mirth that the *Guardian* is offering free sets of the three-volume biography of North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung. (*The Militant*, June 1.)

Is it necessary to remind M. B. and *The Militant* of the particular responsibility of North Americans to the people of North Korea whose land was devastated by U.S. imperialism two decades ago?

Irwin Silber

Executive Editor

The Guardian

New York, N. Y.

Project Jonah

While Coca-Cola cans pile up on the ocean floor and oil slicks pollute the shoreline, sea life is being systematically destroyed by giant corporations.

Whaling is not just part of the folklore of the early nineteenth century. It's big business today. And you can forget about Ahab and his courageous men. They've been replaced by sophisticated radar, helicopters, and exploding harpoons.

Only 3,000 Blue whales, the largest animals on earth, remain. They are being turned into things like lipstick and car wax. When the Blue whales are gone the industry will use sperm whales to turn out pet food, shoe polish, and margarine. There is no product made from whales for which an adequate, inexpensive substitute does not exist. So far, nearly 25,000 sperm whales have been killed this year.

For once, the U.S. isn't leading the slaughter. Japan, Russia, Norway, and South Africa are ahead.

To find out about individuals and groups organizing to fight this mindless destruction, write: Project Jonah, 1300 Sansome Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94111.

S. F.

New York, N. Y.



Too much Watergate coverage?

I have been a *Militant* reader for two or three years and I always relied heavily on its contents to keep me informed about struggles in other parts of the country not usually covered in other media—even the "underground" press. Lately, however, I have been disappointed in *The Militant's* "talking down" to its readers. We know how decadent the U. S. political system is, but every issue carries strong reminders with the same diatribe.

There is too much coverage of Watergate; the space given it is a virtual wasteland since the news is old by the time it comes out and since we all know the real Nixon anyway.

P. B.
Chicago, Ill.

'Source of truth'

Since I was an inmate at a federal prison on a phony drug rap a couple years ago, I realize how important it is to have a source of truth, such as *The Militant*. Revolutionary ideas are not abstractions for those who live behind bars, but are vital means for understanding and fighting against the brutality of this system. To a conscious prisoner *The Militant* is as valuable as food. Enclosed is \$10. Thanks for the chance to help.

A reader
Houston, Texas

Theories of drug traffic

I would like to answer Mark Weisler's letter in your June 22 issue.

He contends it is only theory that the ruling class allows drug traffic, and not a proven fact. Yet government support is evident in the alcohol and tobacco industries, and in the approval of hundreds of dangerous and untested food additives. There are seven deadly poisons in cigarette smoke. Alcohol has caused more death and suffering than all the narcotic drugs put together.

The government shows no concern over the indirect, subtle, combined, or cumulative effect of the additives that fit the scientific definition of poisons or drugs. The Food and Drug Administration "licenses" their use in our food so the food processors can become richer by making food look, taste, and smell better longer.

The government may or may not be directly or indirectly involved with narcotics traffic. But it is beyond a shadow of doubt involved in allowing and promoting the profit-oriented super-rich food, alcohol and tobacco industries to poison and drug every American right from his own breakfast table or corner store.

F. B.
Alhambra, Calif.

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.

Sweatshops in the sun

The Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky asserted in his autobiography that the idealization of childhood originates in the literature of the privileged. "But the majority of the people, if it looks back at all," says Trotsky, "sees, on the contrary, a childhood of darkness, hunger and dependence. Life strikes the weak—and who is weaker than a child?"

For the hundreds of thousands of impoverished farm worker families whose children are forced to work the fields, life strikes very hard indeed. One-fourth of the agricultural labor force—800,000—are children. Many of them, if not most, are Chicanos.

The sad story of present-day child labor is told in a book entitled, *Sweatshops in the Sun* (Beacon Press, \$6.95). The book, by Fresno Bee reporter Ronald Taylor, is described by Ursula Vils in the June 10 *Los Angeles Times*. From her description, it is easy to see why farm workers have a life expectancy of only 38 years. Their hard life begins at an early age.

Most farm worker families work on a piece-rate basis and their daily pay depends on the total number of baskets or boxes they pick. The children free the parents from the small, time-consuming tasks that slow the work down. The older ones help with picking, or perhaps do the backbreaking job of thinning with a short hoe. Nine- and 10-year-olds might help keep the parents supplied with empty baskets, or help take care of the babies. Even five- and six-year-olds might help by bringing water or lunch to the field. The bloodsucking labor contractors do not provide even this.

Even without the extra burden of working, life is misery for migrant children. Dental care is prac-

tically nonexistent. Many have tuberculosis and hearing problems that go untreated. "You never see migrant children with glasses, and there must be many who need them," according to one social worker interviewed by Taylor.

There are laws that forbid child labor under certain circumstances. But even if enforced, these laws cannot end this barbaric abuse. In fact, laws and social pressure only compel the children to lie about their age and to fake illness in order to skip school and go to work. Children and parents alike are made to feel guilty and ashamed for doing what they are forced into by economic necessity.

As Taylor puts it, "The economic fact of life for these migrant farm families is simply this: the children have to work if the family is going to make a living wage."

Faced with a choice of letting your children go to school hungry, or keeping them home to work in the fields in the hopes of making enough so they could eat a little better, which would you choose? The burden of such a terrible choice must be as destructive to human beings as the backbreaking physical labor they must do in order to live.

How can the use of child labor be ended? For one thing, growers must be compelled to pay farm workers a decent living wage. They can certainly afford it. Profits for growers have never been so high. The United Farm Workers' fight to win a better life and social justice by organizing field workers must be carried forward.

But beyond that, we must work toward overturning the entire system of capitalism, which is responsible for and thrives on the oppression of the weakest of the weak.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Union busters at Kalkaska

Kalkaska is a rural town of 1,500 near Traverse City in the northwest section of Michigan's Lower Peninsula. Usually a quiet place visited by tourists in the summer months, it is now the center of a battle between building trades unions and an antiunion contractor.

The battle is shaping up as a crucial test of union strength, and it is viewed as such by both sides.

Kalkaska happens to be the battle site because Shell Oil Company is building a \$20-million gas processing plant six miles down the road. Shell has 309,643 acres of state land under lease and has reserved drilling rights on vast sections of private land.

The new plant is being built by Delta Construction Company of Houston, Texas, a member of the union-busting American Builders and Contractors Association (ABC).

When work started on the new construction site, the Michigan AFL-CIO Building Trades unions sent some pickets to shut down the job and force Delta to hire union labor and pay union wages.

That is how the battle started. It quickly escalated. Delta and ABC have a set policy of meeting all union organizing efforts head on. Delta's gang of scab foremen were armed with pistols to "protect" themselves against union pickets. The Shell Oil company sent a squad of 100 Pinkerton guards to "protect" its property. The contractor called state police for further protection. Attorneys for the employers sought a court injunction to limit picketing.

Under these circumstances, the imported scabs waded into the pickets, roughed them up, and tried to force them to leave town.

When word of what was happening got out, friends of the pickets from building trades locals in all parts of Michigan came to lend a helping hand.

More than 400 Michigan state troopers were ordered on emergency duty. This army of state police is being used daily to escort 120 scabs through a 250-man picket line.

In the initial skirmishes, about 60 pickets were

arrested and hauled off to jail. More arrests are expected.

Union construction workers are driving in from other parts of Michigan. Their bumper stickers say "The Hell With Shell." Police report the only Shell station in town is without windows and is boarded up. Some out-of-state construction workers have left, and local workers say they won't be looking for a job at the new plant "until things quiet down."

Work on the project is mostly makeshift. Cement trucks driven by the Teamsters will not cross the picket lines. That means the foundations can't be poured.

The fact that Shell has chosen to challenge the building trades unions in the construction of a major gas plant in Michigan shows that a powerful sector of the ruling class has decided to try to restore the open shop in the construction industry. This is something new.

Eugene Tolot, a union official in charge of picketing at the Kalkaska plant, answered the charges that the unions provoked the battle of Kalkaska and are responsible for the violence.

"Figure it out for yourself," he told a *Detroit News* reporter, "Who gains by violence? Not the union. Shell and Delta are the ones that make out. Because the only way they can get our pickets down is if there is violence and the court stops us from picketing. We don't want that to happen."

Kent Vana, attorney for Delta, showed how the employers are pressing for a confrontation between police and union pickets. He said Delta has "no plans" to meet with the union. They did not plan to attend an arbitration meeting called by the governor.

William Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, is counting on his "friends" in the Democratic and Republican parties to turn the tide in favor of the unions. But the course of events in this struggle has proved once again that these political parties are the tools of the employers. Both endorse the union-busting police action at Kalkaska.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Spiritual reward—In *The Bank Dick*, when W.C. Fields recovers and returns the stolen loot, the bank president offers him "a hearty handshake and a copy of the bank calendar." George Hearing, who pleaded guilty to helping disrupt the Florida Democratic presidential primaries, said he had been told there would be "some big money" forthcoming after the president was reelected. He said he got less than \$50 and a color photo of the presidential family with a printed message of appreciation.

Wrong locale—Using miniature brain-wave recorders, psychological studies, and sex hormones, the Center for the Study and Reduction of Violence, is conducting extensive research at the University of California, Los Angeles. We don't know what kind of lab animals they work with, but surely they would find richer experimental subjects in Washington, D.C.

Progress report—The British government has decided to eliminate bread-and-water diets as a form of punishment in its prisons. One official said the practice had been in effect "since time immemorial."

Wasteland, USA—The volume of solid waste generated by U.S. cities has doubled in the past 20 years, and it is expected that nearly half the cities will run out of disposal sites in one to five years.

Antilust—The Utah Supreme Court upheld a publicly financed planned parenthood agency in denying service to minors lacking parental consent. The court said the agency's function was to limit family size, not promote "the crime of fornication." Equal protection of the law did not apply, the court held, because minors are not "in the same class with married peo-

ple." The judges further said they take a dim view of young people satisfying "their lusts on each other."

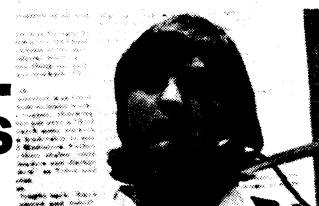
Morality dep't—The state of California hasn't been able to do very much about pollution, but it has had a statute on the books since 1939 barring an embalmer from using obscene language while preparing a corpse for burial. An earlier statute makes it an offense to use improper language in the presence of women or children.

Horsewaste dep't—If the residents of California's Santa Clara County all swapped their cars for horses, it would mean a deposit of 1.8 million tons of manure a day and in five months would raise the entire county floor by one foot, according to James Potts, assistant county transit district executive. And that's not counting the contributions of county transit district executives.



Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Women in sports

Most of us were brought up to believe that sports are good. We were told that they help build vigorous minds and bodies, that they develop better citizens, and promote a healthier society. Yet when it comes to a practice of what is preached, females find that this does not apply to them. Sports may be good for people, but they are considered a lot better for male people than for female people.

In a top-notch three-article series beginning with the May 28 issue, *Sports Illustrated* documents the financial, psychological, and social discrimination against women in sports.

Opportunities for women are so limited in the American sports world that it's hardly surprising that few women excel in athletics. In their first article, Bill Gilbert and Nancy Williamson expose the paltry facilities and finances allocated to women's sports.

A typical example is the high school sports budget of Syracuse, N.Y. In 1969 the school board budgeted \$90,000 for extracurricular sports for men; \$200 was set aside for women.

On the college level things are no better. At the University of Washington, 41.4 percent of the 26,464 undergraduate students enrolled are wom-

en. However, when it comes to athletics, women get nine-tenths of 1 percent of the \$2 million the university spends annually on sports.

That's just an inkling of the financial side. The psychological and social pressures are even worse. The woman athlete is made to feel unwelcome and an oddity.

I can remember at 10, 11, and 12 years old being called a "tomboy" because I could run faster and skip rocks better than anyone else my age.

In high school I rejected cheerleading for a place on the women's basketball team. Playing basketball is one of the few pleasant memories I have of the entire four years. But even so, all of us on the team "compensated" for our behavior. In order to avoid the insinuations that there was something wrong with our hormones, we were super "feminine" all the rest of the time. We curled our hair, wore lots of makeup, and dated the football players.

As a result of all these pressures, many women simply avoid sports completely. Others try to compromise, accommodating their athletic desires to the attitudes of society. They might play games, but do so nervously and timidly, attempting to

avoid anything that might be construed as "unladylike."

But others are taking the challenge head on. Ellen Cornish is one of the best distance runners among American women. Her high school has no women's track program. In the spring of 1972 arrangements were made to have Cornish enter a two-mile men's high school meet on an exhibition basis—that is, any points she won would not count in the meet score. At the end of the seventh lap, with Cornish fighting for the lead, she was pulled off the track. The coaches thought it would be too morale-shattering for the men to be beaten by an "aggressive" woman.

"I think I am more aggressive than most girls," says Cornish, "and maybe more aggressive than a lot of boys. I definitely think sports have helped to make me what I am, and I'm not sorry about it. I have some strong ideas about what I want to be, and I don't feel I have to fit into a role which other people assign me."

Next fall Ellen Cornish enters college as a pre-med student. She says, "If I had not spent the time in track, I think I would have been frightened."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'Behavior modification' for prisoners

Prisoners have long been used as subjects for experimentation with new drugs and medical treatments.

The superintendent of the Oregon state prison recently abolished the use of prisoners for such experiments. "Research" there had included allergy experiments in which prisoners had different substances injected under their skin to gauge the effect. The pay was a mere \$6 per doctor visit.

Another form of experimentation on prisoners is psychosurgery. This is a technique used to modify behavior by removing brain tissue.

During the 1950s, more than 50,000 such operations were performed on patients confined to state mental hospitals. These experiments are re-emerging in state and federal prisons. But today, the target of these operations and other forms of "behavior modification" programs, are radicalized prisoners, chiefly Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Chicanos.

The "thesis" is that there is something "wrong" with prisoners who organize against prison con-

ditions. Related to this is the "theory" that Blacks and others from the urban slums are somehow predisposed toward violence. Thus the goal in psychosurgical experiments on these prisoners is "pacification."

Congress has authorized more than \$1.5-million for research in behavior modification, and the U.S. Department of Prisons is building a \$12.5-million behavior modification research center in North Carolina for federal prisoners.

One of the first of these "behavioral modification" programs began at the California Medical Center at Vacaville. Prison officials there have tried a variety of drug therapies, brain surgeries, and electroshock treatments on prisoners. Another of these programs is the START Program at the Springfield Center in Illinois.

Recently, the New York State Department of Corrections began a "behavior modification" program at Dannemora, N.Y. Known as the Adirondack Correctional Treatment and Evaluation Center, the state has refused to release the 62-page

booklet describing the program on the grounds that "it may be open to misinterpretation."

So far, two well-known political prisoners have been "nominated" for this program against their will—Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz and Martin Sostre.

Fortunately, as publicity of these programs spreads, so does the opposition. One prisoner who was "volunteered" for the New York program has filed suit in federal court against the state. In March, Congressman Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) introduced legislation outlawing psychosurgery.

Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a Black professor of psychiatry at Harvard University Medical School, summed it all up. He said: "It assumes that Black people are genetically damaged—that they're so animal and so savage that whites have to carve on their brains to make them into human beings. The whole concept is vicious. . . . But who's committing all the violence? The white man, white society, white policemen. They don't consider that something's wrong with *their* brains."

What more can you say?

World Outlook

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

JULY 6, 1973

British trawlers fish in troubled waters

Iceland uses NATO as lever in fishing dispute

By David Thorstad

The May 31-June 1 summit meeting in Reykjavik between Presidents Nixon and Pompidou was a disappointment to the Icelandic government, which had hoped to elicit some sign of support from them in its dispute with England over its fishing boundary. The presidents refused to be drawn into the dispute between the two NATO member countries.

In the nine and a half months since Iceland extended its fishing limit from twelve to fifty miles, its dispute with Great Britain has grown increasingly sharp. While West German trawlers also continue to raid Icelandic waters, the dispute has focused on Britain because of London's belligerent decision to dispatch warships to defend its fleet. The situation has reached the point that it is considered possible that Iceland might pull out of NATO.

The so-called cod war became perceptibly hotter as the Nixon-Pompidou meeting approached. On May 20, Iceland went beyond mere coast guard harassment of violating trawlers (cutting trawlines, firing across British bows, and so on) and banned all British military planes from landing at the NATO airfield at Keflavik. British reconnaissance planes had been using the base to refuel and then keep an eye on the trawlers.

Iceland's coalition government, consisting of the Progressive party, the Communist-led People's Alliance, and the Radical Liberal party, accused Britain of carrying out an invasion. On May 21, the People's Alliance called for Iceland's withdrawal from NATO and demanded the severance of all diplomatic ties with Britain.

On May 23, the Icelandic government extended its ban on British aircraft to prohibit all British military planes from landing at Icelandic airports or flying over Icelandic jurisdiction. The only exemptions will be planes in distress.

In the next few days, a series of incidents occurred that served to dramatize and call world attention to the Icelandic case. Several thousand Icelanders stormed the British embassy in Reykjavik May 24, smashing most of the building's windows. The government was quick to apologize; it delivered a note to the British ambassador describing the outraged protesters as a deplorable mob.

On May 26, the Icelandic coast guard gunboat *Aegir* shelled the British trawler *Everton*, causing it to spring a leak. The *Aegir* reportedly first steamed up to the *Everton* and ordered her to stop fishing, according to a Reuters dispatch. "The *Everton* refused and made off. At first, the coast guard said, the gunboat fired

blank warning shots but the *Everton* steamed on.

"For an hour the chase continued. Then the *Aegir*—armed with a 57-mm. gun—opened fire with live ammunition. Two or three shells hit the *Everton*, the coast guard said. But the trawler still kept going and eventually the *Aegir* gave up the chase."

The director general of the British Trawler Federation termed the shelling "an act of war." Iceland's Premier Olafur Johannesson, however, described it as "a natural and inevitable law-enforcement action" and warned that such incidents "can always repeat themselves."

On June 1, Icelandic Information Secretary Hannes Jonsson took advantage of the presence of some 400 foreign journalists in Reykjavik to call a news conference in which he de-

clared the British want the limit set at 145,000 tons.

For Iceland, however, the underlying issue is really one of survival. It is a poor and barren place. Seventy-six percent of its territory consists of uninhabitable glaciers, lava fields, lakes, sands, and mountains. Only 1 percent can be farmed. It has no valuable resources, neither timber, nor coal, nor minerals. Its 220,000 inhabitants are entirely dependent upon fishing. More than 80 percent of its exports consist of fish products.

This dependence on fish makes Iceland vulnerable to two phenomena: the increasing depletion of the fish supply, and the increasing sophistication of modern fishing techniques.

"As the fish become scarcer," noted Robert Alden in the June 3 *New York Times*, "the techniques to fish them

Whatever the long-range threat to the world as a whole, the threat to the Icelanders is more immediate:

"Simply put, less fish are being caught. In 1965 the volume of Iceland's herring catch was 763,000 tons. Now it has dropped to about 60,000. The herring have just been fished out of the sea. As a result, the fishermen of Iceland and of Britain are casting their nets deeper to catch the species found close to the seabed, haddock and cod.

"But the combined haddock catch in Icelandic waters was 110,000 tons in 1961. Now it is just over 40,000 tons. As for cod, Iceland's fishermen took 308,000 tons in 1970, 255,000 tons in 1971 and even less in 1972. The British fishermen took 210,000 tons of cod in 1971 and, in an effort to reach some kind of international agreement with Iceland, have offered to limit their catch to 145,000 tons this year. But nobody knows how long the supply will last."

This was the general background to the decision of Iceland's popular-front government to extend its fishing boundaries. All parties, including those of the bourgeoisie, back this decision. In a sense, it could be said that the economic policy of the government since its election in June 1971 has been to support the Icelandic bourgeoisie against the international bourgeoisie, observed Thröstur Olafsson, writing in the May 4 issue of the Danish socialist fortnightly *Politisk Revy*.

"The so-called left governments [in recent Icelandic history]," he wrote, "have found themselves in a contradictory situation. On the one hand, they have attempted to reduce the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to put a brake on speculative profits. On the other hand, they have supported the bourgeoisie economically, for example through introducing improvements in the means of production. This new government started out just like earlier left-wing governments by renovating the trawler fleet. To this end it purchased forty new trawlers, which were resold to communities or individual capitalists throughout the entire country.

"The extension of the fishing boundaries to fifty nautical miles had two aims: On one hand, to preserve the fish supply, and on the other, to increase the catch for Icelanders. At the same time, comprehensive plans were drawn up for rebuilding the country's industry, which was in a state of decay and far from being able to compete with foreign industrial goods, which, in the wake of the entry into EFTA [European Free Trade Association], flowed duty-free into the Ice-

Continued on page WO4



Iceland coast guard vessel (rear) keeps watch on British trawler

nounced what he described as an attack by ten to twenty British trawlers and an oceangoing tug, the *Irishman*, on the Icelandic lighthouse-repair vessel, the *Arvakur*. The *Arvakur* was rammed. Jonsson said the incident "gives you a very clear picture of what kind of aggression we, an unarmed country, have to face."

Similar incidents have occurred since then, with a flurry of charges and countercharges.

The specific bone of contention between Britain and Iceland is the amount of fish England should be allowed to take out of Icelandic waters, which currently supply 25 percent of the product that gives the British their fish and chips. Negotiations between the two governments broke down over the British refusal to agree to limit the catch to 117,000 tons;

out have become more sophisticated. Electronic equipment hunts down the schools with deadly accuracy. It is estimated that even though there are fewer fish in the waters, the catch in one hour of a modern vessel is 30 per cent larger than it was 10 years ago.

"The modern fishing factory vessels, employed by the Russians and the Japanese move across the seas like vacuum cleaners, sucking up all living things. They process the fish into fillets, press the oil, produce fish meal—and leave the seas barren."

This problem is worldwide. "Marine organisms supply 70 per cent of the world's oxygen, and marine biologists already warn that if what they call the plunder of the deep continues, all biological life might be killed off by early in the next century," Alden wrote.

After two years of 'Gierekism'

Polish workers challenge bureaucratic rule

[The following article appeared in the June 1 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Convoked two years after the Gdansk and Szczecin revolts, the Seventh Congress of Polish trade unions (held November 13-16, 1972) had as its aim drawing a balance sheet on the "new social policy" and tracing out the perspectives for trade-union work for the coming years.

Kruczek, the president of the unions, declared at the opening session: "Our activity embodies dialectical unity among three sections of concern—increasing production, educating the workers, and improving the workers' living conditions. During the past two years, we have concentrated especially on improving the conditions of life and work. Now, without neglecting this, we must intensify our work in the areas of productivity and education."

That's the program: educate the workers, because they are ill-bred; make them work harder, because they are lazy.

And this is the balance sheet: we have spoiled the workers.

The president of the unions is not the only one to have drawn such a balance of the last two years of Gierekism. The Polish press, seconded in this regard by the Western bourgeois press (*Le Figaro*, for example), is singing the praises of the "realistic and humanistic" policy followed since 1970. In Poland, this is a question of Gierek and his bunch "creating a climate of confidence." In France, it is a matter of presenting the industrialists with an enticing image of "Polish socialism" and of alerting them to the possible openings.

As for the [French] Stalinists, embarrassed by Czechoslovakia, they added Poland to their propaganda arsenal during the election campaign.

Nevertheless, in all these cases, one thing is "overlooked"—and that is that the "new regime" originated after about a hundred workers were killed and more than a thousand wounded in the streets. Wage increases are fondly pointed to, the much more attractive shops are described; but a lot less attention is paid to looking at what is going on in the Polish factories and how broad layers of the population are actually living.

According to official statistics, during the period 1971-1972 real wages grew by more than 12%, as compared to only 1.3% in 1970 (and 10% over the five-year period 1965-1970). More than 4 million Poles (that is, 40% of all persons employed in the nationalized sector) got wage increases. In a general sense, the income of the population increased 10% in 1972 alone (increases in wages and social benefits, retirement funds and various other allocations, increases in income for the rural population). For 1973, the plan calls for 6.6% wage increases. That means that the 17-18% wage increases planned for the whole 1971-1975 five-year period will probably

be attained by the end of 1973.

Because we do not believe in the spontaneous "kindness" of the bureaucrats, we must ask the question: What does this wage hike result from?

Because we are aware of the breadth of the crisis into which the bureaucratic management of the Gomulka team threw the country, we must also ask: Is the present improvement of living conditions good enough?

Let us look at the facts.

The general figures cited above, which are often used as proof that there has been a significant rise in the standard of living, do not completely take account of the social inequalities that still exist in Poland. In the specialized press, in certain publications with limited press runs that are not meant for distribution to the broader public, we find the image of a poor Poland.

They even speak of "areas of misery," or, since it is very difficult to give an exact picture of these, they try to sketch out a "panorama of misery."

For obvious reasons, the data we have are fragmentary. The many people whose living conditions are bad do not form a well-defined social layer. There are certain occupational categories with especially low wages:

were technicians, 30,000 were schoolteachers, and about 10,000 were women who had received no professional training.

There are presently 500,000 families of unskilled workers that have six or more children and whose per capita income stands below the necessary minimum. This minimum is officially set at 800 zlotys a month (about US\$50). Nevertheless, in a good many cases "below the necessary minimum" means 200 zlotys. By way of example, we might point out that a kilo of sugar costs 12 zlotys; a kilo of butter, 70 zlotys; a kilo of pork ribs, 60 zlotys. A half million children cared for only by their mothers (unmarried, widowed, or divorced) are in the same situation.

Of 3.5 million retirees, 2.5 million live on benefits that total between 600 and 1,000 zlotys [a month].

In the absence of exact laws governing their situations, those who are victims of workplace accidents and their families often find themselves in a very bad way materially. Nevertheless, on this point, as well as on the situation of certain peasant families and agricultural workers (those employed by state firms), there are no official statistics.

As to the positive column of "Gie-

tensions that were expressed through many pinpoint actions of a local character—but big enough so that the press (at least certain periodicals) were forced to take notice. Also it is obvious that many of these actions went by unreported.

In the course of these two years, many "work stoppages" (the official terminology) were reported in nearly all the big Polish industrial centers. All these strikes were directed against low wages—in Rybnik, Silesia, the miners asked for a 25% increase; the textile workers in Lodz asked for 20%; there were strikes against the lack of cafeteria facilities (out of 6 million Polish workers, only 10% are able to eat in factory cafeterias); there were strikes against bad working conditions that often cause accidents, against the insufficient space in the workers' apartments, against the housing shortage, or against the unjust allocation of the apartments controlled by the factories.

Toward the end of 1972, the workers at the tire factory in Olsztyn organized a strike that all but turned into a riot. In face of the intransigence (or perhaps impotence) of their leaders, they took to the streets.

The Olsztyn strike clearly points out the following fact: *In the bureaucratized countries, each "work stoppage," regardless of its initial limited or local character, contains the germ of the threat of a generalized confrontation with the central regime and the repressive forces.* For this reason, the Polish workers use this weapon with caution, even if they have finally achieved the change that strikes are no longer denounced as "violations of socialist legality." Thus, during 1971-1972, the workers mobilization sometimes retained a "legal" character.

On several occasions Polish journalists have reported the formation of "informal groups" within the official trade unions. Rank-and-file union members—and sometimes even members of the factory council—have formed groups that address demands directly to the managers *without going through the normal hierarchical channels.*

These attempts to set up little "wild-cat" unions within the docile bureaucratized official unions have had some success. In a chemical factory near Sochaczew and in a paper factory in Jeziorno, these "informal groups" won wage increases for some classifications of workers. In Zyrardow, in a big textile plant, such a group forced the managers to accelerate modernization of the machines, because the production quotas imposed on the workers were impossible to meet with the old equipment, and this had a bad effect on the workers' wages.

The shipyard workers in Szczecin and the miners in Rybnik chose another form of "legal" struggle by instituting court cases against the managers. In Szczecin they formed a group of about twenty persons; in Rybnik they started with about fifty and persisted with about thirty "diehards" to demand payment of quite considerable sums that were due them for overtime pay and bonuses. In both these cases, the workers won the trials,



Tanks in Szczecin during the workers rebellion there at the end of 1970. Angry workers burned the Communist Party headquarters to the ground after police fired on them.

workers, particularly unskilled workers, some of whom are newly arrived from the countryside, schoolteachers, nurses, persons employed in small factories, students. It is especially from this milieu that we often find people who resort to what has been called "occasional prostitution." There are also people who cannot find work; or people who have no housing and, because they have to find someplace to live, lay out the better part of their wages for extremely high rents. (The housing shortage today stands at about 1 million units.) Sometimes there are people who get relatively good salaries, but who have many children.

According to official statistics, during 1971-1972 there were 22,000 persons who were not able to find work in their fields; of these about 100,000 were youths who had been trained for various administrative tasks, 80,000

rekism," it does partially exist. But it is the fruit of the workers mobilizations.

The Workers Mobilization

Starting on December 12, 1970—the date on which a rise in food prices averaging more than 8 percent was abruptly announced—and for the following two months, the Polish workers in struggle were confronted by the central bureaucratic regime, first the Gomulkaists and then, after December 19, the Gierek team.

February 15, 1971, marked a great workers victory on a national scale: The Lodz strikers forced the new leadership to rescind the price increases and to decide on a freeze on food prices for the coming two years. But this victory was in no way followed by a return to normality. On the contrary, 1971 and 1972 were marked by social

World news notes

which lasted about two years, during which time they came up before many judicial bodies. It is impossible here to go into detail about the complexities of this procedure or into the measures of intimidation the workers were subjected to—we leave that to the reader's imagination.

The bureaucracy did not sit around passively during these two years of workers mobilization. The partial work rules instituted recently are aimed at breaking the workers solidarity and at dividing the workers in their work places. We can mention here the formation in factories of "good labor" brigades and "disciplinary brigades" (the latter do not get bonuses, get less pay for the same work, are forced to perform various tasks without pay, have to work extra hours, and also do not receive certain social benefits).

Thus, the management is able to transfer any worker who is too active or too "demanding" into one of these "disciplinary brigades" (that is, whenever attempts to corrupt such a worker by transferring him or her into a "good labor" brigade fail).

More general attempts to use the unions as simple cogs in the policy of the state and the Communist party are another "classical" means of trying to break the workers struggles. But in this area, the workers are beginning to draw some lessons from what has happened.

The most recent wave of strikes proves this, for it was organized at the very moment that the congress of trade unions was meeting in Warsaw. The movement began a few days before the congress opened and extended to nearly all the big Polish industrial centers. Gierek and Jaroszewicz (president of the council of ministers) had to go to Szczecin and Gdansk to discuss with the strikers, just as they had had to do two years before.

The workers demands dealt with the functioning of the unions. Everywhere the workers also asked that the freeze on food prices be maintained. On this point, they got total and immediate satisfaction—the freeze was extended for another year.

Indirectly, this latest strike wave was the reason that the new labor code (whose elaboration has already been going on for fifteen years) could not be adopted by the congress. Strengthened by what was going on in the factories, some of the congress delegates threatened to walk out of the meeting hall if there were a "vote" on the labor code. (They knew perfectly well that the results of the vote were prearranged.)

Labor Code and Working Conditions

The labor legislation presently in force dates from the 1930s; that is, it is the same labor code as the one governing relations between the workers and the Polish bourgeoisie.

From the viewpoint of the bureaucrats, the new labor code—now in its ninth version—must bring a legal sanction to the state of affairs that has existed for several years. The following proposals, contained in this code, delineate working conditions in Poland and are now the subject of determined discussions between the workers and bureaucrats:

- **A 46-48 hour workweek.** The workers are asking for a five-day forty-hour week. That's impossible, the bureaucrats say, because production would fall. Yes, the workers reply, that's possible, but the answer is to organize production better and to

modernize outdated factories.

- **On paid vacations.** 14 days after one year's work; 20 days a year after six years; 26 days after ten years. The workers are demanding the same paid vacations as nonmanual workers, that is, 24 days after one year. (At the beginning of 1971 the workers won elimination of the differential between manual and nonmanual workers on the matter of sick leave. The number of workers who dare to call in sick has significantly increased since then, and the bureaucrats are complaining.)

- **The manager decides on firings.** The workers are demanding that the manager's decision not be valid unless prior agreement is given by the factory council.



GIEREK: The only thing he has to offer the Polish workers is an empty hand.

- **The code remains hazy on the terms of disability pensions and workers compensation for on-the-job accidents.** The workers are demanding that these be clearly defined.

The workers are also demanding that cases in which they have to pay for damages to machinery and tools be clearly defined. (As of now, they have to pay for damages that occur because of the defective character of equipment.)

- Finally, the code stipulates that conflicts between the workers and the management cannot be brought to court. The workers have objected, for obvious reasons.

The workers won a partial victory in preventing passage of the new labor code: They stopped current working conditions from receiving legal sanction.

It must nevertheless be stressed that the very many strikes (often victorious) as well as the actions of a "legal" type are—except in Yugoslavia—unprecedented events in the "people's democracies." During the 1970 revolt, the workers demanded changes in the unions—free elections of delegates, more autonomy in relation to the state and the party. These changes were not won and recently, during the congress, the bureaucratic union hierarchy asserted its desire to bring union activity further under the pressure of these two apparatuses.

The response the Polish workers have given and are giving in practice is clear. By trying either to outflank the official unions from inside or to directly lead a struggle outside them, the workers are showing that they have become conscious of two points: that it is necessary to wage an organized struggle against the bureaucratic regime, and that it is necessary to wage it in an autonomous way, independently of the official organizations. □

New sentences in Israeli witch-hunt trials

The latest victims of the Israeli government's witch-hunt against the anti-Zionist left were Rami Livneh and Meli Lehrman. Livneh, the son of a member of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) was sentenced to 10 years in prison June 24, while Lehrman drew seven years.

Although none of the 31 Arabs and Jews who have been convicted and sentenced in these frame-up trials have been proved guilty of any acts of spying or sabotage, the latest convictions are of particular importance because the prosecution didn't even claim that Livneh and Lehrman were members of the alleged "spy ring." They were charged only with having had political discussions with a Palestinian who Israeli authorities later claimed was a member of a guerrilla organization.

Maoists support shah's military build-up

On June 17, the Shah of Iran received support for his current military buildup from a new quarter. John Cooley reports in the June 19 *Christian Science Monitor* that Chinese foreign minister Chi Peng-fei "expressly disavowed Chinese support for Arab guerrillas fighting the Iranian and Western-backed Sultan of Oman on the southern Arabian coast. He said Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi of Iran 'has the right to reinforce' Iranian 'military potential to fight subversive activities' in the oil-producing countries of the gulf."

"Mr. Chi even mentioned what he called 'the serious threat which could weigh upon the Shah's regime,' according to the text of toasts at a state dinner. Iran's policy of a strong defense military build-up 'can philosophically be compared to the Chinese national line of action,' he added."

Cooley points out that "Peking's swing away from Arab revolutionaries and toward support for established governments is not a new development. What is new is this forceful public statement of Peking's doctrine in the Persian Gulf, source of 70 percent of the West's oil supplies and most of Japan's."

Bloodsuckers at work

Last year Haiti's "President for Life," "Baby Doc" Duvalier, closed down the U.S.-owned Hemo-Caribbean Company plant in Port-au-Prince. It seems that Hemo-Caribbean was doing a \$3-million business by paying impoverished Haitians \$3 and a bottle of soda pop for a pint of blood plasma. The plasma was then exported to the U.S. and sold for \$20.

Hemo-Caribbean had just begun, too. It had a 10-year contract for exclusive rights in the blood field, guaranteed by generous kick-backs to Ha tian Minister of Defense Luckner Cambonne.

However, under the pressure of adverse publicity, "Baby Doc" sent Cambonne into luxurious retirement in Miami and canceled Hemo-Caribbean's contract.

Recently syndicated columnist Jack Anderson and *Washington Post* reporter Laurence Stern revealed attempts to pressure Haiti into renewing the contract. It seems that Hemo-Caribbean has changed its name (for "cosmetic reasons," according to company correspondence) to Life Services of Haiti.

Owner Joseph Gorinstein has also proposed that a blood-research foundation, the International Plasma Institute, be set up when his Haitian operation reopens. And, in order to make the needle go in a little easier, he has offered to raise the share of the Haitian people for a pint of plasma to \$4, plus the customary bottle of soda pop.

Among those lending themselves to this bloodsucking operation is Walter Fauntroy, Black nonvoting delegate to U.S. Congress from Washington, D.C. Fauntroy wrote the assistant secretary of state for congressional relations April 27, saying he found it "most troubling" that the new blood-research foundation was being delayed.

And on June 14, a lawyer for Life Services of Haiti wrote the Haitian ambassador to the U.S. that his client would seek the application of the 1962 Hickenlooper Amendment, which requires the president to suspend aid to a country when the secretary of state determines that it has nullified existing contracts with an American-owned company.

Bonn action demands abortion rights

More than 2,000 persons demonstrated in Bonn June 2, demanding repeal of paragraph 218 of the criminal code, which outlaws abortion. Bonn was chosen for the demonstration because the Bundestag is considering proposals for the reform of the abortion law.

The demonstration was called by a wide range of women's groups and political organizations. The action was seen as a response to a vocal "right to life" movement organized by the Catholic Church. Pointing to such features of West German society as unwanted children in orphanages and unsuitable living conditions for children, the call to the demonstration asked: "When have these self-appointed defenders of the life of the unborn ever defended existing life?"

A leaflet distributed by the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group, German section of the Fourth International) to build the action pointed out that the proposals for reform were the result of the struggles of the women's movement.

"It is the duty of every revolutionary organization," the leaflet said, "to show its solidarity with women and to support their struggle. Only a strong women's movement can free women from their oppression."

Workers defy union leaders

Belgian dockers in eight-week strike

[The following article appeared in the June 8 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

JUNE 1—In Belgium, the employers, the government, and the leadership of the FGFB [Fédération Générale des Travailleurs de Belgique—Belgian General Federation of Workers] are all exponents of the same idea: "social peace." The PSB [Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgian Socialist party], the ultrareformist outfit that leads the FGFB, has been invited and welcomed into the government to guarantee social peace.

The UBOT [Union Belge des Ouvriers du Transport—Belgian Union of Transport Workers] presents a striking image of trade-union integration and of class collaboration. Its program? Sign sweetheart contracts behind the backs of the workers and then ask the workers to "be good."

The result is that the working class pays the costs of this fool's game. Concentration and privatization of port facilities has been put through on the backs of the dockers with the benevolent complicity of the union leadership. And the result of this: infernal speedups, lack of security and cleanliness, frequent workplace accidents, increase in unemployment, and so on.

But there came a day when the workers' anger exploded. On April 6 the Ghent dockers walked out. On April 9 they drew their comrades into the struggle. The strike has now lasted for more than eight weeks.

From the outset, the Ghent dockers put forth clear demands: a weekly pay increase of 1,000 francs [about US\$23]; increase in unemployment compensation of 50 francs a day; recognition of the workers' job qualifications; revision in the hiring system; improvement of the cost-of-living escalator.

The general secretaries of the FGFB and the CSC [Confédération des Syndicats Chrétiens—Confederation of Christian Trade Unions] answered: "We will never recognize this strike."

The strikers answered this by setting up a strike committee, forming strike pickets, and organizing solidarity with workers in Antwerp.

Also from the very beginning, the employers and the government set in motion everything they could to break the strike. All assemblies are banned in Antwerp, which is crawling with cops and gendarmes and where troops were called out to unload the ships. Clashes between the strikers and the repressive forces broke out. On April 27 gendarmes in Antwerp assaulted the workers. On May 21 in Ghent a cop shot at the workers.

As for the union leaders, their attitude was worse than disgraceful. After having refused to recognize the strike, they proposed (two weeks into

been entrenched there for a long time. The CP straddled the fence. On the one hand, it tried at all costs to maintain a friendly relation with the union leaders. On the other hand, it could not crudely demobilize for fear of losing a portion of its electoral support.

The bourgeois press fulminated against the strike. It insisted that port traffic was "normal," minimized the number of strikers, exaggerated every little incident, and denounced "professional agitators." *Libre Belgique* even went so far as to denounce three members of the LRT [Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs—Revolutionary Workers League, Belgian section of the Fourth International] who allegedly "sacrificed their vacations to



Dockers meet in Antwerp during strike

the strike) that the strikers give up the struggle, in return for which the union tops would take up the workers' demands—when the contract comes up for renegotiation. A week later, they proposed setting up a Vigilance Committee that could exert pressure on the union federation—on the condition that the strikers go back to work! And during the whole time, they tried to break down the solidarity between the Antwerp and Ghent workers.

The Communist party also played a role, its Antwerp branch having

interfere in things that were none of their business."

Newspapers affiliated to the unions were no better. *Het Volk* defended the scabs; *Volksgazet's* headline on a story about a dockers demonstration read: "800 Persons at Communist Demonstration."

In face of this powerful antistrike campaign, which was trying to line up other workers and public opinion against the dockers, solidarity took on decisive importance. And it was organized, despite the opposition of

the FGFB leadership, which did everything to prevent it. In other factories, such as at Verlica, union delegations and workers assemblies voted motions affirming their solidarity with the dockers and their indignation at the police attacks; they asked the trade-union leaders to recognize the strike immediately. In Brussels, young trade unionists set up a unified support committee. The militants of the LRT carried out many activities to popularize support. In France, in Cherbourg, Ligue Communiste-LRT solidarity leaflets were handed out to the dockers.

This Friday [June 1], the dockers strike finished its eighth week. A long time. The strike is at a difficult phase and it is hard to say if it will be able to continue. But already some preliminary lessons can be drawn.

In January 1970, the massive spontaneous strike of 23,000 miners in Limbourg shattered "social peace." It revealed a thrust of workers militancy that outflanked the trade-union apparatuses. The setting up of a strike committee expressed the miners' desire to control their own struggle.

The radicalization and politicization process of the workers vanguard has gone on slowly in an underground fashion. Today, the dockers strike stands at the center of the organized workers movement. Beginning as a struggle for a set of specific demands, it broadened, and through its breadth and political dimension it has posed basic questions for the workers movement; in the first place, that of trade-union independence from the bourgeois state.

This is in no way a temporary diversion. Whether it results in victory or defeat, the dockers strike has powerfully contributed to a realignment within the workers movement. The gap between the rank and file and the top leadership, which was spectacularly manifested in 1970, has widened and deepened. In hundreds of factories around the country, financial solidarity was organized, sometimes against the union apparatus. From Wallonia and from Flanders, many workers delegations came to express their solidarity: Cockerill, Petrole, ACEC, FN, shipbuilders, etc.

An opposition is being constructed and strengthened against the policy of the ultrareformist union leaders who have shown their real strike-breaking face. The battle for union democracy, for a militant trade-unionism being led by the workers of Nouvelle Défense [New Defense] is beginning to bear some fruit. □

...Iceland

Continued from first page landic market."

There has been no rush among the world's nations to recognize the fifty-mile limit. Few countries have done so, and there is considerable opposition to the approach of Iceland and various Latin American nations of extending claims of exclusive fishing jurisdiction. The entire question is to be taken up later this year at a United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

For the moment, the Icelandic government is using its membership in NATO as a lever in its effort to win support. On June 12, it formally asked the United States to revise the 1951 defense treaty under which American forces are stationed at the Keflavik air base. And it announced that a

similar letter would be sent to the Council of NATO later in the month.

NATO's ability to keep an eye on Soviet ballistic-missile submarines rounding Norway's North Cape on their way to the Atlantic or the Mediterranean depends almost entirely on use of the Keflavik base. The government of Norway, another NATO member, offered to mediate the Iceland-Britain dispute, in part out of concern that an Iceland pullout might have annoying repercussions inside Norway, where louder-than-usual voices can already be heard demanding that it follow Iceland's example and extend its own fishing limits. The mediation offer was rejected.

Meanwhile, within Iceland the "cod war" is producing increasing disenchantment with NATO. U.S. officials are already studying alternate plans for surveillance of Soviet naval and air movement in case the imperialists get booted off the Keflavik base. □

Intercontinental Press

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Millions demonstrate in Buenos Aires

Peron return marked by violence, ferment

JUNE 27—The return by Juan Perón to Argentina was met by the largest demonstration in Argentine history. The crowd that streamed into Buenos Aires on free buses and trains to welcome the former Argentine president was estimated at between 1.5 and 3 million.

Even in this welcoming celebration, however, the acute social contradictions underlying the new Peronist government burst to the fore. The demonstration became the scene of a shoot-out that left at least 34 dead and 400 wounded. Perón switched his plans, landing at another airport and cancelling his scheduled address to the huge crowd.

The shoot-out occurred around the platform at the Ezeiza airport from which Perón was to speak. Accounts of the causes of the massacre by right-

toneros (another Peronist guerrilla group), and the ERP 22 de Agosto (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—the August 22 Revolutionary Army of the People.) The August 22 ERP is a pro-Peronist split-off from the ERP, a guerrilla group led by Roberto Santucho. The ERP, which is called "Trotskyist" by the government but denies the label itself, has vowed to continue guerrilla actions under the Peronist regime. (The June 8 *Militant* quoted Santucho as pledging "conditional support" to the Peronist regime of Hector Cámpora, a remark attributed to him by the Milan daily *Corriere della Sera*. Santucho has since denied giving that interview.)

The security forces' account suggested that the "guerrillas" intended to take the life of Perón, "the supreme leader of the nation."

Twenty-two "guerrillas" were reportedly arrested following the shoot-out. The majority, according to the security forces' own account, were members of the ERP led by Santucho and of the FAR. However, there was no mention in the rest of their story of any ERP involvement in the events.

Gerry Foley, in the July 2 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, writes that "this curious discontinuity in the story given in *La Razón* raises some questions. Could the fact that the ERP is the only guerrilla group that rejects the authority of Perón have something to do with so many of its members being arrested? Did the right-wing Peronist vigilantes either take advantage of an accidental clash, or stage a deliberate provocation to go after special political targets?"

Moreover, the accounts of the airport shoot-out by liberal and left-wing Peronist groups were strikingly different from that of the security forces. For example, the Buenos Aires association of Peronist lawyers charged that the site for the ceremony was deliberately chosen to facilitate a provocation.

They charged that the provocation was carried out by Lieutenant Colonel Jorge Osinde—a Peronist official in charge of organizing the welcome ceremony—with the use of hired goons of the trade-union bureaucracy. The lawyers' statement asserted that,



Demonstration of 1.5 to 3 million to welcome Peron reflected popular expectations that Peronist regime will bring social change.

"Equipped with long-range weapons, these goons fired on the public from the stage, as is shown by the pictures published in all the daily papers."

The lawyers' version paralleled that of the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth). In a news conference June 22, the JP accused Osinde of having "armed 300 persons" who "had the collaboration of union thugs known for their savagery." They charged that Osinde's thugs staged a deliberate and brutal slaughter: "The wounded were left unattended; they were left to bleed to death. In the Ezeiza Hotel Internacional an 'interrogation room' was set up where they tortured the compañeros brutally, and at this very moment they are trying to drag the wounded out of the hospitals."

The JP accused the CIA of involvement in provoking the battle.

In this climate of rising conflict, Perón went on national television and radio June 21 to call for "national unity" and "peace." He was careful not to line up openly with the right and risk losing his influence over the militant youth too soon. But his message of the need to "pacify" the country was not missed by the country's ruling capitalist circles.

For example, Julio Broner, president of the country's biggest business association, said Perón's speech "am-

ply satisfied the expectations of those of us who wish to reconstruct the country in a climate of peace and coexistence."

In *Intercontinental Press*, Gerry Foley discussed the implications of the current situation in Argentina for revolutionary-minded forces, including the guerrilla groups. He cited the danger that, "by combining calls for peace with unofficial use of goon squads, Perón can isolate the guerrilla groups and cut them to pieces, thereby setting the stage for intimidating and crushing any revolutionary opposition that might try to push the popular upsurge out of the Peronists' bureaucratic control. . . .

"In this situation, any revolutionary armed group operating outside the control and knowledge of mobilized masses will face unprecedented dangers, and will run the risk that its daring and sacrifices will only strengthen Perón's hand in imposing his 'order' on the working class. But if properly led and inspired, the working-class mobilizations, prompted by the retreat of the dictatorship and the hopes aroused by the installation of a 'people's government,' can expose the demagoguery of Perón and Cámpora as well as check or destroy the goon squads of the trade-union bureaucracy and the right-wing Peronists."



PERON: Calls for 'peace,' but uses goon squads against left.

wing and left-wing Peronists varied greatly.

The right-wing Buenos Aires daily *La Razón* published the story given out by the official Peronist security forces. Their version was that an armed attack was made on the platform by a united column of demonstrators belonging to the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionaria - Revolutionary Armed Forces, a Peronist guerrilla group), the Mon-

Wave of occupations sweeps Argentina

From *Intercontinental Press*

"During the past few days, the political and social tensions that built up over many years when there were no legal, effective channels for expressing them have given rise to a genuine popular explosion; the main form it has taken is the 'occupation,'" wrote the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* June 12. "The permanent lack of funds that threatens public assistance or educational institutions, the problems of organization and operation that make plants and institutions function sluggishly, and the injustices or high-handed methods of transient officials of unstable administrations during the last few years are a few of the things that set off the outburst.

"The 'occupationist' fever is gripping radio stations, educational institutions, hospitals, business establishments, industrial plants, public and national administrative offices, bureaus whose existence had been forgotten, pensions, hotels—the list is endless.

The occupations, which reflected the almost universal attitude of expecting the new government to solve long-

ignored problems, swept the entire country.

The Félix Hogar Residence in Buenos Aires, which provides temporary lodging for the unemployed, was taken over by its seventy residents in protest against the "inhuman treatment" to which they were subjected—thrown out on the streets every day at 5 a.m. and not allowed back until late afternoon. They demanded better food and the resignation of the staff.

A factory in Buenos Aires that produces canned goods and sweets was taken over by the workers June 12. They demanded the rehiring of workers who had been fired, the purchase of an ambulance, that medical assistance be available around the clock, and that temporary employees be hired on a permanent basis.

The following day, the offices of the San Martín and Mitre railroads were taken over in Buenos Aires. The occupiers raised a series of demands, among them that the rank-and-file railroad workers be given positions of responsibility and that workers who had been dismissed for political or trade-union activity be rehired. They

also asked for a review of officials appointed since the military took over the government in 1966 and that top officials be accessible to the ranks.

In Mar del Plata, the National Institute of Epidemiology and two hospitals were occupied. The Regional Hospital was renamed for Eva Perón and Mar del Plata Hospital for the Trelew martyrs.

In Rosario, occupations swept through a whole series of technical and secondary schools, the harbor master's office for the Port of Rosario, the general revenue office, and the provincial department of labor.

A common feature of the wave of occupations has been the take-over of radio stations. According to the June 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, in some cases the spearhead of this drive has been the Juventud Sindical Peronista (JSP—Peronist Trade-Union Youth). The JSP, it said, "is making a central focus out of its denunciations of 'Marxist infiltration' into the Social Justice movement."

Elements of the Peronist movement appear, in fact, to have used the occu-

pations to help pave the way for a repression of guerrillas who refuse to close up shop under the Peronist government.

The Association of Professional Workers, the Union of National Civilian Personnel, and the Association of State Workers "symbolically took over Braulio Moyano Hospital" in Buenos Aires, according to the June 14 *La Nación*, "in order to protect the building and defend its present authorities from an attempt by Trotskyist groups to provoke chaos."

The attitude of the authorities to the wave of occupations was generally not to intervene forcibly, although the army did prevent a radio station in Paso de los Libres from being taken over. Nevertheless, there was clearly considerable uneasiness over the prospect that the occupations might get out of hand. Heavy security measures were taken June 14 to protect the Palace of Justice, for example.

By evening the same day, Peronist Youth members who had taken part in the occupations began to evacuate occupied buildings in response to appeals from the leaders of the Peronist movement.

'Raza Si! Migra No!'

L.A. march protests deportations

By HAYDEN PERRY

LOS ANGELES—More than a thousand Chicanos marched through downtown Los Angeles on June 16 to protest the wave of deportations of "illegal aliens" to Mexico.

For nearly a month federal Immigration agents have been swooping down on stores, plants, and private homes — arresting any Chicanos, Mexicans, and other Latin Americans who could not produce documents es-

CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) is spearheading the drive against the deportations. In calling for the march and rally, CASA leader Bert Corona said they wanted to show that the Chicano community will not be intimidated by the deportation drive and is ready to fight back.

The fighting spirit of the protesters was evident as they filled the sidewalks on both sides of Broadway,

ergate scandal.

The slogans were in both Spanish and English. Among them were: "Why not conduct dragnet raids at the White House—not among innocent women and children," "Rodino Bill today—concentration camps tomorrow," "The people who rule Los Angeles are descendants of European immigrants," "Deport your mother back to Europe; see how you like it," "Deportations will not stop inflation or unemployment," and "Mexico and all Latin America are watching."

Allies of the Chicano movement joined the march or spoke from the platform. Members of the American Indian Movement and representatives of the Farm Workers marched in the demonstration. Black speakers expressed their solidarity. The Mexican-American Political Association, a moderate group, had a banner in the parade. Strikers from the R. G. Sloan Company also joined in the march.

Meanwhile, the American Civil Liberties Union announced June 22 that it was filing a class action suit against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Acting jointly with the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund, the ACLU will seek a court order to stop Immigration officers from conducting arbitrary and unconstitutional arrests and deportations of those who appear to be Latin Americans.

The suit is being supported by CASA and the Immigration Lawyers Association. CASA has been collecting depositions from numerous individuals whose rights were trampled on in the dragnet operation.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles, June 16. Part of rally of more than 1,000 who demanded an end to deportations of Chicanos, Mexicans, and other Latin Americans.

establishing their right to reside in this country.

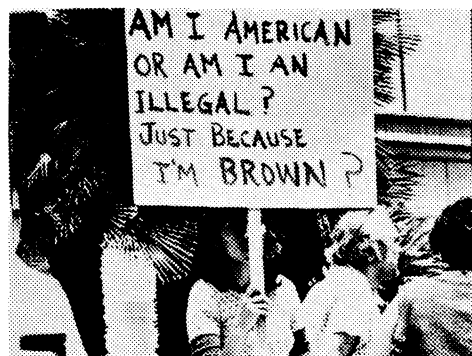
More than 7,000 men, women, and children have been swept up in these Gestapo-like dragnets. Most have been bused to the Mexican border and pushed out of the United States with no hearing and scant formality.

The protest demonstration was called to mobilize opposition to these raids and to oppose the Rodino Bill, which would legalize further infringements on Chicano workers' rights. This bill has passed the House and is pending in the Senate. While purporting to penalize employers who hire "illegal aliens," the bill would permit their hiring "when needed," leaving the aliens defenseless against deportation dragnets.

downtown Los Angeles's main shopping street, on their way to the city hall rally site. Carrying hundreds of placards and banners, they yelled, "Raza Si! Migra [Immigration Service] No!"

Many in the predominantly Chicano crowd of shoppers greeted the marchers with friendly waves. Motorists honked their horns in solidarity. Chicano customers and employees of stores along Broadway crowded in the doorways to greet the demonstrators with approval. Many of these stores had been raided in the last three weeks by Immigration agents.

The signs carried by the marchers hit at the racist character of the deportations, pointed to the rip-off of the Southwest from Mexico in 1848, and made sharp references to the Wat-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

N.Y. anti-abortion demo picketed

By JUDITH LAMBERT

NEW YORK, June 24—"Abortion: Our right! To keep it we will fight!" This was the chant of a picket line held today to protest an anti-abortion demonstration outside the American Medical Association (AMA) convention here.

The anti-abortion forces called their action to demand that the AMA reverse its stand in favor of legal abortion. The right-wing demonstrators urged support for the proposal of Senator James Buckley (C/R-N.Y.) for a constitutional amendment to take away legal abortions except to save the life of a pregnant woman.

The anti-abortion action drew about 300 people, far less than the crowd of 5,000 expected by the organizers.

The picketers in support of abortion rights chanted loud and clear in defense of the Jan. 22 Supreme Court decision. The demonstrators carried a 10-foot banner declaring: "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose." Several passers-by took up placards and joined the line.

Solidarity was expressed by participants in the Christopher Street gay pride demonstration, which marched past the picket line. Wave after wave of the 10-15,000-strong march cheered, chanted, and sang in support of the abortion rights activists.

The call for the picket line in defense of the right to abortion was

supported by Catholics for the Elimination of All Restrictive Abortion and Contraception Laws; Manhattan Women's Political Caucus; National Association for the Repeal of Abortion Laws; Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC); Association for Voluntary Sterilization; New York National Organization for Women (NOW); and Zero Population Growth. Among those participating in the protest were several well-known abor-

tion rights and women's liberation activists, including Jacqueline Ceballos of NOW's Advisory Council; Pat McQuillan, chairwoman of Catholics for the Elimination of All Restrictive Abortion and Contraception Laws; Anita Murray, coordinator of New York NOW's Reproduction Committee; and Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York city council president. Activists from WONAAC and the Coalition for a Free Choice participated.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

WONAAC and other abortion rights groups picket anti-abortion demonstration at AMA convention.

Masked pickets force auto plant shutdown

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, June 19—A new method in wildcat strikes was used today when 20 hooded pickets closed down the fabricating division of the Lordstown General Motors plant. While the pickets remain unidentified, they were known to be members of United Auto Workers Local 1714 who were protesting the dismissal of two union committeemen. The picket line was successful in turning away all workers from the fabricating division.

On May 31, masked pickets shut down two shifts in the same fabricating division of this mammoth GM complex. Two of the pickets wore ski masks. Two others wore pillowcases with eye and nose slits, while a fifth had a brown paper sack, also slitted, over his head. At that time, the five men were questioned by company and union officials. Both sides said the pickets refused to identify themselves or explain the reason for the picketing.

George Metcalf, personnel director of the Fisher Body plant, told reporters that the pickets were masked "obviously because anyone identified as causing an unauthorized strike is subject to immediate dismissal." Locals are not allowed to strike without authorization from the International union.

While UAW regional and local officials say they are puzzled by the wildcat strikes, it is clear that GM workers are frustrated by unsettled grievances. The corporation channels all workers' complaints, suspensions, dismissals, and health and safety emergencies through its grievance procedure morgue, where they remain in a state of limbo, sometimes for years.

The UAW Lordstown Local 1112 voted last month to strike after 4,000 grievances accumulated.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, published in the interest of big business, denounced the "unreal" picketing in a recent editorial.

"How can that many workers be intimidated by five masked men who presented no credentials other than homemade signs telling employees not to report to their jobs?" The editorial continued, "How could so many ignore union leaders advice to pay no attention to the pickets and go to work? What is to prevent masked jokesters, counting on sheep-like behavior by workers, from shutting down the plant in the future?"

"Sheep-like" behavior would result in workers driving into the plant past the picket signs, since their normal behavior is to work. Many Lordstown workers are forced to drive 120 to 180 miles to work every day. Their respect for a picket line, even if it is "unauthorized," comes from the hard-learned knowledge that only through solidarity will they gain the necessary strength in the struggle against their formidable enemy.

Thousands march in 'Gay Pride Week'

By DAVID KEEPNEWS

NEW YORK CITY, June 24—Between 12,000 and 15,000 people participated in the Christopher Street Liberation Day parade here today. The spirited march and rally, organized as a demonstration of gay pride, was the culmination of a week of activities protesting the oppression of gay people.

At one point in the long march the demonstration passed the Americana Hotel, where anti-abortion groups were picketing the convention of the American Medical Association in an attempt to have the AMA reverse its abortion rights stand. When they saw a counterpicket organized by several abortion rights groups, the gay

demonstrators made clear their support of abortion rights as cheers and shouts rose throughout the crowd.

The demonstration made its way through the West Village where the 1969 Stonewall Riots—considered the birth of the gay liberation struggle—had taken place. At this point the crowd picked up the chant, "We've waited too damn long for our rights!" The crowd went on to nearby Washington Square Park.

The rally was keyed by longtime gay activist Barbara Gittings and Los Angeles gay liberation leader Morris Kight.

Gittings, who heads the American Library Association Gay Task Force, traced the beginning of the gay movement to a small meeting in Los Angeles 21 years ago. "We locked the doors, drew the blinds... and posted a lookout," she said. "Most of us still used cover names. Now," she said, "we are everywhere!"

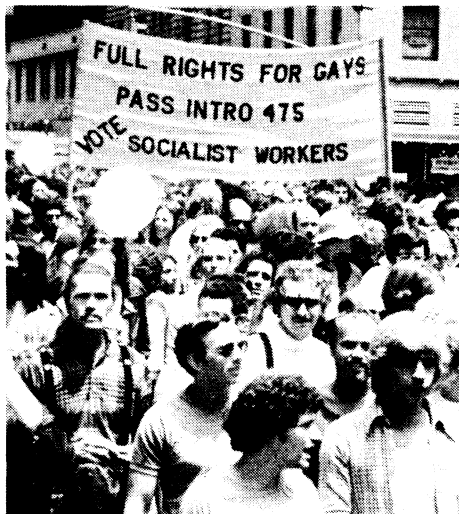
Kight, founder of the Los Angeles Gay Liberation Front and head of the L. A. Gay Community Services Center, brought greetings from figures in the L. A. gay movement. He pledged that gays would continue fighting for their rights: "You will not be allowed to take our dignity... You will not be allowed to deny us our homes, our jobs... We will not allow it!"

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, was the only mayoral candidate to march in the demonstration. Oliver had earlier issued a press statement supporting the march and scoring a



Militant/John Lauritsen

Christopher Street Gay Liberation Day/ action in New York drew 12-15,000



Militant/John Lauritsen

Supporters of Norman Oliver, SWP mayoralty candidate, marched in New York parade.

city council committee for continuing to bottle up Intro. 475. This bill would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in hiring and housing.

Herman Badillo, Democratic mayoral contender, had pledged to show but failed to do so.

CHICAGO, Ill., June 26—Approximately 1,200 gay men and women participated in Chicago's fourth gay pride week parade June 24. The action, sponsored by the Chicago Gay Pride Planning Committee and endorsed by a number of gay organizations, marched from Belmont Harbor to Lincoln Park. At a rally in the park speakers representing a variety of organizations addressed the crowd.

The mood of the demonstrators was festive, and militant chants were shouted all along the way.

Other actions, including a rally at Cook County Jail to protest the treatment of gay prisoners, are planned for later in the week.

At a conference held in Bloomington, Ill., June 19, plans were made for a mass demonstration to be held in Springfield, the state capital, in September. The demonstration will demand an amendment to the state constitution extending civil rights to homosexuals.

BOSTON, Mass., June 26—Gay Pride Week in Boston began with a demonstration of 500 on June 16. The fol-

Continued on page 22

N.Y. NCLC arrested for assault on SWPer

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK, June 26—Steven Getzoff, a member of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), was arrested in city court this morning after three members of the Socialist Workers Party brought charges of second degree assault, a felony, against him. Getzoff was released on his own recognizance and a preliminary hearing on the charges was set for July 16.

The charges grow out of the June 9 sneak attack on three SWP members. One of the victims, Jesse Smith, was hospitalized with a broken arm and head injuries.

Getzoff and George Turner, another NCLC member, were in court today for a hearing on a separate set of charges resulting from an attack on Ron Tyson, a staff member of the Communist Party's *Daily World*, and his companion on June 11. The hearing on these charges was postponed until July 16 at the request of Getzoff and Turner.

The arrest of Getzoff is the first result of activity by the New York Com-

mittee to Stop Terrorist Attacks, a group organized to oppose the NCLC's terrorist activity and to pressure the city government into acting to halt NCLC attacks. In an appeal to civil libertarians, socialists, and trade unionists, Marilyn Markus, secretary of the committee, explained that in addition to the arrest and prosecution of Getzoff, the committee has three other demands:

"First, that the police question Getzoff to try to learn the identities of the other four assailants.

"Second, that the police question George Turner and other publicly known leaders of NCLC in an effort to find the identity of other attackers. In an article in the June 18-22 issue of *New Solidarity*, newspaper of the NCLC, the Labor Committee openly claimed responsibility for the attacks, stating, 'One member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was hurt during a confrontation with Labor Committee members in New York on Saturday, June 9.'

"And finally, in the light of the Watergate revelations about police

provocateurs, we demand that Mayor Lindsay initiate an investigation to determine whether such police agents are operating in NCLC."

Markus pointed out that the New York Police Department has known for months that these attacks have been going on with increasing frequency, yet they have done nothing to stop them. For example, the June 25 issue of the *Daily World* reported that NCLC members armed with karate weapons tried to break up a Young Workers Liberation League meeting on the Upper West Side, but were repulsed.

Over the last several months, NCLC goons have attempted to break up movement meetings in New York and other cities. They have generally been prevented from doing so by broad defense efforts.

As they have become more and more isolated, NCLC thugs have resorted to carrying out cowardly armed attacks on individuals or small groups. Such hooligan attacks deny the basic democratic rights of groups with differing points of view to hold

meetings, run candidates, and express their ideas.

For more information on the Committee to Stop Terrorist Attacks, write P.O. Box 902, Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009. Telephone: (212) 982-8214.



Militant/Jude Coren

'Labor Committee' members George Turner (left) and Steven Getzoff. Getzoff was arrested for assault on SWPer.

Rev. Chavis acquitted in Wilmington, N.C., trial

By BAXTER SMITH

JUNE 25—The controversial trial of three Black activists in Wilmington, N.C., ended June 22 with all three defendants receiving different verdicts.

Superior Court Judge Robert Rouse announced an acquittal for Reverend Ben Chavis early in the day. Later that evening, a jury of four Blacks and eight whites announced that it was deadlocked in the case of Leatrice Hicks. Molly Hicks, Leatrice's mother, was found guilty. All three faced the same charge of being "accessories after the fact of involuntary manslaughter."

On the final day of the trial, Judge

Rouse agreed to a defense lawyer's motion that there hadn't been enough evidence to warrant bringing Chavis to trial. He denied the same motion in connection with the Hickses.

The trial stemmed from the 1971 death of Clifton Eugene Wright. Wright had been shot accidentally by Donald Nixon at the home of Molly Hicks. The incident occurred in the wake of an uprising by Blacks following white vigilante attacks on the Black community during a Black student boycott.

Nixon, who is Black, was guarding the Hicks home against vigilante at-

tack when he shot Wright, who was a visitor. He originally told police that a white man had done the shooting. He later told police the truth, but Chavis and the Hickses were nonetheless framed with the "accessory" charge because Nixon claimed they told him to stick with the original story.

A grand jury later indicted Chavis and the Hickses.

During the trial, defense lawyers revealed how the state was out to get Chavis and the Hickses. After Nixon was arrested for shooting Wright, his bail was set at \$3,000. Chavis, who

didn't even pull the trigger, had his set at \$15,000. It was later raised to \$100,000 after he said in a speech that he hoped to visit Africa someday.

The defense also pointed out how the racially biased selection of grand jury and petit jurors selection process violates the Fourteenth Amendment. This issue of North Carolina jury selection will be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Jim Grant, another imprisoned North Carolina Black activist.

Another aspect of the case was how the prosecutor conspired to convict

Continued on page 22

Scab growers feeling effect of strike Teamsters attack Farm Worker pickets

Continued from page 24

of grapes a day this past week, which is about average for the peak harvest period.

However, as UFW President César Chávez pointed out, without enough workers "they get the crop out, but forgo quality."

"They can rip the grapes off the vines," he said in an interview, "throw them in a box, and ship them to the hog markets, but they're not going to make any money."

Chávez's estimate is confirmed by the facts. Prices are dropping below the break even point of \$7.50 a box for many of the scab grapes.

In contrast to the scab ranches, the two union ranches, which account for 15 percent of the crops here, are producing choice grapes bringing top prices of about \$9 a box. Preharvest work was done well, and there is an adequate force of experienced workers getting out the crop. About 800 UFW members are working on the union ranches.

The boycott of table grapes is putting the squeeze on growers too. UFW Vice-president Dolores Huerta, who is directing boycott activities on the East Coast, reports that nearly all major supermarket chains in Boston have agreed not to carry scab grapes. Progress is being made in the New York-New Jersey area too.

The boycott in Canada is reported to be even more effective, especially in Vancouver. This information was given to a local newspaper by a grow-

them back, throw out the greenest ones, and repack the rest. However, if they are found to be below federal standards during a special inspection at the market, the entire batch is destroyed.

Wholesale fruit brokers are no doubt watching this development very closely. The brokers deal between the grower and the market. The boycott and the low quality of the grapes will certainly encourage the brokers to drive down the price they pay the growers.

At the same time, workers continue to walk off the fields and join the strike. One of the signs of the growing influence of the strike is the changed situation in the labor camps.

A few weeks ago, members of the UFW who were living in labor camps had to maintain a very low profile for fear of reprisals by Teamster goons. However, as more and more workers in the camps have been joining the strike, there has been more open UFW propaganda at the county-operated farm labor camp in nearby Indio, Calif.

Hundreds of strikers picketed outside the gates on June 19 at four a.m. as strikebreakers left for work. A court order forbids more than 12 nonresident strikers from entering the camp at one time to talk to non-strikers.

During the rally, a car belonging to a UFW member who lives in the camp was torn apart by a time bomb



Farm workers and supporters picket grape field in Coachella

Militant/Harry Ring

Will PR firm help thugs' image?

COACHELLA, Calif. — International Brotherhood of Teamsters chief Frank Fitzsimmons recently decided his union needed to have its image polished up. So he hired the dubious public relations firm of Hoover-Gorin and Associates at \$1.3-million a year to do the job.

Hoover-Gorin could use a little image polishing of its own. The Las Vegas firm seems to be run by a collection of racketeers and con men.

One of Hoover-Gorin's first accomplishments was to send "consultant" Murray Westgate to Coachella to prepare press releases defaming the Farm Workers' strike.

Westgate issued a statement accusing the UFW of using "bruticians . . . to stage intimidation, reprisals, violence, destruction, and possibly worse."

He said the 120 or so beefy thugs hired by the Western Conference of Teamsters in the Coachella Valley were not goons, as the Farm Workers have claimed. "They aren't goons at all," he said, "but rather our security force here to protect and respect the rights of farm workers."

Two weeks ago, one of these Teamster thugs assaulted the Reverend John Bank, a UFW staff member, breaking his nose in three places.

Then, on June 18, an incident occurred that interfered with Westgate's publicity work about the Teamsters' peace-loving "security force." For reasons yet to be established, one of the Teamster goons smashed Westgate in the face and ordered him out of town by nightfall. Westgate packed his PR kit and left.

er who did not wish to be identified.

In spite of the inspections at the ranches, a high proportion of Coachella table grapes that do not meet the minimum sugar-content requirements are finding their way into markets.

Independent laboratory tests have been conducted in numerous cities. Of the 32 purchases of grapes in California markets, 20 failed to meet requirements. In Portland, Ore., three out of four tests failed; in Seattle, two out of four; in Denver, one out of two failed.

In a telegram sent to state and federal inspection authorities, Chávez said, "We have no confidence in tests being made in the Coachella vineyards." A lawsuit is being filed to have grapes that do not meet federal standards removed from grocery counters. If successful in this demand, the union would be delivering quite a blow to the growers.

If grapes are rejected by inspectors at the vineyards, the grower can take

placed in the back seat.

William Grami, director of organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters, claims to have been hit by a rock at the rally, although even police did not see any rocks thrown. A short while later, Teamster officials deliberately released a false report that Grami had been shot by a would-be assassin.

This came one day after Teamster spokesman Ralph Cotner viciously attacked the UFW and accused the union of "making up stories to feed the press."

At another rally that same evening, June 19, about 75 to 100 resident strikers left the picket line and marched inside the camp, union flags and all, to talk with strikebreakers. Estimates of the size of the rallies by sheriff's deputies ranged as high as 800.

In another incident two days later, on June 21, two Teamsters kidnapped a citrus ranch foreman as he was about to pick up workers at a labor

camp. They had mistaken him for a UFW member picking up strikers to go picketing. The foreman was stabbed several times with an ice pick when he resisted. Sheriff's deputies caught the two Teamsters as they headed south toward the Mexican border. They were charged with assault with intent to commit murder and kidnapping.

Cotner himself was arrested June 13 for spitting on UFW pickets.

Picket lines have been larger than ever. More than 1,000 people have been picketing every day at the dozen or so scab ranches and the labor camps owned by growers. Student volunteers and representatives of supporting unions continue to stream in.

Strikers know some of the workers in the fields and address them by name. "Join the Farm Workers Union," they shout from the picket

line, "not the 'Racketeers Union,' not the white man's union that doesn't care about La Raza." From the roadside, it is apparent the appeals are having an effect.

JUNE 26 — The United Farm Workers said it has not been established that the death of one of its picket captains was related to the strike. UFW member Nicolas Bravo died yesterday from injuries suffered in a fight with a man in his home town of Braligh. Braligh is about 60 miles south of Coachella, and Bravo had gone home for the weekend.

According to Braligh police, the man who fought with Bravo is not a Teamster. They said the two men had fought previously. The UFW said it is investigating the matter and that so far there is no information to the contrary.

Scab grapes in union boxes

COACHELLA, Calif. — Farm Workers picket captains have discovered numerous instances of packing boxes bearing the union label being used by scab ranches. The latest incidence of this fraud was at a California-Imperial Distributors (CID) ranch. More than 100 of these boxes were found. Picket captains were arrested when they went into the fields to retrieve some for evidence. CID had been under UFW contract until April 15, when they signed with the Teamsters.

When growers were asked why they were still using union-label boxes, they offered the feeble excuse that the label had been blocked out with paint and that the paint had faded out.

There are only two ranches un-

der union contract now. They are the only ones authorized to have the black Aztec eagle on their packing boxes. The brand names are: "Lionel," "Travertine," "Desert Diamond," and "Primo."



UFW organizers were arrested for entering grape fields to confiscate boxes illegally bearing union label.

Young Socialist leaders plan campus and high school actions, set convention

By GENE ANDERSON

NEW YORK — The National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) met here June 7-10 to assess political developments since the YSA's national convention last November and map out the tasks facing revolutionary youth. More than 120 YSA leaders from around the country attended the meeting.

Andrew Pulley and Andy Rose, YSA national secretary and national chairman, respectively, reported on the current discussions within the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party with which the YSA is in fraternal solidarity.

Several leaders of other revolutionary-socialist youth organizations, including the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (Young Socialist Vanguard) of Argentina, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes of Canada, and the Socialist Youth Alliance of Australia, participated in the discussion.

Malik Miah, YSA National Executive Committee member, presented the political report. He said the political situation in the U.S. should be seen in the context of major new developments on a world scale. He pointed in particular to the sharpening competition between U.S. imperialism and the rival imperialist powers of Europe

posures. "People don't listen to Nixon when he talks about 'law and order,'" Miah said, "when he and his whole staff are shown to be a bunch of crooks."

"Watergate has exposed to the American people the depth of the rottenness and criminality of the capitalist rulers. It provides revolutionists special opportunities to explain what capitalist class rule is all about, and why socialism is necessary."

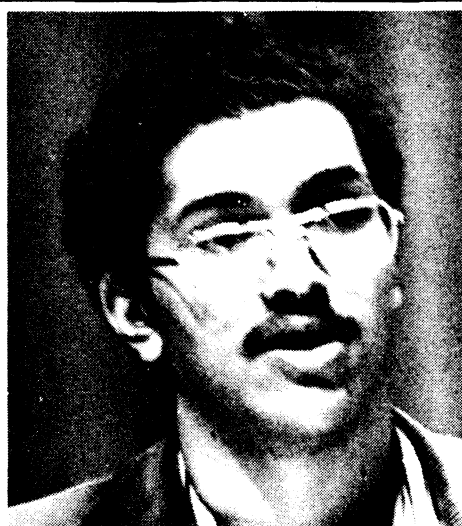
Miah said the development of the radicalization of American youth has been complex and contradictory. "The Supreme Court abortion ruling, the meat boycott, sympathy for Wounded Knee, support for victimized political activists, and now Watergate, all reflect more questioning of society and less trust for the government."

"On the other hand, there is less political activism in the student movement today than there was during the 1968-71 period of big campus struggles, particularly the struggles of Blacks for Black studies and open admissions, and the big mobilizations against the war."

But proclamations in the capitalist press that the student movement is dead and the campuses have returned to the apathy of the 1950s reflect wishful thinking, not reality.



Militant/Howard Petrick



Militant/Dave Wulp

PULLEY, MIAH: Reported on international socialist movement, perspectives for Young Socialist Alliance.

of oppressed nationalities in the decaying urban school systems. Miah noted that significant struggles have broken out in the high schools.

"In Denver, Chicanos have led a number of high school 'blow-outs.' In Austin, over 3,000 Chicano high school students marched on the capital to protest discriminatory allocation of funds to school districts. And in Atlanta, there was a strike of several hundred students against the racist practices of the Atlanta school administration."

Miah projected a major effort by the YSA to help defend the United Farm Workers Union by participating in picket lines, rallies, teach-ins, and educational activities. He pointed out how students can help support the UFWU by demanding that the universities not buy any scab lettuce or grapes.

The reports and discussion at the meeting indicated that the YSA has been playing an active role in student actions around a wide variety of issues. These include the anti-cutback protests; the May 26 African Liberation Day demonstrations; the Black protests in Detroit against the STRESS police terror squad; actions against continued involvement in Southeast Asia; solidarity with Wounded Knee; protests around campus discrimination against women; defense of women's right to abortion; defense of victimized political activists; and many others.

In addition to continuing its participation in all these struggles, Miah projected as a central focus of the YSA's work a far-reaching campaign to win youth to revolutionary socialism. This campaign was outlined by Delfine Welch in the organization report.

'Young Socialist' sales drive

She reported on the success of the YSA's drive to boost sales of the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper to 10,000 copies this spring. This goal was achieved a month ahead of schedule, and for May YS orders topped 11,000.

The National Committee voted to increase the size of the *Young Socialist* from 16 pages to 20. The 10,000 per month level will be viewed as a starting point for an even bigger sales drive next fall. Regular YS sales at high schools was singled out as a major part of this drive.

Organizing support for the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns is another aspect of the YSA's work of popularizing and winning support for socialist politics. Many of the SWP candidates, including 1973 mayoral

candidates Norman Oliver in New York, Olga Rodriguez in Los Angeles, Roberta Scherr in Cleveland, and Craig Honts in Seattle, are leaders of the YSA.

The YSA also runs its own campaigns for student government in the high schools and colleges to explain the socialist solutions to the problems facing students and put forward a revolutionary strategy for the student movement. Welch reported that this spring the YSA ran more than 60 such campaigns, and 22 YSAers were elected to student government positions.

One of the YSA's most successful projects this spring was fielding 12 Young Socialist teams that traveled to scores of campuses all across the country. In just eight weeks these teams sold more than 32,000 *Militants* and *Young Socialists*. Some 80 young people joined the YSA through the efforts of the teams, and seven new YSA chapters were set up. The National Committee decided that similar teams should be put on the road again next fall.

All these activities, carried out in conjunction with the YSA's involvement in the day-to-day struggles on the campuses and in the high schools, have as their goal winning young

Join the YSA

If you want to work for a socialist America, join the Young Socialist Alliance. See directory on page 22 or write to YSA, Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 989-7570.

people to a socialist perspective and convincing them of the need to join the revolutionary - socialist youth movement, the YSA.

Geoff Mirelowitz, presenting the financial report, announced the successful completion of the YSA's spring fund drive. The total collected was \$37,227, well over the goal of \$35,000.

Mirelowitz stressed the importance to the YSA of strong finances, based primarily on contributions from the membership. He proposed conducting a fall fund drive of approximately the same size. If successful, the fall drive will enable the YSA to expand its publications and increase its collaboration with revolutionary youth in other countries.

New Year's convention

The final action of the National Committee was to call for a Young Socialist national convention to be

Continued on page 22



Antioch College picket line defending students' right to financial aid. New York Times wondered if Antioch is 'encountering the first wave of a new kind of student protest.' YSA leaders answered, 'Yes.'

and Japan, and to Nixon's détente with Brezhnev and Mao.

Nixon hopes his deals with the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking can head off revolutionary upheavals like Vietnam and also open up the vast markets of the USSR, Eastern Europe, and China to capitalist penetration.

Miah pointed to the efforts of the U.S. capitalists to improve their competitive position on the world market. Nixon's New Economic Policy, launched in 1971, marked the beginning of new attacks against the living standards of American working people, especially through the wage controls and cutbacks in social services.

Miah cited actions like the April meat boycott and the May 5 anti-inflation demonstrations to show the potential for opposition among workers to these attacks.

He also noted that Nixon's attempts to whip up a reactionary political atmosphere through appeals to racism and patriotism have not fared too well, especially since the Watergate ex-

Especially over the last year, opposition to tuition hikes and cutbacks in educational services has become a major issue for the student movement. Miah pointed to the prolonged strike at Antioch College against cuts in financial aid and the repeated mobilizations in the City University of New York system against the threatened imposition of tuition as showing students' willingness to struggle in defense of their right to a decent education.

The YSA believes higher education is a right, not a privilege, and calls for abolishing tuition to make a free education available for all who want it.

'Black students hardest hit'

Both the political report and the Black struggles report, given by John Hawkins, pointed out that Black students have been among the hardest hit by the cutbacks and have taken the lead in actions against them.

In the high schools, too, the slashes in government spending come down hardest on Blacks and other youth

Mock trial charges murder

Protests hit Atlanta killer cops

ATLANTA, June 23—Atlanta cops have shot and killed their sixth Black victim in four months.

The latest victim was a Muslim, shot June 18 on Broad Street, amid thousands of afternoon shoppers, when he refused to stop selling *Muhammad Speaks*. A cop was killed too. Police claimed that Kenneth Dozier, the dead Muslim, tried to grab the cop's revolver. Police fired at least 20 rounds. Witnesses said police pumped several bullets into Dozier's body as he lay on the sidewalk.

Police have charged six Muslims with the murder of the dead officer, Larry Barkwell, who they allege was shot with his own gun.

Only three days earlier, five shotgun armed members of suburban DeKalb County's stake-out unit, a police entrapment unit modeled after Atlanta's stake-out squad and Detroit's former STRESS unit, ambushed two Black men in Decatur. Edward Lee Drake died instantly, his head and body ripped open by shotgun pellets. Hayward Daniel is in critical condition.

Dekalb police claimed Drake and Daniel were preparing to rob a National Bank of Georgia night depository. As in the Atlanta shooting, cops continued firing after the two men lay prostrate.

Both shooting incidents occurred less than a week after Judge Kermit Bradford's June 14 refusal to indict Atlanta cop J. D. Roberts, who shot 14-year-old Pamela Dixon outside her apartment in Capitol Homes, June 4.

Debby Bustin, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has charged that the two shootings "are a direct result of Judge Bradford's racist decision, which gives police a license to kill. Every policeman in Atlanta now feels that he can shoot somebody who is Black under any circumstances and get away with it."

The Pamela Dixon Defense Committee staged a mock trial of Officer

Roberts at Capitol Homes today. More than 125 people, mostly Blacks, heard the testimony of actual witnesses from Capitol Homes and acted as jury. They found officer Roberts guilty of first-degree murder.

The result of the mock trial stood out in sharp contrast with Judge Bradford's racist action. The Judge had urged the Black people in the packed courtroom not to react in anger at his decision to exonerate Roberts. He asked them to place their faith in Reverend Billy Graham, because "life in this world is much less important than the hereafter."

Among the participants in the mock trial were Sherman Miller, a member of the October League and a leader of the strike of Black workers at Mead Packaging last year; Malcolm Suber, of the Committee For Independent Black Politics; and Mary Joyce Johnson, an attorney for Pamela Dixon's family.

Joel Aber, SWP candidate for city

council president, spoke as a "juror" and challenged his Democratic Party opponents to state their verdicts in the shootings of Pamela Dixon and Kenneth Dozier.

Black Democrat Maynard Jackson, considered the leading mayoral candidate, has said he thinks Officer Roberts should have used his nightstick instead of his gun on Pamela Dixon!

Democratic State Senator Leroy Johnson, another Black contender for mayor, said after a conference with Police Chief Inman that he's "satisfied with Inman's reasons for not suspending Roberts."

Jackson, Johnson, and Charles Weltner, the leading white candidate, all call for hiring more cops. The two Black candidates both express "concern" about training cops not to be trigger-happy. The SWP's Debby Bustin is the only mayoral candidate to call for firing Chief Inman, abolition of the stake-out squad, and Black control of the police in the Black community.



Militant/Lynn Henderson

Atlanta, June 14. Demonstrators protest police murder of Pamela Dixon.

Fein raps Houston transit plan

HOUSTON, June 14—The Houston Chamber of Commerce, the Democrats, and the Republicans are all getting behind a massive effort to win the voters' approval for creating a mass transit authority with the power to tax. These supporters of the capitalist system are using the fact that Houston has one of the worst mass transportation systems of any large city in the U.S. to win support for a scheme that will shift the cost of public transportation onto the backs of those who can least afford it, the working people.

Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, is calling on Houston voters to vote "no" on the proposal in a referendum to be held election day, Sept. 8. The SWP has presented an alternate plan for free mass public transportation in Houston.

"The Democratic and Republican politicians who run this city have proven incapable of organizing the kind of transportation Houstonians need," Fein said. "Houston is spread out over 510 square miles, and because of the poor quality of the bus system, it is almost impossible to hold down a job in Houston without a car, unless you live within walking distance."

"Bus fares are 55 cents. The buses run infrequently, and many run only during peak hours, 8-9 a.m. and 5-6 p.m., Monday through Friday. Given

the geographical spread of Houston, the routes are extremely sparse. Many parts of the city simply do not have any bus transportation."

On June 9, the Houston Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored a public forum on mass transit for Houston. City Controller Lionel Castillo informed those in attendance that the two questions on the referendum—"Does Houston need a mass transit authority?" and "Is the method of taxation appropriate?"—will not be separated. Voters are forced to vote either "yes" or "no" on both questions.

The proposed form of taxation for the system will be the "emission tax." Those who own automobiles will be taxed between \$5 and \$10 per year per car, according to the size of their engine. This "emission tax," however, will raise only about \$12-million annually. The whole transit plan is expected to cost \$1.5-billion. This means that millions of dollars will have to be raised in other ways.

Fein has warned that the extra money will come "from outrageously high fares, new municipal bonds, and increases of the sales, gasoline, or cigarette tax. These taxes," he said, "fall most heavily on the working people."

One of the panelists at the forum was Kay Bailey, a staff member of a mass transit committee in the state legislature. She argued for a "yes" vote on the transit referendum.

She said that if the system isn't built, Houston may lose its "first place" standing as a convention city. She supported the "emission tax" plan as a fair deal because a recent poll showed more people favored it over an increase in the sales, property, or income tax. (These were the only choices on the poll.)

Fein also spoke at the forum.

"This transit plan, if approved," he said, "would saddle the workers with additional taxes, on top of the inflationary prices and high taxes we already face."

"The working people of this city should not have to subsidize mass transit for the few businessmen who come here for conventions, either," he said. "The city government should have a crash program to meet the transportation needs of hundreds of thousands of people in this city who have a difficult time getting to and from work every day."

"But this program should be financed by those who can best afford it, the banks and big corporations." Fein, in calling for free mass transit, said that the billions needed for this can be raised from the federal war budget. In addition, he said, Houston should institute a corporate profit tax.

"I urge a 'no' vote on the transit referendum," Fein said, "because the financing of the plan through an emission tax is insufficient and unfair."

Black Dem wins Chi election

By TONY DeLEON

CHICAGO—A special congressional election was held here June 5 to fill a vacant seat in the 7th C. D. Angelo Moreno, an independent Chicano candidate who is chairman of the Illinois Raza Unida Party, received 1,467 votes. Winner in the election was Cardiss Collins, who is now Illinois' first Black Congresswoman. Collins received 33,875 votes. She was the candidate of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's Democratic Party machine.

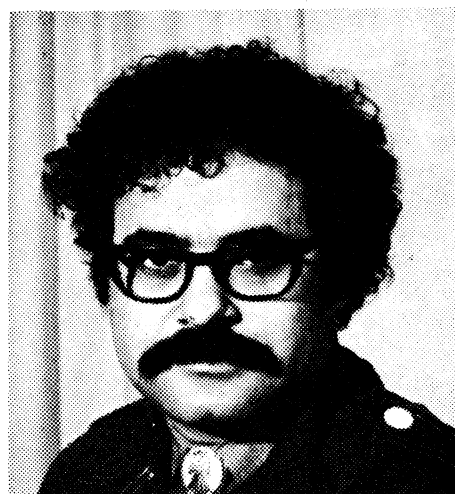
More than 200,000 Latinos and more than 40 percent of Chicago's Black population live in the 7th C. D. Moreno's campaign offered the Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Black people of the district an independent alternative to the Daley machine. The machine so dominates the district that the regular Republican Party organization did not even run a candidate in this election.

Moreno campaigned to mobilize support for the boycott in support of striking workers at the Farah Pants Company and to help defend the United Farm Workers Union now under attack from the conservative leadership of the Teamsters Union. His campaign helped organize the Chicano antiwar contingent in the January 20 antiwar demonstration here.

Moreno's campaign aimed to convince Chicanos and others that only through a break with the Democrats and Republicans could the problems of the 7th C. D., one of the worst slums in Chicago, be solved. Under the Daley machine, which has "controlled" the district for 15 years, conditions of life have steadily deteriorated.

While 47 percent of those enrolled in the district's schools are Latino, for example, these students comprise 71 percent of those who drop out of school. Although 37,000 of the district's 65,000 students speak only Spanish, there is not one bilingual course. There are still hundreds of burnt out and abandoned buildings in the district left standing by the city since the Black uprising of 1968.

Cardiss Collins is a loyal supporter of the Daley machine, which presides over these rotten conditions. She had demagogically claimed to be against the machine in the beginning of her campaign, and promised that, if elected, she would make some changes in the district. However, she changed her tune by election night, and at her victory rally, reaffirmed her devotion to the regular Democratic organization.



MORENO: Called for break with Democrats, Republicans.

Should Marxists support capitalist candidates?

Reply to Communist Party on Badillo

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK, June 26—Rasheed Storey, Communist Party candidate for mayor of New York, and Roque Ristorucci, CP candidate for city council president, announced their campaign last March 20. But with the exception of several campus candidate's panels where Storey has appeared, their campaign has been virtually nonexistent.

On June 16, the Storey-Ristorucci campaign issued its first leaflet for mass distribution. Titled "Badillo, Beame, and Racism, the Communist Party's View," the leaflet correctly points out that mayoral hopeful Abe Beame is making an appeal to racist sentiments in his effort to defeat Congress-

JUNE 27—Final returns gave Controller Abraham Beame a 3 to 2 margin over Representative Herman Badillo in yesterday's primary runoff. Beame was credited with 548,000 votes to Badillo's 354,000.

man Herman Badillo, a Puerto Rican, in the race for the Democratic Party nomination. Declaring that "there can be no neutrality in this primary," the CP urges "all New Yorkers to work to defeat this racist drive. We urge white people to reject Beame."

Warning that Beame is backed by the Rockefeller and the real estate interests, the CP asserts that "in urging the defeat of Beame we are certainly not endorsing Badillo for mayor. . . . We urge the broadest possible support for the Communist ticket."

Thus the reason for the "low profile" of Storey's campaign becomes clear. The CP, despite the verbal contortions in its leaflet, is *really* campaigning for the election of Democrat Herman Badillo. How else can Beame be defeated?

In response to this leaflet, the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign committee issued an open letter to the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League. The SWP has been waging an energetic campaign for Norman Oliver for mayor, and a slate of other candidates.

In the open letter, the SWP disputes the false notion that supporting Badillo is the way to fight racism. The open letter was mailed to a number of radical organizations and newspapers and is being distributed at meetings sponsored by the CP.

The open letter explains that "the Democratic Party for which Badillo is a spokesman, like the Republican Party, is a capitalist party, owned and controlled by the landlords, businessmen, and bankers, and represents their interests."

"Racism is an integral part of the capitalist system which these two parties represent. It is false to foster the notion that racism can be defeated by supporting *any* candidate of the parties which are controlled by those who profit from racism."

The SWP cites positions taken by Badillo that expose the myth that he is fundamentally different from other Democratic politicians. These include his "law and order" call for more police, his attacks on the salaries of municipal workers, his opposition to Puerto Rican independence, and his failure to come to the support of the Puerto Rican parents fighting against racism in the schools by struggling to gain control of their children's education.

The SWP argues that Badillo is the candidate of sectors of the ruling class who are backing him "in order to defuse and co-opt the ferment in the Puerto Rican community."

The letter recalls that the CP has urged support to all the other Black Democrats—like Kenneth Gibson in Newark, Richard Hatcher in Gary, Ind., and Carl Stokes in Cleveland—who were similarly put forward to "cool down" the struggle of Black people. "Have any of them," the letter asks, "been able to do anything to eliminate the poverty, and misery that racism inflicts on Black people? No. Within the framework of their loyalty to the Democratic Party, they have been powerless to provide decent housing, adequate education, and more jobs."

The SWP letter asks how the CP reconciles its support to Badillo with its statements calling for "independence" from the two parties of big business presented by Gus Hall in his pamphlet *Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters*. Here Hall explained that the 30-year policy of the Communist Party supporting liberal Democrats as "lesser evils" was false and a "justification of opportunism." Hall said "it is an illusion to think that one of these two parties of monopoly capital, somehow, can become the vehicle for the struggle against monopoly capital."

In the same speech, however, Hall made it clear that the CP would continue giving electoral support to liberal Democrats. They would just run their own candidates more often and step up their rhetoric about helping "the masses break out of the



BADILLO: Opposes Puerto Rican control of education and independence for Puerto Rico.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

CP's STOREY: Racism can be defeated by supporting candidates of parties that profit from it.

imprisonment of choosing between two capitalist evils."

The SWP letter asks, "Does Gus Hall's speech in *Lame Duck* mean that if Badillo wins June 26, you will oppose him?" In elections since Hall's speech, the CP has consistently supported liberal Democrats, such as the ex-cop Tom Bradley, who was recently elected mayor of Los Angeles.

The letter points out that Norman Oliver and the other SWP candidates "stand clearly and unequivocally against all candidates of the two parties that support this racist system. We champion the independent struggles of Puerto Ricans and Blacks, most of which occur outside of and without the support of the Democratic and Republican parties."

The CP's demagogic appeal to "fight racism" by supporting a Democrat has been rejected by other New York groups in addition to the SWP. Both the Puerto Rican Independence Party and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party have opposed Badillo's candidacy as a dead end for Puerto Ricans and Blacks.

Similar opposition to Badillo was voiced in the June 29 issue of *Le Patriote Haïtien*, newspaper of Le Mouvement Haïtien d'Action Patriotique. The article charges Badillo with saying nothing about the vital needs of the Puerto Rican masses, especially on the question of the struggle for Puerto Rican control of Puerto Rican education. The article also cites Badillo's opposition to independence for Puerto Rico and explains that politicians like Badillo and Representative Shirley Chisholm cannot serve the needs of the masses at the same time they serve their principal enemy, U. S. imperialism.

Lame arguments and 'Lame Ducks'

JUNE 26—The open letter to the CP and the Young Workers Liberation League from the SWP campaign committee has evidently struck a sensitive nerve at the CP office. Today's issue of the *Daily World*—the issue distributed on election day—has an article by *Daily World* executive editor Simon Gerson entitled "N. Y. primary: Trotskyites seek to disrupt anti-racism fight."

The "disruption" is being caused by the SWP's open letter. Repeating the contorted logic contained in the CP's leaflet—urging a vote for Badillo, but not "endorsing" him—Gerson says: "Plain enough, isn't it?"

"It's plain enough so that a whole series of progressive-led unions are working for Beame's defeat; as are many individuals on the Left. . . ."

"Predictably, the Trotskyites of the Socialist Workers Party variety oppose this policy. In an 'open letter' the Trotskyites level their main attack at Badillo. After a mild wrist slap for Beame, who they concede, 'is making an appeal to the racist sentiment that exists among white voters,' they train their guns at Badillo whom

they assail as 'a professional Democratic Party politician'—which is hardly news.

"But their assault goes further. They clearly seek to disrupt the developing informal coalition against racism. The Trotskyites seek to elevate to a principle refusal to support any Black or Puerto Rican candidate who may be seeking public office under a major party designation."

Notice how Gerson politely terms the Democratic Party, which is one of the two parties of capitalism and imperialism, a "major party." The SWP, Gerson should be reminded, is not alone in elevating "to a principle" refusal to urge workers to cast a vote for capitalist parties. Lenin and the Bolsheviks followed a similar policy, which they also "elevated" to the level of a principle.

The SWP, says Gerson, is trying "to pit the N. Y. Communist Party's position in today's election against the position put forward by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, in his 1972 pamphlet, 'Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters.'"

"Here they clearly distort Hall, who noted that

certain developments towards political independence within the two major parties move in the direction of a break from those parties. . . . These may begin within the ambit of one or another of the two old parties, but the logic of their development—especially if Left and progressive trade union forces take a positive attitude towards them—leads them into a struggle against the monopoly control of these parties and in the direction of a people's, anti-monopoly party."

Gerson's argument is not one iota different from the "lesser-evil" justification the CP has used for three decades to cover its support to capitalist candidates.

Some members of the CP and YWLL took Hall's speech to be a genuine turn to the left for the CP. They looked forward to an end to the embarrassment of having to explain why people who call themselves Marxists urge workers to vote for capitalist candidates. But as the CP's support for Badillo makes clear, the embarrassing questions will keep on coming.

TROTSKY ON PROBLEMS OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Problems of Everyday Life by Leon Trotsky. Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 352 pp. Cloth \$8.95, paper \$3.25.

More and more people are seriously considering socialism as a realistic alternative to capitalism. These same people, however, are daily confronted with two types of lies about socialism. On one hand, the capitalist rulers foster an image of ruthless, cold-blooded robots ruling a "socialist" society where everyone looks, thinks, and acts alike. On the other hand, the parasitic bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and China have built a monstrous caricature of socialism.

Faced with such formidable distortions, people looking toward socialism for solutions often have serious questions.

"Is it true that socialists are only concerned with economics?"

"Don't socialists care about culture, psychology, human emotions?"

"How about individuality, creativity, and democratic freedoms?"

The human face of socialism has been

Books

eloquently described in Marxist literature for more than 100 years. It has been shown in action from the fighters of the Paris Commune to the heroic Vietnamese. Now, Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014) is distributing a new, expanded edition of *Problems of Everyday Life*. This book by Leon Trotsky adds to the arsenal of proof that, first and foremost, socialism deals with human beings.

Trotsky is best known as the leader, together with Lenin, of the 1917 Russian revolution. He was the first commissar of foreign affairs; then he undertook the organization and command of the Red Army.

During the civil war, when the Soviet Union was attacked by imperialist nations, Trotsky carried great responsibilities. But he was still concerned with *all* aspects of building the new workers state, including the most common, everyday problems, which to a lesser revolutionist might have appeared insignificant.

The articles and speeches in this collection were written between 1920 and 1939. Many of the early articles probe the effects



on people's personal lives of such a tremendous social upheaval as a revolution and the difficult task of raising the cultural level of the Soviet people.

For instance, in an article titled "Vodka, the Church, and the Cinema," Trotsky writes about the need for the government to concern itself with amusements for the Soviet masses. Or, as he puts it, "The working class state is neither a spiritual order nor a monastery. . . . The longing for amusement, distraction, sight-seeing, and laughter is the most legitimate desire of human nature." He points out that creatively used cinema could compete with the tavern and the church for the leisure time of the workers.

In another article, "The Struggle for Cultured Speech," Trotsky applauds the workers at a shoe factory who passed a resolution to abstain from swearing. Abusive and foul language, he says, are a legacy of slavery, humiliation, and disrespect for human dignity—one's own and that of other people. "The struggle against 'bad language' is a condition of intellectual culture," he points out, "just as the fight against filth and vermin is a condition of physical culture."

Other articles in *Problems of Everyday Life* were written after the bureaucratization of the Soviet Union under Stalin. It is interesting to compare the approach Trotsky took toward the disintegration of the family in "From the Old Family to the New," written in 1923, and then to read his analysis of the Stalinist retreat from freeing women of their old tasks in "Thermidor in the Family," written in 1936.

This book is a forceful reminder that not until after the shackles of capitalist oppression are broken, and the working class has placed all science, culture, and technology under its command, can humanity turn its full attention to the development, in every sense, of human beings.

As Trotsky put it: "Only with socialism does real progress begin. Man will look for the first time at himself as if at raw material, or at best, as at a half-finished product, and say: 'I've finally got to you, my dear *homo sapiens*; now I can get to work on you, friend!'" — LINDA JENNESS

GROWING OLD IN AMERICA

Nobody Ever Died of Old Age by Sharon Curtin. Little, Brown and Company. Boston, 1972. 228 pp. \$6.95.

"... a childlike state, but without the charm and promise" is how Sharon Curtin characterizes this society's view of the 20 million people over 65 in the U.S. today.

Curtin observed the misery and degradation of the elderly as she traveled with them over a period of two years.

Shuffling along with Harry and Al, drifters and panhandlers of 40 years, she learned they had teamed up two decades ago because "two heads could do better than one" in the struggle to survive.

She met up with Letty, one of those destitute women who make their way around the city, carrying all their worldly goods in a shopping bag or two. Letty lived in a welfare cubicle. Each time she went out she had to take her belongings with her, or they'd be gone when she returned.

"... she would give a little start of surprise whenever I said [her name]," Curtin writes, "as if it had been a long time since anyone had said 'Letty' I don't think

Books

she thought of herself as a person anymore."

Curtin also visited an opulent "Retirement Village" for the few prosperous old people. It was clean, with grass outside the rows of boxlike houses, and "guaranteed friends, safety, little things to fill the hours." It was plastic and empty.

Curtin provides a view from within a nursing home, where the old are sent, when they "no longer require intensive nursing care," since "there is no chance for recovery." The care is impersonal; the smell is of decay and deodorant sprays; the bodies (this was a *good* home) are kept sanitary; the mind is left to rot.

"Death houses for the old" is how one patient termed these nursing homes. A few times a week there is entertainment; the patients are wheeled to the "parking lot" as she called the recreation hall. There they sit, lined up along the wall, hunched over in their wheelchairs, dozing, while bizarre amusement is provided: a flower-



arranging demonstration, a dulcimer performance. Any attempt to assert one's independence is met with heavier sedation and restraints. Soon the patients become mute and inanimate.

Curtin calls it "a vision into [our] own future, [to] live friendless, penniless, sour and old." She concedes she can't get "too excited" about reform measures promised by capitalist society, and she urges the old to follow the example set by women's liberation fighters—to rise up in rebellion and to struggle for their rights. "Nobody laughs at the power of women anymore," Curtin says, citing the gains made by the feminist struggle.

Unfortunately, many of the elderly are physically unable to even manage their daily needs. Indeed, Curtin spends a major part of her book discussing the debilitating affects of aging in this society.

Some old people are organizing to demand that they be treated as human beings, and they must be joined by the younger fighters for social change in this country.

— MARTHA HARRIS



Nixon Court strikes another blow at rights

Should the Ridgefield, Conn., school system continue to ban the book *Boss* because of its stinging exposé of Chicago Mayor Daley's administration and its equally strong language? A retired state trooper on the school board who got the book banned in the first place thinks so.

Should diapers be painted on the naked baby boy in Maurice Sendak's *In the Night Kitchen*? Some children's librarians think so.

How about J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye*, the most suppressed book in the country according to the American Library Association? Should it still be banned from hundreds of high school English classes because it contains a few four-letter words? Many school officials think so.

The U. S. Supreme Court apparently agrees. At a time when the stench of government corruption in Washington is overwhelming, the court has decided that it's really "dirty" books and movies that need attention.

Raising the specter that we will soon find men and women "locked in sexual embrace at high noon in Times Square" if the tide of "permissiveness" isn't turned back, the court's recent "obscenity" ruling gave state and local officials the right to ban any book, magazine, or movie considered "offensive to local standards." Under the guise of protecting our "morals," the court has

American Way of Life

taken a large chunk of the First Amendment and made it "inoperative."

As Justice Douglas pointed out in his dissent, the decision is a serious threat to a free press: "The idea that the First Amendment permits Government to ban publications that are 'offensive' to some people puts an ominous gloss on freedom of the press. That test would make it possible to ban any paper or any journal or magazine in some benighted place."

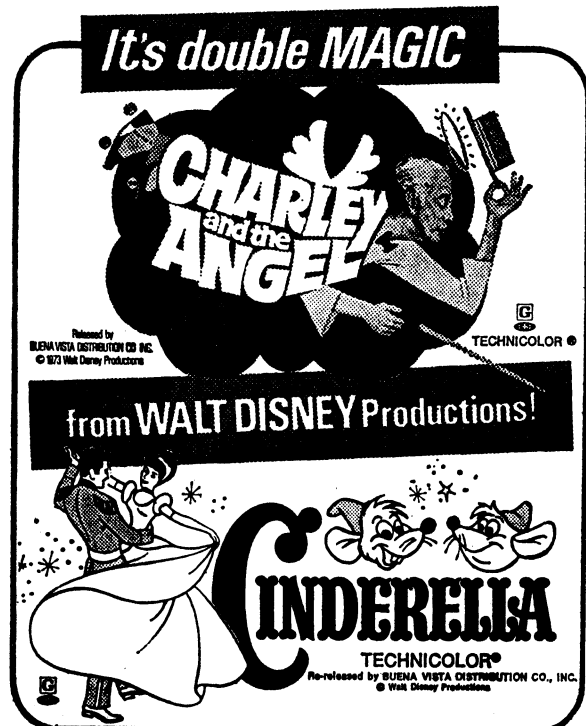
Censors across the country were quick to grasp the meaning of the ruling. In Salt Lake City, for example, the district attorney vowed that any attempt to show *Last Tango in Paris* would result in arrests and confiscations of the film. "It will never be shown here without undergoing lots of prosecution," he promised.

Where does censorship stop? If you can ban anything that some might think appeals to "prurient interests," couldn't this be taken to include even sex education classes in public schools? Some right-wing parents groups certainly think so.

Earlier this year in Brooklyn, for example, a group of anti-sex-educationists charged into a board of education meeting, chanting that sex education was a "Communist plot" to destroy the nation.

Those who favor censorship usually see little difference between "dirty" and "subversive." In handing these local vigilantes the right to decide what books and movies are fit for us to see, the Supreme Court has dealt a real blow to our civil liberties.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN



When local censors enforce new Supreme Court 'obscenity' ruling, moviegoers in some parts of country may be limited to Walt Disney reruns.

Demand for Marxist books around world

Pathfinder Press books are beginning to appear in bookstores all around the world.

Last week the Red Pages bookstore in Jerusalem sent in a second big order and included a comment: "We inform you that we have a great success in selling Pathfinder books. It is the first time that people could get this sort of literature in Israel."

A few weeks after the March 1973 devaluation of the dollar, a company in Japan ordered more than a hundred copies of *The Decline of the Dollar: A Marxist View of the Economic Crisis* by Ernest Mandel.

Stars and Stripes, operators of 200 book outlets for military personnel in Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, has ordered a total of 3,700 copies of *By Any Means Necessary*, a collection of speeches by Malcolm X, and 3,200 copies of *Malcolm X On Afro-American History*.

From Ireland a woman wrote, "I'm writing to you on behalf of the long term prisoners at present in 'Long Kesh' concentration camp. . . . I came across some of your literature and I feel it would be of great value to our comrades in chains."

University Books in Pretoria, South Africa, has ordered *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, among other books. *Empiricism and Its Evolution* and *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, both by George Novack, have been used as texts at the University of Lusaka in Zambia.

From Budapest, Hungary: "Please send me your free women's liberation catalog. I'm a Hungarian student, and I'm very much interested in this topic."

From Puerto Rico: an order for 35 copies of *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International* by Leon Trotsky for a university in Rio Piedras. . . .

Orders for the *Bulletin of the Opposition*, the complete set of that Russian-language journal, have come from Denmark, Sweden, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Israel.

To help increase international distribution, Pathfinder books will be displayed in the International Book Fair to be held in Frankfurt, Germany, and

News from Pathfinder

Warsaw, Poland. More than 225,000 people attended the Frankfurt fair last year. This will be the first time Pathfinder Press books have been exhibited in a Soviet-bloc country.

Three books were delivered by the printer last week:

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR by James P. Cannon. Introduction by Joseph Hansen. More than a hundred articles from the pen of an active participant in the events of 30 years of labor history. Cannon covers the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti, the historic strikes of the 1930s, the Korean war, McCarthyism, and prize fighting, movies, the Catholic Church, and many other topics. Socialist journalism at its finest. Photos, index. Cloth, \$8.95; paper, \$3.45.

EMPIRICISM AND ITS EVOLUTION by George Novack. This Marxist examination of the contributions and limitations of empiricism, first printed in 1972, is now in its second printing. While acknowledging the strength of the empirical method, Novack points out its weaknesses in analyzing and explaining certain phenomena. He also discusses the relationship of empiricism to pragmatism and dialectical materialism. Bibliography, index. Cloth, \$4.95; paper, \$2.45.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MARXIST ECONOMIC THEORY by Ernest Mandel. Introduction by George Novack. A concise explanation of the basic principles of Marxist political economy and their application to contemporary monopoly capitalism. Press run for this second edition was 25,000. The first edition went through six printings totalling more than 38,000 copies. It has been used in more than 250 U. S. high school and college classes during the past year.

For this new edition, Mandel has included "On Socially Necessary Labor," in which he answers some of his critics. Cloth, \$3.95; paper, \$1.25.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

Militant builds int'l solidarity

Selling *The Militant* often reinforces our internationalist perspective, as a couple of recent examples illustrate. While selling in "Underground Atlanta," a supporter sold a *Militant* to a traveler from Czechoslovakia. He said he was familiar with the Trotskyist Fourth International and was pleased that he had gotten the opportunity to talk to some U. S. socialists.

And at the planning meeting for an international feminist convention sponsored by NOW in Boston two weeks ago, *Militant* sellers met a woman from Tokyo who was interested in *The Militant* because she had met Socialist Workers Party spokeswoman Evelyn Reed when she was on tour in Japan recently.

● The *Militant* forum in Los Angeles experimented a few weeks ago with a special offer to new readers of *The Militant*. At a forum on Watergate, they offered a three-month subscription with a \$1.50 donation at the door. Twenty-six people took the offer, and in addition 100 single copies were sold.

● The May issue of the *International Socialist Review* featured "The Real Welfare Scandal," by Walter Lippmann and Cliff Conner. While the question of welfare is of interest to many people, it is of special concern to social workers. Lippmann, who is a member of the Social Services Union in Los Angeles, set out to prove this and has thus

Militant Gets Around

far sold 80 copies to his co-workers. At one union meeting he sold 27 *ISRs* and 16 *Militants*.

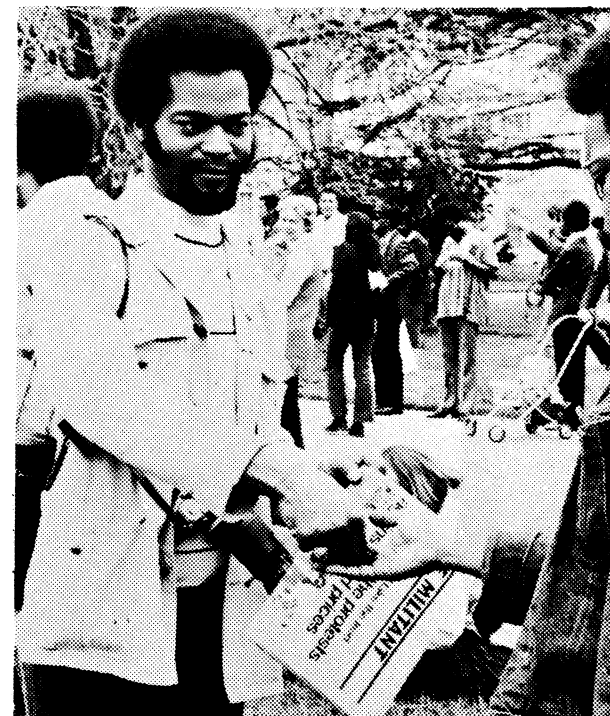
● Letters from readers this week included the following one: "Truthfully, I must say that I enjoyed every *Militant* that I received. We are a one paper town here in Milwaukee, and your paper was a refreshing change to the trash the 'unbiased' local paper tries to dish out. . . ."

"Your paper was widely read by both students and teachers at our school, and was even used by one teacher for class discussion because of its fine coverage of the Watergate. Needless to say, some students are interested in obtaining it for use in the school library."

● The spring sales campaign, which we wound up two weeks ago with a bonanza week of 10,320 sales, involved supporters in 26 states plus Washington, D. C. The bulk of the 98,022 *Militants* sold during the 15-week campaign were sold where there are branches and locals of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. But the campaign was also a combined effort with individual supporters from such cities as Elyria, Ohio, and Nashville, Tenn.

In those states from which there was more than one city listed on our scoreboards, the total sales are especially impressive. During the 15 weeks, 21,700 *Militants* were sold in California, not counting the 2,351 sold by the two California Young Socialist teams. In Texas, 8,700 *Militants* were sold in addition to the 1,156 sold by the Texas team. And in New York City alone, 17,600 *Militants* were sold.

—NANCY COLE



Militant/Cappy Kidd

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W., Third Floor. 50c per session. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

Sat., July 7, 11 a.m.: The national question and permanent revolution. Teacher: Joel Aber.

Sun., July 8: Two classes on Chinese Stalinism. Teacher: Les Evans. Classes start at 1 p.m. and 7 p.m.

Mon., July 9, 8 p.m.: Third class on Chinese Stalinism. Teacher: Les Evans.

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

Tues., July 10, 7:30 p.m.: The permanent revolution. Teacher: Evelyn Sell.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on History of the Fourth International. Thurs., July 5, 7 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (across from South Station). Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the Transitional strategy for revolution. Classes at 136 Lawrence St. (downtown). 50c per session. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

Wed., July 4, 7:30 p.m.: The importance of program. Teacher: Joe Henry.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

Thurs., July 5: Transitional program. Teacher: Robbie Scherr.

Sat., July 7: Permanent revolution in Vietnam. Teacher: Fred Feldman.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialism in America. Three classes on The Chinese revolution and Maoism. Teacher: Les Evans. Fri., July 6, 8 p.m.; Sat., July 7, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Sun., July 8, 3 p.m.: Socialists in the CIO.

LOS ANGELES

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION: A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. Speakers: Bert Corona, director of Casa-Hermada; Wynnie Arballo, United Farm Workers representative; Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 6, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Weekend series on Inflation: A Marxist analysis and a program to fight it. Fri., July 6, 8 p.m.; Sat., July 7, noon and 2 p.m.; Sun., July 8, noon. Classes will be held at 706 Broadway, (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. 50c per session. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PICNIC. Relax before petition drive to place socialist candidates on the ballot in New York City begins. Good food, sports, trees. Sun., July 8, 12 noon. Allen Shandler Picnic Area, Van Cortland (Bronx) Park. Donation: \$2. Ausp. New York City Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 706 Broadway, (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. 50c per session. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 4, 8 p.m.: Women in the Chinese revolution. Teacher: Dianne Feeley.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). 50c per session. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 4, 6:30 p.m.: Class nature of the Soviet Union. Teacher: Terry Hillman.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Three series of classes: Basics of Marxism, the Leninist party, Spanish Civil War. Classes held at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (215) WA 5-4316.

Mon., July 2, 7 p.m.: Organization of the Party.

Thurs., July 8, 7 p.m.: Seminar on Spanish Civil War.

Sat., July 7, 2 p.m.: Their Morals and Ours.

Mon., July 9, 7 p.m.: The Cochran Fight.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Introduction to Marxism. Special weekend series on The current world economic situation. Teacher: Nat Weinstein. Classes on July 7 and 8 at Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E. 25c per session. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Honts. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., July 5, 7:30 p.m.: Marxist Theory of the State.

TWIN CITIES

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Formative years of the Communist International—a seven-class series on the early years of the Comintern in its revolutionary period. Lecture followed by discussion groups. Monday nights, 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON D.C.

CITIES IN CRISIS: WHAT'S BEHIND THE URBAN CRISIS. Speaker: Ernest Harsch, contributor to International Socialist Review. Fri., July 6, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W.,

Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Transitional program for socialist revolution. Classes held Monday evenings, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...gay

Continued from page 15

lowing week, workshops on specific problems of gay liberation were held at the Charles Street Meeting House. Two of the most important ones were the youth workshop and the law and politics workshop.

At the youth workshop, young activists discussed the problem of organizing in the high schools. According to law, gay organizations cannot gain recognition or hold events in high schools in Massachusetts.

At the law and politics workshop, plans were outlined to introduce bills on gay rights in the Massachusetts legislature. It was also announced that "Gay Americans Day" is planned for September. On that day, gay activists will demonstrate at the State House.

...Chavis

Continued from page 15

the defendants. Nixon, although earlier convicted of slaying Wright, had not been sentenced. He admitted being told by prosecutor Jay Stroud that if he testified against Chavis and the Hickses, Stroud would recommend to the judge that his sentence be suspended. Stroud is the same prosecutor who hounded Chavis in an earlier trial when he was given a 34-year sentence.

In that trial, Chavis and others were charged with arson and conspiracy to assault firemen during the 1971 uprising. After a jury of two whites and 10 Blacks was selected, prose-

cutor Stroud suddenly became "ill" and claimed no one could take his place. The judge agreed and ordered a new trial. The subsequent jury of two Blacks and 10 whites pleased Stroud when they returned a guilty verdict against Chavis.

Chavis is appealing that conviction, but he also faces a year's sentence in Virginia, where he was convicted for sparking a revolt by Black high school students in Portsmouth, Va.

Prior to and during the trial, white vigilante groups tried to provoke a racial confrontation. Three bombings were reported, including the offices of the *Wilmington Journal* (a Black newspaper) and a Jewish synagogue. Even while the jury was out on deliberations, a telephoned bomb threat forced the evacuation of the New Hanover County Courthouse.

Molly Hicks, who faces a possible 10-year sentence, plans to appeal the ruling. Stroud has not said whether he intends to retry Leatrice Hicks.

...YSA

Continued from page 17

held from Dec. 28 through Jan. 1 in Chicago. The convention is the highest decision-making body of the YSA. It will be preceded by a three-month discussion of the YSA's program and perspectives, including both oral discussion in every YSA local chapter and written discussion in a bulletin open to contributions from every member.

At the end of the discussion, delegates to the convention will be elected by each local chapter. The convention itself, after further reports and discussion, will establish by democratic vote the political orientation and priorities that will guide the work of the YSA for the coming year.

The convention will be open to all interested young people to observe and to participate in the various panels, workshops, and other meetings that will take place.

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) 573-1588. 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 JERSEY: Central New Jersey: YSA, c/o Bill Balderston, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

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) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP 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 Mary Pauli, 1195 Tyler, Eugene, Ore. 97402. Tel: (503) 344-5525.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

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Cities in Decay

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THE MILITANT

Grape strike having impact

Teamster goons resort to brutal attacks on UFWU



Coachella, Calif. United Farm Workers picket grape field

Militant/Miguel Pendas

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, June 26 — Teamsters union goons attacked a United Farm Workers Union picket line twice this morning in Coachella, Calif. The attacks were part of the escalating campaign of violence the Teamsters officialdom has ordered against the striking UFW. Marshall Ganz, a principal leader of the Farm Workers, was knocked unconscious in the first attack.

The Teamsters now have an estimated 350 people in the area trying to break the strike. On Saturday morning, June 23, 200 of them mounted a bloody attack on a group of pickets. A false account of this attack, emanating from the Riverside County sheriff's office, was widely publicized. It portrayed the Teamster attack as a "confrontation" between "rival unions."

For example, the June 24 *Los Angeles Times* carried a prominent article headlined: "360 Battle in Fields as Grape Strike Erupts in Violence."

The article asserted in part: "The rival Teamsters and United Farm Workers Unions met Saturday in their most violent clash to date in the two-month old Coachella Valley grape dispute."

"An estimated 360 persons—about equal numbers of Teamsters and UFWU workers—battled each other with iron pipes, clubs, belts, tire irons, and machetes for an hour and a half."

In a telephone interview this morning, Reverend John Bank, the UFW's director of information, described what actually happened.

He said that on Saturday morning a group of about 400 strikers were on their way to the Henry Moreno ranch in nearby Thermal to picket. They had parked their cars and were crossing a patch of public land when they found themselves facing a group of about 200 Teamsters.

"One of the Teamsters threw a firecracker among the farm workers," Bank said. "Another one, known to the farm workers as 'Yellow Gloves' because he always wears yellow leather gloves, shouted 'Charge.' They came down on the farm workers with tire irons, chains, knives, belts, and hoses and began beating people."

"There were a lot of women, children, and old men among the strikers. Some of the younger men picked up pieces of irrigation pipe that were lying around and tried to defend themselves and the women and children and older people."

"That's what came out of the press," Bank declared, "as a 'pitched battle.' It was deliberately provoked by the Teamsters, and on Monday the sheriff's office had to issue a statement correcting its original version of what happened."

"That same Saturday morning," Bank said, "a carload of pickets at the end of a caravan on the way to one ranch was stopped by Teamster goons. They pulled the people out of the car and beat them savagely. Several had to be hospitalized."

In another incident, the trailer home of a family of strikers was burned to the ground.

In each of the Teamster attacks on

UFW picket lines, the sheriff's deputies have acted with typical police "impartiality." They arrested some of the assailants and some of the farm workers who defended themselves against the unprovoked attacks.

Union leader César Chávez charged that the campaign of systematic violence by the Teamsters is designed to provoke the farm workers into a similar response. They calculate, he said, that this would create the public image of embattled rival unions, each engaged in violence, and that this would cut into the effectiveness of the national boycott of scab grapes.

The Teamster officials and the growers they serve have good reason for concern. Public support for the strikers is mounting daily. Yesterday a charter plane brought 100 supporters to the picket line from the United Methodist Convention, now convened in St. Louis. The church pickets, too, were the targets of Teamster abuse and harassment.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

COACHELLA, Calif., June 21—Grape growers are trying to paint a rosy picture, but the strike by the United Farm Workers Union here is having a strong impact as the grape harvest approaches peak production.

In terms of both size and experience, growers are faced with an inadequate labor force due to the strike. According to the State Farm Labor Service, there are 3,200 workers in the fields under scab Teamsters union contracts, supposedly almost a full force.

But these figures are provided by the growers, who are trying to give the impression that all is going smoothly. UFW sources, who are following the situation closely, estimate there are about 2,200 workers at the scab ranches.

Many of the strikebreakers are inexperienced. This is a serious problem for the growers because the 1,200 strikers they were supposed to replace were among the most experienced workers. The growers have been forced to take on workers who don't know which grapes to pick or how to pack them properly. Nor do they have the experience of working together as a crew. This is a further obstacle to maximum productivity.

One grower told a local reporter, "Poor preharvest work by inexperienced hands in Teamster fields is having an awful effect on the crop. There are a lot of seconds going out."

During the preharvest period, the Farm Workers had called for a slowdown in the Teamster fields. This has had a telling effect. Workers responding to the UFW call did not thin the vines properly. The thinning process is essential for harvesting fully matured grapes with adequate sugar content.

At one ranch 50 percent of the grapes were rejected by federal inspectors because they did not meet minimum sugar-content standards.

Strikebreakers reportedly have begun to harvest about 90,000 boxes

Continued on page 16

Eggs to hit \$1 a dozen

Prices up despite 'freeze' 10