

THE MILITANT

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Worldwide solidarity needed Protest outlawing of French revolutionists



Paris, June 21. Club-swinging cops charge antifascist demonstrators. Ligue Communiste, one of the organizers of the demonstration, has been outlawed by French government. See pages 3-6.

By CAROLINE LUND
PARIS, July 5—The June 28 government decree outlawing the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, stemming The Militant has sent staff writer Caroline Lund to Paris to provide our readers with firsthand coverage of the struggle against the banning of Ligue Communiste.

from its participation in an anti-fascist demonstration, has brought forth a massive outcry of protest. Opposition to the ban and to the

jailing of two Ligue Communiste leaders, Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset, has come from the entire spectrum of the French left and working-class organizations.

The extent of this opposition was dramatically expressed here last night as 10,000 to 15,000 people attended a mass protest meeting called for the defense of civil liberties. The meeting was sponsored by the major French trade unions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, and other working-class and civil liberties organizations. Such action by the CP and

SP in defense of the democratic rights of any of the far-left organizations, (groups to the left of the Communist Party), is unprecedented.

The banning of the Ligue, and the rising protest against it, has had a major impact on French politics. This was reflected in a TV statement by Prime Minister Pierre Messmer trying to justify the ban, and in numerous commentaries in the capitalist press day after day. The impact of the ban and the protest against it has been felt throughout the rest of

Europe as well. For instance, the daily *Le Soir* in Brussels ran a banner headline "Krivine Impulste" (Krivine Indicted).

Alain Krivine, presidential candidate of the Ligue in the 1969 French elections, was indicted under the "antiwrecker law" passed in 1970. This law enables the government to hold a leader of an organization responsible for any violations of the law committed in the course of a demonstration sponsored by that organization, even if he or she committed no

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Watergate: How long can Nixon remain silent? /13

In Brief

65 HAITIAN EXILES WIN RELEASE FROM JAIL: On June 27, James Green, acting director of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization, agreed to release 65 Haitian exiles being held in the Dade County jail in Miami.

The 65 Haitians were denied amnesty and jailed when they arrived in Florida last December. Each was being held on \$1,000 bond, which none had been able to raise. Green agreed to free the 65 without bond and placed them in the custody of the Friendship Baptist Church in Miami.

Reverend Jenkins, pastor of the church, estimates that as many as 300 more Haitians are being held in Florida jails. Lawyers for the exiles are demanding that they be given political asylum.

On July 1, 100 people, mostly Haitians, demonstrated in New York, demanding amnesty and asylum for the exiles. Telegrams supporting the right of the exiles to remain in the U.S. should be sent to Attorney General Elliot Richardson, Room 5115, Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. 20530.

June 20 as he refused to dismiss charges against the Gainesville Eight.

The Gainesville Eight are members and supporters of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). They face charges of conspiring to commit violence at the 1972 Republican Party convention.

The defendants contend they were framed up to help with the cover-up of the Watergate break-in. Evidence of high government involvement in their case includes: the burglary of the office of one defense attorney; the testimony of Watergater James McCord that he received "intelligence" reports on VVAW members, including some of the defendants; and the bugging of some of the defendants by Pablo Fernandez, an anti-Castro Cuban associated with several of the Watergate burglars.

Despite this evidence, Arnow refused to allow a hearing on government interference in the case. He did postpone the date of the trial—to be held in Gainesville, Fla.—until July 31.

MISSISSIPPI OFFICIALS CHARGED WITH CONSPIRACY: The president of the Republic of New Africa (RNA), Imari Abubakari Obadele, has filed conspiracy charges against city and state officials in Jackson, Miss.

His motion, submitted in federal court June 20, states, "It was the objective of the conspirators to use . . . both lawful and unlawful means" to stop the operations of the RNA, and deprive the defendant, Obadele, of his constitutional rights. Among the conspirators listed are the mayor and police chief of Jackson and the state attorney general.

The motion describes the official campaign of harassment and intimidation of the RNA throughout 1971. The campaign culminated in an armed attack by police and FBI agents on an RNA residence in the early hours of Aug. 18.

One cop was killed and 11 RNA people were subsequently indicted on charges ranging from murder to treason against the state of Mississippi.

Several of the RNA 11 have already been tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. Obadele, who is out on bond, is slated for trial soon. His motion calls for dropping all charges against the RNA 11.

PROBE DEMANDED IN COPS' KILLING OF CHICANOS: A state and federal probe of police killings of Chicanos in Riverside, Calif., was demanded at a Los Angeles Press Club news conference June 22.

The demand was touched off by the police killing of Mario Romero, 23, who was gunned down by two cops while trying to escape arrest. Romero was barefoot, had a broken arm in a cast, and was headed straight toward a high fence at a freeway ramp when police killed him. A coroner's inquest exonerated the cops as a matter of routine since such a killing is legal under the "fleeing felon" statute.

Speaking for the Riverside Citizens Committee for Justice, Susano Duarte said demands for revision of the statute had been filed with the California attorney general and the U.S. Justice Department. The committee cited seven cases in the past six years in which Chicanos have died at the hands of Riverside police or while in their custody.

The Citizens Committee for Justice may be contacted by writing to Box 1407, Crestline, Calif. 92395. Telephone: Ernesto Calles at (714) 877-1123. —MIRTA VIDAL

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Final '72 returns give SWP 96,176 votes

According to newly obtained official vote returns, the Socialist Workers Party finished ahead of all the other radical parties in the 1972 presidential elections. The SWP finished fourth, behind the Democrats and Republicans and the right-wing American Independent Party. The SWP candidates were Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president.

The returns have been compiled by the clerk of the U. S. House of Representatives and published by the U. S. Government Printing Office. This tally credits the SWP presidential ticket with a total of 96,176 votes from 23 states. The People's Party, which nominated Dr. Benjamin Spock for president, is given a total of 77,080 votes. (Spock's votes are listed under the names of different state parties that united in the People's Party to back his candidacy.)

The Socialist Labor Party is listed as having received 53,617 votes. The Communist Party is credited with 25,222, the smallest vote of the left parties.

The total for the SWP is larger than that compiled by the SWP 1972 campaign committee from state returns and published in the January 12, 1973 *Militant*. That earlier report gave the SWP only 68,226 votes, and said that the SWP had obtained fewer votes than Dr. Spock.

The more up-to-date tally credits the SWP with 30,945 votes from Arizona that the Arizona secretary of state had tried to prevent from being counted. The *Militant* previously listed only 1,915 votes from Arizona. On the other hand, 574 write-in votes from California and 506 votes from Wisconsin, where the SWP was on the ballot, are not included in the latest report. Both of these totals had been included in *The Militant's* earlier vote summary.

Although the SWP had been advised by many states that write-in votes would be counted, and a great many write-in votes were cast, not a single write-in vote was recorded for the SWP candidates in this official report.

MOLLY HICKS GIVEN PROBATION: On June 28, Wilmington, N. C., Judge Robert Rouse ordered Molly Hicks placed on a maximum of two years' probation. Hicks had been convicted the week before of being an "accessory after the fact of involuntary manslaughter."

Reverend Ben Chavis, a codefendant, was acquitted and charges against Leatrice Hicks, Molly's daughter, were dropped when the jury could not reach a verdict. All three defendants were Black.

The charges stemmed from a shooting incident that occurred in the wake of a Black uprising against white racist violence in 1971.

BERRIGAN, McALISTER WIN VICTORY: Six of seven convictions against Father Philip Berrigan and Elizabeth McAlister were reversed by a federal court of appeals June 27.

Berrigan and McAlister had been convicted on charges of secretly exchanging letters about antiwar activities while Berrigan was serving a sentence. The court reversed six of the convictions on the grounds that the letters were being delivered by an informer acting on orders from the warden himself. One count against Berrigan was upheld on grounds that he tried to smuggle a letter the warden really knew nothing about.

Berrigan is now on parole after serving 19 months in prison for antiwar activities. If the convictions had not been reversed, he would have faced four concurrent two-year terms. McAlister could have received a one-year term.

JUDGE IGNORES WATERGATE LINKS IN VIETNAM VETS CASE: "The government is not on trial in this case," declared U. S. District Court Judge Winston Arnow

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Mass rally in Paris protests ban on Ligue

By CAROLINE LUND

PARIS, July 5—A mass meeting in defense of civil liberties called by the Comité de Defense des Libertés last night at the Cirque d'Hiver for 6:30 p.m. overflowed into the streets by 6:45 p.m. The conservative Paris daily *Le Figaro* reported the crowd at around 11,000. *L'Humanité*, newspaper of the Communist Party, described it as 15,000.

The two mass political parties of the left, the Communist Party and Socialist Party, and the massive trade union federations participated in the rally. Originally called in defense of civil liberties in general, following the government crackdown on the Ligue Communiste it became more and more focused as a protest against the dis-

A statement by the Socialist Workers Party on the developments in France appears on page 10.

solution of the Ligue.

This is the first time in recent years that the Communist Party has openly defended the democratic rights of the Ligue Communiste, or of any of the groups to the left of the French Stalinists.

Outside the meeting hall thousands were packed into a square to hear the speakers through loudspeakers. Handwritten signs and banners demanded an end to the dissolution of the Ligue and called for the release of Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset.

Collection cans for the defense effort were circulated as well as copies of an official supplement to *Politique-Hebdo* (published by former members of the CP) and *Liberation* (published by Jean-Paul Sartre.)

These papers had opened their pages for a declaration and appeal by Alain Krivine and for other articles on the campaign in defense of the rights of the Ligue. The supplement was sold by members of many of the left organizations who oppose the ban on the Ligue.

A former member of the Ligue Communiste from Nanterre University described to me how activists from many of the far-left organizations at the University had offered to raise money and sell bundles of the latest issue of *Rouge*. A bundle of 200 of last week's *Rouge* was sold out in a day at Nanterre. People paid up to ten times the cost of the paper, depositing the money in an unattended can on a table.

A former member of the Ligue from Rouen told me about another incident that shows the breadth of the support for the rights of the Ligue. At a Shell Oil plant in Rouen, two payroll guards came into the plant armed with machine guns to protect the payroll. The workers mistakenly thought the guards were coming for two former members of the Ligue working in the plant, and they surrounded the armed guards and wouldn't let them pass.

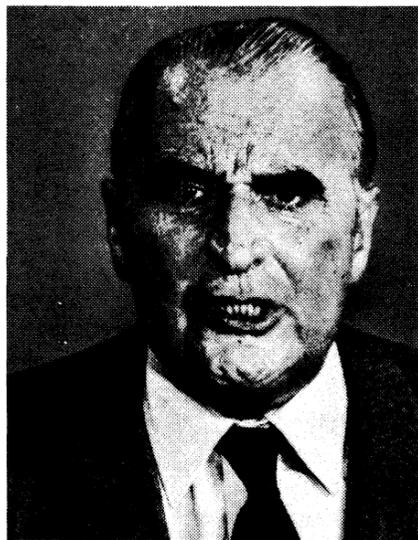
The breadth of the defense came as a surprise to the government, which had no doubt expected a far smaller reaction from the mass working-class organizations. Speakers at last night's rally represented major components from the Union of the Left as well as civil liberties organizations. Daniel Mayer, president of the Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (League for the Rights of Man) opened and chaired the rally. He said the purpose of the meeting was "to make the most urgent and most weighty protest against the dissolution of the Ligue."

Albert Detrae, leader of the CFDT

(Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the second largest union federation in France, declared that "we are face to face with the result of a provocation by the government, a provocation that represents a grave danger to labor." Detrae was referring to the widely held opinion that the government deliberately sent lightly armed police to the June 21 demonstration in an effort to provoke a reaction from the antifascist demonstrators. The government wanted to use the incident to crack down on the Ligue Communiste, and then other forces on the left.

France's largest labor federation, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), was represented by René Buhl. Buhl described the "large scale anti-union offensive shown by an escalation of deliberate repression. We don't think that you can substitute repression for political debate. The Ligue Communiste has the right to exist."

Despite the breadth of the meeting there was one major drawback. Former members of the Ligue were refused by the organizers the right to speak or even have a message read to the meeting. Throughout the speeches there were loud chants of "Let the Ligue speak." But the CP and SP refused the request by former members of the Ligue and by the United Socialist Party (Parti Socialiste Unifié—PSU) to allow even a short speech or a message. Every time supporters would chant for the Ligue to speak, the Stalinist marshals would answer back by starting a chant of



POMPIDOU: facing rising opposition to repression of French revolutionists.

"Popular Unity," the slogan of the Union of the Left. The opposing chants were of about equal volume.

In answer to the demand to hear from the Ligue, Daniel Mayer excused the refusal by declaring that "unity is indivisible and freeing Krivine is the only way to give the Ligue the platform." This was met with chants of "Why is the Ligue banned here, too?" Clearly, had a former member of the Ligue been allowed to speak it would have been a severe blow to the government.

Even though feelings ran high for the Ligue's right to speak, their supporters carefully avoided any disruptions by circulating around the crowd with bullhorns and pointing out that disruption of the rally would be a victory for the government.

The rally then heard representatives of the FEN (National Education Federation), and the PSU. Jacques Duclos, a leader of the French Communist Party, spoke and was greeted with even louder counterposed chants of



The outlawing of the Ligue Communiste reflects government fear of growing influence of Trotskyists among radicalizing forces in France.

"Popular Unity" and "Let the Ligue speak." Duclos said, "I raise a vigorous protest against the arrest of A. Krivine and against the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste, with whom everyone knows we disagree on the politics and actions they put forward."

Claude Estier of the Socialist Party followed Duclos. The main thrust of every speech was that this rally was unprecedented in France and represented a victory for the movement to rescind the dissolution of the Ligue.

In a political analysis, *Le Monde* commented today on the fears of the organizers of the meeting that it would turn into a rally for the Ligue Communiste: "That's why the organizers took care to measure out carefully the degree of their response [to the government ban]. *Le Monde* pointed out that the top leaders of the CP and SP and the top officials of the major trade-union federations were not present.

Immediately following the end of the meeting, Henri Weber, editor of *Rouge*, addressed the crowd outside through a portable sound system. Weber described the real reason for the dissolution of the Ligue Communiste: "The decisive role of activists of the Ligue, their anti-imperialist activity and support of the Indochinese revolution, their fight against conscription and the Debré law, were the reasons for the government's ban. However, the dissolution of the Ligue isn't the end of revolutionary ideas."

Former leaders of the Ligue emphasized to me that the attack on the Ligue comes in the context of the general rise of the radicalization in

France. The Ligue, among others to the left of the CP, has been playing an increasingly important role in the radicalization, a fact clearly shown in the recent high school student struggles against the Debré law.

In addition to the student upsurge around the Debré law, the past six months have seen an increase in the

Free Krivine and Rousset!

A call for continuing the fight against the ban on the Ligue Communiste was printed in the July 3 issue of *Lutte Ouvrière* at the request of many political activists and cultural figures. The statement calls for the "establishment of a national committee against the dissolution of the Ligue." It includes as its platform the following: 1) the repeal of the decree that dissolved the Ligue; 2) rescinding all indictments against leaders and activists of the Ligue; and 3) the immediate release of all political prisoners, notably Alain Krivine and Pierre Rousset.

number of strikes, some of which have outflanked the bureaucratic trade-union leadership by democratically electing strike committees and holding general assemblies of the workers.

The immigrant workers have also been increasingly active in pushing forward militant struggles. The regime fears that organizations such as the Ligue will increasingly win the leadership of the radicalizing elements of the working class.

International protests

NEW YORK, July 4—The French government's ban on the Ligue Communiste has provoked an international movement of solidarity with the Ligue against the government decree. Initial protest demonstrations have already occurred at French government offices in Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, England, Canada, and Japan.

In the United States, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist

Workers Party have taken the initiative in contacting other radical groups, trade unionists, civil libertarians, and others to organize broad opposition to the attempt to outlaw the Ligue Communiste.

Demonstrations in cities from coast to coast will be held during the next few days. Next week's *Militant* will carry complete coverage of the international solidarity effort and will report on plans for further action.

Broad protest against gov't repression

Pompidou outlaws French Trotskyists

From Intercontinental Press
By JON ROTHSCILD

On June 28 the French Council of Ministers, acting on the recommendation of the notorious profascist Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin, outlawed the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

On the same day, the regime ordered the state security court to issue warrants for the arrest of known leaders of the Ligue. In the early morning hours of June 29 sixty-five apartments in and around Paris were raided by cops who broke down doors and ransacked houses looking for Ligue leaders. The dragnet managed to snare about a dozen persons, several of them members of the Ligue's Central Committee.

Among those seized was Alain Krivine, the Ligue's general secretary. He was taken into custody in the evening of June 29 and has been charged under the "antiwrecker" law with responsibility for violent incidents that occurred June 21 during a clash between antifascist demonstrators and police who were protecting a fascist meeting at the Mutualité in Paris. (Under the antiwrecker law, one can be charged with responsibility for violence that takes place in one's absence.)

Also in prison is Pierre Rousset, a member of the Ligue Communiste

veau [New Order]. The ban is window dressing. There is no reason to believe that the special relationship *Ordre Nouveau* has maintained with the cops will alter.

In fact, that special relationship was itself at the root of the June 21 events.

Ordre Nouveau

For some time *Ordre Nouveau* had been trying to mobilize the French population against "wildcat [illegal] immigration." Using typically racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric, these fascists had succeeded on several occasions in provoking assaults on immigrant workers. As part of this campaign, they scheduled a "mass" meeting for June 21, to be held in the Mutualité in Paris.

All the leftist and antiracist groups in France demanded that the regime enforce its own laws forbidding racist agitation and ban the *Ordre Nouveau* meeting. The government refused.

In light of government inaction, the Ligue Communiste and a number of other far-left organizations (la Cause du Peuple [People's Cause], Révolution, the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist Alliance], and five other groups) called for a demonstration to protest the fascist meeting. Other organizations, including the Socialist party, the Communist party, and the major trade-union federations—all of which had

armed, many of the counterdemonstrators wore helmets and carried sticks for defending themselves in confronting the fascists.

The Gaullist regime had mobilized more than 2,000 police to defend the racist meeting. The cops, who earlier in the day had functioned as guards, guaranteeing the fascists the opportunity to arm themselves, formed up in the evening in defense lines to protect the outnumbered fascists. At about 8:00 p.m. some clashes broke out between the counterdemonstrators and the police. As police attacks on the marchers escalated in intensity, the demonstrators fought back. Before long, fighting spread to various other sections of the Latin Quarter.

In some places barricades were built. The fighting lasted for more than four hours, during which time many incidents occurred that were clearly not under the control of the organizers of the demonstration. In the course of the battle several police were badly injured. Police sources reported June 21 that seventy-three police had been hurt, sixteen of them requiring hospitalization; nine police were seriously burned by molotov cocktails, two of whom reportedly were critically injured.

Cops raid headquarters

The first step in that repression occurred the morning after the demonstration. At about 6:00 a.m. June 22 some 700 cops appeared in front of the building that houses the Ligue headquarters. The building was surrounded and police announced through speakers that they intended to enter the headquarters.

At that time there were twenty-five members of the Ligue present. This amounted to the normal defense guard left at the building each night and a few extra marshalls who had come to protect the headquarters from possible fascist attacks. One of those present was Pierre Rousset, the only Central Committee member on the scene.

The Ligue members decided to let the cops in. When the police entered, they announced that they had come to search the place. They had no warrant of any kind. When Rousset demanded his right—recognized under French law—to accompany the police on the search, he was refused. The twenty-five Ligue members were held in a room while the cops ransacked the headquarters, destroying literature, throwing typewriters on the floor, and so on.

The police later announced that they had found "arms." These, as it turned out, consisted of bars and sticks, and some molotov cocktails. In addition,

the police claim to have found two hunting rifles and a hand grenade.

On June 22, while the police were occupying the Ligue headquarters, various organizations began to express their views on the previous night's events. The PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party) issued a communiqué expressing its "indignation at the behavior of the forces of order toward the demonstrators who were attempting to oppose the holding of the racist meeting of the *Ordre Nouveau* neo-Nazis.

"Not content simply to tolerate a meeting whose declared aim was to incite racial hatred, the French government makes its police forces the accomplice of the fascist gangsters."

The PSU turned its offices over to Alain Krivine to hold a press conference at which he told reporters about the police occupation of the Ligue's headquarters.

Also present at the press conference in the PSU headquarters was Michel Rolant, a member of the national bureau of the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the country's second largest trade-union federation). "The CFDT," Rolant was quoted as saying, "does not believe in the politics of molotov cocktails. But the holding of a racist meeting against the immigrant workers is in itself a provocation. The powers that be must bear the responsibility for the situation since they authorized such a meeting."

Most significant was the initial response of the Communist party. The June 22 issue of the CP's daily *l'Humanité* laid the main blame for the violence of June 21 on the government: "... The regime bears the main responsibility in this business. It well knows that *Ordre Nouveau* is a fascist organization that includes helmeted and armed shock troops. The *Ordre Nouveau* meeting had an open xenophobic, racist character and was therefore against the law. While it was aimed essentially at the immigrant workers, it also gave vent to anti-Semitic manifestations. Such a meeting should have been banned, as the left organizations asked.

"By authorizing the meeting and by granting *Ordre Nouveau* police protection, the government indulged in a deliberate provocation."

By the weekend after the June 21 demonstration, it was becoming clear that the regime was preparing a big repressive move. At a press conference held June 24, *Ordre Nouveau* head Alain Robert demanded that the government outlaw the Ligue Communiste



Headquarters of Ligue Communiste after the police 'search' on the morning of June 22. Ligue members present were held while cops ransacked offices.

Central Committee. His crime was to have been present in the Ligue's headquarters on June 22 when it was ransacked by police.

But the regime's repression has not proceeded unopposed—far from it. A broad spectrum of political organizations have declared themselves opposed to the ban and in solidarity with the Ligue. Most important, the Socialist party and the Communist party have issued statements in support of the Ligue's democratic rights and have acted on those statements.

It was undoubtedly this initial support that induced the regime on June 30 to release all the Ligue members arrested in the June 29 dragnet with the exception of Krivine.

In an attempt to make the banning of the Ligue appear just and reasonable, the regime simultaneously outlawed the neofascist group *Ordre Nou-*

veau [New Order]. The ban is window dressing. There is no reason to believe that the special relationship *Ordre Nouveau* has maintained with the cops will alter.

Ordre Nouveau's usual practice when holding public assemblies has been to turn the meeting hall into an armed camp. This time was no different. In the morning and early afternoon of June 21, the fascists began delivering weapons to the Mutualité. Truckloads of people drove up and unloaded iron bars, sticks, and molotov cocktails.

The police, who were present, merely observed, functioning in effect as a defense guard enabling the *Ordre Nouveau* goons to turn the Mutualité into a fortress.

The antifascist counterdemonstration was estimated as being as high as 4,000 strong. Anticipating that the *Ordre Nouveau* goons would be

Divisions among police

"Some police assert that they were victims of manipulation" read a headline on the first page of the June 30 *Le Monde*. The article began: "Some days after the incidents that followed the June 21 Mutualité meeting of the far-right movement *Ordre Nouveau*, in the course of which seventy-one members of the forces of order were injured, various organizations of Paris police assert that they are certain that the turn of events during the confrontations that night did not occur just by accident: there had been, they

believe, too many incoherent orders, false reports, and carelessness in interpretation and utilization of intelligence." Feelings on the part of the police that they had been set up by their leaders to sustain heavy injuries broke dramatically onto the front pages of French newspapers when Marcellin went to visit one of the cops who was seriously burned in the June 21 events. "You see before you, Mr. Minister," the injured policeman said, "a victim of your policy."



Paris, June 21. Street fighting between cops and demonstrators protesting racist meeting of neo-fascist *Ordre Nouveau*. French government used events as pretext for arresting leaders of *Ligue Communiste* and outlawing the organization.

and arrest Alain Krivine under the antiwrecker law.

On June 26 Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin issued a virulent denunciation of the antifascist demonstrators in which he made demagogic use of some of the uncontrolled incidents that had occurred on June 21.

Ban comes down

On June 27, Prime Minister Pierre Messmer announced that on the following day the Council of Ministers would hear a report from Marcellin, who had recommended that the *Ligue* be banned (and, so that the government might maintain a "balanced" image, the *Ordre Nouveau* as well). "Under democracy," said the Gaullist minister, "the rule is freedom of thought, of words, and of writings. But freedom stops at the limits set by the law, and as for acts, these must stop if they are in contradiction with the law. It is not the words, but the acts of *Ordre Nouveau* and the *Ligue Communiste* that concern us."

Also on June 27, Marcellin issued a decree banning all activities and meetings of the *Ligue*, and of the *Ordre Nouveau*.

The ban was declared on June 28. The "legal" basis for it is a 1936 law, passed under the popular-front government of the time, giving the regime the right to dissolve "combat groups and private militia." The law also gives the regime power to dissolve groups or associations that "provoke armed demonstrations in the streets" or that form armed groups or militia that attack "the republican form of government."

Krivine responded to the ban immediately. Part of his reply was reported in the June 30 *Le Monde*:

"This ministry of police-spies has banned the *Ligue Communiste*. This measure sets a precedent that threatens the entire workers movement.

"Behind the pretext used—the antifascist demonstrations of June 21—the regime wants to make the *Ligue* pay for its growing role in the workers struggles, in the mobilizations of youth, in antimilitarist actions. For revolutionists, this piece of brutality from the regime is a form of homage. This act will not fail to anger millions of workers and democrats. It will add to the discredit of the caretaker regime.

"We launch a solemn appeal to all organizations of the workers movement, to all democrats who will not stand for seeing communists and aspiring Nazis treated the same: Organize in the field the necessary response, and demand, through a mass campaign, the repeal of this measure!

"This vicious decree will perhaps fill up a few prison cells. But it will not prevent Trotskyist militants and their sympathizers—whom neither Nazi repression nor Stalinist repression have been able to break or discourage—from continuing to think and to act . . . This is only the beginning; the fight goes on."

Reaction to the ban on the *Ligue* supported Krivine's estimate that the measure would arouse widespread indignation. All the far-left organizations declared their support for the *Ligue*. Civil liberties groups such as the League for the Rights of Man came out in support of the *Ligue's* right to exist.

But most significant were the reactions of the Socialist party and the Communist party.

CP joins defense

The Political Bureau of the Communist party held a special session to discuss the ban on the *Ligue*. The June 28 issue of *l'Humanité* published a statement adopted by the Political Bureau after its discussions. The Communist party, the statement said, "has always denounced the complicity the government has shown toward *Ordre Nouveau*."

"The French Communist party protests against the dissolution ordered against the *Ligue Communiste*. Our party's opinion of the activities of the ultraleftist groups is well known. On the political level, it fights their adventurist acts, which the regime uses as an excuse to attack civil liberties and to try to deal blows to the workers and democratic forces and their organizations.

"The measure against the *Ligue Communiste* is part of the schemes of the regime, which is aiming at intensifying the authoritarian character



MITERRAND: An important gesture of solidarity with *Ligue Communiste*.

of its policies and is casting about seeking a way out of its difficulties.

"The dissolution of this leftist group, which by a false symmetry the government is seeking to justify with the banning of *Ordre Nouveau*, sets a grave precedent for democratic rights and freedoms in our country.

"Profoundly wedded to freedom and democracy, the French Communist party believes that after the powerful demonstrations of June 20 [against repression], the fight for the defense and extension of freedoms must continue to develop."

In an article published in the June 30 issue of *Le Monde*, Thierry Pfister called attention to the novelty of the CP's support for the *Ligue*: "It will be recalled that a few years ago the Communist leaders spoke of 'the leftist and rightist fascists,' making no distinction. Now, not only do they find a difference in character between the far right and the far left, they also come to the defense of the *Ligue*, even while taking exception to the *Ligue's* methods and analysis. The Political Bureau of the CP moved toward this position in a series of articles that have been published in *l'Humanité* during the past few days—articles aimed at proving that the police in fact had set a trap for the Trotskyists on June 21. The *Mouvement de la Jeunesse Communiste* [Movement of Communist Youth], whose language is not marked by the same prudence as the Political Bureau's, did not even hesitate to speak of 'the [regime's] deliberate organization of the June 21 provocation.'"

The Socialist party's reaction to the ban was equally significant. On June 29, after the dragnet against the *Ligue* leadership had been set in motion, at a time when there was a warrant out for the arrest of Alain Krivine, the Socialist party opened its headquarters to him for a news conference.

In addition to a significant section of the Paris press, François Mitterrand, the head of the SP, attended the press conference. Police, who were waiting at the door, declined to enter and arrest Krivine in the SP headquarters.

When the news conference ended, Mitterrand left the headquarters along with Krivine and the two, followed by cops, walked away together. Again, the police declined to take Krivine into custody, apparently fearing that they might have to arrest Mitterrand as well.

It is obvious that Mitterrand's gesture of solidarity could not have indefinitely postponed Krivine's arrest. But it is equally obvious that the symbolic effect of the action was not lost on the *Pompidou* gang.

...Paris

Continued from first page

illegal acts.

Krivine, who faces a maximum sentence of five years in jail, was charged in connection with the injuries to police that occurred in the course of an antifascist demonstration June 21. However, he was not even present in Paris the day or the night of the demonstration.

Krivine is being held in "preventive detention" and is being interrogated by the authorities. If he is not freed provisionally before July 14, he will be kept in jail until at least mid-September (all judges in France take off two months for the *vacances judiciaires* [judicial vacations], during which all important court proceedings come to a halt).

Although the government also banned the fascist group *Ordre Nouveau* (New Order) when it banned the *Ligue*, it has taken no repressive actions whatsoever against the fascist organization. There have been no searches of their headquarters or their members' homes and no arrests. In fact, *Ordre Nouveau* continues to operate under the cover of the *Front Nationale*, a coalition of right-wing parties.

It is obvious that the French government carefully chose the vacation period of July and August to launch this attack on the *Ligue Communiste*. During these months the universities are closed and much of the political and social life of Paris shuts down.

The major test of how far the government plans to go in its attack on the *Ligue* will come July 7, when the new issue of *Rouge* comes out. *Rouge*, formerly the newspaper of the *Ligue*, was not banned when the organization was. On July 7, hundreds of opponents of the ban on the *Ligue* will be out on the streets of Paris asserting their right to sell the paper.

A publishing house, *Société Internationales d'Éditions*, headed by Pierre Frank, a long-time leader of the French Trotskyist movement, continues to operate. The headquarters of the *Ligue Communiste* was in the building of the *Société Internationales d'Éditions*. Former members of the *Ligue* have not challenged the ban by attempting to continue to use the name *Ligue Communiste*.

Opponents of the ban have formed a national Committee for Repeal of the Decree of Dissolution of the *Ligue*, which will spearhead the fight to free Krivine and Rousset and restore to the *Ligue* its right to exist. The committee has appealed for statements of support and solidarity actions throughout the world. Such expressions of protest can have a significant effect in embarrassing the French government and placing pressure on it to revoke the ban.

'What happened was the fault of the government'

Krivine explains position of the Ligue

From Intercontinental Press

[The following is a resumé of the statements made by Alain Krivine, general secretary of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, French section of the Fourth International) at a press conference June 25 (before the banning of the Ligue) in the sacked offices of his organization. Although all the Paris papers were represented, only drastically abridged versions of Krivine's remarks were published.]

1. To begin with, let me make one thing clear: We are not for "urban guerrilla warfare" or rural guerrilla warfare, or anything of the sort. We do not think we can take power by hitting the police one by one with molotov cocktails. The revolution will not be made by 3,000; 5,000; or 10,000; or even 100,000 demonstrators.

We are not putschists. Only mass action can put an end to the fascist gangs.

2. But you cannot avoid your responsibilities. As long as it is not too late, fascism can be crushed in the egg. We are young but we have better memories than the older people. We do not want to see a recurrence of what happened a few decades ago. When fascism raises its head, there is always the same reaction:

"They are no threat, there will always be time to act, etc."

And then one fine day it is too late.

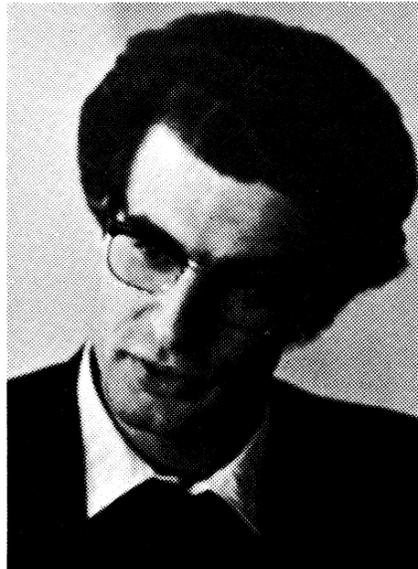
No freedom of speech for racists and anti-Semites! And since all the traditional workers and democratic organizations have failed to assume their responsibilities, the revolutionists have had to do it.

3. What happened was the fault of the government. It was the government that authorized and protected the Nazi rally. It deliberately stationed its police [between the demonstrators and the Ordre Nouveau (ON) meeting], making them at once targets and protectors of the Nazis.

4. ON is a little Nazi grouplet, but it is drawing strength from the development of fascist tendencies, among

other places in the state apparatus and the police. Capital has both its legal armed gangs (the police and the army) and its illegal ones (which it turns to when the former are not enough). The SAC, CDR, CFT, and ON have the job of attacking and weakening the workers and revolutionary organizations.

In the face of armed attacks, there is no effective "democratic" answer; you have to organize for self-defense, even



Militant/Flax Hermes

Alain Krivine, general secretary of the Ligue Communiste.

if you can't win without the participation of the mobilized masses.

5. Racist and anti-Semitic campaigns are developing on a large scale and in a hysterical atmosphere. One example is Grasse, where there was a full-fledged pogrom against the immigrant workers.

There is the example of Nice, where the ON wanted to prevent any expansion of the revolutionary groups.

In the suburbs of Paris, Arab cafes have been attacked in recent days. Communist party headquarters have been attacked. Anti-Semitic articles

have appeared in *Minute* or other far-right publications such as *Ordre Nouveau*. All this demands a firm response today.

6. The struggle must be broadened. We are not carrying on a private feud with ON, neither in Marseilles nor in St. Etienne. We have set an example.

It is the duty of the workers organizations to continue the counter-attack by organizing united action on a nonexclusionist basis of all antifascists. To this end, we make a solemn appeal to all the worker and democratic organizations.

7. Finally, we direct ourselves to Gérard Monatte, the leader of the police union. The responsibility of the government in the June 21 events must be clearly brought out. As for the policemen injured in the police medical cars (in the Place de la Bastille and the Boulevard de l'Hôpital), the picture in *Libération* showing our comrades going to the aid of the policeman and the injured person disproves the claim in *France Soir* that they were in a sadistic fury.

8. As regards the sacking of our headquarters, four questions:

● Who made the decision for this operation? Why was the sentence in one edition of *Le Monde* that said that the local police authorities knew nothing about the search dropped in the following edition?

● Was there a warrant? No. Did they do it on the principle of "hot pursuit"? Yes. But why, then, was the search carried out six and a half hours after the end of all the demonstrations?

● The search was carried out without any witnesses. Pierre Rousset asked to be present during the search. By way of an answer, they locked him in the guard room and took away his trousers.

● Is taking hostages part of the law? Twenty-five comrades were arrested and fourteen charged just because they were in the headquarters.

But they broke everything and even

trampled on the books. It was like something out of "Fahrenheit 451" [a film that describes a police state where all books are burned].

9. And what about the weapons? It is not our policy to stock them. The idea of guerrilla warfare today is absurd. But there was a reason—a simple one. These weapons were brought to us ten days ago by an unknown person. Provocation or irresponsibility? The persons who took these weapons were afraid they might fall victim to provocation if they tried to get rid of them immediately. They could have been seized at the door of the headquarters. They decided to wait to remove them.

It was irresponsible that this was never done. But the two rifles (one dating back to the first world war!) were not hidden. Far from it; they were in an accessible wall cupboard. We treated this problem as a minor one.

At some time or another all organizations (the SP, the CP, or us) are confronted with such situations. Virtually no one on the Political Bureau knew anything about it.

We call for an arms expert to examine these weapons (the rifles may not even work or the grenade that was brought in with them, about which we know nothing).

As for molotov cocktails, it is true that we had a few. They were to defend the headquarters, which was attacked only a month ago by Ordre Nouveau with molotov cocktails. The rest of the defensive material was nothing but water bottles and steel bars. Every organization has this sort of thing around its headquarters.

10. Pierre Rousset has not participated in any demonstration (not even in selling *Rouge*, which can also get you arrested) since he got his eight-month suspended sentence. This is why he stayed at the headquarters that evening. His arrest looks like taking a hostage. We demand his immediate release. We will wage a major campaign to win it.

The Ligue—in forefront of all major struggles

From Intercontinental Press

The Ligue Communiste (Communist League), French section of the Fourth International, was founded in April 1969. It arose out of a fusion of militants active in the Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI—Internationalist Communist party), formerly the French section of the Fourth International, the Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire (JCR—Revolutionary Communist Youth), and unaffiliated young militants who had been through the revolutionary upsurge of May-June 1968. The composition of the Ligue represents a fusion of the long-standing cadres of French Trotskyism with the most advanced elements of the radicalization of the 1960s.

The JCR had been founded in 1966 by a group of students who were expelled from the Union of Communist Students for refusing to follow the Communist party in supporting François Mitterrand in the presidential elections that year. JCR militants played a major role in the May 1968 events, helping to spark and organize the student protests that triggered the general strike of 10 million French

workers.

"This formation [the Ligue]," commented the June 29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "has as its objective working for the construction of a revolutionary party of the Leninist type." The Ligue became nationally known soon after its formation when it ran Alain Krivine, one of the organization's main leaders, for president in



Militant/Flax Hermes

France, May-June 1968. French Trotskyists played major role in leading student protests that led to general strike of 10 million workers.

the 1969 elections. Running an intense revolutionary campaign, Krivine got nearly 200,000 votes.

Since that time, the Ligue has been in the forefront of all major struggles in France—from the high-school and university mobilizations to the fight against repression. This past spring it was instrumental in organizing the massive struggle against the Debré

law, a government measure aimed at intensifying the militarization of youth.

Concurrently, the Ligue has been working to build itself a base within the working class. Its members have been involved in major strike battles, including the big auto strike in Renault and Peugeot plants last spring.

The Ligue has also been active in the struggle against the reactionary abortion law in France and has played a leading role in founding the Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception (Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception).

In the legislative elections last spring, the Ligue and Lutte Ouvrière, another far-left group, agreed to support each other's candidates. Between them, the Ligue and LO ran 259 candidates and drew about 300,000 votes.

The Ligue has been especially active in the struggle against the fascist groups, Ordre Nouveau in the first place, and has frequently taken the lead in organizing united actions in defense of the far left and the mass movement.

Growers under pressure from strike, boycott

United Farm Workers Union resisting stepped-up attacks by Teamster goons

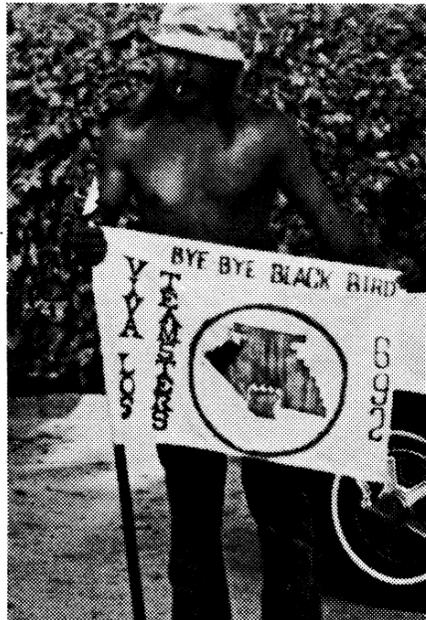
By MIGUEL PENDAS

COACHELLA, Calif., July 2—The effectiveness of the strike and boycott by the United Farm Workers Union was made clear here when wholesale grape prices fell to a new low. And as the difficulties of the growers increase, violence against strikers by Teamster goons continues.

On the night of June 27, shots were fired into the home of UFW leader Ray Huerta. Union President César Chávez was in the house at the time. Police found five empty .45-caliber shells nearby.

In addition to the physical assaults, the Teamster goons direct vicious racist and sexist insults at strikers. Sometimes as many as 50 to 75 goons will gather at a single ranch. At the Peters Ranch I saw an especially large group of these gorillas, most of them from Teamster Local 692 in Los Angeles. They carried a large American flag and a couple of smaller flags saying, "Bye, bye, blackbird," referring to the UFW symbol, the black Aztec eagle. The Teamster flags depict the eagle with a bleeding, broken wing.

I heard one Teamster goon say the



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Teamster thug holds anti-UFW flag

Farm Workers were on strike because they were "too lazy to work," and that they were "living off welfare" by collecting strike benefits.

At the Moreno ranch, I heard one of the goons say over a loudspeaker, "If you like Mexican unions so much, why don't you go back to Mexico."

As part of the "sweetheart" deal signed with grape growers, the Teamster bureaucrats promised there would be plenty of workers and that the strike would be smashed.

Now it is becoming clear that the strike is having a significant impact. This is why the Teamster officials have stepped up physical attacks on UFW members.

There have been many incidents of individual UFW members being attacked both on the picket lines and in cowardly ambushes. Some farm workers have had their car windows smashed.

However, the Teamsters' outrageous behavior has brought an unfavorable public response. An article in an area paper, the Riverside *Daily Enterprise*, pinned the blame for the violence directly on top officials of the Western Conference of Teamsters, including Ralph Cotner and his superior, William Grami.

The *Enterprise* interviewed a former Teamster goon who was recently fired. He was one of the few Chicanos used as goons by the Teamsters.

Just before the escalated violence began, this ex-goon testified, Cotner told his crews, "We're gonna, from now on, not wait for them to come to us. We're gonna go at them, and we're gonna run the *Chavistas* out of town."

In a June 28 editorial, the *Enterprise* tried to blame the violence on both Teamsters and Farm Workers, but was forced to conclude that "when assigning the preponderance of blame for the violence, the Teamsters and the private army it has brought in win hands down."

It has been the policy of the Riverside County sheriff's department to arrest people from both sides whenever an attack occurs. "They arrest the Teamsters for assault, then they arrest the Farm Workers for bleed-



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Farm worker pickets call on workers to join strike at Coachella grape field

ing," as one UFW staffer put it.

The UFW scored a legal victory when a superior court in Indio, Calif., issued an injunction prohibiting Teamster goons from coming any closer than 60 feet to Farm Worker picket lines.

Police have begun arresting Teamsters violating the injunction without necessarily arresting the victims as well.

In another significant development, the Food Employers Council, which represents most of the supermarket owners in Northern California, took out ads in newspapers throughout the state, calling on Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, AFL-CIO head George Meany, and Chávez to conduct elections by secret ballot among farm workers.

However, the ad reeks of hypocrisy. It attempts to portray the supermarket chains as innocent victims caught in the cross fire between two rival unions. But it has been clearly established by now that this is not the case. The farm workers have many times expressed their preference for the Farm

Workers Union, and the Teamsters have simply joined in a conspiracy with the growers to deny them their choice.

If the supermarket industry is serious about favoring elections, why don't they refuse to carry scab produce until the Teamsters and growers agree—as the UFW already has—to hold such elections?

Instead, the markets are palming off a crop of sour grapes on their customers. The low-quality crops with an insufficient sugar content have been caused by unseasonable preharvest weather and the inability of the growers to recruit sufficiently experienced strikebreakers.

The Farm Workers have commissioned independent laboratories to test grapes that have already reached the supermarkets. In case after case, they have found that the grapes do not meet federal standards for sugar content, and are thus being sold illegally. An injunction is being sought by the union to prevent these sour scab grapes from being shipped.

Continued on page 22

Farm workers strikes spread in California

By JOSE G. PEREZ

COACHELLA, Calif.—As the strike in this valley continues in full swing, the struggle between the United Farm Workers Union and the agricultural bosses of California has spread to other areas of the state.

Grape ranches in the Arvin-Lamont area near Bakersfield, Calif., are now becoming a strike focus. The Teamster bureaucrats have also signed phony agreements with the growers there. The UFW has more than 400 workers on strike against all the area's products, including grapes, and the struggle is heating up as the grape harvest time in this area approaches.

On June 28, a flatbed truck and several cars full of Teamster goons pulled up to a 200-member UFW picket line at a grape ranch 20 miles from Bakersfield. The goons attacked the picketers with clubs, lead pipes, chains, and other weapons. At least four picketers were hospitalized, including a 60-year-old man who suffered a possible skull fracture.

Thirty Teamster goons were arrested and booked on charges ranging from disturbing the peace to assault with a

deadly weapon. In addition, all the goons have been charged with conspiracy to commit a felony.

Gallo Wine Industries announced in Modesto on June 26 that it would not negotiate any contracts with the UFW. Gallo had signed an agreement with the UFW in 1967 but says it will now negotiate with the Teamsters because that union claims to represent the majority of the field workers. However, neither the Teamsters nor Gallo has agreed to the UFW's request for an immediate election.

Reverend John Bank, UFW information director, explained that the Teamster claims are untrue. He said that in mid-June the Gallo bosses sent Teamster "organizers" into the camps where the Gallo workers live, but that the workers refused to listen to the Teamster fakers and demanded that they leave the camps.

In the valley of Santa Maria, the Security Farms strawberry fields are being struck by the workers, and the berries are rotting on the ground. The growers themselves have admitted that production has fallen off 30 percent.

In an attempt to save the strawberry crop the Security Farms lettuce-thinning crews were pulled out of the lettuce fields and sent to pick strawberries. As a result, the Security Farms lettuce crop is also being hurt.

Another agricultural company in the area, Furukawa, offered Security Farms its workers to pick the strawberries. However, the workers refused and said they would go on strike rather than scab on the Security Farms workers.

In Salinas, Calif., 200 lettuce workers at Bruce Church walked out on June 7 in an attempt to oust the Teamsters union from the lettuce fields and make Bruce Church sign contracts with the UFW.

The strike occurred when Teamster union officials refused to defend 26 workers who had been fired. They were fired after they refused to cut lettuce in fields where, under prevailing piecework rates, they would have made only \$1 an hour.

When the walkout first occurred the Teamster bureaucrats told the workers they would make sure that the

26 workers were rehired. But shortly after, the bureaucrats changed their tune, saying that the strikers would have to go back to work even though the 26 were still out of their jobs. Why? They said the strike was "unauthorized." The workers then called in the UFW to help them organize the strike.

Dolores Huerta to speak in N.Y.

VIVA LA HUELGA! Hear Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers Union, speaking on "The UFW: A struggle for survival." Fri., July 27, 8 p.m., St. Gregory's Church, 144 W. 90th St. (between Amsterdam and Columbus Avenues). Donation \$1. Aisp. Brooklyn, Upper West Side, and Lower Manhattan Militant Forums. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

Nixon gets assist in S.E. Asia, Mideast

Brezhnev & Mao hel

Sihanouk: U.S.-Soviet deal on Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 1—Prince Norodom Sihanouk has accused the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union of having a "compromise plan" to settle the war in Cambodia against the rebel Khmer Rouge forces. Sihanouk charged that the Cambodian betrayal is part of a global U.S.-USSR agreement.

Sihanouk is the ousted Cambodian chief of state. This is the first public charge by a high-ranking official that the global détente between Washington and Moscow imperils revolutionary forces. Sihanouk's statement confirms the warnings about the true character of the Nixon-Brezhnev summit that have been advanced in the pages of *The Militant*.

In return for the opening of widened trade with the United States, Brezhnev promised to pressure revolutionary movements around the world to abandon anti-imperialist struggles. Foremost on the list of places where Moscow's behind-the-scenes bludgeon has been applied is Indochina.

The "nine-point settlement" allowing the Thieu dictatorship to continue to rule in Saigon was wrested from Hanoi under Moscow's (and Peking's) pressure.

Sihanouk made the statement confirming key parts of this analysis in a June 30 interview with *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm in Bucharest, Rumania. Sihanouk denied that he is engaged in negotiations with Washington to settle the Cambodian conflict.

[On Friday, June 29, President Nixon told the U.S. Congress that "extremely delicate" negotiations were going on to end the Cambodian war. With this assurance the Senate extended Nixon funding for 45 additional days of U.S. bombing of Cambodia. See story below.]

Kamm wrote, "As for the governments said to be active in trying to bring about negotiations on a political solution, the Prince said they were mainly those of the United States and the Soviet Union, aided by France."



Afrique-Asie

SIHANOUK: Denies he is engaged in negotiations with Washington.

(France has large investments in Cambodia dating back to the long period of French rule over all Indochina.)

"Prince Sihanouk," according to Kamm, "said the goal of the United States, the Soviet Union and France was to separate the Khmer Rouge movement from him and to enlist the support of China and North Vietnam for a political settlement. He said:

"The only contacts there are are between the Americans, China, Hanoi, Moscow and Paris. We are not involved. It is a tragicomic farce."

Kamm continued, "Pressure for a political settlement in Cambodia, [Sihanouk] said, originated from a plan by the United States and the Soviet Union for a 'condominium'



NIXON & BREZHNEV: Planning a deal in Cambodia.

over the world based on compromises everywhere trouble existed."

There can be little question that Sihanouk's remarks were prompted by the summit meetings between Nixon and Brezhnev that took place in the United States last week. At the conclusion of the summit, a statement was issued that could hardly have been encouraging to the rebel forces in Cambodia or to other revolutionary fighters elsewhere in Indochina. The Nixon-Brezhnev agreement declared:

"The two Sides expressed their deep satisfaction at the conclusion of the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam, and also at the results of the International Conference on Vietnam which approved and supported that Agreement. . . .

"They further stressed the need to bring an early end to the military conflict in Cambodia in order to bring peace to the entire area of Indochina. They also reaffirmed their stand that the political futures of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia should be left to the respective peoples to determine, free from outside interference."

Thus Brezhnev did not specifically declare support for the embattled Khmer Rouge forces in Cambodia. He did not even deign to criticize the 100-day U.S. bombing of Cambodia, which was taking place as he frolicked with Nixon and signed this statement. The statement also continued to give cover for the ruthless military dictatorship in Saigon.

And the statement was issued at a time when the U.S. puppet regime in Phompenh was all but isolated by the rebel forces and there was growing opposition in Congress to continued

U.S. bombing.

Sihanouk's statement is also the first indication from official sources that Hanoi and Peking are taking part in the secret pressure to settle the war without toppling the Lon Nol regime.

Sihanouk's remarks were dotted "with frequent references to worry over deliveries of ammunition donated by China and transported by North Vietnam and an undercurrent of concern that Cambodia might be swimming against the tide of accommodation in remaining the only Indochina nation technically at war," Kamm said.

Sihanouk told Kamm that the rebel forces had previously received support from Hanoi. "We must say how it really was. In 1970 and '71 we had the help of the Vietnamese. There were two things that were given us at my request. First, there was help to our young resistance. They helped us to structure our people's army.

"And second," he said, "there were naturally some North Vietnamese units that helped us to face the great storm of May 1970," referring to the American and South Vietnamese incursion into Cambodia. "But since the second half of 1972 we are autonomous," the Prince said.

"Prince Sihanouk contended that since the signing of the Paris agreement, North Vietnam had scrupulously obeyed the accord as far as Cambodia was concerned and China had respected her obligation as a participant in the conference that followed the cease-fire. 'Arms and ammunition deliveries have been finished since January, 1973,' he asserted."

Sihanouk told Kamm that he was making an "urgent request" through the Chinese and North Vietnamese embassies in Rumania for a "resumption of ammunition deliveries. He said he expected to receive an answer on his return to Peking next week," according to Kamm.

Bombs to Cambodia, Kissinger to Peking

By ED SMITH

JULY 4—The United States will continue its murderous bombing of Cambodia indefinitely under terms of a "compromise" reached June 29 between the White House and Congress.

Ostensibly the compromise limits U.S. bombing to 45 more days—45 days of the most grueling pounding of the Cambodian liberation forces in the history of the war. In fact, President Nixon announced upon signing the bill that he would ask Congress for new authority, if it is necessary to "win the peace," when the funding for bombs expires Aug. 15.

The new bill does not stop the U.S. from bombing elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Even as Nixon signed the bill, the level of U.S. air attacks on Cambodia was mounting rapidly.

The White House-Congress agreement to continue bombing Cambodia was reached amidst a flurry of developments:

- Continual victories of the Cambodian rebels have convinced U.S. military authorities that the situation is in grave jeopardy. The Pentagon is faced with a deepgoing civil war in Cambodia.

"The point is simple," a former CIA expert on Cambodia wrote in the June 29 *New York Times*. "The Cambodian Communists have outfought, outrecruited and outorganized the central Government. Helped at first by the Viet Cong but now on their own (except for munitions), they have gained the loyalty of more Cambodians than have the allies of the United States."

- The deteriorating military position of the Lon Nol regime has sped up movement in Washington to seek further aid from Moscow and Peking to "settle" the Cambodian rebellion. No



Cambodian refugees fleeing U.S. bombs. Congressional 'doves' okayed further bombing in 'compromise' with Nixon.

sooner had Nixon got Brezhnev's summit statement on Indochina, which totally ignores the U.S. bombing of Cambodia, than Henry Kissinger was slated to visit Peking.

"Kissinger's visit was believed linked with Washington efforts to obtain a cease-fire in Cambodia. It could lead to a meeting between him and exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk," Agence France-Presse speculated July 3.

Meanwhile, it was announced that Nixon would meet with Huang Chen, head of China's liaison office in Washington. Agence France-Presse reports that Huang will fly to San Clemente on a presidential jet "to discuss prospects for a negotiated settlement in Cambodia."

- For the first time in the war, a majority of both houses of Congress had voted against further bombing in Cambodia. It had reached a point where every appropriations bill in the Senate would be saddled with an amendment cutting off funds for bombing Cambodia. The amendments would force Nixon to veto the entire appropriations bills, threatening to bring federal finances to a standstill.

The Congressional stalemate was leading toward a direct challenge of Nixon's authority, no less severe in its implications for executive rule than the Watergate findings.

Senator J.W. Fulbright, the influential Democratic Party chairman of the foreign relations committee, declared on the Senate floor June 29 that unless Congress backed off, "the only sanction we have here is to impeach him. And I do not think that is practical. I do not recommend it. I know of no other alternative."

Congress was consequently faced

p bolster status quo

with an excruciating dilemma reflecting deepening disagreements in the ruling class. How can the Cambodian war and the Watergate crisis be settled without touching off a social explosion? "Had the constitutional crisis evolved and the vetoes continued, consequences would have flowed far beyond the contention here," Senator Hugh Scott declared in the same debate. Scott is the Republican minority leader and main senatorial spokesman for the White House.

The Senate voted to grant Nixon authority to bomb Cambodia until Aug. 15, 45 days from the day of the Senate decision. This vote had the advantage of appearing to limit the war without challenging Nixon's authority and without seeming to give up Congressional authority at the same time. In the debate on the legislation, days and bombs were traded back and forth like so many chips in a poker game.

A few senators refused to go along with the compromise. They apparently fear that continued U.S. bombing of Cambodia, while Nixon's authority is so gravely undermined in the eyes of the American public, is too much for the ruling class to risk. "What we will be considering shortly is not an accommodation with the Chief Executive of this country, but a capitulation and an abdication of the constitutional powers of the Senate," Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield declared.

"We have dropped, in bomb tonnage in Cambodia in the past 5 months, over 200,000 tons of bombs, on a poor, hapless people living in a nation where the majority of the inhabitants desire nothing more than to be left alone," said Mansfield.

"In the preceding 3 years, we, the United States, dropped 175,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia. . . . We are upholding a puppet government, and we are doing it on the basis of the bombs we drop. We are not allowing the Cambodians to get together

Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak in Los Angeles on "What is behind the Moscow-Washington detente? The meaning of the Brezhnev visit." Friday, July 20, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor, Los Angeles, Calif. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information, call (213) 464-9759.

among themselves to determine their own future. . . .

"No wonder people wonder at what we are about. . . .

"Do we realize that in all of Indochina up to a few weeks ago, we have dropped a total of 6.6 million tons of bombs?"

"Do we recollect that, as of the end of World War II, in both the Pacific and European theaters, we dropped a total of 3.2 million tons of bombs?"

Mansfield and 25 other senators voted against the compromise bill. Among the Democratic "doves" who went along with Nixon were Senators Church, Fulbright, Humphrey, and McGovern. McGovern's doubletalk was typical. "It is not really a question of principle at all," he said. "It

is a question of which strategy will achieve the results we seek. . . ."

The day before the compromise bill was voted, the Senate overwhelmingly approved—91 to 0—the appointment of James Schlesinger as Nixon's new war secretary. The "doves" voted for his confirmation despite the fact that Schlesinger had made clear in previous Senate hearings that he approved of the White House war strategy; warned against any cuts in the war budget; defended Nixon's authority to bomb Cambodia; and refused to rule out the resumption of bombing North Vietnam under unspecified circumstances.

Detente helps U.S. and Israel in Mideast

By DAVE FRANKEL

In his nationally televised speech on June 24, Leonid Brezhnev listed the Middle East right after Vietnam as one of the "hotbeds of dangerous tension in the world."

The Middle East is constantly alluded to by political analysts and government officials in discussing the U.S.-Soviet detente; indeed, a detente between the two most powerful countries in the world could hardly be arrived at without some kind of agreement on such a volatile area.

The fact that the rights and aspirations of others are involved is no problem to Nixon and Brezhnev. As Spartak Beglov, a Soviet political commentator, arrogantly explained in the June 29 *New York Times*: "The two most powerful countries have clearly given the world to understand that they expect other major and smaller countries . . . to follow their example by adhering to certain rules of conduct which will prevent grave conflicts or conflicting situations to happen."

The "rules of conduct" decided on for the Arab East during more than 19 hours of secret talks between Nixon and Brezhnev have not been spelled out yet, but the general lines of agreement have been developing for some time. They include the suppression of the Palestinian nationalist movement



BREZHNEV & SADAT: Chums until detente.

and recognition of the Israeli settler state through a negotiated settlement between it and the Arab regimes.

Writing before the summit in the June 11 *U.S. News & World Report*, Joseph Fromm said, "whether [the Soviets] are prepared to put pressure on their Arab clients to go into negotiations is the question that President Nixon will explore with Mr. Brezhnev."

Actually, such pressure was clearly being applied at the time of the first Nixon-Brezhnev summit in May 1972. An article in the June 29, 1972, *Washington Post* by David Hirst summarized the Soviet position at that time as it appeared in *Al-Rayah*, a pro-Soviet weekly in Beirut. According to Hirst, *Al-Rayah* reported that "high-ranking Soviet officials" had explained to a delegation of Syrian Communists in April 1972 "that the Soviet Union will not support the Arabs in actions that could lead to a confrontation between Russia and the United States."

The Soviet officials explained that they were "making concessions while taking into account Arab interests and the need to strengthen the progressive Arab regimes," as part of "the struggle for a just peaceful settlement" in the Middle East.

Finally, the Soviet spokesmen insisted "too much importance" was being attached to "the Palestine question. This," they argued, "is not the axis of the Arab liberation struggle. Its axis is strengthening the progressive Democratic regimes and enabling socialism to triumph."

The Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union has always regarded the interests of the Arab masses as secondary to its immediate foreign policy needs. In fact, Stalin supported the partition of Palestine in 1947 and the setting up of the colonial settler state of Israel in the hope that the new state would prove friendly to the USSR! By "strengthening the progressive Democratic regimes and enabling socialism to triumph," the Stalinists mean subordinating the Arab revolution to maintaining friendly ties with the Arab capitalist regimes.

However, the stepped up drive by the Kremlin to gain an accommodation with the U.S. resulted in an unexpected response. In July 1972, less than two months after the first Nixon-Brezhnev summit meeting, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat suddenly demanded the removal of Soviet military forces from Egypt.

Sadat's move, prompted by dissatisfaction with the way Brezhnev was "taking into account Arab interests," was an attempt to gain greater room for maneuver between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The effect of the detente, even then, was to force the Arab states to stand by quietly while "concessions" were made at their expense, or to weaken themselves militarily in the face of Israeli aggression.

The presence of Soviet interceptor planes and missiles in Egypt was a major deterrent to Israeli air raids during the "war of attrition" of 1969-70. There is no doubt that their withdrawal has been a factor in Israel's readiness to mount large-scale attacks on Syria and Lebanon without fear of Egyptian counteraction.

In the joint communiqué issued by Nixon and Brezhnev following their most recent talks, the occupation of Arab territory by Israel in 1967 is not

even mentioned; and instead of speaking of the "rights" of the Palestinian people, it speaks vaguely of their "interests." Furthermore, the joint communiqué didn't mention the 1967 United Nations Security Council Resolution, which Arab governments and the Soviet Union have supported up until now.

The UN resolution recognizes the Israeli conquest of Palestine by calling for withdrawal of Israeli forces only from occupied territories (that is, those occupied in 1967), along with the "acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the



Peking is supporting attempts by Shah of Iran to crush Arab guerrillas like these in Dhofar.

area." It also calls for "a just settlement of the refugee problem," without being more specific. The resolution was vague enough for the Israelis to vote for it too.

The latest Nixon-Brezhnev summit has been greeted with little enthusiasm in the Arab world, and with much apprehension. "Arab commentators are voicing concern that detente will diminish direct Soviet support for Arabs while American help for Israel continues," reports Jim Hoagland in the June 19 *Washington Post*.

The Arab governments are primarily concerned with the fact that part of the deal between Brezhnev and Nixon may be a relaxation of the pressure to get Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. This, and the apparent willingness of the Soviet bureaucracy to sell out the Palestinian struggle, has also resulted

Continued on page 22



Suez cease-fire line. Detente strengthens Israeli hold on occupied territories.

Solidarity with the Ligue Communiste!

The following statement was issued by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers Party in New York July 1.

On June 28 the Council of Ministers acceded to the demand of Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin to outlaw the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

This blow against the French Trotskyists is a blow against the entire left in France, including the trade unions. By beginning with what appears to him to be an isolated sector, de Gaulle's heir, President Pompidou, hopes to dampen the growing militancy of the entire workers and students movement. If he can get away with it in the case of the Ligue Communiste, he will proceed with similar moves against other sectors.

To make it appear that the Ligue Communiste was not being singled out, the council also ordered dissolution of the fascist organization Ordre Nouveau. This has not fooled anyone. The Ordre Nouveau has enjoyed special relations with Marcellin's police and will continue to be shielded and protected as a fascist reserve.

Thus the most diverse organizations and personalities—including the Communist and Socialist parties—have issued declarations denouncing the banning of the Ligue Communiste despite deep political differences, in some instances, with the French Trotskyists.

Outside of France, expressions of opposition to the banning of the Ligue Communiste and of solidarity in the defense of its democratic rights have already begun to mount. Particularly in Western Europe, demonstrations have already been organized by the far left with sympathetic support from a broad spectrum of political tendencies.

Already sufficient evidence has come to light to inspire demands that the role of the police in connection with the provocative racist meeting staged by the Ordre Nouveau June 21 be investigated. One of the questions being asked is why the Pompidou government decided to grant permission to the fascists to hold such a meeting.

In Paris, with its bitter memories of the Nazis and of a previous generation of French fascists, the inflammatory slogans suggesting racist violence that were used to publicize the meeting inevitably caused a big reaction.

At the meeting itself, members of the Ordre Nouveau arrived armed with such "persuaders" as molotov cocktails, iron bars, chains, and similar weapons, which they have used in setting upon members of the labor movement in the streets in the recent period. They were protected by a large mobilization of police, who made no effort whatsoever to disarm or to arrest fascists illegally armed in this fashion.

The Ligue Communiste called for a counterdemonstration in the area of the meeting. The call was well received. Crowds many times the size of the assemblage of fascists arrived.

They did not hesitate to show what they thought of this brazen attempt to give momentum to a new fascist movement in France. Scuffling broke out in various places, being conducted in many instances outside the control of the Ligue Communiste. Here and there members of the police force, caught between the two sides, were badly injured.

In a broader context, the outlawing of the Ligue Communiste is another ominous step in an international campaign waged against the Fourth International by the most reactionary forces, particularly the political police, in various countries. Among previous moves it is sufficient to recall the bans issued by the French, the U. S., the Swiss, the Australian, and the West German governments against Ernest Mandel entering those countries to lecture on economics.

The Socialist Workers Party appeals for international solidarity with the Ligue Communiste of France.

It asks that protests against the outlawing of the Ligue Communiste be lodged on as wide a scale as possible with diplomatic representatives of the French government in other countries.

Let the Pompidou regime know that the arbitrary actions of its political police do not escape notice internationally.

Rescind the ban on the Ligue Communiste!

Let's act on the slogan of the international working class: An Injury to One Is an Injury to All!

'Psychogenocide' in prison

Here at this prison the psychogenocide program is called "Control and Rehabilitative Efforts" (CARE Program). The prisoners who gradually conform to the rules and regulations of the sadistic guards are elevated to a stage that allows more privileges. Of course, those of us who don't conform are left on the first stage, which means that we will remain in solitary confinement until we are willing to cooperate.

But the atrocities and inhumanities perpetrated against us have failed to break our revolutionary spirits. They have only worked to steel and temper our spirit to continue struggling to overthrow imperialism and construct socialism.

Each of you receive a strong but warm *abrazo muy revolucionaria!*
A prisoner
Illinois

SWP & anti-Semitism

I came to consider myself a socialist, noticing the many injustices done to minority peoples by the government and its supporters.

I would like to thank you for your article on the Socialist Workers Party and anti-Semitism. I contend that anti-Semitism is just as prevalent in our society today as anti-Black, anti-Chicano, anti-Indian, anti-Oriental, and all other forms of senseless fascist repression.

H.S.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Chicago plane crash

This is in response to your article in the June 8 issue of *The Militant* concerning Sherman Skolnick's charges of sabotage in the Chicago air crash that killed Dorothy Hunt, along with 44 other people.

WXYZ radio news of Detroit hired me to conduct an investigation into Skolnick's charges. The investigation disclosed:

1) Of the various people Skolnick claims had high cyanide levels, only the captain had a trace of cyanide. According to a professor at Wayne State University the amount found in the body of the captain was not a fatal dose. The fact that the captain had traces of cyanide and the other pilots did not is due to the fact that the captain did not die instantly. [Air crash victims often have cyanide in their bodies from inhaling fumes in the wreckage.]

2) There is no evidence that any money or anything else was stolen from Dorothy Hunt on that flight. Skolnick claims that the money was parachuted from the plane by someone entering the baggage compartment through the lavatory. It is impossible to parachute anything from a Boeing 737 while in flight. And there is no way to get into the baggage compartment from the lavatory of a Boeing 737.

3) Skolnick claims that cyanide was placed in the food during flight. There was no food service on that flight.

4) Skolnick claims that the crash was caused by a faulty altimeter and that the flight recorder stopped 14 minutes prior to the crash. To the best of my knowledge, and we paid a great deal of attention to this item, the altimeter was not defective. The flight recorder was recovered and conversations were recorded up to

the point of impact.

With the various Watergate-type atrocities that we are discovering each day, the sabotaging of this flight would surely not be beyond the Trick. But, it appears that Skolnick's charges are incorrect regarding the flight.

The Militant and its readers should consider the above regarding the crash of the flight in question.

Bill Rowe
Fifth Estate
Detroit, Michigan

Reply to Irwin Silber

Irwin Silber's letter (*The Militant*, July 6) seems to have missed the point. Whatever ignorance there is in North America concerning North Korea is unlikely to be dispelled by even the most careful reading of Kim Il Sung's biography. To prove the point, allow me to quote a paragraph or two from the book's preface.

"It was no other than General Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the 40 million Korean people, peerless patriot, national hero, ever-victorious, iron-willed brilliant commander and one of the outstanding leaders of the international communist movement, that in the dark days of national suffering when even the midday sun and the full moon had lost their luster, arose, with the destiny of the entire nation on his shoulders."

A page further: "The people of our country have unrestricted love and respect for the General, praising him as a legendary hero, born of the spirit of the legendary Mt. Baikdoo, who is capable of commanding heavens and earth, an unrivalled brilliant commander who, as it were, can shrink a long range of steep mountains at a stroke and smash the swarming hordes of enemies with one blow. . . ." and so on.

Silber to the contrary, this kind of trash is neither informative nor useful in educating anyone about the history of North Korea. Like his mentors, Stalin and Mao, Kim cannot afford to offer a factual, truthful account of his regime's bureaucratic misrule. Instead, he has been compelled to pay a team of hacks to extol the wonder-working powers of his mind and ideas. Instead of Marxist analysis, he offers a set of dogmas and miracles stemming from a supreme leader and an incontrovertible source of revelation—namely himself.

This disgusting cult of worship Kim Il Sung has created is an affront to any revolutionary; it has nothing to do with the method of scientific socialism or the equalitarian spirit of proletarian democracy.

M. B.
New York, N.Y.

A reader who sees plenty

After a year or so of not being able to see, I finally got a prescription for glasses. After paying for the glasses I decided to celebrate with the \$5 I had left.

When I got home I read a letter you printed about the difficulty prisoners have paying for subscriptions to *The Militant*. It reminded me of the last five years of my life, between 13 and now, out of which I have spent four either locked up or



Chicanos confront NCLC

on probation. Suddenly a six pack of Budweiser and a sirloin steak didn't seem very important any more.

I decided I would celebrate by sending the \$5 to *The Militant* to help my once fellow victims know the truth. Down with prisons (and myopia).

S. G.
Forrestville, Md.

Good coverage

I have really enjoyed reading your paper for the past few months. I especially like your coverage of the Chicano movement and the struggle for justice by the farm workers. Harry Ring is doing an especially good job covering the plight of the campesino and the deplorable round-up of the illegal aliens. Hasta La Victoria!

M.R.
San Antonio, Texas

'Problems of everyday life'

Your review of Leon Trotsky's *Problems of Everyday Life* (July 6) was mistaken in describing it as "a new, expanded edition." Actually it is the first edition of a book that is new so far as readers of English are concerned.

The misunderstanding probably arises from the fact that a 1924 collection by Trotsky given the title *Problems of Life* in English has been incorporated into this book. But the material makes up less than 20 percent of the Trotsky text in the present book. In addition, more than 40 percent of the Trotsky text has never been translated into English before, and another 10 percent has previously been translated only in England.

I fully concur with your reviewer's judgment that this is a most important book for students of authentic Marxism. Trotsky not only was not an "economic determinist" or "economist." He also was not a "politician," if I may coin a term for those who minimize, belittle, or ignore nonpolitical factors, elements, and forces in the task of constructing a new society.

On a number of occasions in the last decade, when interest in cultural problems has grown among young radicals, I have been asked why *The Militant* and "Trotskyists" in general do not pay more attention to such problems. Whether or not the criticism is fully justified, the new Trotsky book clearly proves that no such criticism could be directed at Trotsky himself. I hope it will be studied with special care by all who write for or edit, or aspire to write for or edit, the revolutionary press.

George Breitman
New York, N. Y.

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

In recent months a small sect calling itself socialist, the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC), has been going on a binge of violent attacks upon other movement groups with whom they disagree.

In Los Angeles, NCLC hooligans picked on Enriqueta Sánchez, a well-known Chicana welfare worker and activist in the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). Since January, an NCLC member has been trying to force her to join something called the National Unemployed-Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO), which the NCLC created as a split-off from NWRO.

She has been harassed for some time by threatening calls and visits from the NCLC. Then, recently, three NCLC members barged into her office at the Huntington Park Community Center, pounded on her desk and screamed at her.

"They said they were taking over the whole world and I had to either join them or I was on Nixon's side," Sánchez told me.

The three NCLC members told Sánchez that they would be back to hear her decision. Concerned, Sánchez contacted Chicano activists and other welfare workers, who came to her aid. These activists invited *The Militant* to be on hand for the scheduled return visit.

On my arrival I found that a well-organized defense squad of Chicano activists was already on the scene.

When the NCLC members arrived, they were obviously surprised and uncomfortable to see so many people. They would have preferred to gang up on Sánchez when she was alone. About a dozen of us filed into a meeting room, chairs were pulled up, and the NCLC members were asked to say their piece.

They introduced themselves as Cynthia Townsend, Tessa DeCarlo, and Dan Goldberg. Townsend explained that NU-WRO had been formed because NWRO was "working for the government." She added that their creation, NU-WRO, was formed to combat those who favor Black, Chicano, and

Puerto Rican control of their own communities. The NCLC members consider such control "reactionary."

Some of the Chicanos began questioning them about the hooligan attacks that have been taking place on the East Coast and expressed their disagreement with these tactics. Calling the Chicanos "wishy-washy liberals," one of the hooligans said the NCLC will have to "destroy the rest of the left; they're bullshitting everybody." "We're engaged in a war," added another.

The Chicanos were angered by the racist arrogance of these people. One woman said, "Who do you think you are, telling us what to do? Whites have never done anything for our Raza."

The NCLC members attacked what they termed her "narrow mentality." They expressed their utter contempt for Chicano groups and for those who organize Chicanos as Chicanos. "We say we have the only way of organizing," they insisted. "Cut this crap that you [Chicanos] represent some special interest group."

The NCLC members derided the Chicano activists' concern for the plight of their people. "We don't have some humanitarian interest in brown people; that's bullshit," one of them sneered.

When the Chicanos decided they had heard enough, the NCLC members were told to leave and warned not to return. It was the right thing to do.

These people should not be dismissed simply as political lunatics. They represent a serious danger to the movement. Their use of violence to settle political disputes within the movement has opened the door to right-wingers and cops, who also would like to "destroy the left." There is substantial evidence that these elements have infiltrated the NCLC and have joined in the hooligan attacks.

It should be a matter of principle within the Chicano movement that using violence to settle political disputes will not be tolerated. We must continue to unite to isolate the NCLC and to defend any individual or group that is a target of their attacks.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Another Teamster PR firm

This week's National Picket Line is a guest column by Herman Kirsch. Kirsch was the 1972 Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in Cleveland's 20th C.D. and is a member of Local 707 of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

"I'm no better off now than I was several years ago, though I'm making more money," says a young maintenance worker at Ford Motor Company's foundry in Brook Park, Ohio. The young worker says he has been working long hours of overtime. He is working seven days a week and has missed only one day of work in the last 100.

Another worker, Chester Jozefkovicz, also a member of the United Auto Workers Union, says, "If you took away the overtime, it would be pretty hard to make ends meet." He works a 10-hour day at the Ohio Crankshaft Plant.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* has been interviewing labor leaders and rank-and-file workers. What has emerged is a study in contrasts.

Automobile and steel orders are booming. Profits in both industries are rising. Complaints about increased living costs due to inflation have also been on the rise.

"My take-home pay did not increase in three years," says Edward Chepeus, a worker for 15 years at U. S. Steel's Cuyahoga Works.

In a recently completed study, the Ohio State University Center for Business and Research reports that April payrolls were 13 percent above those in 1972. Yet the average steel worker knows that the \$350 take-home pay every two weeks is not enough to live on. Other workers, who may be earning far more because of overtime, are also dissatisfied. The result has been an increase in the number of strikes in this heavily industrialized area of Ohio.

Among the labor officials urging members to moderate demands for higher wages is Joseph Ken-

der, described by the *Plain Dealer* as the "dynamic director of the 36,000 member District 28 United Steelworkers." Kender glowingly approves of the tentative agreement reached by Steelworkers officials with the industry to prevent strikes until 1977. This agreement provides a 3 percent wage increase "for openers" each year, with a bonus of \$150 in 1974.

"The only way to revitalize (the very sick steel industry) is to recognize that both steel labor and steel management have a common problem," Kender claims. He worries about the low profit-margin in the industry and believes that the no-strike agreement will help industry regain some of the competitive advantages it has lost over the years. The interview did not list Kender's salary.

One of the best paid labor leaders in the country, Jackie Presser, executive assistant and personnel director of Teamsters Joint Council 41, had nothing to say about the Local 392 Teamster strike in Cleveland. The 1,000 Teamsters are now in their third week of strike for higher wages, an unlimited cost-of-living clause, and a master contract. Presser, however, did defend his annual salary of \$160,000.

"I'm entitled to the salary I receive," he says. "I do a competent job, representing thousands of members. And the lawyers and managers across the table from me earn hundreds of dollars an hour."

The U. S. Department of Labor has listed the Teamsters union as having the highest paid officials of all unions in Greater Cleveland. Perhaps the contrast between the Teamster members' wages with their union officials', as well as the attempt of the union bureaucrats to smash the United Farm Workers Union, is the reason why Presser is concerned about the image of his union. He has hired the public relations firm of Bellamy, Abrams and Halbin to sell the public "a new, positive image" of the Teamsters union.



As the rodents depart—President Nixon declared July 1-7 Safe Boating Week.

Just a little R&R—A Los Angeles deputy district attorney who was fired for taking a juror to Las Vegas for a weekend while she was in the midst of deliberations in a murder-robbery trial, says he'll fight to get his job back. "The matter," he complained, "has been blown out of all proportions."

It figures—According to statistics compiled by Earth News from U.S. and UN data, the United States ranks twenty-fifth among nations in life expectancy, fourteenth in infant mortality, fourteenth in literacy, eighth in doctor-patient ratio, and first in military power.

Like crazy, man—Explaining a decision to bar long hair in Texas high school all-star football games, Coach Tony Simpson said American males wear long hair because "they know the females will like it. These so-called males are in submission to the warped norms and standards of females who like to set the dress and grooming standards for their mousey husbands, pantywaist boy friends and feminine sons." He said Americans enjoy the right to wear long hair because we had "real men" with "courage and sense enough to kill our enemies on battlefields all over the globe."

Persistence pays—Studies indicate that the risk of incurring cancer or dropping from a heart attack decreases significantly with each year of being a former smoker.

How about the White House?—Nixon spiritual adviser Billy Graham says he "would like to see the Ten Commandments read in every classroom of every school every day."

They might fire him—Governor Marvin Mandel of Maryland was called on to return nearly \$1-million raised at a May testimonial. Critics argued that much of the money came from persons who profit from their dealings with the state. The good governor firmly responded: "No. I wouldn't want to insult my superiors by asking them to take their money back."

New merger pending?—The University of Southern California school of religion is conducting a six-week seminar on corporate responsibility.



Women In Revolt

Women in sports II

One of the most common arguments used to justify the abysmal funds, facilities, coaching rewards, and encouragement for women in sports is that women simply aren't interested. Nothing could be further from the truth.

When women's athletic programs are offered, women swarm to them. For instance, in Hillsborough County, Fla., a recreation department employee organized a slow-pitch softball team for young women between the ages of 8 and 15, called the Little Leagueretts. In its first year, more than 1,000 young women turned out and were divided into 68 teams.

A Dallas boxing coach organized a Missy Junior Gloves (hopefully, these condescending names—Leagueretts, Missy—will soon be relics of the past), a boxing program for six- to 16-year-old women. It attracted 300 young women, more than had ever participated in the coach's boxing activities for young men.

In Kansas, 14,000 women took part in four regional track meets.

And where there aren't female athletic programs provided, sometimes girls even pretend they are boys to be able to play. Robin Brunhuber and Nancy Kail, both 11, pretended to be boys when

they tried out for the local Little League in Connecticut. Robin made the team but was kicked out later when they discovered she was female.

Jackie Fuller, 12, joined an amateur boxing club in Britain. Club officials thought they had a champion in the making when just before a big match they learned that Jackie was female and threw her out.

The best proof, however, that women not only want to participate in sports but are willing to fight for their right to do so, is the increasing number of women who are challenging the male domination of the sports world.

Perhaps the most famous is Billie Jean King, who helped begin the fight for equal pay for equal play in women's tennis. King is the country's top ranked woman tennis player, an active supporter of the abortion rights struggle, and a feminist. She, along with Rosemary Casals and several other leading tennis players, broke away from the U.S. Lawn Tennis Association because the prize money ratio was 10 to 1 in favor of the men. They started their own tour, the Virginia Slims.

Then there's Caroline King, the 12-year-old who has caused quite a stir in the Little League. She tried out for the team in Ypsilanti, Mich., beat

out 15 boys, and qualified for a starting position. The Little League headquarters threatened to withdraw the Ypsilanti charter if they allowed King to play.

The Ypsilanti city council warned they would cut off city support for the Little League if Carolyn King did not play. She was finally allowed to play, and the national Little League headquarters withdrew Ypsilanti's charter. The city council has filed suit in federal court against the National Little League, charging violation of the U.S. Constitution. The case is even being discussed in Congress.

Pat Palinkas is the first woman to play pro football. She won the right to hold the ball for the place kicker of the Orlando Panthers.

Maridy May Warder has become the first female member of the University of Washington Weightlifting Club. She placed third in the 114-pound class in the recent Pacific Northwest champion weightlifting meet.

Women have for too long been the spectators and the cheerleaders—perfect training to stand decoratively on the sidelines of history and cheer on the men.

But things are beginning to change.

Linda Jenness



By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



History of an 'All-American City'

The recent Chavis-Hicks trial in Wilmington, N. C., grew out of a Black revolt against white racist violence there in February and March, 1971. That revolt was not unique; the city has a long history of white violence against Blacks.

For its handsome record, Wilmington was honored with the All-American City Award after local cops and the National Guard crushed a Black revolt following the murder of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

The roots of this racist violence stem from the pre-Civil War era when Wilmington was the largest city in North Carolina.

Wilmington is located on the east bank of the Cape Fear River in the lower peninsula of eastern North Carolina. According to Chamber of Commerce records, the city was one of the largest ports in the world for shipping tar, pitch, resin, and turpentine. From the late 1700s through Reconstruction, these products of the Carolina forests were shipped to other ports for use in the shipbuilding industry.

Local agriculture consisted of corn, rice, and cotton farming. Many plantations grew up, and Wilmington became a hub of commerce in that region of the South. With large numbers of slaves on the plantations, Blacks became the majority of the population in eastern North Carolina. Whites lived in constant fear of slave uprisings.

Their fears were heightened after Brother Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia in 1831. When rumors spread that slaves planned to rise in areas surrounding Wilmington, the militia was called out. Both slaves and free Blacks were beaten and jailed. Six who were convicted of plotting insurrection had their heads chopped off and placed at various locations to serve as a warning to others.

After this episode, the city rulers enacted special laws to control Blacks, requiring them to be off the streets by nine o'clock. To distinguish slaves from free Blacks, of which there were already several hundred in Wilmington, all free Blacks were required to wear a badge with "FREE" stamped on it.

The Civil War had a profound influence on Wilmington.

The Union navy attempted a blockade of the Cape Fear River. But two entrances to the river, each guarded by a fort, made it difficult to maintain an effective blockade. Running the blockade became a central activity in Wilmington, and huge profits were available to those who were successful. The city began to serve as the main departure point for agents conducting Confederate business with European governments. It also served as regional headquarters for the Confederate army's quartermaster and commissary departments.

One of the crucial battles in the last months of the war was the Union assault on Fort Fisher in January 1865. One-third of the attacking Union army was Black, and many of these Black soldiers decided to remain in Wilmington following General Lee's surrender at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

Next week we'll examine the plight of Wilmington Blacks during Reconstruction and the period following.

World Outlook

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

JULY 13, 1973

Chile

Increasing mobilizations by the left and the right

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

JUNE 22—With the paradoxical strike by the copper miners of El Teniente serving as the starting point, the past week has seen an increasing unfolding of mobilizations by the left and the right.

The paradox of the Teniente strike lies in the fact that although it is a strike in which the workers are struggling for demands that defend their standard of living in the face of the runaway inflation that is plaguing Chile, from an early stage it was branded a "fascist approach" by practically the entire left (mainly the Unidad Popular [Popular Unity], and to a lesser extent the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]). This was a godsend for the right, which in October had already experienced how dangerous it was to confront the working class as a whole, but which now has an opportunity to divide the workers by supporting this and other conflicts condemned by the UP. There is no doubt that this right-wing maneuver is facilitated by the lack of sufficient political clarity among certain sectors of the working class, such as the miners, who, by not vigorously exposing the rightist ploy, are isolating themselves from their class brothers.

Within this confused context stands out the clear position of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist Party), Chilean section of the Fourth International, which is denouncing the ploy of the right and showing how reformism is aiding the right by qualifying the struggles of the workers for their demands as "fascist." Unfortunately, the smallness of the PSR's forces makes it impossible for it to bring its position to large sectors of the working class.

It was in this atmosphere of confusion that the march of the striking miners to Santiago last week took place. This was used as a pretext for the right, including fascist bands, to mobilize, claiming that they were taking to the streets "in support of the miners." The UP played into their hands by attempting to halt the advance of the miners and by calling on the people to prevent these workers from "taking over the government house." Fortunately, there were few clashes between workers because the miners acted only in a defensive fashion. Those who were really very active were the fascist bands.

Confrontations occurred throughout the entire downtown area of Santiago, where tear gas hung in the air. In one of these confrontations, Nilton da Silva, a Brazilian revolutionist, was murdered. Da Silva had been forced to leave his own country by the mon-

strous repression with which the military dictatorship defends its existence. Nilton da Silva was a member of the MIR in Chile, and fell as a new Che Guevara, a symbol of proletarian internationalism.

His death stirred the masses of the left with indignation, and his funeral was a vigorous demonstration of a determination to struggle. The right called attention to the fact that he was a foreigner as proof that "there are foreign agitators." The UP tried to obscure this fact. The MIR, fortunately did single it out, mainly through one of its speakers, who spoke "in the name of the foreign members of the MIR."

Street incidents continued in Santiago and other cities during the following days, one of their prominent features being attacks by fascist groups, which assaulted the headquarters of left-wing political groups and carried out other armed attacks.

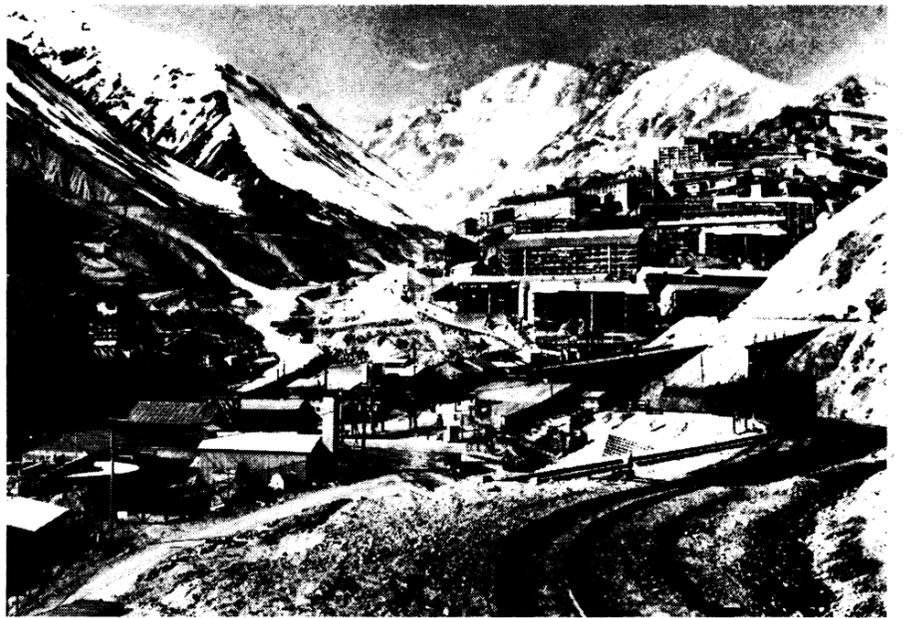
The show of strength by the right reached its high point with a demon-

There was unquestionably nothing lifeless about Santiago yesterday, with hundreds of thousands of demonstrators winding through its streets. Huge columns from the Vicuña Mackena Cordón and other sectors gathered in the hotbed of reaction—Providencia. One could not tell whether the rattling of windows was the result of the deafening voices of the demonstrators or the trembling of the terrorized parasites inside their homes.

Thus the working class defended its gains, among which it included the government that it had put into office.

Together with unenthusiastic chants like "No to civil war," and "I stand in line but, no matter what, I am sticking with the UP," could be heard other, more vigorous chants, like "If the parasites want war, that's what they'll get," "How do you prevent or win a civil war? By struggling and creating people's power," and "Create, create a popular militia."

About one million persons gathered



El Teniente copper mine

Teniente miners vote to end strike

On July 1 workers at El Teniente copper mine voted to end their 10-week-old strike, accepting a peace formula put forward by President Allende. The settlement included a bonus payment of \$225 and a wage increase of \$15 a month, according to an Associated Press dispatch.

The workers are still demanding that 60 miners dismissed for occupying a radio station in the town of Rancagua, near the mine, be rehired. However, the government has insisted that a commission be set up to try these miners.

The miners' decision to return to work came only two days after an attempted coup was put down in Santiago. On June 29, about 150 troops from an armored regiment attacked the presidential palace and the ministry of defense. The revolt received no support

from other sections of the armed forces and was crushed in a few hours.

The government said that 22 persons were killed, most of them civilians caught in the crossfire. At least 32 were wounded. Allende accused members of the fascist group, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom), of having participated in the revolt. Five members of that organization have sought political asylum in the Ecuadorian embassy.

Following the attempted coup, a state of emergency was declared throughout the country. The Chilean Chamber of Deputies has refused to approve Allende's call for a state of siege, but the attempted coup, coming in the wake of frequent warnings about "fascist plots," appears to have strengthened Allende's position.

stration "in support of the miners" that attracted around 80,000 persons.

Along with this, in the parliament the right moved to censure three ministers, and the National party declared in the pages of *El Mercurio* [a major right-wing daily] that "in the light of justice and morality, no one is obliged to respect or obey a government that has ceased to be legitimate." Its next move was to call on Congress to "consider the illegitimacy of the activity" of the government.

In response to this rightist escalation, the CUT (Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union) found itself forced to call a strike and a demonstration for June 21.

Anticipating that the mobilization would be a success, the right had the foolishness to call for a "strike of Chile" against the government for the same day, urging people "not to leave their houses," and "to present the picture of a lifeless city."

in Constitution Square and the adjacent streets in the biggest demonstration in recent years. In spite of the transport strike, there were many people who came from outlying suburban shantytowns. Unlike earlier demonstrations, this time workers came with their work vehicles—tractors, trucks, garbage trucks, etc.

Large crowds also took to the streets in other cities.

Allende and Godoy, president of the CUT, spoke in a much less lukewarm tone than at the May Day demonstration. Among other things, Allende had to pick up on the chants for "creating people's power," but he did so by explaining that this should not be done in contradiction to the government. He threatened to ban Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom) and to bring to trial the leaders of the National party because of their seditious manifesto.

Continued on page WO4

Repression stepped up in Yugoslavia

By C. Verla

[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*.]

The May 31 *Le Monde* reported the opening of a trial against another Yugoslav communist, Danilo Udovichi, who is accused of "having ties with the Fourth International." Based on earlier trials on the same charge—the proceedings a year ago against Milan Nikolic, Pavel Imsirovic, and Jelka Klajcic, for example—it can be assumed that behind the formal charge there lies but one reality: the accused is a communist who opposes the regime.

All the trials that have come down during the past two years, whether they be around charges of Trotskyism, anarcho-liberalism, pro-Westism, or nationalism, have been marked by the same neo-Stalinist features: amalgams are made by the prosecution; there is no real possibility for defense; there is imprisonment without trial.

This massive repression (there have been dozens of trials) has occurred as part of a political turn in Yugoslavia. The turn is the bureaucratic response of a section of the Yugoslav leadership around Tito to the social tensions that their own policies have produced. And the aim of the turn is to take the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in hand in order to make it play a role that it has gradually abdicated since the break with Stalin in the early 1950s: the role of bureaucratic centralizer of all social, political, economic, and cultural life.

This was the orientation laid down in the "Tito letter" at the end of 1972 that was sent to the rank-and-file organs of the party and was combined with a call to the laboring masses to bring under control and denounce the "corrupt billionaires." This was followed by a small-scale "cultural revolution" (that's what the May issue of the French business magazine *L'Expansion* called it), in the course



NIKOLIC: A leader of the occupation of Belgrade University by 40,000 students in June 1968.

of which dozens and dozens of cases of corruption piled up in the courts, a fair number of factory managers were deposed (in Zagreb there are about thirty factories that still have no managers), and many small-time operators shut down their operations throughout the country—they could make more money in the West.

Despite official proclamations to the contrary, this new policy represents a counterblow to the previous decentralization and is in contradiction with the measures for protection of private property that were part of the logic of the 1965 reform. This new policy goes hand in hand with a return to criticizing all theories about the withering away of the state (Kardelj's self-criticism, general critiques of Djilas, the scapegoat for all deviations) that were put forward when decentralized self-management was first instituted after the break with Stalin.

But the "dictatorship of the proletariat" that the Titoists want to revive is conditioned by the history of Yugoslavia. It will be a pervasive bureaucratic dictatorship that will try to make it look as though the work-

ers are being given a bigger role in the organs of decentralized power (at least at first), while at the same time, the League of Communists will again become the monolithic transmission belt of real power.

It is for this very reason that the main repression of various opponents of this line is going on among communists. The main leaders of the Slovenian, Serbian, and Macedonian parties, who are hostile to the centralization line, have gotten the ax, as did the Croatian leaders during the December 1971 purge. The "Tito letter" unleashing the hardening up was issued and publicized in the name of the Supreme Presidium, even though the advocates of a liberal policy were still in a majority there. But the letter was not ratified by this body until after the major opponents were purged.

At the same time, there was the ascendancy of the "veterans," old-line centralist Communists, especially officers in the army (which had remained strongly centralized).

The ideological repression has been exacting. The magazine *Praxis* has just had its subsidies lifted. Its main contributors, among them L. Tadic

and S. Stoyanovic, Communist members of the faculty at the University of Belgrade, have been repressed. As if by accident, at the same time, journalists who previously had been promoted to their posts for their anti-Soviet positions (like Marovic, Moscow correspondent for *Politika*), have today been demoted—for the same reason. Soviet aid, also as if by accident, suddenly dropped by millions of dollars worth of equipment.

Formally, none of the main orientations adopted in the 1965 reform have been challenged. And the Yugoslav leaders will continue to balance the aid received from the East with aid from the West in order to keep up a certain diplomatic balance. But the ideological concessions already made to the Soviet Union (in particular, the silencing of any criticism of the occupation of Czechoslovakia, which, it has been officially declared, raises no problems) are the inevitable corollary of the bureaucratic impasse. Police repression is an expression of this. But it will resolve nothing.

We add our name to the appeal for international socialist solidarity that is now circulating against the repression that is hitting Yugoslav communists.

Long live socialist Yugoslavia!
Free the imprisoned Yugoslav communists! □

Intercontinental Press

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French revolutionists hold workers conference

On the weekend of June 9-10 the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, and the "Red Mole groups," circles of factory supporters of the Ligue, held a national conference on revolutionary work in the organized working class.

The conference, held in Rouen, drew 830 participants, including 50 from other countries. Five hundred had been expected. There were 250 factories in 65 cities represented, and the average age of those present was 26.

The June 15 *Rouge*, the Ligue's weekly newspaper, pointed out that the conference "was well prepared in advance; small preparatory pamphlets were distributed. They opened up discussion on the main points—strike committees, wage hierarchies, self defense, workers' control, self-management. Outlines of the reports were handed out in advance to make the work of the conference more efficient."

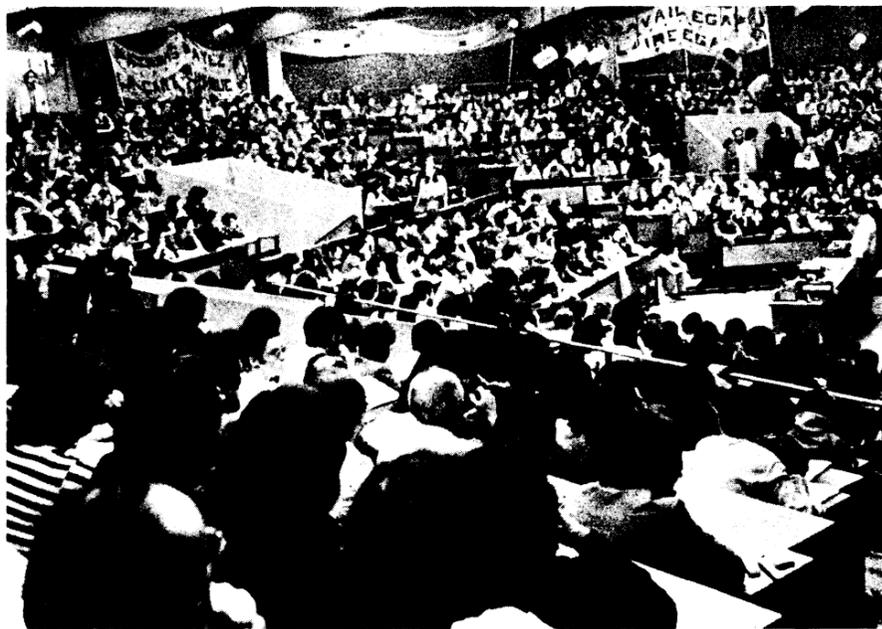
The first plenary session was addressed by Sally N'Dongo, president

of the General Union of Senegalese Workers in France, who spoke on the conditions of the immigrant workers.

June 10 was taken up with reports on workers' control and self-management. The conference then went into workshops to discuss concrete problems and experiences. In addition to the workshops organized by branch of industry, workshops were held on women workers, immigrant workers, and antimilitarist struggles in the army.

On the evening of June 10, visitors from Belgium, the U.S., Spain, Italy, and Great Britain spoke. And on June 11, Charles-André Udry, a leader of the Swiss Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist League), spoke on the rise of workers' struggles throughout Europe.

Later, Alain Krivine, member of the Ligue's political bureau, spoke on the Ligue's progress in building a revolutionary organization. □



Workers conference in Rouen, the first of its kind organized by the Ligue Communiste, drew 830. Rouge

Committee formed to defend 'Belfast 10'

The "Belfast 10"—the ten people arrested March 8 at Heathrow Airport and later charged with conspiracy to cause explosions in London—have now been committed for trial at Winchester Crown Court following committal proceedings that lasted two weeks at Lambeth Magistrates' Court. The trial is not expected to begin until September, reported the June 8 issue of *Red Weekly*, newspaper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International. Meanwhile "the prisoners must languish in conditions worse than those of Category A convicted prisoners."

The treatment of the Belfast 10 between March 8 and March 12, when they were charged, gives some indication of how the government plans to deal with them later. Nine of the ten were kept completely unclothed in

Blatant attempts were made to discourage relatives and friends of the defendants from attending the proceedings. On at least one occasion all women visitors were subjected to a "strip search," and two days later male visitors were forced to undergo a similar procedure. Even the nappies of babes in arms were removed. These searches were personally ordered by an Irish member of the British Special Branch. Visits to the ten by relatives during the lunchtime recesses were made unnecessarily difficult. When these matters were raised in court, the magistrate, Sir Frank Milton, said they were "outside his jurisdiction as they concerned security issues."

On May 20, nearly 1,000 persons marched from Clapham Common to Brixton Prison to demand the release



Supporters of the Irish struggle march in Britain

Red Mole

Ealing police station. The police illegally denied solicitors and the mother of two of the women prisoners the right to see them. At present, two of the three women prisoners are held in Brixton, a male prison. This is entirely without precedent.

The ten were held for more than two months under maximum security before the committal proceedings opened. Massive security measures were taken both inside and outside the Lambeth Court. Armed police were placed on the roof of the court building; guard dogs patrolled the streets; all passing traffic was stopped and searched; six coach-loads of police were on standby; entry to the courtroom was restricted to a select few, who were required to show documentation to get in.

of the ten. A regular picket is held every Saturday outside the prison, organized by the Belfast 10 Defence Committee, set up after the arrests on the initiative of the Anti-Internment League.

The defense committee has organized a roster of persons willing to visit the prisoners, both to ensure regular visits for each prisoner, and to keep track of breaches of regulations by the prison authorities, who are being obstructive in the matter of visits.

The committee urgently needs funds to pay for printing, hiring halls, providing fares for relatives of the ten wanting to visit them, and for sending food and books into the prison. It can be contacted at 88 Roslyn Road, London N 15. □

World news notes

French atomic tests draw mounting protest

Despite mounting international pressure, the Pompidou government seems determined to carry out its planned atomic bomb test above Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific. Strong protests have been lodged by the Labour governments in Australia and New Zealand, and on June 22—the same day as a World Court decision urging cancellation of the tests—Japan joined in protest.

Both the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions have gone on record against the tests, which have provoked a boycott of French goods and communications by Australian and New Zealand unions. On June 27 the British Trades Union Congress, following the action of several individual unions, called on its member unions to boycott the handling of French goods, transport, and communications during the first week in July.

On June 25, the New Zealand cabinet chose Fraser Colman, the minister of immigration, to sail aboard the frigate *Otago*, which is making a protest voyage into the test zone. An Australian supply ship has left Sydney to rendezvous with the *Otago*, which was due in the test zone June 28.

In the meantime, the French Foreign Ministry has released a White Paper assuring that "all precautions have been taken to prevent damage to the population and to the world fauna and flora."

Riots and strikes reported in Ukraine

News filtering out of the Soviet Union little by little over the past year indicates that there has been a significant new outbreak of workers struggles in the south of the Ukraine, one of the most important industrial regions of the Soviet Union. In June 1972, 10,000 "rioters" took to the streets for two days in Dneprodzerzhinsk, a city of 270,000. The insurgents, many of whom were women, attacked and partially destroyed the offices of the KGB (political police) and the MVD (Ministry of the Interior).

They destroyed all the political documents they could find, some files were burned, and portraits of Brezhnev and other leaders were torn up and destroyed. According to reports, the insurgents then took over the offices of the party and of the Komsomol (Young Communists); there also many documents were destroyed.

The KGB and the militia opened fire on the people, killing about a dozen and wounding about 100. According to some reports, the riot began when several young persons were arrested after having an argument with a militiaman. According to "official circles," the events broke out when two drunks were arrested while a third man was trying to take them home. One of the two arrested then struck a match that set fire to the KGB headquarters!

In Dnepropetrovsk, one of the largest industrial cities of the Soviet Union, strikes demanding a rise in the standard of living took place last September and were repressed at the cost of many dead and wounded. A month later, riots again broke out in the city, demanding better provisioning, better living conditions, and the right to choose a job instead of having it imposed.

At the same time, new violent incidents took place at Dneprodzerzhinsk. More people were killed and there was a wave of arrests. These riots and strikes came at the same time that the Soviet bureaucracy was conducting mass arrests of Ukrainian oppositionists struggling against the Kremlin's nationalities policy.

Danish parliament votes abortion law

Following many months of lively debate, the Danish Folketing (parliament) adopted Justice Minister K. Axel Nielson's proposed law on abortion May 24. The vote was ninety-five to fifty-six.

The law, which will take effect in October, gives women the right to interrupt a pregnancy through the twelfth week. Abortions can also be obtained after that point, but only after permission is granted by the Danish Maternity Welfare Board. Its decision can be appealed.

The law retains the requirement that women under eighteen years of age have parental consent, although this requirement can be waived under certain conditions.

As the law was passed, some twenty-odd priests and preachers in full religious garb staged a protest meeting outside the parliament building. They chanted, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." About fifty persons, most of them from the press, gathered to watch the protest.

A few minutes earlier, the clergymen had demonstrated in the visitors' gallery while Niels Nielson, a member of the Radical Left, warned from the speaker's stand that passage of the law would mean that "the idea of Communism had won out in Denmark."

The clergymen called the adoption of the law "a blacker day than April 9" (the day Hitler occupied Denmark). They also demanded a referendum on the subject of abortion, and promised that god would punish Denmark if the law were not turned down.

At the last minute, former Justice Minister Knud Thstrup, a Conservative, had attempted unsuccessfully to gather the sixty signatures of the Folketing required for a referendum to be ordered. Only forty-eight signed.

Capitalists turn to nationalist demagogy

Venezuela: issues in the coming national elections

[The following article is translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the June 7 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party).]

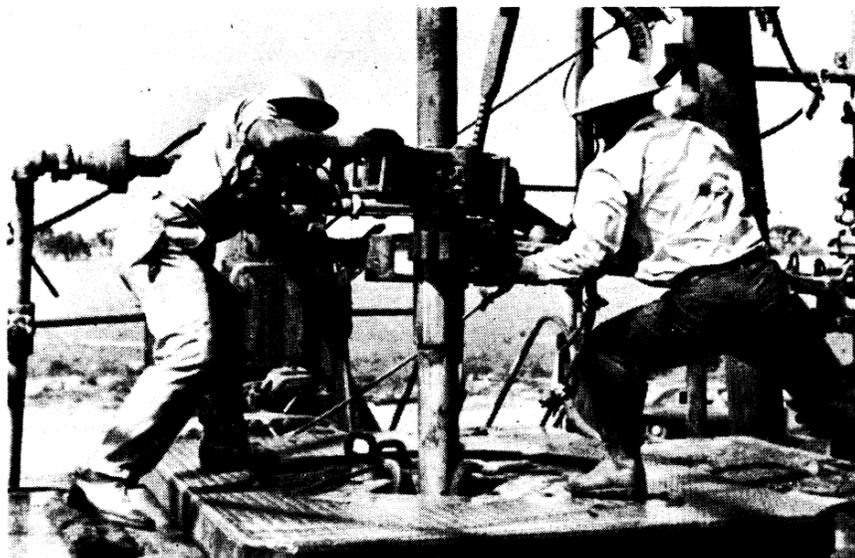
Venezuela is one of the richest countries in Latin America. Because it is a big oil producer, for a number of decades it has been receiving an "injection" of millions of dollars, which has transformed it from an agricultural country into an essentially urban, capitalist nation.

But, on the other hand, it is also one of the poorest countries on the continent. It suffers from a tremendous and increasing number of persons who are "permanently unemployed": Of the thousands of young people who should be joining the work force each year, more than half cannot find a job. Caracas, the capital, is a microcosm of this stark reality. Its impressive superhighways, its tall skyscrapers and modern automobiles cannot hide the miserable slums surrounding it in which thousands of workers and jobless people live in flimsy tin and cardboard shacks, insecurely attached to the hillsides—until a tropical rain washes them away.

The End of Social Peace

The entire country has been geared to further the superprofits of the Yankee oil companies and a small group of local multimillionaires who pull the strings behind every government. The "social peace" that made it possible for them to enjoy their privileges was based on the total fragmentation of the workers movement (it is common to find three or four unions operating in the same factory), the existence of a caste of completely corrupt union bureaucrats (who run the Confederación de Trabajadores de Venezuela [CTV—Venezuela Workers Confederation]), and economic stability which meant an inflation of only 1.7 percent between 1968 and 1970 (in Argentina it was thirteen times as high).

But the economy's present state of deterioration has prompted the workers movement to react, impelling it into struggle against the wishes of the union leaderships. Within three years, "legal" strikes fell from 3,000 to 800, but "illegal" strikes went up



Drilling for oil in Lake Maracaibo, Venezuela

from 1,000 to 38,000.

The student movement, which has a great tradition of struggle, is not silent either. One conflict after another is occurring among the secondary school students. Less than two months ago, Caracas was the scene of a demonstration by 10,000 students. And recently, during the visit of [U.S. Secretary of State William] Rogers, new mobilizations shook many cities for five days.

Bourgeois Nationalism Advances

The Venezuelan bourgeoisie is joining the general process that is going on in Latin America: the emergence of bourgeois nationalist governments that are trying to maintain the capitalist system by adapting to the new situation, reflected in an upsurge in the mass movement; superexploitation by Yankee imperialism (which does not leave the local bourgeoisies with sufficient profits); and increasingly sharp competition between the Yankee and European monopolies.

In the past three years, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie has taken various steps along these lines: a new tax policy, nationalization of gas, state control over the domestic market in petroleum by-products, and the "Reversion Law," which provides for petroleum plants to automatically become state property in 1983.

This general process is being dubbed "Democratic Nationalism"—the equivalent of the "National Socialism" of the Argentine Social Justice [Peronist] movement.

Limitations of 'Democratic Nationalism'

These measures do not provide any thoroughgoing solution to the Venezuelan crisis, although it is obvious that this policy is not the same as the policy of handing over the nation's wealth to imperialism that was followed a few years back by Betancourt.

The limitations stand out clearly, in, for example, the fabulous oil deposits discovered not long ago in the so-called "Orinoco bituminous strip." The Yankees want to be sure that they remain under their control, and that they go into production as soon as possible; they are demanding guarantees for the capital that will have to be invested. The government stated

that "no negotiations or conversations of any kind are under way," but the [U.S.] State Department itself revealed that secret negotiations between the two governments have been carried on since 1972.

Once again the national bourgeoisie has shown itself incapable of putting up a serious confrontation with its imperialist partners. Even the demagoguery of the Christian Democratic president, who displays more bravery in words than in deeds, never even mentioned the possibility of a break with imperialism. The bourgeoisie knows that in any showdown it would be the workers on one side and imperialism on the other.

The Elections

This is the context in which an intense election campaign, scheduled for next December, is taking place. Two bourgeois parties are fighting for the votes of the people. And although both Acción Democrática [Democratic Action] (representing the most "hard-line" of the bosses) and the Christian Democrats of COPEI [Comité Organizado por Elecciones Independientes—Committee Organized for Independent Political Action] (who today portray themselves as nationalists) have their bureaucratic deputies in the central workers union, neither has anything in particular to offer as an alternative to what the Venezuelan masses

have been going through.

Nor does Nueva Fuerza [New Force], which is made up of a bourgeois split-off from Acción Democrática and the Communist party. In spite of the socialist slogans that the CP demagogically raises, its basic policy is one of promoting class harmony.

The only organization that could be an alternative is the Movimiento al Socialismo [MAS—Movement Toward Socialism], which views the construction of socialism as an immediate task and rejects electoral alliances with the parties of the bosses. Its first action last year drew between 20,000 and 30,000 compañeros who wanted to support a socialist approach as an alternative to the old and corrupt bourgeois and reformist parties. Its candidate is J.V. Rangel, an independent deputy with an outstanding reputation as a fighter in the struggle against repression.

Alongside these positive points, there are a number of dangerously unclear aspects to the MAS. Its propaganda is not tied to conflicts that are occurring on a daily basis, and it is not clearly emphasizing the decisive role of the workers in the battle for power and the building of socialism.

These weaknesses of the MAS do not justify the desertions of the ultra-leftists, who are calling for people to cast a blank ballot, thereby aiding the plans of COPEI and Acción Democrática to remain in the driver's seat.

An example of how revolutionary Marxists ought to act in a process such as the one Venezuela is going through is provided by the Grupo Trotskista Venezolano [Venezuelan Trotskyist Group], which publishes *Voz Marxista*. It is intervening directly in the class struggle by supporting the mobilizations of workers and students and by putting forward a program that begins with the nationalization of oil under workers control. And at the same time, it is intervening in the electoral process by supporting the Rangel candidacy in an attempt to correct the deviations of the socialist campaign, to present the workers with an independent alternative, and to lay the basis for building a strong revolutionary, workers, and socialist party in the heat of popular struggle and political polarization. □

Repeated appeals for people to remain calm did not stop the masses from stoning the headquarters of Patria y Libertad and the Catholic University.

A large number of the demonstrators carried clubs or "spears" without attempting to conceal them.

The reviving of the masses of the left can also be seen in the occupation of various ranches by peasants in Maipú, near the Cerrillos Cordón; the take-overs were supported by the workers in the zone.

It is also worth noting that the Viña Mackena Cordón is becoming more active.

In addition, *El Mercurio* was suspended from publishing for six days. [An appeals court invalidated the closure, enabling the newspaper to resume publication on June 23, after not coming out for one day.] □



Voz Marxista

RANGEL (r): A working-class alternative in the Venezuelan elections.

...Chile

Continued from page WO1

Godoy spoke of the need to centralize the distribution and supply of food.

The UP press is reprinting Godoy's speech, but not Allende's. It could be that he said something that was not in the script in response to the gigantic chorus with which the entire crowd greeted his speech. "Firm Hand! Firm Hand!" they roared. The criticism appeared to strike home, because he began by stating that he had never used a gentle hand, and later on he said that his was not a reformist government; yet he mixed this up with charges that the right had "branded" his government as Marxist without respect to the military ministers."



Robert Pryor

Can Nixon remain silent as W'gate crisis mounts?

By CINDY JAQUITH
 JULY 4—"... rarely if ever in the long march of American history... has the nation been so shaken by doubt and uncertainty directly affecting its topmost leadership, its most revered institutions and the very structure of its democratic government. This is the real meaning of Watergate," said the *New York Times* editorial today.

Nixon so far has made no credible effort to refute the charges leveled against him by ex-White House counsel John Dean. Testifying before the Senate Watergate committee, Dean accused the president of wholesale violations of the U. S. Constitution, bribery, burglary, and obstruction of justice. By the end of the week even *Time* magazine had to admit that "the grave charges against the President had passed a point of no return."

Dean's unshakable story forced Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) to admit to the witness on June 28, "I believe the thrust of your testimony." Baker, a staunch Republican, agreed with committee head Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.) that the gravity of the charges required some public answer from Nixon.

Ervin said the "only reliable way" to determine Nixon's credibility was to question him under oath. He later told reporters he would "rather not" have to subpoena the president to appear before the committee.

Baker suggested a variety of ways

Nixon could respond to the Dean charges, but like Ervin, he underscored the determination of the committee to get an answer out of the president one way or the other. "... as we say in Tennessee, there are lots of ways to skin a cat," he observed.

Conceding the "extraordinary" nature of the request that the highest official in the country prove his innocence of serious crimes, the July 1 *New York Times* insisted "neither the nation nor its First Citizen will be able to rest" until "Richard M. Nixon tells what he knew and when he knew it, tells it under oath and responds to the most exhaustive interrogation that assembled legal minds can provide."

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) joined the ranks of politicians openly pressing Nixon to testify. The July 9 *Newsweek* predicted that "the President would have to find some forum, and soon. To stand silent now was to invite the spreading suspicion that John Dean has raised questions that Richard Nixon cannot answer."

What worries these spokesmen for the capitalists most is the erosion of confidence in the U. S. government as a whole. The July 4 *New York Times* editorial pointed to this "crisis of confidence," warning that it was dangerously affecting the government's "ability to deal with its most pressing problems at home." Or, as columnist Stewart Alsop explained it in the July 9 *Newsweek*, if Nixon stays in office,

"the country will probably be presided over for the next three years and more by a paraplegic President."

One indication of what is bugging many capitalist politicians is the latest Gallup poll, showing that two-thirds of the American people believe that at least some members of Congress used "unethical and illegal" means to get elected. Twenty percent of those surveyed think that half or more of Congress got into office through crooked methods.

The implications of this poll are surely not lost on the Senate Watergate committee itself, as well as every other Democratic and Republican officeholder.

This deep lack of confidence in all levels of capitalist government has severely limited the few remaining options left for Nixon.

The statement released by White House counsel J. Fred Buzhardt on June 27, branding Dean as the "mastermind" of Watergate, was almost laughed out of the Senate hearing room, forcing the White House to disown it the next day.

Nor was Nixon able to push Watergate off the front pages with the visit of Soviet leader Brezhnev the week before.

Now White House press secretary Ron Ziegler has announced that Nixon will make no public statement about Watergate until the end of this phase of the Senate hearings, sometime in September. Ziegler ruled out an appearance before the Senate com-

mittee or the grand jury investigating Watergate, as well as any written statement from the president on the Dean charges.

In a further retreat from the public, Ziegler said Nixon will not even hold a news conference—on any subject—until the first phase of the hearings end. It has already been more than three months since Nixon has dared to appear before the press.

Reporter John Herbers, writing from San Clemente, Calif., in the July 3 *New York Times*, painted a picture of Nixon in almost total isolation: "President Nixon has been here since June 22 and has not left the Presidential compound except to see off the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev... on June 24. He has worked in seclusion except for brief ceremonial occasions."

Columnists Evans and Novak portrayed the scene back in Washington this way: "the offices of senior Administration officials have been closed to routine business, their telephones turned off for all but emergency calls, and their office television sets turned on."

"Nixon's own party leaders may soon be confronted with the nightmare choice of continuing to back a President credibly accused of obstructing justice... or of ending their support of the party's and the nation's leader."

One Republican senator has already made up his mind. "The President is no longer relevant," he told *Newsweek*. "It's every man for himself now."

Watergate and the Bill of Rights

A central issue in the Watergate scandal has been the consistent violation of the constitutional rights of the U. S. people by the Nixon administration. This was highlighted in an exchange between Senator Ervin and John Dean that took place during the Senate Watergate hearings June 28.

Referring first to the government's secret spy plan, Ervin said to Dean, "I will ask you, as a lawyer, if you do not think that surreptitious entry... constituted a violation of the Fourth Amendment... hasn't the Supreme Court recently held by unanimous opinion that the use of electronic surveillance and penetration to obtain information concerning persons allegedly guilty of subversive—of domestic subversive activities—is also a violation of the Fourth Amendment?"

Dean answered, "That is correct, Mr.

Chairman."

Later, Ervin asked, referring to the White House "enemies list," "Didn't those in the White House interested in President Nixon's re-election and then the re-election committee classify among their enemies people who dissented from President Nixon's programs?" Dean explained, yes, "those who were able to command an audience were singled out."

And Ervin then summarized, "So we have here plans to violate the Fourth Amendment, which were approved by the President... we have people being branded enemies whose mere offense is that they believed in enforcing the First Amendment..."

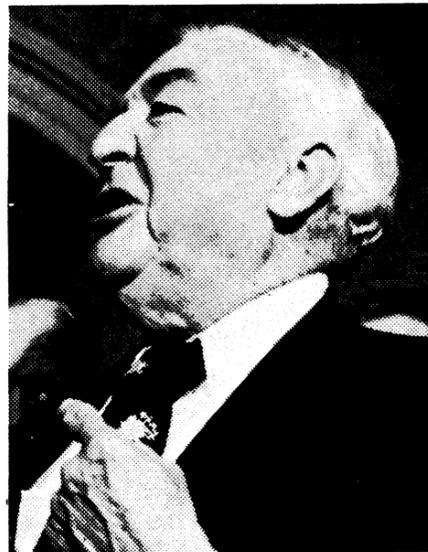
And in one last constitutional reference, Ervin put the icing on the cake. At the end of his examination, Ervin said, "Just one other matter. Article II of the Constitution says,

in defining the power of the President, Section 3 of Article II, 'He—that is the President—shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.'"

The senator then asked Dean, "Do you know anything that the President did or said at any time between June 17 and the present moment to perform his duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed in respect to what is called the Watergate affair?"

"Mr. Chairman," Dean replied, "I have given the facts as I know them and I don't—I would rather be excused from drawing my own conclusion on that at this point in time."

The senators didn't press Dean for his conclusion. The rest of us, however, should have no trouble in returning a verdict on the Nixon administration: guilty as charged of violating the Bill of Rights.



ERVIN: Asks for verdict on president's conduct.

New facts on 1970 terrorism

CIA linked to attacks on L.A. radicals

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—During the spring of 1970, counterrevolutionary Cuban terrorists carried out a series of armed arson attacks here against the Haymarket, a radical meeting place and bookstore; the offices of the Socialist Workers Party 1970 California election campaign; and the Ashgrove, a coffee house that often made its facilities available to radical causes.

All three victims of these attacks were centers of activity during the massive antiwar upsurge that challenged the U.S. invasion of Cambodia in May 1970.

Los Angeles Deputy District Attorney Stephen S. Trott, who was the prosecutor in the case of three of the terrorists involved in the attacks here, has now revealed in discussions with this reporter that the terrorists had been approached prior to their arson raids by a man claiming to be with the CIA.

When asked if he thought the CIA was involved in organizing the arson attacks, Trott said, "I wouldn't be surprised at anything now, after Watergate. For instance, there is E. Howard Hunt. His MO [method of operation] was to lie to Cubans, saying they would get back Cuba if they helped the CIA. It was a vicious, disgusting business.

"The Cuban exiles hate communists so much they would bomb anything that moved," Trott said, referring to the right-wing opponents of the Cuban revolution, called *gusanos* (worms) by supporters of the Cuban revolution.



Militant/John Gray

Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters after May 1970 fire set by anti-Castro Cubans. SWP campaign was playing active role in antiwar upsurge at time of attack.

The three terrorists prosecuted by Trott—Mario Pelaez, Reynaldo Castro, and Reynaldo Gonzalez—have all been sentenced on charges of conspiracy to commit arson for their part in the attacks here. Pelaez is serving a ten-month sentence in the Los Angeles County jail. Castro and Gonzalez were given sentences of one to 10 years in state prison.

Trott's assertion that the CIA was involved in the terrorist activities was corroborated by interviews with Edward Gritz and Sergeant Charles Loust of the Los Angeles Police Department Criminal Conspiracy Division. Gritz was the attorney for the three *gusanos*. He says he was aware that someone claiming to be from the CIA had approached a number of Cubans in Los Angeles in the spring of 1970. "My clients were used by someone," he said. "I know who it is but I can't reveal the information."

Loust revealed that a Cuban had approached Los Angeles Cuban counterrevolutionaries in May 1970 to "fight Communism and get Cuba back."

Pelaez, Castro, and Gonzalez were arrested while attempting to flee the Ashgrove coffeehouse after the June 7, 1970, attack on that center. The three pleaded guilty when they finally came to trial on Dec. 19, 1972. Victims of the three arson attacks report that Pelaez, Castro, and Gonzalez were only three of at least a dozen *gusanos* who participated in the armed terrorist raids. No one else has yet been prosecuted for taking part in the attacks.

The attack on the Haymarket, which totally destroyed the place, occurred April 13, 1970. Ron White, a witness to the raid, was splashed with a caustic solution that burned his lungs so severely it was feared he would not live. His lungs are permanently damaged.

On May 27, the SWP campaign headquarters at 1702 E. 4th Street was gutted by an armed arson attack by about a dozen *gusanos*. Four election campaign workers were held at gunpoint and told they "would die for Fidel Castro." The four were left inside the building after it was set aflame but were able to escape through a fire exit.

Following the attack on the SWP, the Citizens Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression was organized. Sponsors included Angela Davis, State Senator Mervyn Dymally, Jane Fonda, Councilman Billy Mills, and local heads of the Social Services Union, Amalgamated Clothing Work-



Militant/John Gray

The Haymarket, a meeting hall used by radicals, was totally destroyed in April 1970 arson attack by Cuban exiles.

ers, and Teamsters.

The committee's purpose was to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the May 27 attack on the SWP campaign headquarters. The pattern of police negligence in the investigation was so pervasive that it raised the question of police complicity in an attempt to cover up the real inspiration behind the attacks.

In the light of Watergate and these new revelations by Trott, this suspicion seems to have been clearly merited. The *gusano* actions were tied to the Nixon "game plan" aimed at attacking the antiwar movement following the May 1970 upsurge. The Los Angeles police and district attorney's office appear to have been cooperating in hiding this fact from the victims of the CIA-inspired attacks.

For example, following their arrest, Pelaez, Castro, and Gonzalez skipped bail. Official court records reveal that in April 1971, John R. Howard, a special agent for the Surety Insurance Company, the company responsible for their bail, informed the Los Angeles Superior Court that he had located the three fugitives. Castro and Gonzalez were, according to Howard's deposition to the court, in Mexico City at the headquarters of a *gusano* organization called Alpha 66. He described this as an armed guerrilla warfare training camp that was planning anti-Cuban operations. Pelaez was found at a Colgate-Palmolive plant in Costa Rica.

There is no evidence that there was any move on the part of the court

to bring the three back to Los Angeles following the receipt of Howard's report. Gritz now maintains they never left the U.S. Trott says he also doubts that they were found as indicated in Howard's deposition. There is no explanation for the discrepancy between these two reports.

In any case, the three *gusano* fugitives were finally arrested only in 1972, when Pelaez converted to the Jehovah's Witnesses and, according to Trott, confessed his role in the terrorist attacks in a letter sent directly to President Nixon. The White House, Trott said, notified Pelaez of what he should do to make a formal confession.

Following Pelaez's confession, a bench warrant was issued for the arrest of the three *gusanos*. One was arrested in Connecticut and the others in Miami.

Trott was also the prosecutor in the case of two other *gusano* terrorists, Hector Cornillot y Lano Jr. and Juan Garcia-Cardenas, for their part in about 10 bombings in Los Angeles in 1968. These included attacks on the Shell Oil Corporation and two Mexican tourist offices. FBI agents testified at the trial of these terrorists that the explosives they used had been obtained from the CIA for use in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

The fact that the CIA allowed these *gusanos* to keep these explosives for seven years after the Bay of Pigs fiasco of 1961 is further evidence of CIA complicity in the April-May 1970 terror attacks against Los Angeles antiwar and socialist organizations.

Feliciano frame-up fits W'gate pattern

NEW YORK, June 29—Defense attorneys for Carlos Feliciano are demanding that all charges against the Puerto Rican activist be dropped in light of recent Watergate revelations.

Feliciano is scheduled to go to trial in Manhattan soon on charges of attempted bombing and possession of explosives. His attorneys, William Kunstler and Conrad Lynn, will present a motion for dismissal of these charges at a pre-trial hearing on July 2.

A statement released June 28 by the Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano explains:

"In the midst of the tremendous credibility gap created by the Watergate scandal, vital information has been released that sheds light upon the recent arrests of activists and pros-

ecution of organizations. This is the notorious directive President Nixon gave to the FBI . . . authorizing it to build a campaign of investigation and harassment against activists and social movements in this country.

"How much of the directive was actually implemented is still not known but daily allegations surface across the United States. It is ironic that President Nixon, who has consorted with known lawless elements (such as Bay of Pigs adventurers), directed this country's largest investigative agency to investigate movements for social change in 1970—the year Carlos Feliciano was arrested."

Last year, a jury in the Bronx acquitted Feliciano of basically the same charges he now

faces in Manhattan. During the Bronx trial, defense attorneys contended that a police informer, Detective Andrew Guttierrez, planted the pipe bomb found in Feliciano's car.

According to the defense committee, "The strong possibility exists that a plot against Carlos Feliciano comes from higher government levels. From police testimony presented in the Bronx, we know that there was a plot, a frame-up . . . Detective Andrew Guttierrez, the prosecution's star witness, told the jury . . . as much. . . ."

"The District Attorney's case has been further weakened by the recent suspension of Andrew Guttierrez for extorting \$15,000 from Queens drug addicts four months after the frame-up of Carlos Feliciano."

Fred Halstead: 'The John Dean I knew'

How peace movement foiled 'dirty tricks'

By PETER SEIDMAN

On June 28, John Dean told the Senate Watergate committee about his role as the government's negotiator with antiwar leaders before the demonstration that took place in Washington, D.C., on Nov. 15, 1969. Dean's testimony revealed a great deal about how the government viewed antiwar demonstrations, and how it tried to handle them.

One of the people Dean negotiated with was Fred Halstead, who is a

these other two people, they didn't know us. We didn't know quite what to expect. Possibly we thought they might look upon us as some sort of ogres. We didn't know exactly what to look upon them as.

"Both Dean and Tapman were businesslike and polite. On the second occasion we met with them, Brad, who is a vegetarian, and is often into apples, brought several apples with him. He presented one each to Tapman and Dean. And he gave one



Militant/Brian Shannon

Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C. Organizers of the action thwarted government attempts to isolate antiwar movement through red-baiting.

leader of the Socialist Workers Party. I talked with Halstead to get his views, as a socialist and antiwar leader, of Dean's testimony.

Halstead told me that he was part of the New Mobilization Committee's negotiating team because he, together with Bradford Lyttle, a pacifist, was in charge of logistics and marshals for the demonstration.

"When we first met with the government, Dean was present, as was Ken Tapman, a lawyer working for the Interior Department," Halstead recalled. "By and large, those were the two people we dealt with."

Halstead described the first time he met Dean. "We went into the Justice Department building, I believe it was in Dean's office. Just Dean and Tapman were present on the government side. I think Brad Lyttle was there and the New Mobe lawyer, Phillip Hirshkop, and a couple of others from our side.

Apples from ogres?

"We introduced ourselves. The situation was strained. None of us knew



Militant/Brian Shannon

HALSTEAD: As a chief marshal for Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march, Socialist Workers Party leader met with Dean in permit negotiations.

to me too. This broke the ice a little bit, I think."

In his Senate testimony, Dean said he had been offered FBI reports on all the demonstration leaders he was involved with. Dean said he turned them down, so maybe he didn't know any more about Halstead and the other New Mobe leaders than they knew about him, but he certainly had a chance to find out. I asked Halstead if he had any comment on this.

"Well," he said, "we went around the room and introduced ourselves. And when we got to me, I said 'Halstead.' Dean nodded as though he knew who I was. Of course, I had been the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party the previous year. I'd done everything I could to get as much publicity about who I was, what my past had been, and everything else. So it's conceivable he just knew who I was because he read some newspaper articles about me."

Gov't smear attempt

"As a matter of fact," Halstead said, "there wasn't a single person on the negotiating committee who was not a public personality, who had not been very active in various kinds of movement activity." Why then, I asked him, was the FBI compiling dossiers on the New Mobe leaders?

"Well," he answered, "they were trying to smear us, of course. They were trying to come up with ways to frighten off people who had endorsed the demonstration."

"One of the engines of the cold war and of anticommunist hysteria was the government's proposition that if there were communists or socialists involved, then nobody should have anything to do with the demonstration."

"Our approach to this," Halstead told me, "was to meet it head on with the fact that we were a nonexclusive committee. Anybody who was in favor of the purpose of the demonstration was welcome to come to the demon-

stration and participate in it, including in its leadership. As long, that is, as they adhered to the policy of peaceful, legal demonstrations.

"And we stuck to that. I think our policy had an effect in defeating attempts to whip up this kind of hysteria. We dealt a blow against the witch-hunt atmosphere the government was trying to use to diminish the size of the demonstration."

In Halstead's opinion, the government's decision to stall permit negotiations—a policy Dean admitted in his Senate testimony—was also aimed at hurting the action by creating an atmosphere of confrontation. I asked him what measures the New Mobilization Committee had taken to cut across this.

"First of all," he told me, "we made it our policy that the demonstration would be peaceful, legal, and non-violent. Second, we put that policy into our publicity. And third, we organized thousands of marshals to monitor the demonstration. The marshals were demonstrators who were trained in how to maintain the peaceful, legal policy of the demonstration."

Some sections of the antiwar movement did not agree with the New Mobilization Committee's tactics.

Justice Dept. demonstration

"I think about two weeks before the demonstration," Halstead said, "A press conference was held in front of the Justice Department by Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, and a few other people. They announced a demonstration at the Justice Department for Saturday, Nov. 15. They said it would take place after the march we were organizing, and that it would be a confrontation. I believe they used that terminology."

"Later they came to a meeting of the New Mobilization Committee and asked it to endorse this demonstration. A vote was taken, and the vote was not to endorse it. However, they went ahead anyway."

Halstead described how the police brutally attacked and tear-gassed the Justice Department demonstration. This attack also affected the crowd

in the larger demonstration taking place nearby.

Knowing what he does now from the Watergate revelations about the extent to which the government infiltrated the antiwar movement and sought to create provocations, I asked Halstead if he thought there was an element of this in the Justice Department action.

"Undoubtedly," he said, "government agencies that hired people like Hunt and Liddy to infiltrate and cause



DEAN: Stalled permit negotiations for antiwar march.

provocations had some of their provocateurs in that demonstration. And they may have been the ones who first started baiting the police and trying to get them to throw tear gas. That's quite possible. But I would not say the demonstration was called for that purpose.

I think the fact that Rubin and Hoffman called it was unwise, however, for that reason. It was a running dispute within the movement."

Government afraid?

The Nov. 15 demonstration was overwhelmingly peaceful, as were almost all the major protests in Washington. I asked Halstead his reaction to the fact that Senator Ervin, in questioning both John Dean and Jeb Stuart Magruder, repeatedly said that the White House was enveloped in a real climate of fear about the demonstration. Was it true the White House was

Continued on page 22

Gov't wanted to frighten people

Fred Halstead, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was a central organizer of the Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar demonstration staged in Washington, D.C., by the New Mobilization Committee. What did he think of John Dean's testimony before the Senate Watergate committee that the government was taking a terrible beating by making an issue of the demonstrators' right to march down Pennsylvania Avenue instead of Constitution Avenue? Did he agree with Dean that the government's position gave the demonstrator's \$2-million worth of publicity?

HALSTEAD: I think that's probably true. There was considerable discussion in the media about our right to demonstrate and the fact that the government was taking this unreasonable position.

There was absolutely no reason at all, no security reason or anything, that made Pennsylvania different from Constitution.

There was a political difference. That is, Pennsylvania Avenue is a traditional place for the most impor-

tant events. It makes a more effective scene. They wanted to keep down the political impact of the demonstration as much as they could.

Did Halstead think the government was trying to create an atmosphere of confrontation around the demonstration?

HALSTEAD: I don't know whether Dean was or not. And frankly, I rather doubt that the people who were directly negotiating with us wanted to. As a matter of fact, it's my impression that even the official police agencies, such as the Metropolitan Police or the Parks Police in Washington, didn't want to either.

They wanted as little trouble as they could possibly have.

However, on a higher level, the White House level, there was clearly an attempt on the part of the policy makers to do whatever they could to frighten people away from the demonstration and to smear the demonstration as being potentially violent.

WATERGATE: Dean's testimony

Labor, Black leaders target of secret list

By CINDY JAQUITH

JULY 2—The revelation of Nixon's secret "enemy list" has intensified public outcry against government use of illegal methods to intimidate dissenters.

During his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee last week, ex-White House counsel John Dean explained the "Opponents List and Political Enemies Project." The plan, he said, was to use federal agencies like the Internal Revenue Service to "screw our enemies."

White House "enemies" were kept on a list "several inches thick." The lists made public thus far are of prominent individuals, including trade-union officials, Black leaders, antiwar entertainers, reporters, and politicians. Among the names are actress Jane Fonda, Black comedian Dick Gregory, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, columnist Jack Anderson, and former attorney general Ramsey Clark.

Ex-White House counsel Charles Colson drew up the list, Dean said. Colson now claims that the names were really only used to decide who should not be invited to White House social events.

But nobody is buying this story, especially since new evidence has surfaced linking Colson to a whole campaign of "dirty tricks" against dissident labor officials.

According to the July 1 *New York Times*, Colson intervened in Labor Department proceedings on behalf of the corrupt Teamsters bureaucracy in return for the bureaucrats' support for Nixon in the 1972 campaign. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons has now retained Colson's law firm to represent the union.

It is hardly coincidental, then, that Teamsters Vice-president Harold Gibbons, a McGovern supporter and outspoken critic of the war, won a high place on the White House enemy list.

Colson even wrote a special memo on Gibbons in June 1972, pointing out that he "is one of the three labor leaders who were recently invited to Hanoi." Gibbons was a founder of Labor for Peace, a trade-union antiwar group.

Colson demanded that a tax audit against Gibbons "be started at once." Later, Fitzsimmons had Gibbons deposed as head of the 800,000-strong Teamsters Central States Conference.

Certainly the fact that the White House took such an interest in

"getting" Gibbons adds weight to the charges that Nixon is deeply involved in the current Teamster-grower drive to smash the United Farm Workers Union in California.

Another "enemy" on the White House list is the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). This group was one of the original targets for physical attack in the "National Caucus of Labor Committees" campaign of violence against left organizations. The appearance of NWRO on the enemy list strengthens the suspicion of many movement activists that government agents have infiltrated the Labor Committee to encourage hooligan attacks.

All in all, it sounds like Colson had more in mind than White House cocktail parties when he made up his list. The list is just one more example of government attempts to stifle the right to dissent.

Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.) pointed this out during the Senate Watergate hearings when he said, "we have people being branded enemies whose mere offense is that they believed in enforcing the First Amendment." Ervin added that the Internal Revenue Service had been "perverted and prostituted" in order to harass dissidents.

Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), one of 12 Black members of Congress on the list, has announced he will demand an investigation of possible Republican interference in his 1972 campaign.

Many who "made the list," including football star Joe Namath, said they had no idea why they are considered enemies. They have simply been branded as such without any hearing.

The exposure of the enemy list and the opposition it has aroused should help focus new attacks on another unconstitutional list maintained by the government—the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations. Socialist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party have been placed on this list with no right to a hearing or to an appeal.

Unlike the White House list, the attorney general's list is not secret. It is a public document used to legitimize government harassment of radicals, including the barring of members of groups on the list from government employment. The rising opposition to police-state practices should demand that this list and all other attempts to deny civil liberties, open or covert, be abolished.

Trial set for NCLCers

Conviction of thugs demanded in N.Y.

JULY 3—Jose Torres, National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) member charged with aggravated assault and battery in connection with the April 11 beating of six members of the Temple University Young Workers Liberation League, was acquitted June 28. Torres was formerly a CIA agent in Vietnam.

According to the YWLL, Philadelphia District Attorney Arlan Spector's office failed to carry out an adequate prosecution. An example is that Assistant District Attorney Bruce Neff failed to call several witnesses who had identified Torres as the director of the attack.

Marilyn Markus, secretary of the New York Committee to Stop Terrorist Attacks, organized to protest NCLC hooliganism, told *The Militant*, "There is no excuse for this inadequate prosecution on the part of the Philadelphia district attorney. His office is attempting to ignore these NCLC armed attacks on unarmed individuals by treating them as if they were part of a small feud on the left. What is really at stake is a serious attack against the civil liberties of the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and other radical organizations."

Markus stressed the importance of putting pressure on the DA's office in New York City to vigorously prosecute NCLC goons Steve Getzoff and George Turner. "The acquittal of Torres in Philadelphia shows that we can't trust the courts and the district attorneys to protect the basic democratic rights of socialists. We must mobilize broad political pressure before they will respond."

Getzoff and Turner were arrested June 11 on charges of assault against Ron Tyson, staff writer for the *Daily World*. Getzoff was arrested again on June 26 after being identified by Rebecca Finch and Ken Shilman as one of five armed thugs who attacked them from behind on June 9.

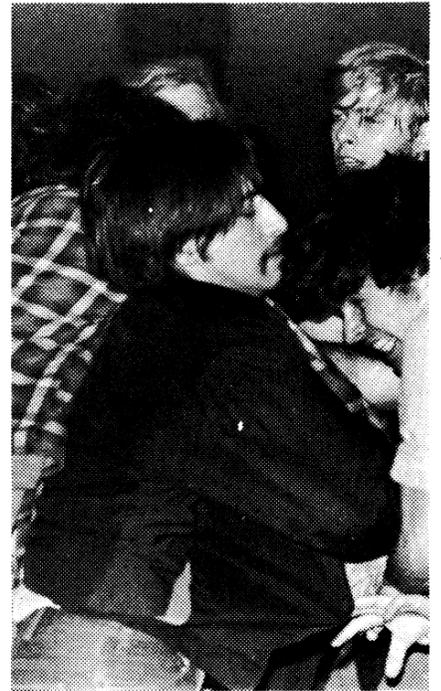
Jesse Smith, who was with them, suffered serious head injuries requiring 11 stitches and a broken arm. Finch, Shilman, and Smith are leaders of the Lower Manhattan branch of the Socialist Workers Party. Smith is also a member of the New York City Taxi Drivers Local 3036.

Hearings for Getzoff and Turner are scheduled for July 16, 9:30 a.m., at 100 Centre Street. Meanwhile they are free on their own recognizance.

Markus told *The Militant* that opposition to the NCLC's hooligan campaign, now in its fourth month, continues to grow. "Throughout the country scores of trade unions, student leaders, professors, Black and Puerto Rican organizations, civil libertarians, and virtually all radical organizations, despite sharp political disagreements, have condemned these attacks.

"Among the prominent individuals who have added their voices to the protest are: Annette Rubenstein, literary critic; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Nat Hentoff, *Village Voice* columnist; and Roland Watts, Workers Defense League."

Support is also growing for the newly formed New York Committee to Stop Terrorist Attacks, which is attempting to organize broad support to demand that the city government



Columbia Spectator/Alan Scott

NCLC goon (left) during attack at Columbia U. Did he also assault SWPer Jesse Smith?

defend the basic democratic rights of all individuals and organizations attacked by NCLC thugs. Initial sponsors include, among others, Ruth Gage-Colby, longtime leader in the peace movement; Myrna Lamb, feminist playwright; Conrad Lynn, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; and Katherine Sojourner, a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

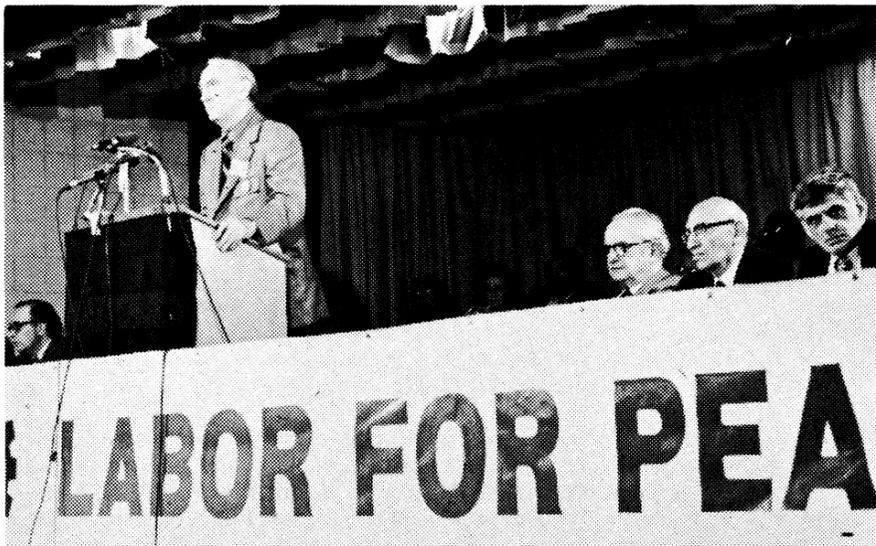
This week the committee sent a letter to Mayor John Lindsay explaining the history of the NCLC attacks and the serious abridgment of civil liberties they represent. The letter demanded that the mayor initiate an investigation to determine if employees of the New York City Police Department or any other city law enforcement agency are operating within NCLC as agents provocateurs.

The fact that two NCLC assailants arrested in Philadelphia were identified as Pennsylvania parole officers, along with numerous public exposures of police provocateurs in New York City in the past few years, is sufficient grounds for beginning such an investigation.

The letter also expressed concern that the New York police are not doing everything possible to apprehend and prosecute these hooligans. It demanded that the police question Getzoff, Turner, and known leaders of the NCLC to determine the identity of the other four assailants involved in the June 9 attack on Smith, Shilman, and Finch.

Markus also stressed the importance of writing letters and sending telegrams of protest to District Attorney Frank Hogan, 155 Leonard St., New York, N.Y. 10013; Mayor John Lindsay, City Hall, New York, N.Y. 10007; and Police Commissioner Donald Cawley, 240 Centre St., New York, N.Y. 10013.

For more information write CSTA, P.O. Box 902, Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009. Telephone: (212) 982-8214.



Militant/Fred Halstead

Teamster Vice-president Harold Gibbons speaking at Labor for Peace conference in 1972. Antiwar, pro-McGovern stand won him high place on Nixon's 'enemy list.'

N.Y. postal workers reject contract, call protest rally

By MICHAEL LUX

NEW YORK, July 2—A general membership meeting of the Metropolitan Area Postal Union (formerly the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union) voted here tonight to reject the terms of a new secretly negotiated contract meant to cover all 600,000 U.S. postal workers. The 500 assembled unionists cheered Moe Biller, president of the 26,000-member union, as he called for a mass demonstration and protest rally for Friday, July 6, at 2:30 p.m. on the steps of the General Post Office in Manhattan.

The militant Branch 36 of the New York Letter Carriers had unanimously rejected the contract in an earlier meeting.

Contract terms were secretly agreed to June 19 by Francis Filbey, president of the 315,000-member American Postal Workers Union; James Rademacher, president of the 200,000-member National Association of Letter Carriers; plus representatives of the Mail Handlers division of the Laborers International Union and the Rural Letter Carriers Association. The agreements are subject to rank-and-file ratification via mail ballot.

Terms agreed to include an escalator clause pegged to the Consumer Price Index and calculated every six months, a 14 percent wage increase over two years, retention of a no-layoff clause, and an increase in the Postal Service share of health and life insurance costs from 40 percent to 60 percent in two years. Postal workers now earn from \$7,300 a year for custodians to \$10,907 for clerks and carriers.

In return, union leaders agreed to retain the no-strike clause in the contract, omitted the area-wage differential demanded by the New York City and other high-cost urban area postal workers, and made no provision for night and weekend differentials.

Criticisms of the tentative agreement centered on pay differentials for night and weekend work, the stepped-up work load, cutbacks in the work force, and the general decline of working con-

ditions resulting from "mechanizing and streamlining the system" by the new private managers.



New York postal workers vote down contract union heads had negotiated. Their demand for an area wage differential to match New York's high cost of living helped spark historic 1970 walkout, but it still hasn't been granted.

adequate.

The causes of rank-and-file discontent are loss of purchasing power due to war-primed inflation, speedup on the job due to the "corporation" attitude of the semipublic Postal Service, reduction in the work force by layoffs via attrition, automation resulting in alienating factory conditions, and unsafe and unsanitary working conditions.

Working conditions are clearly unsafe and unhealthy, making it so bad that it is nearly impossible to move the mail. Workers have a hard enough time just breathing. Moe Biller, president of the Metro Area Postal Union, said recently, "the Postal Service is reinstating all the problems of the 1920s—job tediousness, mandatory overtime, and other procedures that impede efficiency, lower morale, and produce an inferior product."

Aided by labor bureaucrats like Filbey and Rademacher, the government has initiated a well-orchestrated campaign to blame the postal workers for the two-cent increase in first-class postage.

Thus, the postal service continues to deteriorate, and the conditions that led to the 1970 strike point toward new rebellion. The strike weapon is the only tool postal workers have to force higher wages, shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work to those now unemployed, and improve working conditions. A veto of this new contract by the rank and file could also help lay the groundwork for a stronger and more democratic union structure.

plans legal action to "retain the right to represent postal employees."

What are the issues forcing the Postal Service and top labor bureaucrats to collaborate so closely and openly in this hustle? They fear that worsening conditions and deteriorating postal service might lead postal workers to exercise their power and militancy in another strike causing an interruption in service that is already at rock bottom.

A pattern is now emerging in which the government, in collusion with the labor aristocracy, is allowing "moderate" wage settlements of about 7 percent, an extension of fringe benefits, and an inadequate cost-of-living escalator clause. In return, labor leaders are helping to cool off the current round of contract negotiations. The recently concluded Teamster pact is part of this same pattern.

The most important gain won is the cost-of-living escalator clause. But this is a tricky deal in the case of the postal contract. It allows for a one-cent increase an hour for every 0.4 point rise in the Consumer Price Index. In rough terms this will mean an increase of about \$1 a week for every one-point increase in the Consumer Price Index.

But most postal workers can tell you that the cost of living has increased at a rate of 14 percent in the last three months, and the rate of price increase for food is 43 percent in that same period. In order to keep up with inflationary trends, workers need a one-cent increase for every 0.2 point increase in the Consumer Price Index. So the present proposal means that postal workers' wages will actually fall behind rising prices.

In addition, the wages of postal workers are well below the \$12,000 annual income, or about \$6 an hour, calculated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics as necessary to maintain a family of four. Postal workers earn from \$3.40 to about \$4.80 an hour tops. Thus, the proposed 14 percent wage boost over two years is completely in-

Who really killed Sgt. Kavanaugh?

"DENVER, July 1 (UPI)—An incomplete autopsy report indicates that Abel Larry Kavanaugh, former prisoner of war accused by a senior officer of collaborating with the enemy, committed suicide, according to a source in the coroner's office." End of item.

Not much of an obituary, but then the people who run this country never troubled themselves much about Abel Larry Kavanaugh in the first place. Two years after he finished high school, they just packed him off to Vietnam, a 19-year-old infantryman like hundreds of thousands of others.

In April 1968, two months after he arrived, Kavanaugh was wounded and captured while out on patrol near Hué. That was the first day of five years he was to spend as a prisoner of war.

During his confinement, Kavanaugh came to oppose the war, a conclusion tens of millions of Americans at home were reaching at the same time. Refusing to be intimidated by pro-war senior officers in the camp, he spoke out in favor of antiwar demonstrations in the U.S. and broadcast an appeal to Nixon to end the war.

To officials in Washington, this branded Kavanaugh a "traitor." Although he had done no more than express his opposition to a war whose brutality and devastation he had witnessed firsthand, this had been enough to earn him a place at the

American Way of Life

top of the Pentagon's own version of the "enemy list."

The treatment began March 19 of this year when Kavanaugh arrived in California with the second batch of POWs. He and two other outspoken antiwar POWs were greeted with dead silence as they stepped off the plane, a marked contrast to the cheers for the 49 others. Weeks of rumors followed that the Pentagon would court-martial him.

At the end of May, the senior officer in Kavanaugh's camp, Colonel Theodore Guy, finally brought charges against him and seven others. Their antiwar views, Colonel Guy said, constituted "collaborating with the enemy."

A month later Kavanaugh shot himself.

Who really killed Abel Larry Kavanaugh? Ask his wife. "The North Vietnamese kept him alive for five years," Sandra Kavanaugh told reporters bitterly, "and then his own country killed him. . . . I blame Colonel Guy and the Pentagon for his death."

Ask his lawyer. "Here's a guy," said attorney Mark Amsterdam, "who served five years as a POW and came back to his wife and a daughter he hadn't seen and was made an outcast. . . . The Pentagon has sat on these charges a long time. . . ."

Ask the Pentagon. Startled by the public reaction to Kavanaugh's suicide, they first came up with the cautious admission that their evidence wasn't really very strong—that a court-martial might not have convicted him.

A week later, fearing the very real possibility of another POW suicide, they were forced to admit the full truth: the charges were a frame-up. They didn't even have enough evidence to bring the eight POWs to trial, let alone secure convictions.

Sandra Kavanaugh was right. Colonel Guy and Nixon's Pentagon murdered her husband just as sure as if they'd pulled the trigger themselves.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN



In act of solidarity, six other antiwar POWs charged with 'collaboration' served as pallbearers at Abel Larry Kavanaugh's funeral. Pentagon has since dropped all charges.

SWP answers the 'Bird'

Why Atlantans should back Bustin for mayor

By LINDA JENNESS

The Georgia Socialist Workers campaign has begun petitioning to obtain the signatures of 4,000 registered voters to put Debbie Bustin, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta, and Joel Aber, SWP candidate for city council president, on the ballot in the 1973 Atlanta municipal elections.

Bustin is a recognized and respected socialist campaigner for the cause of social justice and her campaign has stood unequivocally on the side of the oppressed.

During the recent strike of predominantly Black workers at Rich's Department Store in Atlanta, for instance, Bustin regularly walked the picket line and publicized the strike through her radio and television appearances. The socialist candidates are also partici-



Bird/sunshine bright

BUSTIN: Only challenger to capitalist politicians in Atlanta mayoral race.

pating in the fight to stop police brutality against Atlanta's Black community.

At the Georgia state legislative hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment, Bustin delivered a powerful statement on the rights of women and the need to pass the ERA.

The SWP candidates are presenting the only challenge to the political monopoly of the capitalist parties in the municipal elections. But the SWP campaign has come under attack from the *Great Speckled Bird*, Atlanta's largest "underground" paper. In its June 4 issue, the *Bird* listed all the candidates along with an analysis of



Militant/Joel Aber

Debbie Bustin regularly walked picket line during recent strike by Rich's Department Store workers.

the various campaigns. Bustin was listed seventh under the sarcastic title, "Socialist Wonder Party."

The *Bird* says, "She has all the 'right' positions on the issues." They also admit that Bustin has backed up her program through action. They write, "she did support the Rich's strikers and has denounced in the media and before the Aldermanic Police Committee, [Police Chief] Inman's racism."

But the *Bird* complains that "nowhere does her campaign literature say that the above policies could never be implemented in a capitalist society."

This complaint, incidentally, immediately follows a summary of Bustin's program, which calls for, among other things, a reorganization of society on a socialist basis.

The *Bird* charges that "her running for office only lends credence to those who say the system can be reformed."

"We support and stand for many of the same things Bustin does. But a campaign for Mayor is a contradiction, especially the way the SWP is doing it. . . ." Finally, the *Bird* quotes "an observer who labels herself a Marxist-Leninist," who says, "The campaign is only a tactic to promote the SWP and not socialism. The money they are spending should be spent on serious organizing and education."

In the following issue of the *Bird*, Terry Lunn of the SWP campaign committee replied to these charges. First, Lunn explained that it is simply not true that the socialist candidates fail to call for the elimination of capitalism. He quotes from a speech by Bustin: "These problems will be solved by bringing masses into motion against the stranglehold of the capitalist class in this country until we have enough people in motion to remove that class from power."

As for "lending credence to those who say the system can be reformed," Lunn points to the hypocrisy of this claim: "Considering that the *Bird* endorsed Massell [Democratic mayor of Atlanta] and McGovern, I would say that it is the *Bird* which has given credence to those who say that the system can be reformed."

And in reply to the observer who thinks the money the SWP campaign is spending should be spent on "serious organizing and education," Lunn writes:

"I can't think of anything more serious in Atlanta than organizing and educating around U.S. terror in Southeast Asia, the wave of Black strikes in the past year, the fight against racist police terror in the Black community, the struggle of women for equal pay for equal work, the oppression of gay people, the movement for socialist revolution, and countless other living struggles which have been supported and strengthened by the SWP campaigns."

Lunn's reply ends with an appeal to the *Great Speckled Bird*:

"The SWP thinks that the *Bird*, which says it 'supports and stands for many of the same things Bustin does', should endorse the SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the capitalist politicians. It should give regular coverage of the anticapitalist activities of this socialist election campaign so the readers can determine for themselves if the campaign is worthy of their support. We also think that the *Bird* should pledge right now to not repeat its mistakes of the past by endorsing any of the capitalist candidates in this mayor's race."

Campaigning for Socialism

OHIO PRISONERS ENDORSE CLEVELAND SOCIALIST'S MAYORAL BID: "I want to let you know that the Ohio Prisoners Labor Union endorses Roberta Scherr for mayor of Cleveland. The decision came from a unanimous vote by the executive board of the Ohio Prisoners Labor Union." This message was sent to Roberta Scherr on June 26 by Eugene Zager, an executive officer of the OPLU.

The OPLU has successfully organized a majority of the inmates at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility at Lucasville. At the beginning of June, the OPLU led a strike for better facilities. As a result, about 50 OPLU leaders are being held in punitive confinement. Roberta Scherr has been in regular correspondence with Zager and other members of the OPLU, several of whom are *Militant* readers. She has given full support to the activities of the OPLU and plans to visit Lucasville in July.

PETITIONING TO PUT BOSTON SOCIALISTS ON BALLOT COMPLETED IN ONE DAY! On June 23, more than 70 campaign supporters collected 14,812 signatures on petitions required to place four candidates of the SWP on the ballot. The petitions, which will be filed July 10, were gathered in more than 30 different sections of Boston. They are aimed at placing SWP candidates Don Gurewitz and Jeanette Tracey (for Boston school committee) and Debra Byrne and John E. Powers Jr. (for Boston city council) on the ballot in the Sept. 25 preliminary municipal elections.

NEW YORK SWP PETITION PLANS SET: Petitioning to place the largest number of SWP candidates ever on the New York City ballot this November will begin on Thursday, July 12. Plans are to collect more than 20,000 signatures in a three-day "blitz" effort, with an emphasis on getting hundreds of supporters petitioning all over the city on Saturday, July 14. This petition drive offers supporters of the socialist campaign of Norman Oliver for mayor and eight other New York SWP candidates an excellent opportunity to acquaint thousands of New Yorkers with the socialist alternative.

For the first time, the nominating petitions circulated by SWP supporters will be in both English and Spanish. Recent struggles by Puerto Ricans for greater representation in the political process resulted in winning bilingual ballots in New York.

Volunteers are needed to help collect signatures and to process the petitions. To help place the SWP candidates on the ballot, contact the SWP campaign central headquarters at 706 Broadway (near 4th Street), Eighth Floor. Telephone: (212) 982-4966.

BOSTON SWP SUPPORTS STRUGGLE OF WALPOLE PRISONERS: On June 26 more than 150 people participated in a picket line in front of the Massachusetts state legislature to protest the recent firing of Black Corrections Commissioner John Boone.

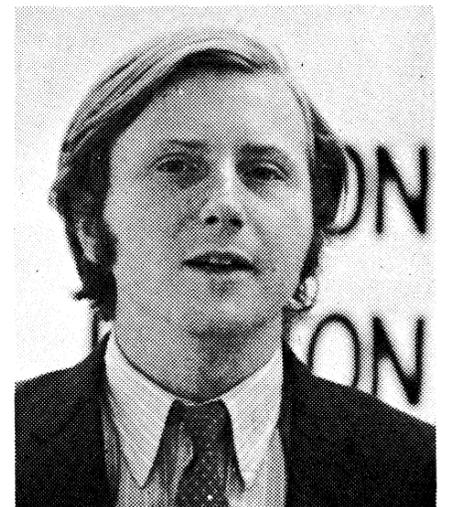
His dismissal followed an outbreak of struggles by prisoners at the Walpole state prison. Because Boone introduced some limited reforms into the state prison system, he was made a scapegoat for the 'troubles' at Walpole.

John E. Powers Jr., SWP candidate for Boston city council, issued a state-

ment to the demonstrators explaining his position: "The SWP unequivocally solidarizes itself with the struggles of prisoners at Walpole and throughout Massachusetts against the inhuman and degrading conditions they face. . . ."

"The recent firing of . . . Boone represents a right wing, racist attack directed not only at the very limited reforms instituted by Boone, but at the prisoners themselves."

Powers said, "The SWP calls for open public hearings, involving representatives elected by the prisoners themselves, as well as representatives of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, to air the prisoners' grievances and to propose concrete actions to alleviate them."



Militant/Dave Wulp

POWERS: SWP candidate for Boston city council defends Walpole prisoners.

WATERGATE CRIMES IN HOUSTON? SOCIALIST CANDIDATE DEMANDS PROBE: On June 13, Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston, issued a statement to the city council demanding that the council initiate an investigation into links between a number of attacks on the SWP and the 1970 Nixon administration "blue print for a police state," which was revealed as part of the Watergate scandal.

In an article on Fein's statement, the June 14 Houston *Chronicle* explains that "although Nixon insists the plan never went into effect, Newsweek magazine has quoted 'high administration officials' as admitting that burglaries were committed against several leftwing groups. . . ."

Fein explained that the existence of the secret plan "raises some very serious questions about events in Houston over the past three years." The *Chronicle* reported that he singled out "four events of the last two years involving the SWP."

"He listed these events as the raiding of a social gathering known only to party members by agents from the Texas Alcohol Beverages Commission, the burglary and ransacking of SWP headquarters, the dropping of charges against two men indicted for allegedly bombing SWP headquarters, and an attempt by a federal agent from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Enforcement Division to blame the bombing on left-wing or black groups."

The socialist candidate explained that "the people of Houston need to know the truth about the role of government agencies and secret police." However, the *Chronicle* reports, the council took no action on Fein's request for an investigation and public hearing.

— PETER SEIDMAN

General strike sweeps Uruguay following the abolition of constitutional government

From Intercontinental Press
By DAVID THORSTAD

After months of mounting hostility between the Uruguayan military and Congress, President Juan Maria Bordaberry gave in to intense pressures from the military and abolished the Congress June 27.

The showdown had been building up since last February, when the armed forces threatened a coup d'etat if Bordaberry did not grant them participation in the government. Since then the military has moved to take over key positions, starting with the ministry of the interior.

A focal point of the struggle between the military and the Congress has been the military's demand that Congress lift the immunity of Senator Enrique Erro, whom it accused of subversion and alleged links to the Tupamaros. The decree dissolving the Congress gave as a reason the Senate's refusal to lift Erro's immunity. The House had voted against impeachment proceedings.

The decree asserted that there was a "grave deterioration" of constitutional rule and blamed the situation on "the criminal actions of the conspiracy against the country, aligned with the complacency of political groups without national spirit."

All the country's schools were shut down until July 20. Censorship, imposed last year, was strengthened; news media were prohibited from making any report that "directly or indirectly attributes dictatorial goals to the executive power." On June 30, censorship was extended to international news agencies operating in Uruguay.

Reaction to the decree abolishing constitutional government was swift. Two cabinet members resigned in protest. The powerful Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Workers Congress) called a general strike for the following day and ordered the occupation of factories.

The strike, according to a Reuters dispatch from Montevideo June 28, "paralyzed the nation's major industries, such as the tire and textile factories that provide Uruguay's main industrial exports. Several factories were taken over by strikers, and students at Montevideo University boycotted classes.

"The streets of the capital were al-



BORDABERRY: Dissolves Congress, strengthens censorship, decries lack of 'national spirit.'

most deserted, with only a few buses and taxis ignoring the strike. Most white-collar workers remained at home.

"No newspapers were published today in another protest against the President's action. The formerly pro-Bordaberry evening newspaper *Acción* was ordered to halt publication for three days because of an editorial yesterday describing the dissolution of Parliament as a 'historic error.'

Participation of telephone workers virtually isolated the country from the outside world.



Using the actions of Tupamaro guerrillas as an excuse, the Uruguayan government had suspended many civil liberties and carried out massive dragnet operations even before its latest moves. Political prisoners arrested in Montevideo are shown above.

A United Press dispatch, published in the June 29 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*, described the scene at the occupied university: "Huge banners, such as 'People: Fight the dictatorship,' 'Respond with popular resistance,' 'Struggle and confront the gorilla coup,' and 'Destroy the military dictatorship,' appeared, covering the entire facade of the classroom building, while the police and the army maintained a discreet but sharp lookout nearby."

On June 30, the government ordered the army and the police to break the general strike by force, and it announced that it was disbanding the CNT and arresting its leaders.

"Police, marine and army units cleared factories, banks, public offices and refineries of workers who had defied a deadline of this morning to stop the strike and leave buildings they had occupied," reported UPI June 30.

The government also called for the confiscation of all property belonging to the CNT. "Soldiers raided the labor coalition headquarters soon after the decree was announced, confiscating records and arresting union men. A coalition source said, however, that the organization had emergency plans for such a situation and that its leadership would continue to function underground."

Erro and another leftist senator, Zelmario Michelini, were in Buenos Aires when the Congress was dissolved. They asked for political asylum in

Argentina and immediately called a news conference to accuse the United States Embassy in Montevideo of having a hand in the coup. They warned that "the government has, by decree, created tens of thousands of potential Tupamaros, who will rise up in arms to defend their country."

The two former legislators said that, in their view, the "military coup is not of a Peruvian type, but one that follows the Brazilian pattern. It has the firm support of the United States, through its embassy in Montevideo, and of a CIA agent by the name of Siracusa, infamous for his activities in Bolivia." Ernest Siracusa was recently named U.S. ambassador; he was formerly the imperialist ambassador to the gorilla regime in Bolivia.

Bordaberry's decision to abolish the Congress was welcomed in Brazil by the vice-chairman of the ruling party, the Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA—Alliance for National Renewal), Cantidio Sampaio. "Little by little," he said, according to a report in the June 29 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, "Uruguay is moving into the Brazilian schema." In a speech to parliament, he added that "as long as the army did not go out into the streets to fight terrorism, as long as certain liberties upon which the 'Tupamaros' thrived were not suppressed, and as long as the Uruguayan press itself was not restricted by the government and 'habeas corpus' remained untouchable, subversion dominated the country."

N.Y. Dist. 1 activists map plans to defend gains

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK, June 30—The struggle of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents for control of the schools in District 1 (Lower East Side) has taken a new turn as the community begins a campaign to defend the gains it made under the local school board. The majority of the board supported community control of the schools.

Luis Fuentes, the pro-community-control district superintendent of schools, gave a fiery speech at the final public meeting of the outgoing board on June 20. He promised to continue the struggle under the new board, which is dominated by anti-community-control members elected May 1. These new members were on a slate supported by the United Federation of Teachers headed by Albert Shanker.

"A new school board, and with it,

a new era in the struggle for decent education, begins next month," Fuentes said. "That is the basic point I want to establish tonight—that you and I are part of a movement; that this movement has survived the teachers' strike of 1968; that our movement is seven years old; that we are pushing the decentralization law to its limits; that our enemies have been stripped of all reason and oppose us now with only naked power; that we have survived the school board elections of 1973; that we have survived the loss of leaders because ours is a movement of people, not leaders; that as long as Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese children are the victims instead of the successful products of these schools, we will be a movement."

The first attack on the parents who support community control came to

light at this meeting. It was announced that Fuentes had received an arrogantly worded summons to appear before an executive session of the new board. The letter was signed only by the six new members, even though Georgina Hoggard, one of the community-control incumbents, is still the chairwoman of the board and the only person legally empowered to call meetings. None of the three incumbents had been consulted about the meeting or even notified it was to take place.

In a reply to the letter, Hoggard said, "We are reluctant to participate in anything that will contribute any further to the polarization in the community." She then invited the new board members to a legally constituted session scheduled for the same evening. At last report, the new members had yielded and agreed to attend the session.

The results of the election have been clouded by the massive vote fraud that took place during the school board election. Both the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CODEL) and the U.S. Department of Justice are investigating hundreds of complaints of people who were denied their right to vote. This is in preparation for law suits challenging the election results on the basis of massive voting irregularities.

The Coalition for Education in District 1, a pro-community-control organization, met June 26 to begin plans for a campaign to defend the bilingual programs and the continued employment of Fuentes and a number of new principals selected by parents' screening committees. A rally and march are planned for the night the new board has its first formal meeting as a way to begin mobilizing the community in defense of its gains.

In Review

SDS: STUDY OF 'NEW LEFT'

SDS by Kirkpatrick Sale. Random House. New York, 1973. 752 pp. \$15.

It seems somehow fitting that the first in-depth history of the New Left of the 1960s should coincide with the attempts by various groupings of ex-SDSers and others to put together a new Maoist-Stalinist party and with Carl Davidson's slanderous attacks on Trotskyism in the pages of the *Guardian*.

It has been four years since the convention at which SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) split and for all intents and purposes died (although the faction dominated by Progressive Labor Party lingers on to this day). We now find that Carl Davidson, who used to reflect the arrogant SDS contempt for the history of the so-called Old Left, has emerged as a dyed-in-the-wool Stalinist. At the 1966 SDS convention, where he was elected vice-president, Davidson counseled against even using the term "socialist."

Kirkpatrick Sale has written a useful book. He was never a member of SDS but he is now a radical, and his sympathies clearly lie with the SDS of the mid-1960s.

The real value of his book lies in the mass of scholarly research it contains. He painstakingly traces the development of SDS, beginning with its emergence in 1960 out of the Student League for Industrial Democracy. (The League for Industrial Democracy is a minor educational operation run by social democrats and trade-union officials.) Sale then describes SDS's course through reformism (Tom Hayden warning in 1961 of the "threatening future of China") and ultraleftism and, finally, Weatherman bombs.

While *SDS* is valuable as a resource book, the reader will find little beneficial analysis of why the organization ultimately failed.

Sale sees SDS as the mainspring of much of the new radical consciousness of the 1960s. The opposite



After calling April 1965 peace march on Washington, SDS leaders retreated from struggle against Vietnam war.

During the days when SDS seemed to reign supreme and to be the harbinger of greater things to come, it was the Young Socialist Alliance that explained that this was not so. The YSA pointed out that in the final analysis SDS would be unable to continue as an all-inclusive radical group, avoiding the historic political currents in the world working-class movement: Trotskyism, Stalinism, and social democracy.

If SDS represented an unthinking rejection of the history of the radical movement in reaction to the unsavory legacy of Stalinism, it was the failure of SDS to ever deal with this history that led to its demise.

The 1966 entry of the then staunchly Maoist Progressive Labor Party into SDS presented an increasing problem for SDS leaders. At first the PLers were ignored as representatives of the "irrelevant" Old Left. As they became more of a challenge they were red-baited. When that did not work the national office leaders decided to take them on politically by becoming "more Maoist" than PL. When, in spite of this, it looked as though PL had a majority at the 1969 convention, the national office and its followers walked out, declaring themselves the real SDS.

The dominant Weatherman wing of those who walked out quickly degenerated into a caricature of ultraleftism before disappearing "underground."

The other non-PL wing, called RYM II, soon dissolved into a number of Maoist-oriented collectives that have remained the most homogeneous current to evolve out of SDS. One of the weaknesses of the book is that Sale devotes so little attention to them.

Sale also reflects the fashionable SDS attitude of ignoring the YSA, although he admits that the YSA emerged as the strongest radical youth organization after SDS folded.

Another current, representing the ex-SDSers of the mid-1960s generation, has attempted to assemble something like their old organization in the New American Movement, but little has come of it.

However, the ultimate comment on the failure of the New Left is the evolution of such people as Carl Davidson into Stalinists, which is about as "Old Left" as you can get.

One of the important aspects of the book in light of the Watergate revelations is Sale's careful examination of FBI and police infiltration of SDS, which increased as SDS moved in an ultraleft direction. There is an amusing and revealing footnote about a 1968 convention workshop on sabotage. According to Sale, the national office set up the workshop specifically to draw agents and provocateurs away from the other workshops. It apparently worked. Sometime later an agent from the Jefferson Parish, La., sheriff's office (of all places) testified before a U. S. Senate hearing that "everyone who didn't fit the mold, who appeared to be agents, undercover workers, [from the] Federal Bureau of Investigation, or local police intelligence units, all went to the sabotage and explosives workshop." — NELSON BLACKSTOCK

WOMEN AND THE E.R.A.

Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment by Dianne Feeley. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 15 pp. 35 cents.

In the wake of the Supreme Court abortion ruling, much attention has focused on another confrontation between supporters of women's rights and those who wish to keep women in "their place"—the Equal Rights Amendment.

Passed by Congress March 22, 1972, the ERA says that "equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex." Thirty-eight states must ratify the ERA by 1979 for it to become law. Thus far, 30 states have done so.

But the opponents of women's liberation have made it clear that it will be a battle to win the last eight states. John Birchers, groups affiliated with the Catholic Church, anti-abortion organizations, and others have united in a drive to prevent ratification of the ERA. The success of these reactionaries in getting 13 state legislatures to defeat the bill this year, and another six to table it, has added wind to their sails.

Thus Phyllis Schlafly, the most prominent anti-ERA spokesperson, has declared, "The Equal Rights Amendment is

Pamphlets

a terminal case." In order to make Schlafly eat her words, an intensive educational and action campaign in defense of the ERA is needed.

This new pamphlet put out by Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014) provides answers to the main arguments raised by Schlafly and other opponents of the ERA.

Dianne Feeley takes up the broad range of laws that discriminate against women and shows that women are indeed challenging this discrimination, contrary to the right-wing notion that women prefer to remain on their "pedestal."

"As more working women became aware of their right to equal pay," Feeley writes, "more and more complaints were filed [with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission]. Between 1969 and 1970, sex-based charges increased by 91 percent and back-pay awards had multiplied by a factor of two-and-a-half."

One section of the pamphlet traces the history of protective laws for women and counters the argument that passage of the ERA would deprive women of their rights on the job. There are also sections on the draft, on maternity benefits, and a 1970 statement supporting the ERA by the Socialist Workers Party candidates for U. S. Senate.

In her conclusion, Feeley explains, "The deepening drive to win equal rights . . . represents a threat to the government, to the capitalist class, and to the ossified union bureaucrats, precisely because it begins to pose questions about the most basic assumptions of a woman's role in society. For that reason, the struggle for basic, democratic rights leads in the direction of revolutionary change."

— CINDY JAQUITH

Books

is true. SDS was always shaped more by objective events and the new moods on campus than it was ever a shaper of these developments. It never had anything resembling a program for how to go about changing society.

The most important political question in SDS's history was the war in Vietnam. The most commendable act in the life of SDS was its call for the April 1965 march on Washington against the war.

That call was nonexclusionary—anyone, including socialists and communists, could participate. This had not been the case in the peace movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The decision to organize the 1965 action in this manner, and the unexpected size of the demonstration—20,000—helped to set the stage for the mass movement against the war.

But after the 1965 march, the national leadership of SDS essentially turned away from the issue of the war. While local SDS chapters often pitched in to build later antiwar protests, the main responsibility for organizing campus antiwar sentiment fell to the Student Mobilization Committee.

Ironically, it was the publicity around the 1965 antiwar march that gave SDS its name. After that action, the SDS membership doubled several times.

Any group of students could get together and call themselves SDS—more often than not, links with the national office and its projects were tenuous.



LNS/David Fenton

Bernadine Dohrn, later a leader of Weatherpeople, announces split at 1969 SDS convention.

First of a series

By TONY THOMAS

The *Guardian* newspaper has recently concluded a 12-part series by staff writer Carl Davidson on the subject "Trotsky's Heritage."

In these articles Davidson argues, among other things, that Trotskyism is in the camp of counterrevolution; that Trotskyist opposition to the "popular front" policies of the Stalinist Communist parties in the 1930s and 1940s "objectively served the interests of the fascists"; and that the SWP's support to building mass Black, la-

The theory of the popular front was the original justification for the CP's support to Democrats and other capitalist politicians, a policy that continues to this day.

Backhanded support to McGov

In recent years the *Guardian* itself has not been as consistent a supporter of capitalist politicians as the CP. It has often abstained from taking a position, and on occasion adopted the ultraleft position of urging an electoral boycott. But its backhanded support to George McGovern in the 1972 elections was a prime example of the meaning of popular-front theories to-

and two-stage revolution is usually used as a mask to cover up the fact that Maoists in Peking have chosen to sell out revolutionary struggles against capitalist regimes with which Peking maintains friendly relations, and to side with capitalist rulers in the repression of opponents of Maoism within the working-class movement.

In 1971 the people of East Bengal, now Bangladesh, launched a struggle for national independence from the oppressive rule of the West Pakistanis. Peking, which had a military alliance with the Pakistani military regime, refused to support the Bengali struggle

the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, played an important role in defending the victims of the repression, including organizing a hunger strike that involved more than one million Ceylonese.

In July 1971, an unsuccessful coup d'état by left-wing officers gave Sudanese leader Gaafar Nimeiry an excuse to launch a major repression against the Sudanese Communist Party, the largest pro-Moscow CP in Africa or the Arab world. Thousands of CP members and members of peasant, workers, youth, and women's organizations were jailed, tortured, and murdered.

The Mao regime praised Nimeiry's action—capitalist repression of workers organizations—because of the rivalry between the Peking and Moscow bureaucracies. Once again the world Trotskyist movement opposed Mao and Nimeiry on this question. Despite our disagreements with pro-Moscow Stalinists, we believe it is a principle to defend all tendencies within the working-class movement against repression by capitalist governments.

In every one of these instances, Davidson and the *Guardian* have supported the counterrevolutionary policies of the Maoist leaders. It is the question of these counterrevolutionary policies that underlies the debate between the *Guardian* and Trotskyism.

'Cease-fire' accords

The debate reached its highest point in regard to the Indochina accords. When the détente began unfolding between Washington and China and the Soviet Union, and Nixon was wined and dined in Peking and Moscow while U.S. bombs rained down on Indochina, the Socialist Workers Party warned that a deal was being planned at the expense of the Indochinese peoples.

The Vietnam "cease-fire" accords contained concessions forced from the Vietnamese liberation fighters. These concessions limit the Indochinese peoples' right to self-determination and provide means for stabilizing the Thieu puppet regime in South Vietnam. Peking hailed these accords as a "final" victory for the Indochinese revolution and called on its followers in the U.S. to support the accords.

Following Peking's lead, the *Guardian* endorsed the accords 100 percent and demanded that the antiwar movement replace the slogan "U.S. Out of Indochina Now!" with the slogan "Sign the Accords." The Socialist Workers Party has been a consistent defender of the "Out Now!" demand and a chief force in building and organizing the antiwar movement from the start. The SWP explained that these accords did not resolve the fundamental issues facing the Indochinese peoples. They provided no guarantee against continued U.S. backing of the Thieu regime, nor did they prevent new U.S. military escalation should Washington judge that to be necessary.

The Vietnamese, of course, were put under intense pressure—both from the U.S. war machine and from their "al-

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The Guardian & Trotskyism

Where is the Guardian going?

bor, and Chicano parties, and its support to transitional demands represent a "2-stage road to reform" through parliamentarism.

Guardian and the Peking

Davidson's position flows from the *Guardian's* adoption of Maoism in the past few years. Before the break-up of Students for a Democratic Society, the *Guardian* had looked toward SDS as a base for establishing a political constituency. Since then, the *Guardian* has been orienting toward the various Maoist trends that emerged from SDS and has become an uncritical supporter of the policies of the Peking bureaucracy.

At present, the *Guardian* is trying to lead a regroupment of the diverse Maoist groupings in the U.S. The *Guardian* has sponsored a series of forums on various issues in an attempt to lay the groundwork for the formation of a new Maoist Communist Party out of this milieu. Davidson's series is an attempt to justify and explain the Stalinist theories on which the program of this new party will be based and to answer the criticisms of Stalinism and its Maoist variant presented by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Davidson's articles draw heavily on the thoroughly discredited anti-Trotskyist slanders and falsifications of history churned out by the Stalinist bureaucrats for decades. In resurrecting this Stalinist version of history and the political theories that go along with it, Davidson raises questions that are at the heart of the debate between the *Guardian* and the Socialist Workers Party.

The central topic of Davidson's articles is a defense of the Stalinist line of two-stage revolution and "popular frontism." The essence of this line is that it is correct for people who are fighting to overthrow national oppression and economic exploitation to give political support to capitalists of a "progressive," "antifascist," or "democratic" character.

This orientation has led the working class to defeat after defeat in many countries. It has cost the workers movement a terrible price in crushed revolutions, and in blood spilled. The popular-front policies laid the basis for the defeat of the Spanish revolution in the 1930s; for the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge that shook Europe, especially France and Italy, after the second world war; and for the murder of thousands of Communists in Indonesia in 1965 and in the Sudan in 1971.

It is these policies of defeat, the program of Stalinism, that Davidson and the *Guardian* are now trying to resurrect.

Davidson correctly links these politics to those of the pro-Stalin U.S. Communist Party (CP) in the 1930s.



MAO & BANDARANAIKE: Maoist bureaucrats in Peking sided with government of Ceylon in its brutal repression of Ceylonese rebel youth. *Guardian*, adopting Mao Tsetung thought, supported this counterrevolutionary policy.

day. The question of its position on McGovern was a major area of disagreement between the Maoist *Guardian* and the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party.

A major article written by Davidson in the June 21, 1972, *Guardian* stated, "if elected, McGovern would stop the bombing, abandon the Thieu regime and [withdraw] all U.S. troops within 90 days. . . ." On Aug. 23 the *Guardian* editors continued in the same vein, "We do not oppose the growing trend of those among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern—just as we do not oppose any action which objectively assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people."

In contrast to this position, the Socialist Workers Party upholds the orthodox Leninist principle of opposition to voting for capitalist candidates in elections and opposes the "two-stage revolution" and "peoples front" theories.

In the 1972 campaign, while the *Guardian* was giving backhanded support to McGovern, the SWP ran Linda Jenness for president and Andrew Pulley for vice-president against McGovern and Nixon. They championed the demands of workers, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, women and other oppressed groups, and of the antiwar movement. They explained that no capitalist candidate could solve the problems of the oppressed, including the Vietnamese people.

Maoist foreign policy

Another underlying difference between Davidson and the SWP is his support to Maoism's counterrevolutionary diplomatic policies. The Maoist theory of "progressive" capitalists

and instead gave military, political, and economic aid to the Pakistani regime. The Socialist Workers Party, and Trotskyists throughout the world organized in the Fourth International, supported the Bengali struggle for self-determination and exposed Mao's complicity with the U.S.-backed Pakistani regime.

That same year a revolt of Ceylonese youth threatened the Bandaranaike regime in Ceylon. Thousands of young rebels were arrested, tortured, and killed by the Ceylonese capitalist regime. Once again, the Maoist regime gave financial support and offered arms to the Ceylonese capitalists during this struggle. Chinese Premier Chou En-lai sent a public statement to Bandaranaike approving the regime's butchery.

Trotskyists opposed the Ceylon repression. The LSSP-R (Lanka Sama Samaja Party-Revolutionary—Ceylon Equal Society Party-Revolutionary),



CHOU EN-LAI & NIXON: clinking glasses while U.S. bombs fell on Indochina.

...UFW

Continued from page 7

The steadily declining wholesale prices reflect the poor quality of the crop. Only the two growers that signed with the UFW are getting more than the break-even price of \$7.50 per 22-pound box.

The increasingly effective nationwide boycott of table grapes has added to the growers' problems, too. One major broker in Chicago has reportedly refused to handle scab grapes altogether. In Detroit, some grapes were reportedly being sold for as low as 10 cents a pound in retail markets.

Meanwhile, Brunell Christensen, Governor Reagan's agricultural director, has threatened to call the National Guard into Coachella if the violence of "both unions" is not halted. Christensen made his declaration at a news conference called by the Council of California Growers.

...detente

Continued from page 9

in divisions within the Arab Communist parties. A majority of the Syrian Communist Party, for example, appears to be in favor of a greater identification with the Palestinian struggle and with Arab nationalism generally. A similar division has developed within the Lebanese Communist Party.

A report from Beirut in the July 1 *New York Times* says that "these Communist dissenters have steered clear of Peking. Last month, a pro-Peking faction here dissolved itself and publicly condemned Chinese policy."

Statements by Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei while he was in Teheran last month must have done much to convince these groups that Mao offers no better road for them than Brezhnev. Chi expressly disavowed support for Arab guerrillas fighting the Iranian and Western-backed Sultan of Oman on the southern Arabian coast.

He voiced approval of Iran having the "military potential to fight subversive activities" in the oil-producing countries of the Arab-Persian Gulf. And he stated Peking's support in the face of "the serious threat which could weigh upon the Shah's regime."

But the willingness of Mao and Brezhnev to help bolster the status quo in the Middle East cannot solve the fundamental problem that has prevented the U.S. from stabilizing the area under its control for the last two decades. That problem is the unwillingness of the Arab masses to put up with foreign domination and exploitation, and especially the refusal of the Palestinians to accept their dispossession.

...Dean

Continued from page 15

He told me he had listened to the testimony of Dean and Magruder, and of McCord also. "They used the formulation of the White House policymakers, that they were afraid of violence and so on. But the reality is that they were sending provocateurs into the demonstrations precisely to precipitate that sort of thing, so they could denounce the demonstrations because they were violent."

"But what they were really afraid of was the tremendous, huge, mass expression that the American people—the great majority of the American people—were not in favor of their policy and wanted to get out of Vietnam. That's what they were really afraid of. And it's pretty obvious that they were obsessed with that."

...Guardian

Continued from page 21

lies" in Peking and Moscow—to make concessions and agree to a settlement. No one can fault revolutionary fighters for making concessions of a military or geographical nature when this

is dictated by the relationship of forces.

However, the SWP thinks it would be a betrayal of the Indochinese peoples' struggle to advocate that the U.S. antiwar movement, not facing the same conditions as the Indochinese, support these concessions by raising the demand "Sign Now."

Instead of calling on Washington to "Sign Now" and praising the records as a "victory," the Socialist Workers Party continued to demand complete U.S. withdrawal from Indochina and the ending of all support to the Thieu regime. It has also exposed the complicity of Peking and Moscow in helping to force the Vietnamese to make concessions to U.S. imperialism and the Thieu regime.

The differences between the *Guardian* and the SWP are also based on the *Guardian's* adaptation to the "workerist" sectarianism of the many diverse Maoist groups it is attempting to bring together into a new Maoist party.

These groups see union struggles and wage and job issues in isolation from the political issues and social struggles of the current radicalization. They do not understand the independent dynamic of the women's liberation struggle, or the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican nationalist movements. Nor do they understand the potential these movements have to speed the radicalization of the working class and to bring workers into the struggle.

Thus it is not surprising that a key part of Davidson's series is attacks on the Socialist Workers Party for its support to these movements. Davidson, for example, characterizes the SWP's support to the successful campaign to repeal the anti-abortion laws as "aiding reformism."

He criticizes the SWP's support of Black, Chicano, and other nationalist movements of oppressed peoples as tailing "after the nationalism of the petty bourgeoisie" (middle class) and as being contrary to proletarian internationalism.

The SWP champions both feminism and Black nationalism because they strike against the racist and sexist

pillars of U.S. capitalism. Women organizing and fighting under their own banners for their own liberation and Afro-Americans organizing and fighting under their own banners for Black liberation can play a crucial role in bringing about the type of mass revolutionary socialist workers party needed to topple U.S. capitalism. This Davidson and the *Guardian* either minimize or ignore.

The differences between the *Guardian* and the Socialist Workers Party thus involve questions of international revolutionary strategy as well as related problems of making the revolution in the U.S. In future articles we will show how the *Guardian's* Maoist attacks on Trotskyism and the SWP present an obstacle in the path of radicals trying to come to grips with these problems.

...suit

Continued from page 24

government agency has also announced it is cutting off all national funding for sterilization until a decision is reached in the case. The Relfs' lawyers contend that forced sterilizations are widespread in Alabama.

Today, the Justice Department announced it is conducting its own investigation into the case, examining possible civil rights violations.

The Relf suit deserves the support of both the Black and women's liberation movements. A favorable ruling on its demand for a national ban on all forced sterilizations would be a tremendous victory in the fight of women to control their bodies.

Correction

Last week's *Militant* incorrectly reported that a mock trial in Atlanta's Capitol Homes housing project found police officer J.D. Roberts guilty of first-degree murder in the shooting of Pamela Dixon. Roberts shot and critically wounded Dixon outside her home on June 4. The mock trial convicted him of attempted murder.

Socialist Directory

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.
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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.

Calendar

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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.

Sun., July 15, 11 a.m.: Nationalism and the multinational party in the U.S. Teacher: Betsy Soares.

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.

Thurs., July 12, 7:30 p.m.: The permanent revolution. Teacher: Evelyn Sell.

BOSTON

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING DRIVE IN COACHELLA VALLEY. A panel discussion with Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant; Nick Jones, coordinator, Boston UFWOC; and others. Fri., July 13, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the Leninist Conception of the Party. 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 11, 7:30 p.m.: Methods of intervention. Teacher: Joe Henry.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

Thurs., July 12, 7 p.m.: Transitional program for Black liberation.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at 3311 Montrose. 75c per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Fri., July 13, 8 p.m.: National liberation struggles. Teacher: Dick Roberts.

Sat., July 14, 2 p.m.; Sun., July 15, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.: Class nature of the Soviet Union. Teacher: Dick Roberts.

LOS ANGELES

WATERGATE: A RECORD OF AMERICA'S SECRET POLICE. Speakers: Anna Sklar, L.A. Free Press writer, author of a series of articles on the Pentagon papers trial; Fred Halstead, National Peace Action Coalition coordinating committee member; Socialist Workers Party 1968 presidential candidate. Fri., July 13, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

WHAT IS BEHIND THE MOSCOW-WASHINGTON DE TENTE? THE MEANING OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT Speaker: Barry Sheppard, national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 20, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1,

h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK CITY

VIVA LA HUELGA! Hear Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers Union, speaking on the UFW: A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. St. Gregory's Church, 144 W. 90th St. (between Amsterdam and Columbus avenues.) Donation: \$1. Sponsored by Brooklyn, Upper West Side, and Lower Manhattan Militant Forums. 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 11, 8 p.m.: Stalinism in Vietnam. Teacher: George Johnson.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the Leninist Concept of the Party. Classes at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). 50c per session. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 11, 6:30 p.m.: Why a Leninist Party: an overview of the Burnham-Shachtman fight. Teacher: Cliff Conner.

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) WA5-4316.

Thurs., July 12, 7 p.m.: Seminar on Spanish Civil War.

Sat., July 14, 2 p.m.: Permanent revolution.

Mon., July 16, 7 p.m.: Internationalism.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held Wednesdays, 8 p.m., 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

Wed., July 11: Theory of permanent revolution.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Introduction to Marxism. Classes held Thursdays, 7:30 p.m., 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 12: The transitional method.

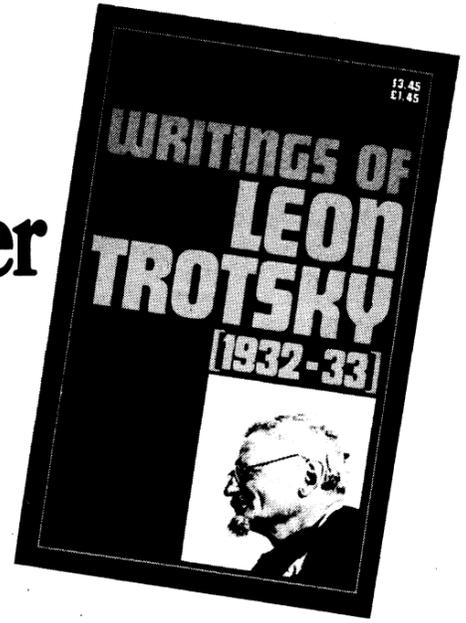
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SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on Transitional program for socialist revolution. Classes held Monday evenings, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Fourth Floor. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

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THE MILITANT

Black family sues to end forced sterilization

By BAXTER SMITH

JULY 3—It's rough enough for Black men in white America. But it can be nightmarish if you're a 12- or 14-year-old Black woman in Montgomery, Ala.—especially if you're on welfare. You could fall prey to racist white social workers and face victimization in birth-control experiments. You might even be sterilized under the pretext that you are carrying venereal disease, or if boys are "seen hanging around you."

For 14-year-old Minnie Lee Relf and 12-year-old Mary Alice Relf, two Black sisters in Montgomery, it's not just a bad dream. It's a reality.

On June 26, Lonnie Relf, their father, filed a \$1-million damage suit in Montgomery federal district court on behalf of his daughters. The suit charges a family planning clinic with malpractice for sterilizing them without their knowledge or consent.

The suit demands that the agency "do everything humanly and medically possible" to reverse the sterilization. But perhaps most important, it asks for a nationwide ban on forced sterilizations. An initial hearing is set for July 30.

The suit also names the following defendants: the Montgomery Community Action Agency, which houses the clinic; its director, an unnamed surgeon; the head of the family planning clinic; and Howard Phillips, former acting director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the federal agency that funds the clinic.

The suit is backed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, headed by Georgia State Representative Julian Bond. Bond commented on the fact that Mary Alice Relf is mentally retarded. "Sterilization of the retarded had its precedent in Nazi Germany. This whole thing is a horrendous attack on privacy, innocence, and the right

of motherhood."

The sterilization occurred on June 14. The day before, a clinic agent had visited the Relf home, supposedly seeking permission for the operation. Minnie Relf, the young women's mother, says she understood the agent was seeking permission to give them some "shots." Being illiterate, she couldn't read the surgical consent forms, which she signed with an "X."

The "shots" she believed she was okaying were 90-day birth-control shots her daughters had received in an experimental program. But the clinic had discontinued the shots in March when it was discovered that the drug (depopovera) was dangerous. The director of the agency stated that the clinic had ruled out birth control pills for the Relf sisters because they believed the sisters lacked the "mental talents" to take a pill daily.

The clinic further justified the sterilization on the grounds that "boys were hanging around" them. (Sounds like the old racist notion that Blacks are like animals and can go into heat.)

At this point, the likelihood of a fair hearing of the suit appears bleak. Attorneys for the Relfs have asked Judge Robert Varner to disqualify himself because of "open and blatant bias." According to the lawyers, in the past Varner has discouraged the seating of Black jurors in his courtroom. And in the Relf case, he has openly speculated that the women might have had venereal disease, thereby justifying sterilization.

On July 2, the Office of Economic Opportunity announced that as many as 11 people may have been "involuntarily" sterilized at the Montgomery clinic. OEO agreed June 28 to cut off funding for the clinic while it investigates the Relfs' sterilization. The

Continued on page 22



The Relf family of Montgomery, Ala. Minnie Lee, 14, (standing) and Mary Alice, 12, (sitting on arm of chair), were sterilized after 'boys were seen hanging around them.'

Thousands say: 'Viva la Huelga!'

JULY 2—Actions in solidarity with the striking United Farm Workers Union have involved thousands of UFW supporters from a wide variety of Chicano, political, religious, and labor groups—including rank-and-file Teamsters.

A crowd of nearly 1,000 people cheered UFW director César Chávez at a June 29 rally at St. John's College in Cleveland. Chávez condemned the recent Teamster goon attacks on

For on-the-spot reports on California grape strike, see page 7.

UFW members in Coachella and Arvin-Lamont, Calif. "The reason this violence is coming down on us," he said, "is because the Teamsters are losing out and they know it."

William Casstevens, regional director of the United Auto Workers, announced that his union is donating \$100,000 to the UFW.

Sebastian Lupica, executive secretary of the Cleveland Federation of

Labor, and Father Daniel Reidy from the Cleveland Interfaith Committee for the Farm Workers also spoke. The Cleveland Newspaper Guild and Cleveland Typographical Union Number 53 sent messages of solidarity.

In Seattle, more than 200 people turned out for a June 28 picket line at the Teamster offices. The picket was called to protest the recent physical assaults by Teamster thugs.

A statement was read from Gary Ewing, candidate for secretary-treasurer of Teamsters Local 174. It read in part:

"On behalf of concerned Teamsters of Local 174 I lend my support to the just cause of César Chávez and the United Farm Workers. . . .

"If [Teamster head] Frank Fitzsimons wants to organize workers let him start with the truckers for Farah Pants and other scab outfits and leave the farm workers alone. They already have a union."

The Teamster violence was also protested by a silent vigil at Chicago's

Civic Center on June 29. More than 150 people participated in the picket line.

Meanwhile, it was reported in Los Angeles that a class-action suit would be filed there July 2 by rank-and-file Teamsters from at least 10 locals.

Their suit is accompanied by a request for a temporary restraining order preventing Teamster officials from "expending union funds to 'guard' property of grape growers or interfere with picketing activities of the United Farm Workers Union and from enforcing 'sweetheart' contracts in which Teamsters purport to represent field workers." More than 7,500 Teamsters have signed petitions demanding an end to such strikebreaking practices by their union officials.

The Farm Workers Support Coalition in Los Angeles has called a march and rally for July 28. Initial endorsers of the demonstration include Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke; State Senator David Roberti; State Assemblyman Richard Alatorre; Bert Corona of CASA; Mariana Her-

nandez of the Socialist Workers Party; Dan Leeds of the California Democratic Council; Art Kunin, editor of the *L. A. Free Press*; Suz Rosen, UCLA student body president; and Manuel Sierras of the Mexican-American Unity Council.

In addition, several chapters of the Raza Unida Party and MECHA have endorsed the action. Union endorsers include the Rubber Workers, Furniture and Upholsterers, and Hod Carriers and Laborers.

At a Farm Workers Support Coalition meeting on June 29, a Labor Union Committee was formed with representatives from the Letter Carriers, Social Services Union, AFSCME, Teamsters, Steelworkers, and American Federation of Teachers.

UFW supporters have been picketing A&P and Safeway supermarkets in most major cities. The union has called for a nationwide boycott of these two chains, which are among the biggest buyers of scab lettuce and grapes.