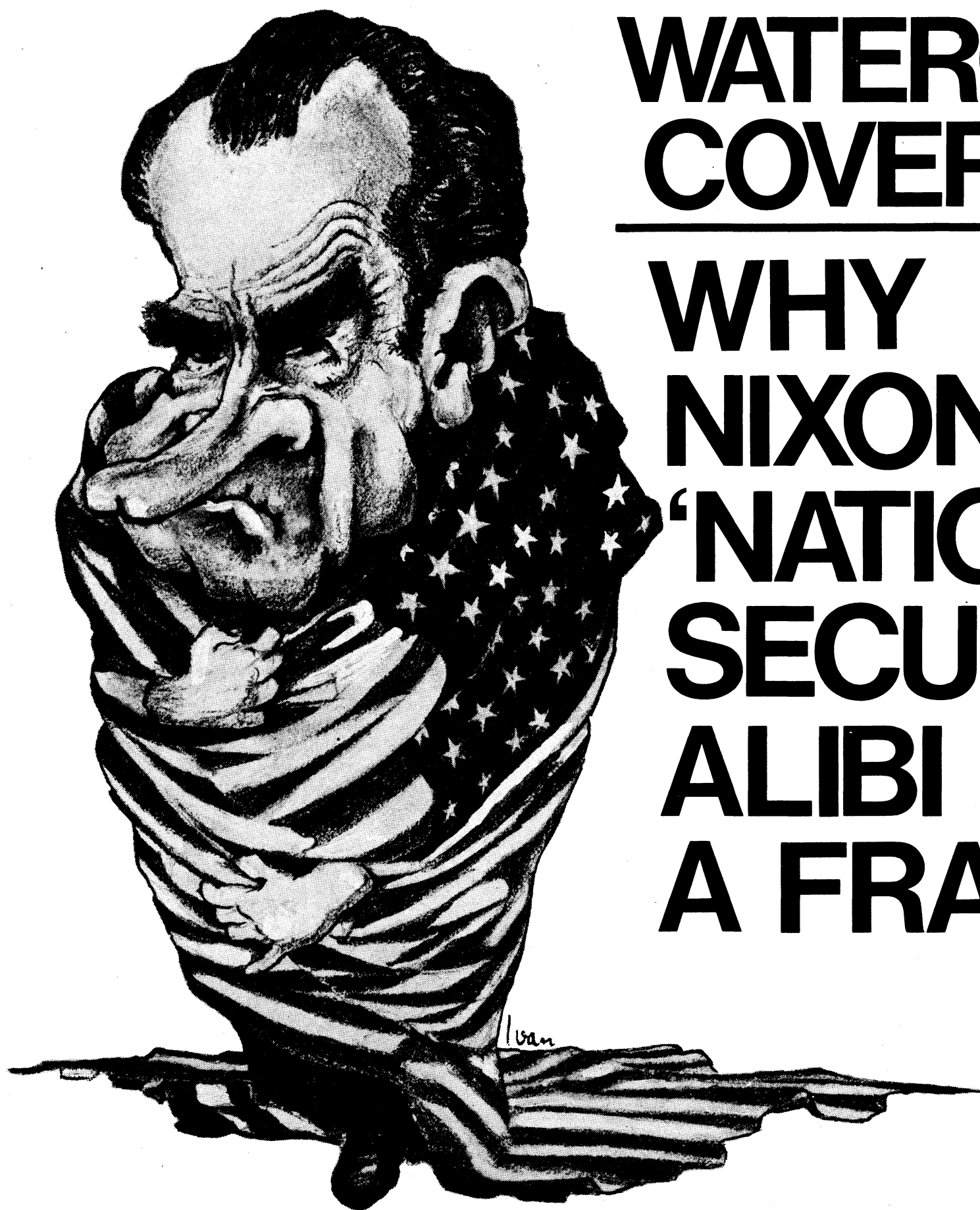


THE MILITANT

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



WATERGATE COVER-UP:

WHY
NIXON'S
'NATIONAL
SECURITY'
ALIBI IS
A FRAUD

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'THE LAST REFUGE OF A SCOUNDREL'

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

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CULEBRA OVER GOLIATH: The small island of Culebra off the east coast of Puerto Rico has apparently won its long battle with the United States Navy. On May 24, the U.S. Department of Defense ordered the Navy to transport the gunnery and air bombardment practice from Culebra to two uninhabited islands by mid-1975.

The Navy has been using about one-third of the island for target practice by ships and naval aircraft since 1936. In the last few years, the Navy's bombing and strafing of Culebra has met with increasing resistance from the island's inhabitants and has become a central focus of the struggle for independence in Puerto Rico. Several large demonstrations demanding that the navy get out of Culebra have been held in Puerto Rico since 1969.

Socialists protest FBI harassment

SEATTLE, MAY 23—The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee held a news conference here today to protest recent harassment of its campaign staff and supporters by the FBI.

Present at the news conference were John Cotman, a member of the University of Washington Young Socialist Alliance and Black Student Union and an active campaign supporter; John Thomas, an unemployed staff volunteer for the campaign; and Wesley Weinhold, a member of the SWP and a teacher at North Seattle Community College.

The three are among six campaign supporters who have recently been approached by FBI agents through phone calls and personal visits. Those contacted were asked questions concerning their political activities with the SWP and the YSA. When asked the reason for the questions, the FBI agent, who identified himself as "Spangler," said, "As you know, the FBI has the responsibility for investigating groups which advocate the violent overthrow of the government. I'd like to talk to you about the SWP and the YSA."

Craig Honts, SWP mayoral candidate, charged the FBI with a campaign of harassment and intimidation. He accused the FBI of slandering the SWP, and trying to convince people that the SWP is "subversive" and illegal. Linking the FBI tactics with Watergate and the disruption of peaceful antiwar demonstrations, Honts declared, "We believe that this Watergate-style spying on the Seattle Socialist Workers campaign is further proof that Watergate is an everyday procedure for the administration."

Honts demanded an immediate halt to all attempts to deny the democratic rights of his campaign supporters through government pressure on them to halt their political activity.

"The FBI has no right to investigate the SWP. It's the FBI itself that needs to be investigated!" he said. "The SWP isn't engaged in illegal wiretapping, the SWP didn't pay agents provocateurs to sabotage the movements for social change. It has been proven that the FBI has engaged in just this kind of illegal activity."

"The people of this country and this city have a right to know whose phones are being tapped and for what reason. All electronic bugs and other spying devices currently being used and all 'dirty tricks' operations used to spy on or harass my campaign or any other candidate should be revealed."

Michael Withey, attorney for the campaign committee, announced that legal action would be taken to halt the government's unconstitutional harassment.

FLORIDA FREE SPEECH FIGHT: Arguments on the suit brought by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against the board of regents of the Florida State University system were heard by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans May 8. A decision is expected soon. The suit, filed by the Florida Civil Liberties Union, calls for a reversal of the board of regents' unconstitutional denial of recognition to YSA chapters at Florida State universities.

The regents' action runs directly counter to the June 26, 1972, U.S. Supreme Court ruling that college administrations may not ban student organizations because of their political views. At stake in this issue is the right of all students to openly and freely express their political views. The proscription of the YSA by the board of regents is a serious attack on the right of free speech and assembly.

The Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC) is publicizing the facts of the case and winning support for the democratic rights

of the YSA. FAPEC is urging all who support civil liberties to endorse the committee's efforts and to write letters of protest to the board of regents at 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

JUSTICE AGAINST THE INDIANS: Constancio "Tino" DeOcampo, a Miwok Indian, will begin trial for first-degree murder on June 4. DeOcampo was arrested at his home three weeks after attending the Acorn Festival, an Indian celebration held in Solano, Calif. He was charged with the murder of Andrew Nelson, a white man, during a free-for-all that broke out at a party following the festival.

Despite the fact that the Tuolumne County, Calif., grand jury refused to indict DeOcampo, the judge ruled that there was probably cause to bring him to trial. The defense was denied a copy of the grand jury transcripts at that hearing.

DeOcampo told *The Militant* that he would like the public to "pack the courtroom every single day" in order to ensure a fair trial in rural Solano.

There is an urgent need of money to finance defense activities. Contributions may be sent to the Constancio DeOcampo Legal Defense Fund, 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

'PANCHO' CRUZ APPEAL DENIED: Last week *The Militant* reported that defense attorney Mark Amsterdam had filed an appeal on May 8 to reverse the conviction of Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz. The Puerto Rican activist was convicted in 1971 for alleged possession of explosives, in a clear case of discrimination against him for his political views.

Ten days after the 150-page brief was presented citing 20 major assignments of error that could have reversed the conviction, the judges voted 5 to 0 to "affirm conviction" and deny the appeal for a new trial. They gave no reason for denying the appeal.

THREAT TO CLASS-ACTION SUITS: Many legal cases involving civil and democratic rights for Blacks, Chicanos, women, prisoners, and consumers have been brought to court through what is known as a class-action suit—that is, a suit filed by an individual or small group on behalf of a much larger group of people who are victims of the same injustice.

This form of defense against denial of democratic rights and abuses by rich and powerful sectors of society was recently dealt a blow in the courts. A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled May 1 that a person who files a class-action suit must bear the financial responsibility of notifying everyone on whose behalf the suit is filed, even if that involves millions of people.

It is not yet clear whether this decision would apply in cases where financial compensation is not involved. But if strictly applied, the decision would, in effect, kill most class-action suits.

—MIRTA VIDAL

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E. Howard Hunt

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Capitalism & Secrecy



By **BARRY SHEPPARD**

In the face of the revelations of government practices resulting from the Watergate affair, Nixon, like many a scoundrel before him, has wrapped himself in the American flag as his final refuge and defense.

In his May 22 statement, and again in his May 24 speech to returned POWs, Nixon justified his role in covering up Watergate by appealing to "national security." The security of the nation, he asserted, requires government cover-up and secrecy about its activities against "domestic subversion," about the covert activities of the CIA and other international operations, and about its diplomatic negotiations with other countries.

But none of these things has anything at all to do with the security of the majority of the American people. What Nixon means when he talks about "national security" is the security of the very rich who run this country. And such "security" entails keeping secret from the people the truth about the operations of the capitalist government.

Business secrets

Secrecy about their activities is standard operating procedure for the capitalist class in all areas. In addition to the cover-up of the operations of the political police and other activities of the government, each individual capitalist concern jealously guards its "business secrets" from the eyes of the workers. Their aim is to keep the workers in the dark about such information as the capitalists' real profits, their plans for squeezing more from the workers, and the secret agreements between different companies and with the government against the workers.

In negotiating with unions, the capitalists prefer secret negotiations with the union bureaucrats, free from the scrutiny of the union membership—and, if possible, without the rank and file even having the right to vote on new contracts—to further reduce the pressure of the ranks on their leaders and the negotiations.

In every sphere of activity, from contract negotiations to CIA assassination plots, the capitalist class prefers darkness and secrecy and fears public exposure of its activities, like a parasitic grub that suddenly has its stone turned over and shrinks from the daylight.

All of the capitalists' activities are designed to preserve their rule and further their profits. These activities are not carried out for the sake of the "nation" or to benefit the masses of people here or abroad, but at their expense. The rulers are concerned not with the "security" of the nation but with the security of their class rule.

Secret Pentagon papers

In his May 24 speech, Nixon asserted that the government secrecy he is defending does not mean that "we are trying to keep anything from the American people that the American people should know."

How does this stand up in light of even these few revelations that have come out as a result of Watergate?

One set of facts that the government tried to keep secret were those about the Vietnam war that were part of the Pentagon papers. Nixon called Ellsberg's actions in revealing these documents to the American people "stealing secrets." These secrets were just a part of the truth about the Vietnam war, a war the government has lied about from the beginning.

The capitalist class cannot tell the truth about its wars to the people of the United States or of the world. It can hope to win support for its wars only through concealing its real motives and intentions. In this particular war, the tissue of lies became transparent and masses of people began to see through them. That's why some of the truth eventually came out.

One of the reasons that the government wanted the Pentagon papers suppressed was their partial



Nixon at POW banquet: claimed government right to keep secrets from American people in name of "national security."

exposure of the secret diplomacy that surrounded the 1954 Geneva Accords on Indochina. The Pentagon papers also contained revelations about the role that both Moscow and Peking played in selling out the Vietnamese in the 1954 negotiations. The imperialists have an interest in covering up these facts, too, in order to facilitate further deals with the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats, like those arranged last year at the expense of the Vietnamese.

Role of CIA

Because of the role played by counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles and CIA men in the Watergate operations, attention has again been focused on the

1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, organized by the CIA. The U. S. government lied about that operation until the swift capture of the invading forces exposed the involvement of the CIA. The methods and activities of the CIA in policing the world for capitalism against the masses of people are another aspect of "national security" the government would prefer to keep hidden from the people.

Nixon asserts that the radicals that he sees as a danger to "national security" have "foreign connections." The real international criminals, however, are the U. S. government and its various agencies, like the CIA, which intervene with bombs, bullets, and dollars around the world to keep the planet safe for the profits of the U. S. corporations.

It is ironic that one set of facts to emerge since Watergate is that the CIA conducted a secret investigation after the May 1970 demonstrations. They found that the root of the radicalism in this country was not foreign subversion but opposition to the war and racial discrimination. Nixon rejected these findings, and wasn't eager to have them publicized. Even now he resorts to the bald lie that radicals are merely agents of foreign powers.

All the undercover police networks operate in secrecy from the people. The Watergate events have given a glimpse of the kind of scum the ruling class utilizes for this rotten work—hired killers who supported Cuba's ex-dictator Batista, New York cops who worked their way up through the heroin trade and the city's own "red squad," and other riff raff "patriots."

It was these thugs that Nixon wanted to use to set up a more high-powered network of political spies, agents provocateurs, assassins, and burglars against the socialists, the Black movement, and the antiwar forces—after the massive antiwar upsurge against Nixon's criminal escalation of the war into Cambodia in 1970.

Nixon's 'plumbers'

Nixon wants all this kept secret, too. He is now trying to prevent the publication of the plans for this police operation against masses of Americans who are guilty of no crime except opposition to the Vietnam war and the oppression of Black people. These are the plans that John Dean "stole" from the White House to try to bargain with for his own worthless neck.

After FBI head J. Edgar Hoover rejected the plan because Nixon refused to give him authorization in writing to implement it, Nixon set up his own unit to carry it out. This group, the "plumbers," were thus one more secret police outfit preying on the American people.

Other revelations have also come to light about how the political police are used against American citizens who oppose capitalism or aspects of the evils produced by this system. We learn now that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the object of an intense FBI campaign to "get" him. The FBI had

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

such tight surveillance on him that every move he made was known to the government. This raises the question, Did King's assassin, James Earl Ray, act in collusion with the FBI? Did he, unlike McCord, decide to "follow the game plan" and keep his mouth shut after he was caught?

Further disclosures show that the government routinely carried out such secret police operations as surreptitious break-ins, wiretapping, recording return addresses on mail addressed to radical groups, and infiltration of spies and agents provocateurs. What is more, these activities are *asserted to be legal*, and have been carried out on a large scale since before the second world war.

Nixon justifies such secret activities with lies about the "violence" of the antiwar and Black protesters, pointing to isolated incidents of bombing in 1970. But this justification falls flat in the light of the now-public fact that the government itself used agents provocateurs to organize small groups of misguided ultraleftists to carry out these acts. Right from the beginning, these acts were planned by the government as a *cover* for its secret police activities. They were an attempt to discredit the movements, supported by millions of Americans, against the war and racial oppression.

Division in capitalist class

The Watergate scandal developed because one of the capitalist parties used these secret police methods against another capitalist party. This reflects a division within the capitalist class over policy in Indochina and over U. S. policy in the changing world situation. This division is a tactical one about how best to thwart the growing radicalization in this country and defend capitalist rule throughout the world.

This has presented the ruling class with the problem of how to settle these differences among themselves. It is because these thieves have fallen out that we are seeing part of the truth they have been able to cover up in the past.

Watergate was a logical outcome of the secret police methods the ruling class uses to defend its rule at home and abroad. That is why the liberal capitalist politicians and newspapers like the *New York Times* make a distinction between Watergate and the "legal" use of these methods against radicals. All capitalist politicians, liberals and conservatives alike, agree on the need for secret diplomacy, and FBI, CIA, and Treasury Department special political police squads. But they don't like the way Nixon uses these agencies.

It is the exploiters and oppressors who must have secrecy. Nixon summed this up well when he declared, "I say it is time for a new sense of responsibility in this country and a new sense of dedication of everybody in the bureaucracy that if a document is classified, keep it classified."



Vietnam. Government must conceal its true policies and objectives to win support for imperialist wars.

Against this mentality and morality of the ruling class, the first act of a socialist government—a government of the workers and the exploited and oppressed—will be to open all the books of the corporations, publish all the secret treaties, all the classified documents, and all the secret files. There will be no more secret diplomacy. All diplomacy and foreign policy will be carried out in the open, under the scrutiny of the masses, whose interests the workers government will be protecting.

The working people and all the oppressed and exploited have no need for secrecy; just the opposite. We need the truth, the full truth, and an end to capitalist methods of rule through secrecy and deceit.

MAY 1970-the 'problem' was the American people



Militant/Brian Shannon

Rally of 25,000 at Boston Commons, May 5, 1970. Speaker is Peter Camejo of Socialist Workers Party. Mass outpouring of opposition to war posed major crisis for ruling class.

By DAVE FRANKEL

In his May 22 statement on Watergate, Nixon tried to justify the need for government secrecy by citing, among other things, the massive outbreak of antiwar activity following the invasion of Cambodia and the murder of student activists at Kent and Jackson State colleges.

According to Nixon, this antiwar activity represented a "security problem" of "critical proportions." "Rioting and violence on college campuses," he claimed, "reached a new peak after the Cambodian operation and the tragedies at Kent State and Jackson State. . . . Many colleges closed. Gun battles between guerrilla-style groups and police were taking place. Some of the disruptive activities were receiving foreign support."

This description is full of Nixon's self-serving falsifications. The demonstrations that swept the country were overwhelmingly peaceful and had nothing to do with the few isolated acts of bombing and arson that had occurred on some campuses earlier in the year. As a report of the CIA itself showed, the demonstrations were not instigated by "foreign support" but grew out of opposition to the government's policies among millions of Americans.

But the May 1970 upsurge did have a major impact on this country, and it did present Nixon with a political problem "of critical proportions." May 1970 saw the biggest student strike in the history of the world. The capitalist rulers of this country were shaken by the events and were publicly divided over what policy to follow. And, for the first time, important sections of the AFL-CIO unions and union officials publicly repudiated the prowar line of AFL-CIO President George Meany.

On April 30, 1970, Nixon let the nation know that he had ordered the invasion of Cambodia "in order to shorten the war." By the end of his speech angry demonstrations had already begun. By the next day mass meetings, rallies, and marches, many of them spontaneous, were taking place on literally hundreds of campuses.

May 1, 1970, was a Friday, but the outraged reaction didn't die out over the weekend. Demonstrations continued, and on May 4 National Guardsmen opened fire on student protesters at Kent State University in Ohio, killing four students and wounding many others.

The massacre at Kent State electrified the country. The campuses exploded. Some 1,500 of them—more than half of all those in the U. S., including almost all the larger schools—were shaken by a student strike that involved millions. The power of the upsurge was indicated by the fact that Ronald Reagan, the reactionary governor of California, didn't even try to maintain the fiction of "business as usual." He ordered the entire system of state colleges and universities shut down.

That weekend massive demonstrations occurred throughout the country. More than 100,000 people demonstrated in Washington, D. C., on May 9.

The same day 50,000 marched in Minneapolis, 20,000 in Denver, and 12,000 in San Diego. These followed demonstrations of 50,000 in Boston, 60,000 in Chicago, 30,000 in Seattle, and others across the country.

On May 15 another murderous police assault on antiwar protesters resulted in the death of two Black students and the wounding of 14 others at Jackson State College in Mississippi.

But the students continued their massive campaign aimed at drawing other sections of the population into antiwar actions. In many cases they used the resources of the universities in reaching out to the rest of the population. Telephones, mimeograph machines, and sound equipment were all available on the campuses, and campus art departments turned out tens of thousands of posters.

One of the most important effects of the student upsurge was to break the prowar front of the AFL-CIO. On May 7 the national convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) overwhelmingly passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of all American troops from Southeast Asia. AFSCME is the eighth largest union in the AFL-CIO and represents 490,000 workers.

In New York an important section of the union movement called a street demonstration against the war on May 21. It drew some 20,000 people, including a large percentage of Black and Puerto Rican participants.

The events of May 1970 forced Nixon to cut short his Cambodia "operation," and they provoked a public split in the American ruling class all the way up to Nixon's cabinet. Walter Hickel, Nixon's secretary of the interior, resigned as a result of this disagreement.

In a speech on May 15 former Chief Justice Earl Warren gave this estimate of the situation:

"We are, indeed, in a crisis. We have . . . a divisiveness in our society to a degree of intensity that has not been equaled in the past hundred years."

McGeorge Bundy, the president of the Ford Foundation and a top figure of the Johnson administration, warned on the same day: "Not only must there be no new incursion of Americans across the Cambodian border, but nothing that feels like that to the American public must happen again. . . . Any major action of this general sort, if undertaken in the same fashion as the Cambodian decision—now that the domestic effects of that decision are visible—would tear the country and the administration to pieces. At the very least the Congress would stop money for the war, and the chances of a general domestic upheaval would be real."

Nixon tries to portray his "security problem" in May 1970 as stemming from a handful of bombers, arsonists, and foreign agents. But his real problem was the American people.

'Police state' measures aimed at left

Nixon caught lying on status of secret plan

By PETER SEIDMAN

Nixon has been caught lying again. This time the evidence is in a New York *Daily News* dispatch dated May 29. "Despite President Nixon's insistence that a 1970 plan for widespread domestic spying never went into effect," the *News* reported, "... elements of the program—dubbed by sources 'a blueprint for a police state'—actually were implemented over the objections of the late FBI director J. Edgar Hoover."

Details of the top secret plan are included in documents stolen by White House counsel John Dean and turned over to federal Judge John Sirica.

The *News* sources revealed some parts of the supposedly rejected Nixon plan:

- "A broad mandate to spy on virtually all left-wing groups in the United States, including the Black Panthers, the Weathermen, Students for a Democratic Society, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and others. Foreign intelligence would be supplied from the CIA, the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.

- "Plans for illegal break-ins and bugging of embassies, including those of Canada and Chile. Such operations also appeared aimed at a broad range of radical groups, including but not limited to black nationalists and Communists.

[The *News* explains that break-ins at the Canadian embassy were planned to discover what aid the Canadian government was providing to American draft resisters.]

- "Infiltration, use of informers and illegal interception of mail beyond the authority of postal inspectors to monitor mail suspected of promoting fraud or of being obscene.

- "Internal Revenue Service audits both to harass and spy on dissidents."

In Nixon's statement on May 22, he had claimed that while these plans were approved by the White House,



John Dean's White House duties included implementing government's 'blue print for a police state.'

the FBI, the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, and the National Security Agency, they were subsequently canceled when FBI director J. Edgar Hoover expressed his opposition. In Nixon's words, "Because the approval was withdrawn before [the plan] had been implemented, the net result was that the plan for expanded intelligence activities never went into effect."

But the *News* says "it now appears that at least some of the operation went into effect."

"One area the Senate probers are investigating involves charges that Guy Goodwin, chief trial attorney for the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department, used grand jury powers to investigate the political 'new left' around the country."

"Goodwin reportedly played a key role in the grand jury indictments and unsuccessful federal prosecution of both the Berrigan brothers and Daniel Ellsberg. Both proceedings were

viewed by the left as 'political' trials."

Goodwin has been identified as the official in the Justice Department to whom FBI provocateur Larry Grantwohl reported directly, during Grantwohl's activities as an agent inside the Weathermen organization. Under Goodwin's supervision, Grantwohl planned and participated in numerous terrorist bombings.

Goodwin also was personally involved in the frame-up of the Camden 28 and was on the scene when arrests were made in that case (see story, page 9). The details of the *News* account would indicate that both of these operations were carried out under the general guidelines of the still-secret police-state plan.

Senate probers are now looking into the relationship between the Justice Department Internal Security Division and the Committee to Re-Elect the President, the *News* reports.

Other proof that Nixon was lying when he said the plan did not go into effect has also recently come to light.

On May 29, columnist Jack Anderson disclosed in the *Washington Post* "the FBI has been badly burned by the revelations that it has been misused by White House aides. Yet believe it or not, the FBI is still doing political chores for the White House."

Anderson describes how FBI agents are currently investigating Vietnam veterans who worked for the 1972 Democratic presidential campaign of George McGovern. The agents, he says, are desperately searching for evidence that could be used to "justify" the Watergate bugging by linking anti-war veterans among the Democrats to plans to disrupt Nixon's campaign.

One veteran told Anderson that agents "asked me if any planning was done out of the Watergate for demonstrations at the Republican National Convention." The veteran said the agent "also asked a lot about the Socialist Worker's Party—if there were any people associated with them

around the office."

The FBI's continued attempt to link the antiwar movement with plans to disrupt Nixon's campaign is clearly part of Nixon's secret "police-state" plan. It has already been revealed that some of the disrupters at the Republican national convention demonstration were paid provocateurs of the government.

Nixon's secret plan is continuing to be used against the antiwar movement, to frame up activists through grand jury fishing expeditions, and to slander and harass the Socialist Workers Party.

Undercover operations have also been carried out against the Chilean embassy. The May 29 *New York Times* reported that intruders broke into the offices and residences of Chilean diplomats in Washington and New York at least four times during the period when Nixon's plan was supposed to have been "inoperative."

Investigators believe that the four burglaries, which all followed a similar and sophisticated pattern, may be linked to White House "plumber teams" similar to the one that burgled the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.



Father Daniel Berrigan was one victim of government's secret 'game plan' against the left.

Friendly skies?

Chi plane crash: part of W'gate cover-up?

On Dec. 8, 1972, United Airlines flight 553 crashed while attempting to land at Chicago's Midway Airport. On board was Dorothy Hunt, wife of convicted Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt. Mrs. Hunt, along with 44 others, died in the wreck.

A coincidence? Not so, according to investigator Sherman Skolnik. Skolnik is a leader of the Illinois Citizens Committee to Clean up the Courts. This group initiated one investigation

in 1969 that led to the resignation of two judges on the state supreme court. Another Citizens Committee investigation ended with the conviction of former Illinois governor and federal appeals court Judge Otto Kerner for bribery, perjury, and extortion.

Skolnik charges that Flight 553 was sabotaged as part of the White House's attempt to cover up the Watergate scandal.

The *New York Times* of May 26

reports that the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) has now announced it will look into Skolnik's charges. This represents a reversal of the board's previous position, which was to bar Skolnik from its probe into the crash of Flight 553.

Skolnik's charges have been reported in the April 28 *New York Amsterdam News* and the May 21 issue of *New York* magazine.

A more complete account of his investigation, by *Los Angeles Free Press* editor Art Kunkin, appeared in the May 25 issue of *Iconoclast*, a Dallas underground weekly.

According to Kunkin's account, Skolnik's investigation grew out of a probe his committee had begun into the Lake County, Ind., coroner's office. This office had issued a number of bogus death certificates following the death of several key witnesses in a scandal involving the mayor of Hammond, Ill., officials of East Chicago, and the Northern Natural Gas Company.

Key documents in that scandal, which incidentally, also tended to implicate Watergater John Mitchell in antitrust violations stemming from yet another natural gas scandal, were

being brought to Chicago by attorneys who were also on board Flight 553. These documents disappeared from the wreckage of the plane. (Also killed in the crash were Black Illinois Congressman George Collins, and CBS-TV correspondent Michele Clark. Clark was preparing a story on Mrs. Hunt.)

Skolnik told Kunkin that also disappearing from the wreckage was \$40,000 in bills traceable to the Watergate conspirators. Mrs. Hunt, he said, had been carrying the \$40,000 in addition to the \$10,000 in untraceable bills that were found on her body.

Skolnik learned from "a source in the Federal Aviation Administration" (FAA) that there was evidence that Flight 553 had been sabotaged. There were punctures in the plane's altimeters that rendered them inaccurate. The "Glide Control" on the runway assigned to Flight 553 for landing was shut down. The forward flight recorder on board had stopped functioning 14 minutes before the crash. The rear flight recorder was erased.

Most important, Skolnik claims that the pilot of the plane died not from the crash, but from cyanide poisoning!

Continued on page 22



Watergater Dorothy Hunt was aboard this ill-fated United Airlines flight

How gov't uses Cuban exiles as undercover armed gangs

By CAROLINE LUND

One of the government secrets that has come to light as a result of the Watergate scandal is how the U.S. rulers utilize counterrevolutionary Cuban exile groups to do their dirty work. The "operatives" hired by Nixon's gang to carry out the Watergate break-in and the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist were Cuban *gusanos* (worms), as the counterrevolutionaries are called by Cubans who support the revolution.

One of Nixon's burglars, Bernard Barker, testified before the Senate Watergate hearings May 24 regarding his loyalty to the U.S. government as a symbol of anticommunist and counter-revolution. Barker is an American citizen who was born in Cuba. In the Watergate burglaries, he took orders from ex-CIA agent E. Howard Hunt. Hunt had been one of the top leaders of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.

In his testimony, Barker alluded obliquely to participation by anti-Castro Cuban exiles in U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary operations around the world. In response to the question, "How did you think you could liberate Cuba [in other words, overthrow the Cuban revolution] by participating in a burglary in Washington, D.C.?" Barker replied:



Jacqueline Kennedy, speaking at Orange Bowl in 1962, called the mercenaries who landed at Bay of Pigs 'a group of the bravest men in the world.'

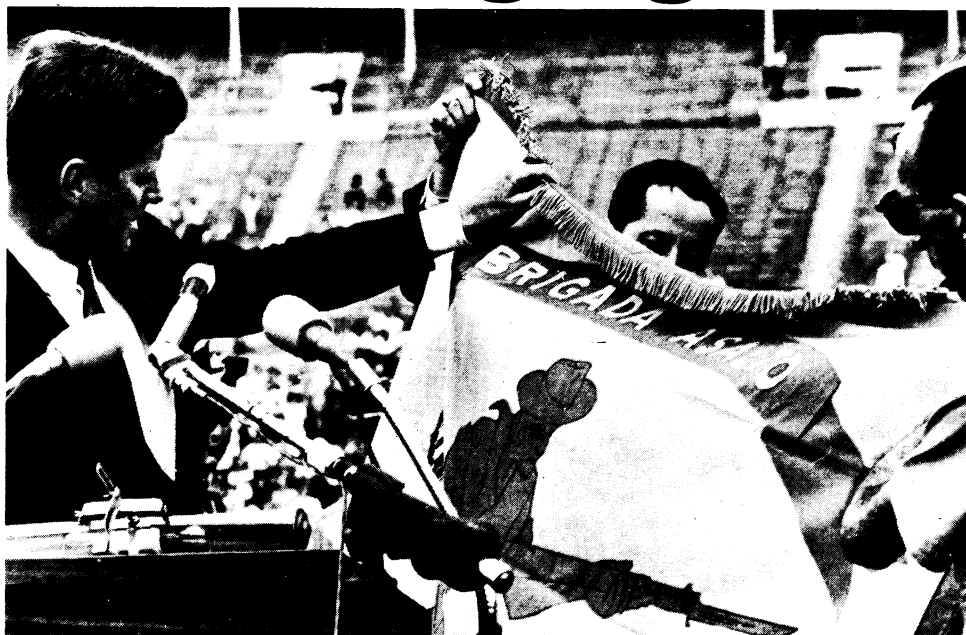
"If we helped Mr. Hunt and this Government in matters—which I will further add I believe in—it would establish a situation in which, besides the right that the Cuban people have to be free and independent, it would establish us as having aided this Government in this mission.

"I view that in the same way where hundreds of Cubans have been helping in Africa, in Vietnam, and in other areas of the world, where the people in my particular association are extremely grateful to those sectors of this country who favor our liberation."

What are these other presumably illegal activities the U.S. government is carrying out against revolutionary movements in Africa, Vietnam, and elsewhere, with the aid of Barker's associates?

The American people got some indication of the type of thing Barker might be referring to in the recent ITT scandal. ITT, together with the CIA and U.S. government, carried out a campaign of election-rigging and sabotage against the pro-Allende forces in Chile.

The Senate committee investigators,



Democrats as well as Republicans have enlisted services of Cuban counterrevolutionaries. Here President Kennedy accepts *gusanos*' banner at Miami Orange Bowl, Dec. 29, 1962. He vowed to return the banner to them in a 'free' Havana.

however, were not interested in providing Americans with more information on the nature of U.S. counterrevolutionary activities in Africa and Vietnam that Barker referred to. Following this reference by Barker, the senator doing the questioning immediately changed the subject.

What is already clear, however, is that the U.S. government—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—has utilized Cuban *gusano* groups as an extralegal armed gangster force to promote and carry out counterrevolutionary activities.

Anti-Castro Cuban exile groups have launched countless attacks against antiwar and socialist groups in this country. It has been revealed that the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) hired a gang of *gusanos* to physically attack Daniel Ellsberg at a May 1972 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., in the hopes of disrupting the rally.

On May 27, 1970, a gang of *gusanos* armed with submachine guns, pistols, and whips invaded the Socialist Workers Party offices in Los Angeles and set fire to them, doing \$8,000 to \$10,000 worth of damage. This was the sixth such attack on the SWP in Los Angeles in a two-year period. Many other radical organizations in that city were also attacked. The L.A. police repeatedly failed to take any action to find the attackers.

In March of this year in New York, the Center for Cuban Studies was

bombed by anti-Castro Cubans. In April, *gusanos* attacked a conference on social struggles in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean held at Queens College in New York.

In each of these incidents, police have been indifferent to the attacks. The people who carried them out have never been arrested or brought to trial.

The most brazen and ambitious illegal act carried out by the U.S. government with this *gusano* force, however, was the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba itself. This attempt to overthrow the government of another country against the wishes of the people of that country was carried out under the administration of John Kennedy—another proof that the crimes revealed by Watergate constitute the methods of rule by both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The U.S. ruling class has had a bipartisan policy of trying to overthrow the Cuban revolution, just as it has pursued a bipartisan policy in carrying out the Vietnam war. Former President Eisenhower admitted that in March 1960 he gave the original order for the organization, training, and equipment of an anti-Castro Cuban invasion force.

Kennedy took over this plan and ordered the actual invasion. At a cost of \$17,000 per day of American taxpayers' money, Kennedy maintained several bases in Central America, where thousands of counterrevolutionary mercenaries were armed and

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Hunt tells of Kennedy, Nixon link to invasion

In a book to be published in the fall, convicted Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt sheds new light on the involvement of the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

A copy of the book's galley proofs, obtained by United Press International, shows that a plan to assassinate Fidel Castro was seriously considered by "a special group" in the government.

According to a May 29 UPI dispatch, "Hunt maintains that top military men and White House officials in the Kennedy administration were far more responsible for the invasion plan than they admitted at the time. 'Assault planning was almost directly in the hands of the Pentagon,' Hunt is quoted as saying.

Hunt also reports "he was told in mid-1960 that then-Vice President Richard Nixon was the invasion's 'action officer' within the White House during the last days of the Eisenhower administration.

"Hunt also says that Adlai E. Stevenson, then ambassador to the United Nations, and who maintained he had been kept in the dark about the invasion, had been briefed 'well prior to invasion date.'"

A Swiss Watergate

The Watergate methods of spying, bugging, and undercover sabotage are not limited to the capitalist rulers of the United States. The capitalist class throughout the world operates in exactly the same way. This was illustrated in Switzerland last month, where Nixon's methods are being used against the growing revolutionary socialist movement in that country.

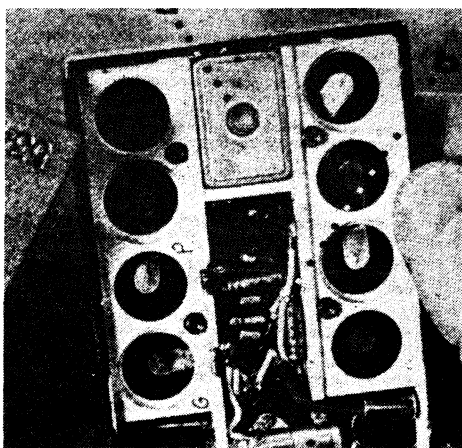
The Swiss Trotskyist organization Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League) held its national convention May 4-6 in Epalinges, near Lausanne. Having had some prior experience with police surveillance, the LMR members decided to check out the meeting hall before the conference.

They discovered the place had been bugged.

For a few days, some people were not sure who had planted the listening device. On May 10 it was all cleared up. The federal police issued a communiqué explaining that the local police had done the legwork on the authority of the federal police. The communiqué recalled, brazenly perhaps, that article 179a of the Swiss penal code states that "listening to non-public conversations with the aid of technical devices and without the knowledge of the participants is a crime."

However, added the *polizei*, "Under certain conditions, the right to proceed with such monitoring is nevertheless allowed when it is a question of protecting the state. . . . The application of such measures then remains limited to repressing and preventing subversive acts."

The LMR is subject to eavesdropping, the communiqué said, because



La Breche
Micro-transmitter discovered at convention of Swiss Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire.

it is "an organization that tries to eliminate the social and democratic order and that does not rule out resorting to illegal means to achieve this."

The federal police and justice department further announced that an inquiry had been set in motion to determine whether the LMR should be ruled an illegal group because of its "subversive character."

This is the first time since the second world war that the Swiss capitalist class has threatened to declare an organization in the working-class movement illegal. As the LMR noted in its newspaper *La Brèche*, "the penal investigation of the LMR is an easy excuse for sweeping police measures: searches, photographing of militants, arbitrary arrests, wiretapping. . . ." and other repressive acts.

This threat to civil liberties in Switzerland is all the more ominous since 30 percent of the active population is composed of immigrant workers, who have no democratic rights whatsoever.

Kremlin extends Nixon a helping hand

From Intercontinental Press
By ALLEN MYERS

As the plane bearing West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and his aides was about to land in Washington April 29, one of the party is reported to have asked, "Do you think the welcoming committee will come in handcuffs?"

The question put in jest reflected a serious concern—one that exists in many capitals besides Bonn—as to how the Watergate scandal will affect Nixon's dealings in foreign affairs.

Barbara Bright reported in the May 7 *Washington Post* that the West Germans suspected that even the invitation to Brandt had been tainted by the scandal:

"The feeling throughout the German delegation . . . was that Brandt and his reputation as Europe's leading statesman may have been used by the White House. Had the White House had some forewarning of a deep tremor due to shake the government in late April and early May? And had they scheduled Kissinger's Atlantic Charter address, Brandt's visit and the State of the World speech to deflect some of the damage?"

Concern for Nixon's 'Authority'

Nixon has in fact made it quite clear that he intends to use whatever foreign affairs spectacles he can arrange to divert attention from the scandal and his own complicity in the various criminal operations grouped under the name Watergate. But the continuing revelations inevitably raise the question of whether his authority has been so compromised as to limit his ability to direct U.S. foreign policy.

An Associated Press dispatch from the United Nations printed in the May 18 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa* reported:

"Many diplomats with long experience in the United Nations are predicting that the U.S. Congress will reduce presidential powers as a result of the Watergate scandal.

"In their opinion, it will reduce U.S. influence in the world."

The conservative London *Daily Mail* on May 10 warned U.S. politicians not to let the scandal get out of hand: "Even thoughtful Democrats do not want Mr. Nixon to be rendered powerless for the rest of his term, let alone impeached. For this would strike at the stability of the whole system of American government and

its enormous impact on world affairs. Certainly, American political life needs to be thoroughly cleaned up. But the Presidency of the United States is too important to be destroyed by a personal witch-hunt."

When speculation against the dollar sent gold prices above \$100 an ounce in mid-May, most observers agreed that Watergate was partially responsible. The *Wall Street Journal* reported May 15:

"... European business and government officials said privately they see considerable logic in Watergate weakening the dollar. This, they observed, is the year President Nixon is pushing into monetary and trade negotiations to strengthen the competitiveness of the U.S. economy and thus the international value of the dollar.

"With the President and his emissaries under the shadow of Watergate, foreign officials simply won't feel compelled to grant the sort of concessions they would if he were riding high, these Europeans said. They also ventured that a chief executive in trouble at home isn't as likely to be able to persuade Congress to ratify agreements that his negotiators reach."

The article went on to observe that the scandal might make U.S. labor unions less subject to "moral suasion" from the White House to hold wages down.

Brezhnev to the Rescue

But if Nixon's capitalist allies and competitors were concerned about his loss of authority, it remained to the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European workers states to pitch in and try to restore that authority.

After a five-day visit in Moscow, Henry Kissinger was able to announce May 12 that Soviet Communist party boss Leonid Brezhnev would visit the United States June 18-26.

"For the Nixon Administration," Theodore Shabad wrote in the May 13 *New York Times*, "embattled in the Watergate affair, Mr. Brezhnev's planned arrival would be expected to demonstrate the ability to conduct an effective American foreign policy despite domestic troubles."

The visit will likely do a great deal more than that. Nixon will turn it into a press extravaganza designed to push the Watergate scandal off the front pages of the newspapers. It will allow him to pose as a "statesman" untouched by the "petty" crimes of his subordinates.

Brezhnev and the other Soviet bureaucrats are not ignorant of the favor they are doing Nixon. Their willingness to protect Nixon has been evident from the moment the Watergate case began to break open. The Soviet and East European press has tried to ignore or minimize the importance of the scandal.

Soviet citizens had to wait until May 16 to read even a brief outline of the scandal. On that date, *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published a 500-word report. Robert G. Kaiser described the article in a dispatch from Moscow to the *Washington Post*:

"The story recounts the basic facts of the Watergate break-in and subsequent trials. The paper notes that former Attorney General John N. Mitchell and former secretary of commerce Maurice H. Stans 'turned out to be involved.' . . .

"The paper does not mention any of the wider ramifications of Water-



'Friends are where you find them, comrade'

gate or the related events like the political sabotage campaign, the mysterious campaign funds and so on."

(While the Chinese bureaucracy has not yet offered to help out by sending Chou En-lai to Washington, ordinary citizens have not even been informed that a scandal exists. With the exception of a foreign press summary that is distributed only to a few thousand top party officials, the Chinese press has yet to mention Watergate.)

Some papers in East Europe have come out even more openly in Nixon's defense. The May 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* described a report in the Hungarian weekly *Magyarorszag*, which argued that "the world needs a quite strong and efficient U.S. president to negotiate with both East and West Europe. Now Mr. Nixon, in spite of the Watergate affair, is such a man. His personality cannot be separated from the grand process he has set in motion to establish peaceful relations with the East, and all these questions are more important than the Watergate affair."

'Progressive bourgeoisie?'

The bureaucrats are now proceeding to baptize Nixon part of the "progressive bourgeoisie" and defend him against "rightist" attack.

"Soviet representatives in Eastern Europe," Dan Morgan reported in the May 15 *Washington Post*, "have told Westerners that the Watergate scandal appears to them to be a 'conspiracy' by powerful forces in the United States opposed to detente with Moscow.

"The plot theory has been floated by a number of Soviet journalists and Communist editors regularly based in Belgrade, Bucharest, Warsaw and Moscow. According to this theory, reactionary American elements, which have

never accepted the rapprochement with the Communists initiated by Mr. Nixon, have organized a plot to discredit him."

Nixon an admired figure

Morgan described the bureaucrats as "baffled and dismayed" by the difficulties of Nixon, who "is an admired figure in all official circles of Eastern Europe."

Brezhnev's visit is such an obvious boon to Nixon that several major U.S. capitalist papers have expressed alarm as to what Brezhnev may be expecting in return. The *Washington Post* speculated May 15 as to "what role Watergate may have played in his [Nixon's] decision to receive Mr. Brezhnev at this difficult time, and . . . whether Mr. Brezhnev may feel that the President's domestic distress offers the Soviet Union extra bargaining leverage. . . ."

In a May 17 editorial, the *New York Times* went even further, calling for postponement of the visit:

"... the timing of the Soviet leader's trip next month . . . is decidedly inopportune. It would be in the country's best interest to postpone these talks until late fall or next year. . . .

"It is not in the interest of the United States or its allies for an American President to enter into substantive negotiations with his chief diplomatic rival when a domestic political storm puts the President at a serious disadvantage."

Brezhnev, in short, is more devoted to helping Nixon out of a jam than are the editors of these capitalist papers. This is not surprising. After receiving Nixon in Moscow last year at the same time that U.S. planes were mining the harbors of North Vietnam, why should the Soviet bureaucrats balk at helping Nixon conceal his domestic crimes?



Brezhnev and Nixon in Moscow. Stalinist bureaucrats helped Nixon out of tough spot during U.S. bombing of N. Vietnam last spring. With Brezhnev's coming U.S. visit, Kremlin is helping Nixon pull through Watergate mess.

Began career with witch-hunt against YSA

Portrait of a Nixonite reactionary

By LINDA JENNESS

When President Nixon was faced with a massive upsurge of the antiwar movement in 1970, he ordered his staff to draw up an ultra-secret plan of undercover methods to spy on and disrupt the antiwar movement, Black groups, radical organizations, and other opponents of his policies.

The man picked to draw up this plan was Tom Charles Huston, an aide to H.R. Haldeman. Huston was no novice in reactionary politics. He began his right-wing career a decade ago as a student in Bloomington, Ind., in an attempt to run the Young Socialist Alliance and other radical groups off the campus.

The Huston plan is one of the classified documents that John Dean put in a safe deposit box and turned over to Senate investigators. The details of the plan have not been released. Government officials, however, have already admitted that the plan called for, among other things, "breaking-and-entering operations on American citizens as well as burglaries of foreign embassies." The plan involved spying, wiretapping, and burglaries against the Black Panthers, Arab students, antiwar and radical organizations and individuals.

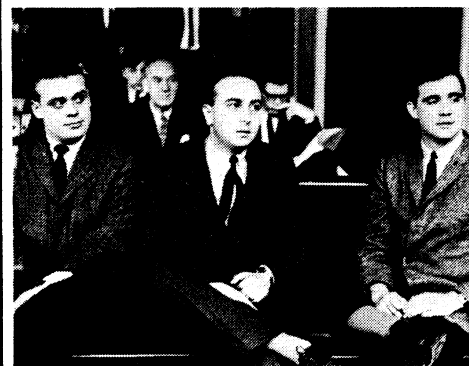
Nixon is so concerned that further details not come to light that he has insisted that the documents "are related to national security." It is safe to assume that the documents, if published, would provide details of an outrageous assault on civil liberties.

The security plan as a whole was not put into effect. J. Edgar Hoover rejected it, according to the *New York Times*, "solely because Mr. Nixon would not grant him authority in writing for the use of F.B.I. agents in illegal wiretaps and illegal breaking-and-entering operations."

(However, the *New York Daily News* on May 30 reported that at least some parts of the plan were implemented despite Hoover's objections. For details, see page 5.)

Arch-reactionary

It is no accident that a man like Huston was chosen to draw up such a plan. Huston is one of the arch-reactionaries that Nixon has gathered around him.



Bloomington YSA defendants (left to right): Jim Bingham, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan.

An article in the *Times* points out that Huston "wishes he had lived in the 18th century." Huston, 32, left the White House and returned to Indiana in 1971. He told the *Times* that the "hardest thing" about leaving Washington was moving his large collection of antique books and furniture. He has a whole household of early American furniture. On the wall in his law office in Indianapolis hangs a portrait of John C. Calhoun, the Southern

racist and theorist of states' rights.

The *Times* explains that Huston was a "campus conservative" at Indiana University, where he studied law. He became the national chairman of Young Americans for Freedom in 1965 and in 1966—in response to the antiwar movement—organized the World Youth Crusade for Freedom to build support for the war on campuses.

In 1966 he endorsed Nixon for president and was rewarded by being brought onto the White House staff in 1968. He believes that Nixon is "the greatest living politician."

Witch-hunt in Bloomington

Huston cut his political teeth in a McCarthy-style witch-hunt against the Young Socialist Alliance in the early



Attorney Leonard Boudin (standing at table) arguing constitutionality of Indiana anti-communism act in Bloomington in 1964. Tom Huston, a law student who actively aided prosecution in Bloomington case, eventually wound up as top White House aide. He drafted "national security" plan for Nixon.

1960s, while he was a reactionary student senator at Indiana University.

Inspired by the Cuban revolution and the Black struggle, the campuses began to awaken. In 1962, a group of Young Socialist Alliance members at Indiana University began a long and arduous fight for recognition as an official campus organization. The remnants of the McCarthyite atmosphere of the 1950s were still strong on many campuses. Socialists had to undertake free speech fights just for their right to sell socialist literature and function as recognized groups on campus.

After two refusals by the student senate, the YSA at IU finally won the right to function as a regular campus group. This recognition so enraged the newly elected Republican County Prosecutor, Thomas Hoadley, that he not only demanded that the recognition be withdrawn, but launched a witch-hunt campaign against the YSA. This resulted in the indictment of three officers of the Bloomington YSA, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham, and Tom Morgan.

They faced three years in prison under a 1951 antismunism law that stated it was the public policy of the state of Indiana "to exterminate Communism and communists and any or all teachings of the same."

'Moscow-trained agent'

Hoadley's smear campaign included charges that the Bloomington chapter of the YSA had been founded by "a Moscow-trained agent" and that

the YSA had been "carrying on a running gun battle with the state of Kentucky" because its members had participated in a food and clothing collection for striking miners in Hazard, Ky. Hoadley's tactics included such Watergate-style techniques as taping a conversation among the YSAers in a private home through a heating duct.

The March 1963 *Young Socialist*, published by the YSA, described Huston's role in the witch-hunt. Shortly after Hoadley announced his intention to suppress the YSA, Huston publicly joined the crusade. He repeated comments he had made in a speech at the American Coalition of Patriotic Parties, in which he charged that Indiana University was "in the vanguard" of institutions giving the "green

who aspired to careers in the Democratic and Republican parties. So the witch-hunt against the YSA was a very big issue for Tom Huston.

In explaining the reasoning behind his security plan to the *New York Times*, Huston said, when "forced to choose between order and freedom, people will take order. A handful of people can't frontally overthrow the government, but if they can engender enough fear, they can generate an atmosphere that will bring out of the woodwork every repressive demagogue in the country. Unless this stuff was stopped, the country was going to fall into the wrong hands."

Ruthless against dissent

Foley says, "That was the same line he was following in Indiana against us. He believed way back then that the way to protect 'freedom' was to get rid of dissenters. The right-wing forces were really determined to get us off that place. Huston represented the people who were trying to come up with a real right-wing philosophy in order to counter the left. They had ideologically convinced themselves that they should be ruthless."

George Shriver, who was also a student at Indiana University at that time and a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the YSA, recalled a public debate he had with Tom Huston about Cuba and Latin America. "He had no facts or figures or information or anything. He couldn't convince anyone in open, public debate. The way he worked was behind-the-scenes, trying to get people to vote to suppress free expression."

Shriver remembers Huston as "a real sneaky operator" who worked hand-in-glove with "a bunch of administrators and big money in the state. Huston was definitely the mastermind behind the attempts to squash democratic rights and free discussion on campus."

The YSA initiated a massive defense campaign for the three indicted YSA leaders. The National Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students (CABS) was formed to publicize the case and help raise the necessary funds for legal expenses. Interested students and professors on college campuses across the country began to offer their help, and CABS chapters were established in the major cities and leading university campuses.

Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, agreed to handle the constitutional aspects of the case. The sponsor's list grew to more than 1,300

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light" to "extreme left-wing organizations."

Huston said these organizations wanted to use the campus "as bases to undermine traditional American institutions." He cited the recognition of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the YSA, and the Student Peace Union as the beginning of a trend to give "communists" freer access to the campus.

Up-and-coming Republican

Student senator Tom Huston was seen as the up-and-coming bright young man of the right-wing Republican establishment, and was obviously being groomed by them. His role was to be the bulwark against the spread of left-wing influence on campus.

Gerry Foley, a member of the YSA at Bloomington at that time and now a staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*, described Huston's style: "Huston's view of a right-wing politician was kind of an idealization of Huey Long. In the student senate, for instance, Huston would lean back in his chair—he wore suspenders—and put his thumbs under his suspenders. He smoked a big, black cigar and would say things like, 'I'm just a country boy, but I don't understand why we should let the Communists come in here.'"

Student politics at Indiana University in the early '60s was an extension of state politics. The campus was a political center and seen as a training ground for student politicians



Tom Huston: wishes he lived in eighteenth century.

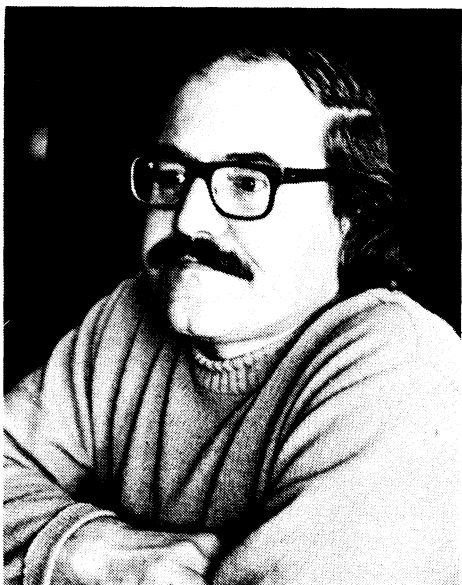
How gov't organized draft board raid

Case study of FBI agent provocateur

By CINDY JAQUITH

The Watergate scandal has uncovered many examples of the despicable role of government agents within the radical movement. As a result of Watergate, ex-FBI agent Arthur Murtagh has revealed that government informers functioned in the Black movement as part of a campaign to "get" the Reverend Martin Luther King. Larry Grantwohl, another former FBI agent, has admitted that he worked for the government within the Weatherman organization.

Rarely do we get a detailed account of just how these agents operate, how-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Camden 28 defendant Mike Giocondo: gov't 'wanted to label peace activists such as ourselves as criminals.'

ever. In this respect, the case of the Camden 28—a group of antiwar activists indicted for an August 1971 draft board raid—is a classic study of an agent provocateur. Such people join a group, profess sympathy with its aims, and encourage the type of activities (usually illegal) that can be used to frame up other activists and discredit the goals of the group.

On May 20 the jury freed 17 of the Camden 28 in a major victory for the antiwar movement. The government has since announced it is dropping charges against the remaining defendants.

A key factor in winning the acquittal was the testimony of FBI informer Robert Hardy, who appeared as a witness for the defense. Hardy revealed that as a paid government agent he had been responsible for making sure the draft board raid happened.

As a result of Hardy's testimony, "the jurors felt the Government had gone too far in setting up the crime, and wanted to join the defendants in taking a stand against the war," reported the May 21 *New York Times*.

Recently I interviewed Camden 28 defense attorney David Kairys and three defendants: Mike Giocondo, Anne Dunham, and John Swinglish.

The Camden 28 are associated with the "Catholic left," and many of them were previously involved in draft resistance or other civil disobedience activities. The group was motivated by the belief that illegal actions such as draft board raids, even though only a few people will be involved, are the most effective way to oppose the war.

Mike Giocondo, a former member of the Franciscan order, told me he felt civil disobedience represented "a statement of one's conscience" and demonstrated willingness "to take a risk" for one's beliefs.

To organize this type of action, the group was forced to conduct its meet-

ings in a clandestine manner, isolated from the very people they wanted to reach. This secrecy made it easy for a government agent to function inside the group.

Original discussions of the raid plans began in April 1971 among seven of the defendants. By June, however, the technical problems of carrying out a break-in, plus harassment by persons believed to be FBI agents, had virtually convinced the participants to give up their plan as unworkable.

On June 24, Giocondo visited Robert Hardy, a longtime friend, and described to him the problems faced by the group. Hardy is a building contractor and Giocondo thought he might be able to help, despite the fact that Hardy is politically conservative. While he expressed disagreement with the idea of a raid, Hardy said he would come to a meeting of the group.

In an affidavit filed a year later, Hardy admitted that he had "given tips" to the FBI before, and the day after talking to Giocondo, he went right to the FBI again. Both in the affidavit and later at the trial, Hardy explained how he worked as an FBI agent provocateur to organize the break-in at the draft board.

"I provided 90 percent of the tools necessary for the action," he explained. "It included hammers, ropes, drills, bits, etc. They couldn't use some of the tools without hurting themselves, so I taught them."

FBI financed raid

"My van was used on a daily basis (the FBI paid the gas). I rented trucks for the dry runs and provided \$20 to \$40 worth of groceries per week for the people. . . . This, and all my expenses, were paid for by the FBI." The FBI also gave Hardy \$60 a day for his undercover work, and \$5,000 when the arrests were made.

In addition to solving technical and financial problems for the group, Hardy provided moral support. He said that when he joined the project, "all of them were demoralized and it was a great lift to have someone who could do things."

At a later stage of the planning, Hardy held the group together when many participants thought the project should be scrapped. "Many, if not all, of them gave up," he said, ". . . when we found out the guard . . . was carrying a gun, until we put together a plan, which I played a large role in formulating and having accepted, that allowed them to keep away from the guard."

Because of the nature of the draft board action—requiring only that participants agree with carrying out such a raid—Hardy was able to fit in easily. He became, in his words, "a leader" of the group. As John Swinglish explained, "He had the ability to solve the problems and that's precisely why he was able to get into the group and become a provocateur. . . . Whenever anything came up, he had the solution. . . ."

Anne Dunham told me that Hardy also pressured the group to carry out the raid as soon as possible. He would argue that "it really should happen this weekend," and "We really ought to get serious about having it happen as soon as we possibly can."

At each step of the way, Hardy consulted with his two FBI contacts, Michael Ryman and Terry Neist. "I told these two men at least 15 times that [the raid] wouldn't have happened without me," he testified at the trial.

But the agents never told him to quit. Their interest was clearly not in preventing the raid, but in making sure it happened!

Kairys described to me several events that proved this. On July 31, for example, all the equipment for the raid was loaded into Hardy's van to be moved to a new location.

Hardy called the FBI and said: "Look, I've got everything—all the charts, all the plans, all the evidence." The FBI came and carted the evidence to their office in Philadelphia. But instead of arresting the defendants on the spot, the agents photographed the material and gave it back.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Anne Dunham: said FBI informer Hardy pressured Camden 28 to carry out draft board raid 'as soon as possible.'

The night the raid actually took place, Aug. 21, the FBI waited for two hours while the defendants destroyed files before arresting anyone.

"They could have stopped it at numerous times, and still caught all of us," Anne Dunham told me, "but they didn't want just a conspiracy thing. . . ."

Hardy claims the FBI promised him on several occasions that the group would be stopped at some point before the actual raid. He says he was told, for example, that agents would pick up the defendants during a dry run of the raid on Aug. 14. But despite the fact that the FBI had 80 agents in and around the draft board that night, they made no attempt to arrest the defendants.

As Hardy testified at the trial, the FBI's strategy was to "make sure the defendants commit as many crimes as possible and destroy draft files." In this way the government hoped to portray the Camden 28, and the whole antiwar movement, as a tiny group of violent, destructive elements. "They wanted to label peace activists such as ourselves as criminals," Giocondo told me, in order "to intimidate and threaten other people."

This effort to smear the antiwar movement was not merely a local FBI operation. There is considerable evidence pointing to a plot by high Nixon administration officials to use the Camden case for their own purposes.

'Little White House'

When Hardy asked FBI agent Ryman why no arrests occurred the night of the dry run, Ryman answered that "someone at the little White House in California" wanted the raid to really take place.

"We checked," Kairys told me, "and

Haldeman and Ehrlichman and all the advisers, the whole crew, were out there [at San Clemente] on Aug. 14."

The Camden defendants filed a motion during their trial demanding that Judge Clarkson Fisher subpoena government officials in an effort to get out the facts about White House involvement in the Camden case. Fisher refused.

Hoover and Mitchell

The day after the arrests of the Camden 28, a news release by late FBI head J. Edgar Hoover and former attorney general John Mitchell announced that the arrests had "broken the back of the East Coast conspiracy." The government had a complaint of 18 pages ready only hours after the defendants were picked up.

In addition, Kairys told me, "There was a whole cell block in the Camden County Jail that had been ready for four days."

A top Justice Department official, Guy Goodwin, was present for the arrests. "He knew people by their first names," recalls Camden defendant Cookie Ridolfi. Goodwin, the man to whom ex-FBI agent Larry Grantwohl reported about Weatherman activities, is one of the central figures in the Justice Department in charge of sending agents into radical organizations.

It is due to the depth of antiwar sentiment in this country, and the profound disgust Americans feel toward corruption and secret-police operations run by the government, that this carefully organized plot to portray the Camden 28 and the rest of the antiwar movement as dangerous "conspirators" fell flat on its face. Instead, the Camden trial exposed the real criminals in this country—the capitalist rulers in Washington.



Militant/Ron Payne

In effort to undercut impact of mass antiwar actions like this march in San Francisco, Nov. 15, 1969, agents provocateurs have encouraged illegal activities to discredit antiwar movement as 'violent' and 'destructive.'

'National security'

What looked at first like a political caper by Republicans against Democrats has now been exposed as one aspect of the ongoing activity of a vast secret police apparatus. The prime targets of this apparatus are the movements protesting war and racial oppression and fighting for a revolutionary transformation of society.

The activities of this secret police network reveal the willingness of the capitalist ruling class to violate its own laws and its own constitution in the struggle to defend its policies and power. Constitutional rights of free speech and free association were dismissed with a casual wave of the hand as wiretappers, burglars, and agents provocateurs were deployed by government officials.

Nixon has now responded to the escalation of disclosures about the illegal operations by adopting a new line of defense. Abandoning the transparent "I-don't-know-anything-about-this" line, Nixon asserted an absolute right to government secrecy, and declared that everything he had done was essential to protect "national security."

How are the American people more secure because the government wiretaps the phones of those who dissent from Nixon's policies?

FBI agents inside the Weatherman organization encouraged and assisted in the placing of terrorist bombs. Did that increase citizens' security?

Were Black Americans safer because FBI agents vowed to "get" Dr. Martin Luther King and launched a national effort to destroy the Black Panther Party through the combined use of frame-up trials, undercover agents, and deliberately provoked armed confrontations?

No, the "security" Nixon and his secret police are trying to protect has nothing to do with the security of the masses of American people. What Nixon is concerned about is the security of the ruling class, and the security of the system in which a minority of the exploiters use every means at their disposal to protect their profits—and their secrets—from the vast majority, the working people.

Those fighting against the evils of this society, and all those who believe in the Bill of Rights, should expose this fraudulent "national security" cover-up.

We must demand an end to secret police activities. Stop government wiretapping and bugging! Stop the use of agents provocateurs! No more political frame-ups! Destroy the secret police files on those who dissent! Abolish the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations, a list used by the government to deprive radical groups and individuals of their rights simply because they are politically opposed to the government!

Immigration raids

Agents of the U. S. Immigration Service have begun a sweeping roundup of undocumented Raza workers. In Los Angeles, homes and workplaces are being invaded, families torn apart, and many hundreds of "illegal aliens" deported deep into Mexico.

Some of the people deported in this manner are actually American citizens who cannot produce documents to prove their status. Others, born in Mexico or other Latin American countries, have recently joined relatives here. Still others have lived in the U. S. for years, often raising families whose members include U. S. citizens.

The capitalists who benefit from paying these workers sub-minimum wages try to claim it is the immigrants who are responsible for taking jobs away from American workers.

But these despicable raids have nothing to do with the interests of the working people of America. They are carried out as part of a systematic policy aimed at terrorizing the hundreds of thousands of "illegal aliens" in the U. S. so that they will be too frightened to speak up for their rights, to organize themselves, or to protest their condition.

The inability of capitalism to provide secure employment and decent wages for all is used as an argument for further oppressing the foremost victims of this system.

The hypocrisy behind this argument is further underscored by the fact that at the very moment these cruel raids are being carried out, Coachella Valley growers—in collaboration with the Immigration Department—are recruiting Mexican workers to be used as scabs against the United Farm Workers Union.

All who support the democratic rights of working people must condemn these dragnet raids and rally to the defense of the undocumented workers.

Counting on The Militant

I guess I can't do without *The Militant*. I let my subscription lapse a couple of months ago, and I haven't believed any news stories I've heard since.

I'm not quite a "true Marxist" yet, but I find the paper stimulating and challenging, a challenge I grow lethargic without. Beyond that, the paper is the only real source of news without a heavy capitalist bias.

That bias, by the way, is something *The Militant* made me aware of. For example, the capitalist press has chosen to close the struggle at Wounded Knee. But, having seen this tactic before (in the antiwar movement), I am counting on *The Militant* to keep me involved in the continuing American Indian struggle.
D. R.
Omaha, Neb.

Farm Workers

As a staff member of the United Farm Workers, I appreciate your editorial on the UFWU (*Militant*, May 11), but would like to suggest that when you do a follow-up you mention the tangible things people can do, such as: boycott lettuce; boycott grapes when they come into season; boycott A&P and Safeway; call your local UFWU office and volunteer to leaflet or picket; donate food and gas money to your local UFWU office.

We also need office supplies and furniture.
Barb Luetke
United Farm Workers Boycott Office
Takoma Park, Md.

More information

I happened to see your paper and find myself in agreement with the Fourth International, Leon Trotsky, and his ideas. I would like to get more information about the Socialist Workers Party and its activities. Please send me a subscription to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*.

A reader
Haifa, Israel

Hot air?

I am a socialist. I come from a socialist background and have been active in socialist/communist causes for some 20 years. I have read *The Militant* for some four years, and I dislike it. Your reporting could be extremely effective if you could cut down on the hot-air quality and noisy propaganda.

A. R.
Berkeley, Calif.

Anti-Semitism

As soon as possible, please change my mailing label to my home address so that I can continue to receive your issues over the summer.

I have particularly enjoyed your recent series of articles on how the Socialist Workers Party dealt with anti-Semitism in the 1930s. I congratulate the author of these very instructive pieces of revolutionary journalism.

T. H.
Charlottesville, Va.

Pensioner

Enclosed you will find a \$1 check so that the pensioner who wrote in saying he couldn't afford a *Militant* subscription (*Militant*, May 18) can have his subscription renewed. If someone else has already sent in money for his subscription, keep this check as a donation.

E. H.
Tallahassee, Fla.

Construction trades

H. Z.'s letter (*Militant*, May 25) mentions that the idea raised by the construction trades officials of competing with nonunion contractors is an absurdity because union shops can never compete with nonunion shops. This is true, but I feel that the reasons for this should be explained in more detail.

The fact is that conditions and wages in nonunion shops are predicated on what the union shops are getting. Otherwise, they run the danger of being organized. The nonunion section of any industry, in effect, hitchhikes off the gains won by the union.

Union officials are proposing to reverse the process by reducing their standards to compete with the nonunion shops. Nonunion contractors will respond simply by slashing their wages and working conditions. This is what makes the absurdity of trying to compete.

H. G.
New York, N. Y.

Captive nations

As you know, when the president proclaims "Captive Nations Week" each year, he never mentions the captives of Palestine—the Arabs. My thought is that a real Captive Nations Week would include the Palestinians, the Native Americans, the Chicanos, and those in Africa.
A subscriber
Melbourne, Ark.

North Carolina frame-up

Another trial of Black activists is set for June 18 in Superior Court here in Wilmington, N. C. The defendants will be the Reverend Ben Chavis (already under sentences totaling 34 years on trumped-up charges of burning a grocery store), Mollie Hicks, and her daughter Leatrice. The charges against them are part of a drive by federal and state authorities to stop the Black liberation movement in North Carolina.

The three are accused of accessory after the fact of murder in the death of Clifton Wright during a protest against racial injustice in the schools here.

Wright and two other Black youths, Jerome Nixon and Don McLain, were guarding Hicks's home when Wright was killed. White vigilantes from the Rights of White People were patrolling the streets and threatening to shoot Black people "like rabbits."

The state says that Nixon and McLain will be the chief witnesses against Chavis and the Hickses. In return, charges against the two will not be pressed. This is in line with a pattern followed in several recent trials of Black activists in this state.

A protest rally to be addressed

The Great Society

Harry Ring



by Angela Davis will be held June 17, the night before the trial. People from all over North Carolina and neighboring states are urged to attend the rally and the trial.
Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)
Louisville, Ky.

That elusive \$1 contribution

This year, on the income tax form so graciously provided, I entered the Socialist Workers Party as the political party to which I wished to donate a dollar of my income tax. Not that I don't trust the government or this particular administration, but I would think it wise for everyone who did this to advise the SWP of his or her action.

Conversely, if the SWP has access to the information, it should privately acknowledge the contribution. This second measure, unlike the first, would not serve as a check on a government that habitually mismanages political funds but rather would serve to reassure those who contributed that their efforts were not in vain.

This may sound like extreme distrust, but after the Jenness-Pulley ballot issue in Florida, after Watergate, after renewed bombing in Cambodia—it's just common sense.

Raymond Carifio
Live Oak, Fla.

In reply—Congress has made it impossible for any party but the Democrats and Republicans to receive the one dollar taxpayers are allowed to check off to finance political campaigns. By law, a party must have received 5 percent of the vote in the last election to get its funds. (In 1972 this would have been nearly four million votes.)

This undemocratic law will be challenged by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and other smaller parties. Readers who checked off a dollar for the SWP or any of the other smaller parties should advise CoDEL. Contributions for this suit may be sent to CoDEL, Room 1104, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

Rennie Davis

Having properly condemned the thuggery of the Labor Committee, I was distressed to see a seemingly gloating and approving report on Yippie and Zippie physical attacks on Rennie Davis, a man whose credentials are far superior to those of Rasheed Storey and his ilk. Your commitment to democratic practices is not going to be credible if you are so inconsistent.

Hal Levin
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.

Thought for the week—"The time has come for soft-headed judges . . . to show as much concern for the rights of innocent victims of crime as they do for the rights of convicted criminals."—Richard Nixon in a recent message to Congress.

Probably so—H. R. Haldeman assures that as Mr. Nixon's aide he has "maintained the standards of integrity that I've always set for myself and that the president set for us."

No place for petty criminals—The Pentagon said 46 of the Navy and Marine personnel who guard the president's Camp David retreat have been transferred following the reports of pot-smoking there. However, it was assured, there had been no danger to presidential security.

She'll never be president—Martha Tranquilli, a 63-year-old grandmother, was convicted of perjury in Clarksdale, Miss., for protesting the Vietnam war by listing six pacifist organizations as "dependents" on her income tax. A federal judge said he would not impose a prison sentence if she would apologize for the tax violation. "No sir, I would be lying, your honor," said Mrs. Tranquilli.

Practically giving it away—William Johnson, a federal "energy adviser," says it's stuff and nonsense to talk about soaring gas prices. "A great myth is afloat,"

he said, "that the price of gasoline is going to go up to \$1 a gallon. But I don't see that we're going to have a substantial increase in prices." Pressed on the point, he said, "I doubt it will go much above 50 to 55 cents a gallon."

Can't do more than kill 'em—State health officials in New York found "undesirable" amounts of lead in a variety of baby juices and other foods packaged in lead-soldered cans. However, they assured, "the public need not be overly concerned." They said that while the problem of the lead dissolving into the food "has been a concern of ours for some time, it certainly is no imminent health hazard to in-

fants and young children." Besides, correcting the problem could cost money.

Double duty—If the "law" and the organized church are twin pillars of capitalism, Rev. Charles Willis of Galveston, Texas, is earning his keep. He preaches on Sunday and works during the week as a cop. He says he enjoys his police work in a "high crime area" and comes close to leading the department in arrests. Still fairly new on the force, he hasn't had to shoot anyone yet. But if need be, he wouldn't hesitate. "My No. 1 thought is to take care of my life," he explained. "I don't let my feelings as a minister override my desire to take care of myself."



By Mike Peters in the Dayton Daily News

'We've been ordered to double the guard . . . and not let anyone out . . .'

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Nixon: gusanos, yes; Haitians, no

At \$70, it has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world. With 89 percent of its population living on farms, it has the densest rural population in the Western Hemisphere, averaging an acre of land per person. Its urban areas are clogged with hustlers and beggars. Tetanus, tuberculosis, malaria, and other diseases cut life expectancy to 33 years. Infant mortality is 50 percent.

The reference? Haiti—site of the first Black revolution in history—but now a neocolonial appendage of U.S. imperialist interests.

In 1971, after the death of François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, many naïve observers believed his 21-year-old son, Jean-Claude, would lead Haiti onto the road toward dignity and prosperity.

Recent events, though, have shown "Baby Doc," Haitian "president for life," to be no better than his papa.

Since mid-December of last year, 107 Haitians, in three groups, have landed on south Florida shores, seeking relief from the dictatorial regime. A Florida Black newspaper, the *Miami Times*, editorialized in its May 18 edition, "the Haitians have found gainful employment in most cases and are not begging hand-outs from the government. There have been no requests of any outpouring of Federal aid for food, housing, and shelter or for relocation funds to other parts of the country."

The paper was responding to an issue that has apparently caused considerable stir in the Miami Black community—asylum for the Haitians.

The first group of Haitians arrived last December in tatters after a three-week voyage aboard a 56-foot sailboat. News of their arrival made national headlines. Last week, the department of immigration began deportation hearings for them.

Twelve of the 65 were political prisoners who had escaped jail. Upon their arrival, the *New York Times* interviewed the skipper of the craft. He stated that Haitian jails "are full of political prisoners."

"I was in a cell holding eight men, and one night three of the others were taken out and were never seen again. We decided it was time to leave."

One spokesman for the 65 told immigration authorities that they would rather be given prison sentences here of up to 40 years than be sent back to Haiti to face public execution.

U.S. indifference toward these Haitians, in view of its policy toward Cuban exiles, of which there are 400,000 in Miami, is the issue that has stirred concern among Miami Blacks. The *Miami Times* editorializes, "The processing of Cuban citizens through immigrations formalities at the airport and at the Opa-locka immigrations facility seemed almost automatic by virtue of an established Federal policy. That the same treatment has not been afforded the Haitians can be described only as the existence and working of a dual-standard refugee asylum policy which, in essence, is totally discriminatory against dark-skinned aliens."

The *Times* is correct in ascribing a racist immigration policy to the U.S. But more than that, the Cuban exiles, better known as "gusanos" (worms), have shown their willingness to participate in all sorts of right-wing adventures. Watergate revealed the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office and attempts to disrupt antiwar demonstrations to be the work of these *gusanos* in league with the White House.

The Haitians, by contrast, having escaped a dictatorial regime, tend to be prodemocracy. And, as Watergate shows, that's a no-no to Washington.

By SARAH WEILL

The capitalist press has been administering last rites for the student radicalization since the massive antiwar upsurge of May 1970. Robert McFadden in the April 23, 1973, *New York Times* goes so far as to say "students have taken on the superficial ap-

pearance of their self-centered, socially indifferent, All-American campus counterparts of the nineteen-fifties."

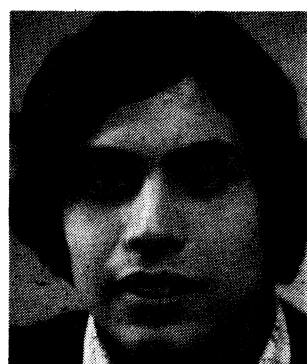
While it is true that there has been a marked slowdown in mass political action on the campuses, the radicalization of students is far from over. That many students are deeply interested in radical solutions to social problems is indicated by the favorable reception to radical periodicals and literature on campus, and by the willingness of many students to organize or attend lectures, films, and meetings dealing with social questions. Another example is the increased response to the campus election campaigns of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This spring the YSA waged student government campaigns from coast to coast on nearly 50 college campuses. YSA candidates were elected at Harpur College, Binghamton, N. Y.; University of Texas, Austin; University of Massachusetts, Boston; Metropolitan State College, Denver; California State University, San Francisco; University of Tennessee, Knoxville; and Georgia State University, Atlanta.

The aim of the YSA campaigns was to introduce revolutionary socialist ideas to newly radical students. By running in student government elections, YSAers helped to publicize a whole range of issues and struggles and put forward a strategy for linking

test high prices, wage controls, unfair taxation, and social service cutbacks."

Further evidence that the capitalist media's view of the student radicalization is false is the fact that there has



Among the many Young Socialist Alliance candidates for student government this spring: Leo Martinez, Bowling Green State (Ohio); Tony Austin, Temple U (Philadelphia); and Ruth Osmundsen, Hunter College (New York).



been a modest but notable increase in political activity on campus this spring. Many student protests this spring centered on economic grievances.

YSAers in the City University of New York (CUNY) schools are actively involved in the fight against cutbacks and the Keppel Commission's recommendations to impose tuition at CUNY. Ruth Osmundsen, YSA candidate at Hunter College,

YSA campaigns zeroed in on campus complicity with the continuing war there. At Boston University, YSA candidates helped to organize protest actions against the university administration's announced intention to resume military recruitment on campus.

YSAers used the campus elections to explain the link between the students and the fight against racism. The YSA campaigns urged students

sion. The YSA campaign at U. of M. raised the following women's liberation demands: 1) abortion facilities at the university; 2) open admission for women; 3) women's studies controlled by women; 4) child care; 5) equal pay and equal employment opportunities for women faculty and employees.

In their effort to minimize the impact of radical ideas on the campus, university administrators often resort to suppression of democratic rights of students. The Florida board of regents has gone so far as to deny the recognition of YSA chapters.

The YSA student government campaign at Florida State University, Tallahassee, publicized the case for YSA recognition, pointing out that the right of all students to organize on campus was at stake.

SWP campaigns

The student government election strategy of the YSA was expressed through their support to the Socialist Workers Party municipal campaigns. The YSA sees the university as a tool of the capitalist class to produce a pool of skilled technical and intellectual labor. The YSA calls for student-faculty control of the universities and for making the universities institutions that would serve the interests of the working people, the oppressed.

YSA election campaigns point the way for students to fight for their own needs while recognizing that their interests are linked to the interests of working people and the oppressed as a whole. One way this link-up was made this spring was through close collaboration with SWP municipal campaigns.

Young Socialists for Scherr ran at Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland; Young Socialists for Honts, at the University of Washington, Seattle; Young Socialists for Oliver (YSO), at Brooklyn College, Hunter, and New York University. Roberta Scherr, Craig Honts, and Norman Oliver are SWP candidates for mayor in their respective cities. As the YSA/YSO campaign brochure states:

"Thousands of young people in New York are fed up with the empty promises of the Democratic, Republican, Liberal, and Conservative politicians who perpetuate the disastrous quality of life in New York City. They are looking for a real alternative in 1973, and the Socialist Workers Party provides that alternative."

The favorable response to the Young Socialist Alliance election campaigns on campuses across the country demonstrates that the obituaries on the student radicalization represent mere wishful thinking on the part of those who are tied to the status quo. These apologists have seen the power of the student movement and fear its ability to connect up with the struggles of workers and other oppressed people and create a movement capable of making fundamental change.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

The YSA's monthly Young Socialist can be obtained by writing YSA, Box 471, Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE STRATEGY FOR CAMPUS ELECTIONS

to join in actions around issues like police brutality, Black community control of education, the role of U.S. imperialism in Africa, and support for the Indians at Wounded Knee.

At Wayne State University in Detroit,

YSAers ran on the Student Action Slate, which campaigned for the abolition of STRESS, a special Detroit police unit that terrorizes the Black community.

At Temple University in Philadelphia, Tony Austin, a member of the African Liberation Support Committee, was the YSA's candidate for student senate. Austin used his campaign to publicize the African Liberation Day demonstration on May 26.

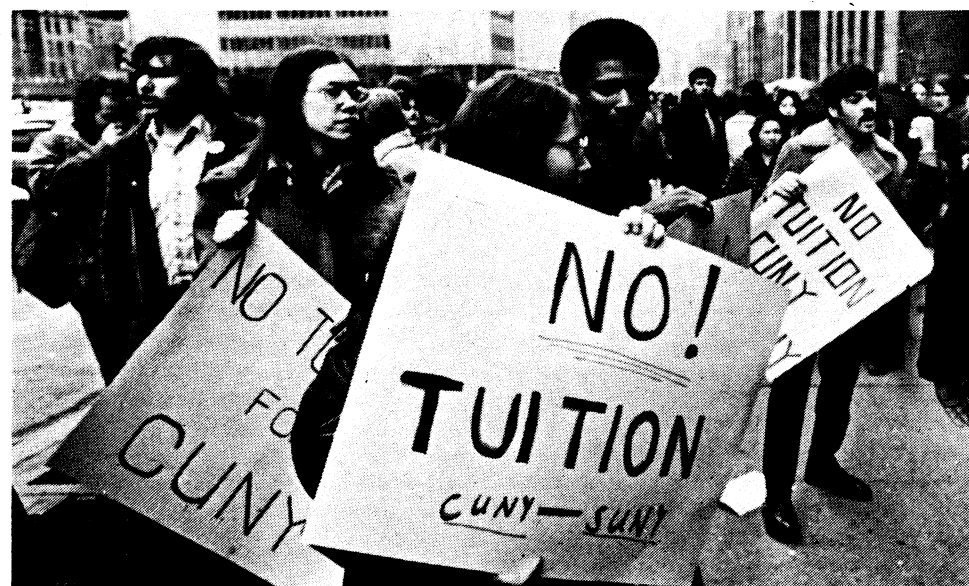
LUCHA, a Puerto Rican student organization, and the YSA at New York University ran a slate of candidates in the student election around support for the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities to control their own education in the Lower East Side's School District 1. YSA candidate Anne Verdon explained:

"The struggle on the Lower East Side demonstrates very clearly that the student government must reach out beyond the campus and link up with the oppressed communities in their fight to gain control over their lives. The student government should help mobilize student support for Luis Fuentes and the community control slate."

Women's liberation

An issue that has commanded increased attention among students is the oppression of women. YSAers are among the most active fighters for the right of women to control their own bodies. YSA election campaigns continue to fight for the implementation of the Supreme Court ruling on abortion as well as many other demands for women's liberation.

At the University of Minnesota, Becky Bohan, coordinator of U. of M.'s Women's Liberation, headed a YSA slate of 16 women and men. The slate opposed a reactionary piece of legislation that called for the "rights of fetuses" and demanded the implementation of the Supreme Court deci-



Ronald Eisenberg

Young Socialist Alliance candidates participated in protests against moves to institute tuition in New York colleges.

the student movement with the movements of the oppressed nationalities and the labor movement.

Inflation and cutbacks

The YSA campaigns pointed to the close connection between the general opposition to inflation among working people and the widespread opposition on campus to financial cutbacks and increased tuition. At the University of California, Berkeley, the YSA candidates put it this way:

"The Young Socialist candidates think that student government must organize students, faculty, and em-

points out: "If the attempt to establish tuition is successful, it will cut the ground from under open admissions and force many students to drop out of school, especially Black and Puerto Rican students."

YSA campaigns in New York urged the anti-cutback/tuition activists to join the May 5 consumer and trade unionist protest against high prices.

YSA campaigns underscored the need for students to continue to demand that the U.S. warmakers withdraw entirely from Southeast Asia. Around the theme of self-determination for the peoples of Indochina, the

World Outlook

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

JUNE 8, 1973

10,000 march in Grenoble

Struggle for abortion rights in France

Michel Poniatowski, French minister of public health and social security, went before the National Assembly on May 11 and promised that the Gaullist government would soon propose a reform of the country's reactionary 1920 law forbidding abortions.

Popular pressure for total elimination of the law had been on the rise since February, when 331 physicians issued a manifesto for "freedom of abortion" in which they publicly revealed that they had performed abortions in violation of the 1920 law. Poniatowski assured everyone that the Pompidou regime intended to take steps to dispense with the more offensive aspects of the repressive legislation.

But there was reason to doubt the minister's sincerity. On May 8, just three days before his National Assembly speech, police in Eybens, a suburb of Grenoble, had arrested Annie Ferrey-Martin, a thirty-seven-year-old physician and a member of the proabortion group Choisir, and charged her with performing an abortion in violation of the 1920 law.

The arrest came after police investigations made at the urging of the parents of a seventeen-year-old woman who had been impregnated by a man more than twice her age. In the course of their investigations of a corruption-of-minors charge, police uncovered what they said was a clandestine abortion center. Dr. Ferrey-Martin was arrested for having performed an abortion on the seventeen-year-old.

Groups supporting women's right to abortion reacted immediately. On May 11, while Poniatowski was talking to the parliament, more than 10,000 persons marched in the streets of Grenoble demanding that charges against Ferrey-Martin be dropped.

Four organizations took the lead in mobilizing for Ferrey-Martin's defense: Mouvement Français pour le Planning Familial (French Movement for Family Planning), Choisir, Groupe Information Santé (GIS—Health Information Group), and Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et la Contraception (MLAC—Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception).

At first, a GIS member, speaking for all the groups and a number of individuals as well, said that "if indictments must come down, let them indict us all." The GIS members declared that the Grenoble center had performed about 500 abortions, all of them free, since it was founded.

The formation of such "illegal" centers has been one of the ways in which proabortion forces have challenged the

1920 law. At a May 14 press conference, MLAC announced that there are now ten centers, mostly in Paris, Marseille, and Grenoble, and that since February they have been performing about 50-100 abortions a week—all either free or for nominal charges.

Growth of public support for the centers apparently induced the Grenoble defenders of Ferrey-Martin to drop their demand that they all be indicted. Gisèle Halimi, a lawyer and leading activist in the anti-abortion-law movement, was quoted in the May 12 *Le Monde* as explaining why the demand for collective indictment was dropped: "We don't want to breathe any life into a dead law." She added that the centers would demonstrate in real life that the 1920 law was finished.

As public support for Ferrey-Martin continued to grow, the MLAC declared a "week of mobilization" for May 14-19. The high point of the week, the group announced, would be a mass meeting May 18 in Grenoble at which an "exemplary public abortion" would be performed.

This announcement provoked controversy—and press coverage. Later, MLAC explained that there had been some misunderstanding. The abortion would be "public" only in the sense that it was openly announced beforehand.

But even though the "spectacular" was called off, plans for the May 14-19 mobilization week continued to get a heavy play in the French press, and it remained doubtful that the government would be able to press its charges against Ferrey-Martin.

The MLAC has been in the forefront of the defense of Ferrey-Martin. The group was formed in early April by many members of a number of organizations including the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (French Democratic Confederation of Labor), the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), the



Abortion rights demonstration of 10,000 in Grenoble

Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, the group headed by Michel Pablo), the Socialist party, the Groupe Information Santé, the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), and others. It has also been endorsed by the 331 physicians who signed the "freedom of abortion" manifesto.

We reprint below the basic statement of the MLAC. The text appeared in the April 20 issue of *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste's weekly paper. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

* * *

The weight of traditional ideology, the systematic squelching of any real attempt at liberalization, and the refusal to bring to bear all scientific progress are the most obvious signs of the oppression society imposes on the sexuality of men and women, especially men and women of popular strata, who command neither the means nor the information necessary for their full development.

The MLAC declares its solidarity with the struggle of working men and women against the exploitation, oppression, and repression of which they are victims from the cradle to the grave in present society.

Many initiatives have been undertaken to struggle against this system of oppression, but these actions have been deemed illegal by the regime and they therefore necessitate a broad front of struggle and solidarity.

The Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception proposes to coordinate these initiatives and to create the broadest front in face of the regime's attacks by fighting for:

Sexual education that:

- stops projecting procreation as the only aim of sexuality,
- struggles against indictments and secular prosecutions,

- no longer consigns to women maternity and raising of children as inevitable tasks taking priority over all other activity in social and political life,

- allows both men and women to develop their sexuality;

Freedom of contraception by:

- establishing free access to contraception for all, regardless of age or financial means,

- abolishing the restrictions contained in the Neuwirth law,

- developing the broadest information on the problems of procreation and contraception through campaigns to popularize contraceptive methods and to demystify lying propaganda,

- struggling against the profits and public relations operations of the drug companies,

- orienting scientific research toward simple and nonoffensive means of contraception usable by both men and women and putting these methods into circulation without delay,

- eliminating the inequalities of a contraception program that is banned in metropolitan France, especially for youth, and pushed for by a racist and Malthusian policy in the colonies and overseas departments;

Freedom of abortion by fighting:

- for the repeal of the 1920 law,

- against any legal measure that restricts the freedom and responsibility of the woman, to whom the decision alone belongs,

- against any financial trafficking, abortion being a medical procedure like any other.

Freedom of abortion and contraception implies:

- the collectivity being in charge (financing by the state, by social security, etc.),

- realization of the necessary material means for making a free choice—raising the standard of living, developing social facilities (housing, child-care centers, etc.).

The MLAC will struggle so that people may take these matters into their own hands by organizing at all levels (neighborhoods, factories, schools, etc.). It will especially struggle for the establishment of centers that will dispense sexual information, will perform and popularize abortion and distribute means of contraception in the most favorable conditions. These centers will be meeting places that will allow women to break their isolation, which is due to their lack of information and to the fact that they can be prosecuted for having abortions.

The MLAC will act so that the centers, and family planning in general, far from managing poverty or trying to alleviate it, will be recognized as a public utility, will receive state financing, and will be controlled by those who use them.

The MLAC will provide legal, political, and militant support to all initiatives that are part of this struggle.

The MLAC will ensure the popularization of and support to this struggle through its broader information and its national coordination. □

Expect economic development, social peace

Why Argentine capitalists back Campora

[The following article analyzes the plan for economic development and social peace worked out by the Argentine bourgeoisie and labor bureaucracy. The plan, which is championed by Peronist President-elect Héctor Cámpora, has helped to rally the bourgeoisie behind the new Peronist government, making the likelihood of a military coup to prevent the new government from taking office on May 25 increasingly remote.

[The article was published in the May 9 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Why is it that the navy came to agreement on turning over the reins of government to the Peronists? Why is it that the forces of reaction have not used the killing of Quijada as an excuse to stage a preventive coup? Why is it that a party like the Radical party, after eighty years of following an independent course, is flailing about between completely contradictory pronouncements, while the great Radical minstrel, Balbin, has completely silenced his guitar?

Secret of the Present Strength of Peronism

It might perhaps be thought that the forces of reaction have no other

the results of elections or decisions of the people trampled underfoot.

The Peronist movement has taken up the economic plan of the CGE [Confederación General Económica—the national employers' organization] and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] and has won the support—and even the enthusiasm—of all sectors of the national bourgeoisie.

A few months ago, Argentina's bosses were flailing about in desperation. The spoliation of Yankee imperialism had them by the throat. At the same time, the workers were dealing blow upon blow. The bosses as a whole saw no way out of their predicament and had lost any trace of optimism about the future.

It was in this context that the CGE and the CGT drew up their common plan, the only one with a chance of acceptance, inasmuch as Yankee imperialism was not prepared to revise its policy toward the Argentine bourgeoisie. North America is not interested in pouring capital into Argentina to transform it into an imperialist submetropolis. Consequently this road—which is defended here by Alsogaray and Krieger Vasena—remains closed for the time being. The only alternative was the Peronist plan, which consists of bringing capital from Europe and attempting to do so under less extortionate conditions than those imposed by the Yankees in the past, and also of protecting local industry and reactivating the economy. All this has been crowned by an agreement on

allies, with whom it dealt in the past and with whom it will deal as long as it exists, are in Europe. Today there is not one Argentine bourgeois who does not agree that this plan is the first step toward regaining lost grandeur and that it opens up a period of great and glorious business ventures.

The oligarchy thinks it will be doing business on a greater scale than ever; the middlemen for foreign investment are rubbing their hands and traveling to various world capitals in anticipation of setting themselves up as "agents." The bourgeoisie has regained its optimism about the future. This is the real reason for the strength of Perón and Cámpora.

A government official put it this way to a journalist from *Cronista Comercial*: "Suppose a military coup to prevent the transfer of power were successful. Can you tell me how they would go about forming a government in that case?"

This statement is a recognition of the fact that no important sector of the bourgeoisie would give its backing to the authors of a coup. This is the reason that Rear Admiral Mayorga, after making provocative gorilla-type statements, issued a press release saying he had been "misinterpreted." This is the reason that the military junta is now negotiating the "five conditions" it presented to Cámpora, which only a short time ago were still regarded as binding.

Perón's Policy and Balbin's Silence

This is the same key to explaining the policy of Perón. By removing Galimberti [from his post as head of the Peronist Youth] and humbling Abal Medina [general secretary of the Peronist movement], he has helped strengthen the CGE-CGT sector, which is what the Argentine bourgeoisie wants. And Perón is even going outside the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition] to call on all sectors, especially the Radicals, to back his plan. This was shown by Deputy Lastiri's speech at the opening of Congress.

The UCR [Unión Cívica Radical—Radical Civic Union] finds itself at a real crossroads and in danger of experiencing a split. It is in complete agreement with the economic plan of the Peronists. But if it lets what it stands for become blurred with Peronist positions, as was already done by Pugliese, Jáuregui, Tróccoli, and the Radicals in Córdoba (who issued a joint statement with the FREJULI), then it will be liquidating the political future of the party. On the one hand, if it does not support the plan, it will be forced to reach an agreement with the most reactionary forces, with Yankee imperialism, as Mathov is demanding. On the other hand, if it does support it, it will be destroying any possibility of becoming a new electoral alternative for the bourgeoisie four years from now. It is this contra-

diction that has driven Balbin into complete silence.

The CGE-CGT Plan Is Doomed

But all the euphoria that the Argentine bosses are displaying now that they believe they have come to the end of their dark tunnel is not going to last long. The CGE-CGT plan, too, will end in failure.

The European monopolies are no better than the Yankees. Clashes with them are inevitable.

But whatever the rate and the time at which these clashes occur, the CGE plan is doomed to failure, since there is no possibility of achieving an independent development of the country on the basis of the domestic market without breaking with the oligarchy and imperialism.

No independent development of the country will be achieved without certain basic measures being taken that neither the bosses of the CGE nor any other bosses want to take, such as a break with imperialism in order to keep imperialist profits in the country, expropriation of the oligarchy in order to develop agricultural production, planning the economy under the control of the working class, and integrating the economy with that of the socialist and liberated countries of the world. As long as these measures are not adopted, the country will experience crisis after crisis. And these measures will only be adopted by a government run directly by the workers.

At best, the CGE plan might bring about a brief respite, but those who will be implementing this plan are condemned to exploit the workers. If the bosses want to amass wealth, the only source from which they can obtain it is the sweat of the wage earners. This iron law will also hold true under Cámpora.

This is why they make such an effort to involve the bureaucrats and traitors of the CGT. The latter will be playing a very important role for the bosses during the next few months. They will be saying that there is no need to struggle, no need to come to blows, no need to get one's back up, but rather that it is necessary to help with reconstruction. They will be saying what Rucci [head of the CGT] said: "We are not going to demand that the new government grant us wage increases."

But it is the workers who have the floor—the workers who brought down Onganía and Levingston, who stole the elections from Lanusse, who voted for Cámpora (not so that he could implement the exploitative CGE-CGT plan, but so that they could get an increase in wages and see their worst problems solved). The workers will not be long in making their voice heard.

They are continuing to struggle for their rights, and will continue to do so, because the bosses of the CGE will continue—despite the backing of Cámpora—to inflict hunger and exploitation upon them. And when all the workers join the struggle, this plan—the only one the bosses now have to offer—will inexorably collapse. □



Scene during uprising in Córdoba in March 1971. The military dictatorship was unable to maintain social peace.

choice than to go along with Cámpora because of the six million votes he received. This, however, is not the case. More than once we have seen

social peace with the leaders of the CGT.

The plan was accepted by the traditional oligarchy, whose old strategic

Fourth Int'l for 'unconditional political opposition'

Argentine left and Campora gov't

By Dave Frankel

The installation of the Cámpora government in Argentina May 25 and the upsurge of guerrilla actions that led up to it have provoked widespread discussion on the attitude of the different radical parties in Argentina toward the new regime.

The Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (August 22 Revolutionary Army of the People), a group that has been among the most active in carrying out guerrilla actions against the armed forces, supports the Peronist regime. In a statement printed in the March 8 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Crónica*, it was announced that "the ERP 22 de Agosto calls on the people to deal the dictatorship a defeat at the polls by voting massively for the FREJULI [the Peronist electoral front] slates. . . ."

The ERP 22 de Agosto represents a split-off from another guerrilla group known simply as the ERP. Both groups have been referred to as Trotskyist in the American press. The ERP 22 de Agosto has not made any statement on its attitude toward Trotskyism. However, in an editorial note preceding an interview in the May 11-17 issue of *Chile HOY* with two spokesmen of the ERP it was explained that "being a Marxist-Leninist is not a requirement for those who are active in the ERP."

The editorial note also explained that the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (Revolutionary Workers party), which founded the ERP and works within it, "defines itself as Marxist-Leninist, and considers the label 'Trotskyist' to be 'inadequate.'"

In the *Chile HOY* interview, the ERP spokesmen explained that "the main

factor with Peronism, and even more with the FREJULI, is its bourgeois character." The Cámpora regime, they explained, "will represent essentially bourgeois and capitalist interests."

Nevertheless, they say, "the majority of the working class and the people opted for the slates run by the FREJULI. The campaign of these slates was based on an energetic and productive confrontation with the government and on proguerrilla arguments."

The ERP spokesmen explained their attitude toward Cámpora's appeal for a suspension of guerrilla actions after May 25 by saying, "We believe that the Cámpora government represents the popular will. Out of respect for this will, our organization will not attack the new government as long as it does not attack the people or the guerrilla movement. Our organization will continue to struggle militarily against the large, exploitative companies, imperialist ones for the most part, and the counterrevolutionary armed forces. But it will not direct its attacks against government institutions or against any member of the government of President Cámpora."

"As for the police, which is supposedly under the executive branch, in spite of the fact that it has acted as an active auxiliary of the oppressive army during these past few years, the ERP will suspend its attacks against it as long as it does not cooperate with the army in hunting down the guerrilla movement and in repressing popular demonstrations."

The April 24 issue of *Corriere della Sera*, a Milan daily, published an interview with the founding central leader of the ERP, Mario Roberto Santucho. In the interview Santucho



Argentine President Hector Campora

said, "We will not lay down our arms on May 25, but we will continue fighting the multinational corporations. We will give conditional support to President Cámpora and we will back the measures we consider positive. We will support the most radical sectors of the Peronist movement but not all of it, because Justicialism is a movement with many faces, with both left-wing and right-wing currents."

The Argentine Communist Party is also supporting the Cámpora government. In a March 20 statement it called for a vote for FREJULI on the second round of balloting. The Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party—PST), advancing the

Trotskyist view, took up the decision of the CP to support Cámpora in the March 28 issue of its newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*.

"We must support each and every one of the anti-imperialist or democratic measures of the new government," it said. "But we must insist that the workers be mobilized independently and without confidence in it. Only in this way can the measures we anti-imperialists raise be carried out. Only in this way will we defeat the oligarchy."

During the elections the PST formed a Workers Front, which sought to counterpose a working-class alternative to all of the bourgeois parties. Its program declared that it stood "against FREJULI . . . and all other parties of the bosses." During the second round of voting the PST called for the casting of blank ballots, since there was no working-class alternative to the bourgeois parties.

On May 15 the United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement explaining that "the incoming Cámpora administration will seek to exploit interimperialist contradictions and to gain mass support through populist demagoguery."

In explaining the attitude Argentine revolutionists should take toward the Cámpora government the statement said, "While not excluding critical support for possible anti-imperialist measures that might be enacted by the Cámpora government, they will maintain an attitude of unconditional political opposition to this new bourgeois government. They will carry on an unceasing struggle for the emancipation of the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois political organizations, and the grip of the superbureaucratized union apparatus. They will fight for the independent organization of the proletariat and other exploited layers with the perspective of establishing workers and popular committees. They will battle for the building of a mass revolutionary Leninist party." □

Assassination strengthened the right

Trotskyist position on terrorism

[The last two months have seen a wave of terrorist actions by left and Peronist guerrillas in Argentina. These have included the kidnapping of Rear Admiral Francisco Alemán on April 2; the kidnapping of Lieutenant Colonel Jacobo Nasif, the regional commander of the Córdoba police on April 26; the assassination of Colonel Héctor Alberto Iribarren, chief of intelligence of Argentina's Third Army, on April 4; the assassination of retired Rear Admiral Hermes José Quijada, the former chief chairman of Argentina's joint chiefs of staff, on April 30; and the May 22 shootings of two Ford executives, which prompted Ford to pay \$1-million in medical supplies to Argentine hospitals in return for an end to the attacks.]

[The following statement on the assassination of Quijada explains the Trotskyist position on terrorist actions of this type. It was published in the May 2 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine

Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The article was entitled "The Death of Quijada Aids the Right." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

A guerrilla organization has killed Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada in an attack carried out in the heart of downtown Buenos Aires. The action was impressive both in terms of its boldness and its victim, who was a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and one of the main officials of the navy at the time of the Trelew massacre [August 22, 1972].

The government decreed a state of emergency in the capital and in the largest provinces, which means that the military authorities assumed full powers, with no opportunity for appeal in the civil courts. A War Tribunal was set up and empowered to apply the death penalty in summary judgment.

Coming twenty-five days before the new government takes over, the death of Quijada is not going to substantially alter things. Initial statements by the high commands reaffirm their earlier decision to relinquish the reins of government. Parallel to this, Lanusse sent a telegram to Cámpora stressing an invitation to discuss the pacification of the country. Cámpora agreed, and now the Peronist leadership is increasing, if that be possible, the conciliatory tone it adopted after tossing Galimberti overboard.

But there can be no doubt that within this context those sectors that are opposed to turning the government over to the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front, the Peronist coalition], or who want to impose prior conditions upon it and compromise it as much as possible with the oligarchy, now find themselves in a stronger position. The most likely thing is that now they will hand over



Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada was assassinated April 30.

power to the FREJULI, but only after imposing conditions—which we cannot be sure Cámpora will reject.

And one direct consequence of the attack is that at a time when various unions are involved in struggles, and with only a short time remaining before the new government for which the workers voted takes office, May

Continued on following page

Argentine Trotskyists demand total amnesty

Will Peronists free all political prisoners?

By David Thorstad

Throughout the Argentine election campaign that brought the Peronists to power, an important issue was amnesty for political prisoners under a future Peronist government. President-elect Héctor Cámpora is scheduled to take office on May 25, yet as the day draws near it is still not clear just which prisoners will be freed by an amnesty.

On May 3, shortly after the execution of Rear Admiral Hermes Quijada by guerrillas belonging to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo 22 de Agosto (August 22 Revolutionary

MAY 28—The newly installed government of Hector Campora has "approved a broad amnesty law officially pardoning about 500 political prisoners, including many convicted guerrillas," reports today's New York Times. The Campora regime moved amidst massive demonstrations in favor of the amnesty, and those reportedly released include a number of ERP members. However, it is unclear whether all of the political prisoners are being freed. Earlier press reports estimated that between 1,000 and 1,200 political prisoners were being held in Argentine prisons.

Army of the People), Cámpora met, in secret, with the military junta, including President Alejandro Lanusse. Throughout his campaign, he had refused any meeting with the junta. While all parties to the meeting emerged with evident satisfaction, the details of what was decided have been kept quiet.

The theme of the meeting, according to an editorial in the May 9 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), was the question of amnesty. Since the meeting, the Argentine press has been full of speculation on the nature of the amnesty that will be implemented after May 25.

Indications are that the amnesty will be a limited one. This is the interpretation given to Cámpora's statement that "the amnesty will be broad, generous, and just." The "just" is held to mean that certain political prisoners will not be freed.

There are other signs as well. Vice president-elect Vicente Solano Lima, for instance, hinted that the amnesty might not include certain non-Peronist guerrillas: "The decree of an amnesty will possibly be the first legislative act [of the new government], as a move toward helping to pacify the country. The extent of the amnesty will be set by the law itself. The law will have to determine whether events such as what happened to Rear Admiral Quijada are of a political nature or not. The proposal is that the law be broad in scope. But the parliament has the power to restrict it, place limits upon it, and, in the final analysis, to regulate it." The Peronists hold a majority in both houses.

The Peronist tack appears to be to adopt an amnesty law that will bring about the release of Peronist political prisoners, but not necessarily those of the ERP or the ERP August 22. Such a move would clearly be designed to isolate the non-Peronist guerrillas, thereby making it easier to crack down on them. Mariano Grondona speculated on the intentions of the Peronists in the May 12 issue of the

Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*:

"It is obvious that once in power, the Peronist movement will want to amnesty the members of its 'special formations,' thanks to whom, in part, it won the elections. But how far will it go in also drawing its cloak of forgetfulness over its 'enemies,' that is, of figures responsible for the previous regime? Among them are some who have been tried and convicted in illegal rulings. And there are a whole series of acts and situations that, in terms of the new legality, remain unclear. Will all these cases also be affected by a pardon?"

"Finally, there is the non-Peronist guerrilla movement, circumstantially



allied with the Peronists under a military government, but from now on potentially an opponent. Will the same criteria be applied to this movement as to the Peronist activists? Will the non-Peronist guerrillas be asked, for instance, to leave the country once released?"

One answer to these questions was offered on May 9 by Deputy Salvador Busacca, a member of the Partido

Popular Cristiano (Christian People's party), who belongs to the Peronist coalition, the FREJULI (Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Justicialist Liberation Front). According to the May 10 *La Opinión*, when he was specifically asked what fate awaited the guerrillas who participated in the executions of General Sánchez and Fiat director Oberdan Sallustro, Busacca replied that this would be up to the courts. Moreover, cases where the amnesty does not clearly apply to a prisoner, and which therefore go into the courts, could drag on for an estimated ten months before a final ruling comes down, reported *La Opinión*.

In view of the clear collusion between the military and the Peronist leadership to place conditions on the post-May 25 amnesty, *Avanzada Socialista* issued an urgent appeal for a campaign of mass mobilization to compel the new government to grant a broad, unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners. "Since the most reactionary sectors of the country are waging a public campaign against unconditional amnesty and against legislators who defend such an amnesty—Mayorga's statements, for example, show this to be the case—we want to meet them in the same way. It is through a big, public campaign for the release of all the political prisoners, involving all the popular parties and those who claim to represent the working class, together with the union organizations, the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor], and the entire workers movement, that we will win the debate in parliament and any internal discussion this question may prompt within the ranks of the FREJULI and the Peronist movement." □

...Terrorism

Continued from preceding page

Day demonstrations were banned, making the process of reorganizing the workers movement more difficult. One of the groups most hurt [as a result of the attack] is the Juventud Peronista [JP—Peronist Youth], which was dealt a double blow: Perón "cleaned out" [JP leader Rodolpho] Galimberti, and, following the attack, the planned march on the Congress was banned.

We have polemicized at length in the pages of *Avanzada Socialista* with the guerrilla organizations. Many times we have insisted that their actions, which are isolated from the struggles of the masses, do not aid the struggle for immediate goals, nor do they bring socialism nearer, nor do they educate the workers about the necessity to become protagonists in the struggle; on the contrary, these actions strengthen the forces of reaction.

The killing of Quijada, unfortunately, only confirms the correctness of our position.

The working class and its vanguard are today fighting two decisive battles: to win the release of all the political prisoners and to win nationalization, under workers control, of certain monopolistic companies that are involved in a conflict with the state or with their own workers. This is the situation in the outstanding cases of Códex [a publishing house] and Standard Electric.

By strengthening the right wing and the most reactionary sectors, the new attack does nothing more than place an obstacle in the path of this struggle

that has already begun. And let it not be said in reply that the working class thereby receives a stimulus toward combativity, since, by its very nature, this kind of action is not regarded by the workers as something suitable for them to emulate; at most it might arouse astonishment at its boldness. The fact is that individual terrorism—however strongly it is propagated—cannot be a substitute for mass struggle.

The system can replace thousands of its officials, however valuable they may be; losing them is not going

to be enough to bring about its collapse. Moreover, to kill many of them in violence confuses vast layers of the people, who see that both the reactionary forces, on the one hand, and the guerrillas, on the other, resort to a totally arbitrary "justice" that is neither controlled by nor carried out by the masses, even though it may be performed in their name.

For this reason, we repeat: The effect of this type of guerrilla actions is the opposite of what their authors proclaim or want; they actually strengthen the forces of reaction. □



The Coming Confrontation

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Kissinger seeks new concessions from Hanoi

U.S. continues devastation of Cambodia

After a total of thirty hours of secret negotiations in Paris with North Vietnamese Representative Le Duc Tho, Henry Kissinger told the press May 23 that "significant progress" had been made in carrying out the purpose of the talks, which was to bring about "a strict implementation of the Paris agreement" on ending the war in Vietnam. The meetings, Kissinger said, were "conducted in a constructive and positive manner."

Le Duc Tho reportedly endorsed the part about "significant progress." No other information about what was discussed, what was said, or what was agreed to was released. Kissinger said a second series of talks would begin in Paris on June 6.

There was speculation in some newspapers that the question of democratic freedoms in South Vietnam would be on the agenda at the Kissinger-Tho talks. If it was, there is no evidence that any changes in Thieu's policies will be forthcoming.

On May 16, the minister of the interior dissolved twenty-six political parties, and on May 17 Thieu put into effect a series of decrees first issued in December 1972 giving wide

War protest

A protest against the continuing bombing of Cambodia and other U.S. military operations in Southeast Asia will take place in Washington, D.C., June 16. The demonstration, called initially by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, is being supported by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC).

Some antiwar groups in other cities will be holding activities in local areas that week, and some will be sending contingents to Washington.

NPAC and SMC are building the demonstration on the basis of the demands "End the Bombing of Cambodia Now! U.S. Entirely Out of S.E. Asia Now!" For further information contact NPAC at 1346 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Room 1122, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 293-3855.



Half-hearted government troops have been unable to stand up to rebels without massive U.S. bombing.

discretionary powers to the police. Among other things, the decrees provide for the establishment of security commissions at various levels, which will have the power to arrest anyone "disturbing public order." Persons thus arrested may be held for periods ranging from six months to two years; the penalties are arbitrarily renewable.

The Nixon regime made it clear before the Paris talks began that by "strict implementation" of the ceasefire agreement it meant only that Hanoi should discontinue efforts to protect the southern liberation forces from Thieu's armed forces, which are continuing their "nibbling" attacks on the liberated areas.

Washington is seeking similar "strict implementation" of the agreement in Cambodia, where only massive U.S. bombing prevents the Pnompenh regime from collapsing. The magnitude of that bombing is still not known exactly. This, no doubt, is one of those "national security" matters that cannot be published in newspapers. But in the May 24 *New York Times* Sidney Schanberg gave an indication of its destructive effects.

The region of Cambodia that lies to the east of the Mekong River (some one-third of the country's total area), Schanberg wrote, has been for years completely impervious to government troops, who make no pretense of try-

ing to control the region. American military commanders have a special name for the area: Freedom Deal.

"The Americans have been bombing heavily in 'Freedom Deal,'" Schanberg wrote, "ever since the war began in Cambodia in 1970 [sic]. It is essentially a free-fire zone, where the Seventh Air Force, now based in Thailand, can hit virtually what it wants to. The Nixon Administration has divulged almost nothing about this bombardment. Questions about the tonnage of bombs dropped, the number of sorties, the specific targets hit, the amount of enemy supplies destroyed and the number of enemy killed are not answered. The number of Cambodian civilians killed is also either not known or not revealed."

"But every once in a while, some civilians make their way into Government territory from 'Freedom Deal' and tell stories of bombing that has wiped out entire groups of villages and sizable numbers of the people who were living there under Communist administration."

Outside Freedom Deal, the bombing is presumably less intense and less random—or so Schanberg implies. So the type of destruction to which the liberated areas have been subjected may be gleaned from the situation in the areas that are not free-fire zones, areas in which, Schanberg wrote, "there is no reason to doubt that the Seventh Air Force is making a marked effort to avoid civilian casualties."

In the western two-thirds of Cambodia, Schanberg reported, "Scores of villages have been blown away. Twelve-foot-deep bomb craters pock the ruins. Great numbers of livestock

have been killed, harvested crops burned to ash, orchards destroyed—all creating a degree of damage . . . that until now had been associated only with North and South Vietnam. . . .

"Sometimes the devastation is continuous for several miles—not a house or a piece of one left standing. Along one 10-mile stretch of Route 30, there is total destruction for three miles, then a break, then two more miles of ruin, then another break, and finally another mile of rubble. Ashes, broken cooking pots, shattered banana and mango trees, twisted corrugated iron roofing and sometimes the concrete stilts of a house reaching toward nothingness—that is all that is left."

One of the results of this "marked effort to avoid civilian casualties" has been an increase in the number of refugees. "In the past," Schanberg wrote in a May 22 dispatch from Pnompenh, "when Communist troops entered an area or a village, the worst that would happen would be a brief exchange of fire with the half-hearted Government army. But now, when the insurgents arrive, the villagers know that the bombs are not far behind."

Since February, the number of refugees in the western two-thirds of the country has gone up by 70,000. The total number now stands at about 800,000, or more than one-tenth of the whole population. The U.S. government spends \$1 million a year supporting the refugees, and about \$300 million a year on military and "economic" (i.e., technical assistance that is most often military) aid to the regime. This does not include the unknown tens of millions for the bombing.



Largely because of air power, whole series of villages no longer exist. . . .

Detroit cops indicted for pushing drugs to Blacks

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, May 28—Twelve Detroit cops and 16 civilians have been indicted here on drug charges by a grand jury. Charges against the 28 include the selling of narcotics, protection of dope pushers through bribery, kidnapping, assaults, and murder, and blocking the arrest of pushers. Their operations were reported to extend through eight states and Canada.

The 12 policemen indicted were from Detroit's tenth precinct station. The tenth precinct, which is located in a predominantly Black neighborhood in Detroit's near west side, has been raided several times in the past year by other law enforcement units.

These indictments confirm what has been common knowledge in Detroit's Black community—that police are heavily involved in the city's illicit drug traffic. At a number of hearings and public meetings in the past six months many in the community tes-

tified to this involvement.

On Jan. 11, some 2,000 Blacks jammed a hearing of the Detroit common council called to hear testimony on police brutality in a manhunt then underway. The police were claiming that the three Black men they sought for allegedly shooting several cops outside a "dope pad" were pushers.

Outraged relatives of the three and many others testified that the three were not pushers but were trying to drive pushers out of the community. Many testified that it was the police, not the three men, who were protecting the pushers that night.

In a series of five hearings held throughout the Black community in February by the Independent Black Commission of Inquiry into Police Terror, dozens of citizens made similar charges of police involvement.

Maceo Dixon is one of the leaders of the commission and of its successor, the Coalition to Abolish STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe

Streets"), a plainclothes unit of the Detroit police department that has terrorized the Black community. Dixon, who is currently the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, released a statement to the media on the indictments, calling them "only the tip of the iceberg." All three major TV stations in Detroit gave coverage to Dixon's statement, which pointed out:

"These indictments are only token concessions compared to the real extent of police complicity. It is the Black community that suffers most from dope. I don't feel that the police investigating its own ranks will adequately get at the source. What is needed is an independent Black commission of inquiry that has the power to investigate police drug complicity. I feel the police investigating the police or a secret grand jury will amount to nothing more than a whitewash."

"To stop the police involvement in the protection of dope pushers the

present police force should be replaced by a force drawn from the residents of the Black community. And this force should be controlled by committees popularly elected by the Black community. These committees would have the power to hire, fire, and direct all police activities. Only then can we begin to remove the first line of defense for the dope pusher, the white, racist cop, controlled not by the community he is supposed to 'protect,' but by the city's corporate interests."

Dixon also went on to point out that none of the arrests went beyond the level of sergeant and that Police Commissioner John Nichols was trying to take credit for the indictments, claiming thereby to rid the department of a few bad elements.

"Nichols, in his bid for the 'law and order' vote in his mayoral bid, needs the appearance of a 'clean house' by primary day. Like Watergate, we're probably going to have to drag out the whole truth, and how far up the complicity goes, inch by inch."

Thousands march in U.S., Canada, Caribbean May 26 protests hit U.



Merritt College contingent in Oakland, Calif., African Liberation Day action

By BAXTER SMITH

"Even though it is cold, even though it threatened to rain and may rain yet, the fact that we are here at all is testimony to the strength of the movement in this country and all over the world.

"The fact that we are not only here but we are here simultaneously in Washington, in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, in Chicago, all over the Caribbean, all over Canada, is some indication of the fact that Black people in the Western hemisphere are as concerned about and moving just as valiantly in the anti-imperialist struggle as our brothers and sisters in PAIGC, in FRELIMO, in UNITA, in MPLA, in ZANU-ZAPU and in all the liberation movements of southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau."

That's how Brother Mark Smith, of the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOB) summed up the significance of the May 26 African Liberation Day demonstrations. He was speaking to a rally of 3,000 in New York.

Last year, two African Liberation Day actions were held—one in Washington, D.C., and the other in San Francisco. This year, demonstration organizers called for local actions. Despite inclement weather on most of the eastern seaboard, actions were held in more than 30 cities.

Not since the mobilizations led by Marcus Garvey some 50 years ago have there been actions of such a wide scale on the issue of the African revolution.

In addition to actions held in the U.S., four were reported in Canada, and others were slated in at least three Caribbean islands, London, and on the African continent itself.

In some U.S. cities, the demonstrations—though

of modest size—were the largest Black actions in recent years. In St. Paul, Minn., for example, more than 350 demonstrators turned out. With more than 200 protesters in Denver, it was the largest action held by Blacks in three years.

Most speakers at the demonstrations were local activists. Black elected officials were generally absent. Representatives of liberation organizations in southern and Portuguese-occupied Africa spoke at many actions, as well as African students studying in the U.S. In New York, Africans from their countries' diplomatic corps spoke or sat on the stage, and several other diplomats sent statements of solidarity.

The largest demonstration was held in Oakland, Calif., where organizers estimated the crowd at more than 10,000. *Militant* reporter Phillip Connor said one of the most prominent banners read, "Merritt College faculty and students demand the withdrawal of U.S. corporations from Africa and an end to U.S. support of NATO." Speakers there included D'Army Bailey, a member of the Berkeley city council; Tanya Russell, chairwoman of the Bay Area Africa Liberation Solidarity Committee; Oba Chaka of the Pan-African People's Organization; and others.

Chaka stated that Black people must come together to educate the masses of people and mobilize them in independent action.

The Oakland action, like the one in Los Angeles that drew more than 500, stopped at General Motors plants along the route of march to protest GM's operations in South Africa.

This year, African Liberation Day was dedicated to the memory of Amilcar Cabral. Cabral, the leader of PAIGC, the liberation organization in

Portuguese-Guinea, was slain by Portuguese agents Jan. 20 in the Republic of Guinea. In Chicago, where 1,500 protesters turned out, the nephew of Sekou Toure, president of the Republic of Guinea, spoke on the events surrounding Cabral's death. Lerone Bennett, historian and editor of *Ebony* magazine, and Dick Gregory were among the other speakers.

On a number of the marches, protesters filed past buildings housing U.S. corporations operating in southern Africa, as well as federal buildings and Portuguese, South African, British, French, and Israeli consulates. Speakers indicted these corporations and governments for their role in suppressing the freedom struggles.

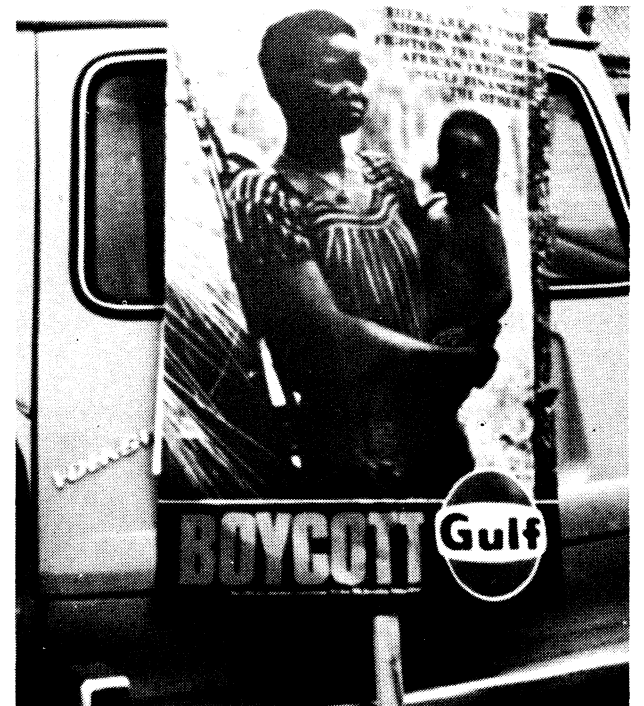
In Boston, where 1,400 marched, a representative of PAIGC emptied a bottle of Costa Do Sol wine onto the street in front of the Portuguese consulate to initiate a boycott of Portuguese wines.

The ALSC plans to begin a nationwide boycott of certain Portuguese products, including Lancer's, Costa Do Sol, and Mateus wines; Portuguese sardines; and coffee imported from Angola, a Portuguese colony in Africa.

The ALSC also urges people not to buy Gulf Oil and Polaroid products. Both of these corporations reap tremendous profits by exploiting Black labor in Angola and South Africa.

Many speakers at the demonstrations linked the struggle for African liberation to national and local issues. In Detroit, where 2,500 marched, several speakers linked the struggle against the STRESS police terror unit to the struggle against foreign domination of southern Africa. One speaker said, "We're fighting the same enemy. A strike at STRESS here is a blow against U.S. imperialism in Africa."

Detroit protesters picked up on STRESS in the chants they shouted. "Nixon out of Africa—



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

STRESS out of the ghetto" and "No more STRESS, No more dope in the Black community."

Several speakers mentioned the significance of Watergate. Mark Smith told the New York gathering: "We'd better start to study America. We better start to understand what Watergate means. If Nixon and them can run around and lie and cheat and steal and try to off people in the Democratic party, stop and think what they'll do to you . . . will do, have done, and are doing."

Pennsylvania State Assemblyman Dave Richardson told the Philadelphia demonstration of 400, "Let's not get confused by Watergate. Nixon only got caught. Corruption is a part of this racist government."

In Houston, several speakers linked Nixon's cutbacks in social programs to U.S. financial support of the Portuguese regime. Seven hundred demonstrated and heard speakers from the Black Panther Party; YOB; a member of the board of trustees of the Houston school district; and Gene Locke, Houston chairman of the ALSC.

Five hundred people demonstrated in Gainesville, Fla. One of the speakers there linked the U.S. struggle to that in the Caribbean, where U.S. corporations control large sugar and oil companies.

Most demonstrations grew as the march pro-



Philadelphia demonstration was led by a contingent of Black children

S. role in Africa



Part of the march of 3,000 in New York

Militant/Baxter Smith

ceeded. In New York, one marcher gestured to a brother leaning out the window of a large apartment building. He later told me, "When he saw all of us marching up the street, he must've done something because the next thing I knew about 20 or 30 dudes came flying out of there and joined us."

At the New Haven demonstration, which drew about 300 Blacks from all over Connecticut, a member of the Attica defense committee read a letter supporting ALD and signed by the 59 men under indictment for the Attica uprising.

Among the speakers at the New Haven rally was John Hawkins, a national committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Black members of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party were active builders of the May 26 actions in many areas.

The New York demonstration had a contingent of Puerto Ricans carrying a banner reading "Puerto Rican Student Union Supports African Liberation Day." Several Chicanos reportedly marched alongside Blacks in Houston.

The Washington, D. C., demonstration drew 3,000. Well organized monitors prevented provocative actions by cops from breaking up the demonstration. The speakers included Donald Isaacs, chairman of the local ALSC and president of the student government of Washington Technical Institute. WTI, a predominantly Black school, was the organizing center for the D. C. action.

The demonstration in Newark drew between 3,500 (the police estimate) and 5000 (the figure given by the Congress of African People [CAP]). CAP and the Committee for a Unified Newark were the prime builders. Speakers at the rally included Imamu Amiri Baraka, secretary-general of the National Black Assembly; Lennox Hinds, president of the National Association of Black Lawyers; two Black policemen from the Federation of Afro-American Police Officers; and a Black Newark city councilman.

Their 10-mile march, the longest of all, took them past the Kawaida Towers construction site,

where State Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale led a racist counter-demonstration. Imperiale heads the opposition to Kawaida Towers, which if completed would provide low-income housing for Blacks and Puerto Ricans in Newark.

Media coverage in most areas was generally good, especially from the Black press and radio stations. In at least three areas, D. C., Detroit, and Portland, Ore., where 400 demonstrated, local Black radio stations broadcast the entire rallies live.

Other demonstrations reported included 200 in Knoxville; 100 in Atlanta; 400 in Toronto; 150 in Montreal; and 4,000 in Raleigh, N. C., where Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the ALSC, spoke.

Demonstrations were also held in Antigua, West



300 marched in New Haven

Militant/Rob Wright

Indies, despite a government ban on the demonstration; New Orleans; Columbia, S. C.; Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis; and Nashville.

While some organizers of the actions were hoping for a larger turnout, these actions were quite significant. Even though there are no U. S. troops fighting in southern Africa, there is *already* a growing movement demanding no U. S. support to Portugal or the white-settler regimes in southern Africa.

Blacks win right to strike in S. Africa

MAY 30 — "Although it has far from abandoned what its critics think is both an unjust and an unworkable policy, the Government has surprised many of those same critics by trying to make the ideology more palatable." That's one way of describing the recent maneuvers of the South African government. The quote is from the May 29 *New York Times*.

Last week the South African government introduced legislation to grant Blacks "a qualified legal right to strike," as the *Times* put it. Strikes by Black workers were declared illegal in 1942.

The government's move was dictated by the tremendous pressure focused on the white-settler regime, which has reached international proportions since the massive wave of strikes by Black workers in the early part of the year.

South African Blacks are paid one-sixth to one-half of what whites earn for the same work. In 1972, for example, General Electric paid its

unskilled Black workers \$73 a month. This fell below even the government's official minimum-subsistence level. Whites who worked for GE, on the other hand, started at \$186 a month.

Many groups and individuals have been demanding that the government and corporations raise the wages of Blacks. This motion is what forced Pretoria to act.

Granting Blacks the partial right to strike is a major concession by the government, but it by no means marks a fundamental move toward eliminating apartheid. Blacks are still denied trade-union membership and the right to vote.

GE is but one of more than 200 U. S. corporations that comply with the apartheid system and aid in the oppression of the Black population. The demonstrations on May 26 were a step in the right direction toward exposing the role of these corporations and the complicity of the U. S. government.

Student strike at Antioch fights aid cutbacks

By LOUISE GOODMAN

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio, May 28 — In an unprecedented move, the Antioch College administration expelled 20 students and six faculty members May 24 for their participation in a five-week-old strike against cutbacks in financial aid. This action marks the first political expulsions ever attempted in the 130-year history of the college.

The dismissals were a direct result of defiance of an order by Dean Ewell Reagin that prohibited blocking of campus buildings. The order had also threatened "an issuance of a warrant for their [strike supporters] arrest" if they chose to continue their strike activities.

The strike is demanding the right of students on financial aid to continue their education with guaranteed assistance for the full five-year program. Black students are in the forefront of this struggle, which stems from the establishment of a New Directions program in July 1970.

The New Directions program was designed to bring students traditionally excluded from higher education onto the campus. Most of the students in the program are from working-class families, and 45 percent of them are Black. There are 200 Blacks out of the 1,000 students on the Antioch campus, and 90 percent of them receive financial aid. But now they are finding that the "assurances" of the administration that they would be able to complete their education were not "guarantees."

Antioch's president is applying a program that threatens the elimination of financially dependent students. In an attempt to tie in the situation at Antioch with other schools affected by Nixon's cutbacks, one striker here commented:

"The strike here grows out of the immediate needs of financial aid students to ensure their educational future. Because this is not an isolated problem, we are asking for national support in our struggle with Antioch in order to draw attention to this nationwide problem. We hope to build communication and unify with the other college campuses around the country who are suffering under Nixon's recent attacks."

Strikers have succeeded in taking control of all buildings, halting all normal functioning of the college. Regular mass decision-making meetings have been drawing 400 to 500 students. In addition, an elected strike steering committee and numerous other committees meet in between the mass meetings.

The administration's attempt to victimize some strike activists has been met by outrage in the campus community. Already more than 300 students and faculty have signed petitions threatening to withdraw from the college unless the administration reverses the expulsions.

While no regular classes are being taught, a freedom school has been set up, teaching classes on topics such as "Racism and American society," "The strike as a tool," and "National perspectives." Prominent national speakers have been brought in to address the mass meetings, including Anthony Russo, Ralph Abernathy, and Robert Allen.

Messages of support have been received from Angela Davis, congressmen John Conyers and Herman Badillo, the American Indian Movement, Cleveland Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Roberta Scherr, and the United Farm Workers Union, as well as from many campus groups across the country.

Campus workers are supporting the strike. Even though the administration has started laying off employees, they have refused to cross the picket lines. Strikers are demanding that there be no layoffs and that campus workers receive full pay for days missed as a result of the strike.

Faced with an injunction by a small group of students who wish to end the strike, students are waiting for a decision to be made this week. If the injunction is upheld, the administration claims the situation will be out of its hands and cops will be sent in to break the strike. Pending that decision strikers are continuing to hold meetings and gather broad support for the strike.

Messages of support can be sent to: National Publicity Committee, Antioch Student Mailroom, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

i Viva La Huelga!

UFWU-Teamster showdown looms as grape harvest nears

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., May 29—As the deadline for the beginning of the grape harvest approaches in this Mohave desert agricultural area, a showdown is shaping up between the United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO, and an alliance of growers and Teamsters union bureaucrats.

Harvesting was slated to begin around June 4, and a week previous grower-operated labor camps were beginning to fill up with workers who will be used in the effort to harvest the grapes and break the Farm Workers strike.

Meanwhile, there was a thinly veiled threat of violence by the growers.

The Farm Workers had signed three-year contracts with the Coachella Valley grape growers in 1970. When those contracts expired this past April the growers announced they had

United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO, has offices in many major cities that are coordinating the grape and lettuce boycott and the A & P and Safeway boycott. If you want to help, check with the UFWU in your local phone book. If they are not listed, look for a local Farm Workers support committee.

signed agreements with the Teamsters union. Field workers have not even been permitted to see these contracts, much less have an opportunity to enforce them.

During the month of May some 2,000 workers were involved in preparation of the grape crop for harvest. When the actual harvesting begins, the work force grows to more than 5,000.

During harvest preparation about 300 workers were actively involved in the UFWU strike. They were receiving strike benefits ranging from \$25 to \$35 a week, all the 70,000-member union was able to afford.

Now, however, with the financial support of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the union is offering substantially increased strike benefits.

The AFL-CIO recently contributed \$1.6-million to the strike and has pledged to continue financial assistance on the same scale.

"The \$1.6-million is a beginning," according to Bill Kircher, AFL-CIO national organization director.

Assigned to the strike by George Meany, Kircher told reporters, "An AFL-CIO constitutional provision allows us to give another \$1.6-million. Our constitution allows us to provide four cents per member monthly for up to six months and then there has to

be a review before more money can be provided." He indicated that if need be the AFL-CIO would vote another similar contribution after six months.

The UFWU plans to use this financial support to bring large numbers of potential strikers into the union ranks. Beginning May 29, the union was paying \$75 a week to each worker who became an active participant in the strike.

With the increased strike payments, the strikers' ranks have grown by several hundred in a couple of days. "By harvest time we're confident that it will swell to several thousand," said John Bank, the union's director of information.

In addition to the major drive to cripple the harvest, the union is escalating its nationwide grape boycott. Farm union staff members and strike supporters are promoting the boycott in some 60 cities. The AFL-CIO has now assigned 40 of its national staff to help promote the boycott.

For their part, the growers and their Teamster allies are banking on their capacity to recruit a sufficient number of scabs who can be persuaded or intimidated to work through the five-week harvest period. In good measure they are relying on labor contractors to organize the strikebreaking operation.

One of the major gains of the 1970 UFWU contract was establishment of the union hiring hall and abolition of the hated labor contractor system. The contractors are bloodsuckers who drive the workers mercilessly for ever greater production and have countless ways of ripping off their miserably low wages.

The Teamsters sweetheart contracts provide for abolition of the union hiring hall and reinstatement of the labor contractor system. They have even entered into phony contracts with an association of labor contractors.

In addition to strikebreakers, the Teamsters will undoubtedly provide a small army of goons. Before the harvest began they already had some 125 plug-uglies on duty in the area. They draw \$50 a day plus expenses for trying to intimidate striking unionists.

Teamster-grower plans were strongly hinted in the May issue of *Desert Rancher*, monthly voice of the Coachella Valley growers.

The paper said that the upcoming harvest is "one to view with some trepidation."

It offered quotes:

"This thing is going to get rough, there are going to be some skulls cracked," was the prediction of an individual from the industry.

"The Teamsters have had about



Militant/Harry Ring

United Farm Workers and supporters walk dusty desert roads appealing to grape workers still in fields.

enough of this guff that Chavez and his creatures have been handing out, and if there isn't some bloodshed I'll miss my guess—and my money is on the Teamsters," another commented.

But even with their wealth and Teamster-supplied hoodlums, the growers are getting a little nervous.

The May 27 *Riverside Press-Enterprise*, a major area daily, reported: "Several growers have expressed surprise at the amount of financial support promised to the UFW by the national AFL-CIO."

The paper quoted grower representatives. "I never thought the AFL-CIO would get involved like they have," said Henry J. Reider, General Manager for CID (Coachella-Imperial Distributors), a firm that manages the vineyards and markets grapes for 23 small independent Coachella Valley growers.

"Grower Charlie Keyan, who operates Key-Kas Ranches, said, 'These strike benefits could really change things. They could get enough workers to join the strike so they could really cripple the crop.'"

The growers also admitted that the Farm Workers' strategy of urging a preharvest slowdown has also had an effect.

Using bullhorns, pickets would address themselves to those working in the vineyards. Speakers would explain the history of the struggle of farm workers for justice and a better life and describe the contributions of the UFWU in advancing the cause of farm workers generally and of the Mexican workers in particular.

They would urge the workers to use all the means available to them to slow down production.

The *Press-Enterprise* quotes CID manager Henry Reider as admitting the effectiveness of the union slowdown appeal.

He told the paper that the union's effort "has affected the quality of the [preharvest] work and run our cost up."

"It's mostly those damn horns," he complained. "With that shouting they have completely disrupted the work."

Despite these encouraging develop-

Continued on page 22

...rally

Continued from page 24

Workers, and of a construction and mining local in Arizona were also there.

Support from the farm workers from across the border was offered by Manuel Rodriguez from Mexicali, Mexico, who is the local secretary of the CTM, the Mexican trade-union federation. In addition, a busload of young people from Mexicali attended the rally.

These signs of support from Mexico are especially important because it is in the border towns there that the growers hope to recruit large numbers of strikebreakers. A strong support movement can appeal to the Mexican workers and ask them not to let themselves be used to destroy their own people's strike.

Democratic state assembly members Richard Alatorre and Mervin Dymally from Los Angeles also offered their support to the strikers and made a combined personal contribution of \$600.

At one point in the rally Marshall Ganz explained that the way support is building for the strike the growers will not have anyone to pick the grapes when the harvest begins next week. They will end up with a big crop of raisins instead. The crowd then took up the chant "Pasas si, uvas no!" ("Raisins yes, grapes, no!").

There was a pause in the middle of the rally for more entertainment. A group of seven guitarists from San Diego called La Rondalla performed the popular Mexican song "La Bamba," with the lyrics changed to suit the situation. This group of Chicano youths performs all over the area, raising money for the strikers.

The high point of the rally was the remarks by César Chávez. He made

Even the food served to all those attending the farm workers rally was a product of union solidarity. An excellent barbacoa (barbecue) was prepared by UFWU volunteers. More than 1,500 pounds of beef was donated by Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 453 from Los Angeles. The Bakery Workers, AFL-CIO Local 37, donated bread, flour, and \$500.

the point that the workers have more power than they realize. "We have the power," he said. "We are the ones who do the work. Without our hands, without our sweat, the grapes will not be harvested."

He also explained that the farm workers movement is more than just a routine hours-and-wages strike; it is a movement for liberty, democracy, and social justice for farm workers.

At the end of his remarks Chávez led the crowd in singing the civil rights movement song "Nosotros Vencemos" (We shall overcome), and the rest of the day was turned over to teatro (theater) groups, Mexican folk dancers, singing groups, and mariachis.



Militant/Harry Ring

Rally atmosphere was enthusiastic and optimistic.

Record profits for agribusiness

COACHELLA, Calif.—Vineyard operators will need plenty of nerve to plead poverty as a pretext for resisting modest UFWU demands. The May *Desert Rancher* reports:

"Improved farming methods, which encompass more effective insecticides, more knowledgeable fertilization, and mechanization, have enabled California agriculture to show a continued growth in gross agricultural income in 11 of the 12 years since 1961, despite a decrease in the number of farms from 104,000 to 63,000. . . .

"Figures are from the Economics Department of the Bank of America. . . .

"A survey made early in the spring indicated that gross farm income for 1973 will reach \$6.16 billion, a 9.4% increase . . . over 1972. . . .

"Net farm income for 1973 is expected to reach \$1.5 billion, an 11% gain over the previous record set in 1972."

The Coachella Valley growers are definitely included in the take. The paper reports:

"Coachella Valley has the highest per acre crop value among all multi-crop areas served by an irrigation district."

New frame-ups in the works

Denver cops harass, prosecute Chicanos

By RAUL GONSALES

DENVER, May 28—Since the March 17 police attack on the Crusade for Justice, which resulted in the death of Luis "Junior" Martínez, Denver police have launched a campaign of harassment aimed at frightening the Chicano community and isolating the Crusade and the Raza Unida Party.

Police have been following Crusade members, their friends, and families, taking pictures, and searching their homes on false pretexts. An attempt may even be under way to link the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano civil and human rights organization, with a recent bombing.

Community activists are not the sole victims of harassment. Police frequently stop Chicanos at random as they are going to and from work, school, and shopping, for identification, searches, and questioning.

At the same time, "liberal" Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley is speeding up the prosecution of the Chicanos victimized in the predawn police attack on the Crusade for Justice.

Luis Ramirez and Charley Garcia had their preliminary hearing May 4. Based on the testimony of officers Peter Diaz and Randy Stills, Ramirez was held for trial on Aug. 13. He faces five to 40 years for "assaulting Peter Diaz." The cop's testimony, however, was so contradictory that all charges against Garcia were dropped.

Ernesto Vigil, a Crusade leader, has had a trial date set for Sept. 11. Mario Vásquez, who had to be dug out of the rubble of the building blown up during the police attack, has had a trial date set for Sept. 17. He has been charged with felonious assault on police officers. Both Vigil and Vásquez face sentences of from five to 40 years on each count.

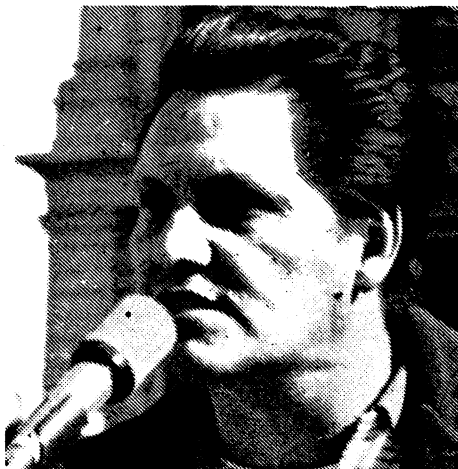
The charges originally filed against David Gonzales for aggravated assault have been dropped for lack of evidence. But Tooley, searching for a conviction, has filed new charges of carrying a loaded weapon and resistance to officers—both misdemeanors—against Gonzales.

The police campaign to intimidate the Chicano movement in Colorado took an ominous new turn this week. On May 21, a bomb exploded in a rest room of the Denver school administration building. While city, state, and federal agents sifted through the debris, Police Chief Art Dill gave his views on possible motives. Terming the bombing the work of "terrorists" he said, "It could have been anyone who is dissatisfied with the people who were elected or angry because of someone who did not get elected."

Dill was referring to the fact that one week before the bombing the candidates of La Raza Unida Party polled a combined 10 percent of the vote for Denver school board. (The May 25 *Militant* incorrectly reported that the

LRUP candidates received about 1 percent of the vote.) Their campaign had a significant impact on the Chicano community.

When asked by *Rocky Mountain News* reporters if he could link the bombing with recent demonstrations and walkouts by Chicano students at Remington Elementary and Horace Mann High School, Dill stated there was nothing to link them "at this time." Presumably Dill will look for "evi-



El Gallo
Crusade for Justice leader Ricardo Romero.

dence" to implicate Chicano activists in the bombing.

This would not be surprising. Several weeks ago, the home of Ricardo Romero, a leader of the Crusade, was broken into by Denver police. Romero told *The Militant* what happened.

When Romero went home at 10 a.m. to pick up some papers he needed, his house was infested with cops equipped with a portable lab and sniffing dogs. They were supposedly looking for some 82 rifles, pistols, and shotguns taken in an armed robbery in Galesburg, Ill. His front door was demolished.

"I went in and asked them, 'What the hell's going on?'" said Romero. "The cops presented me with a search warrant, but I didn't accept it."

The cops claimed they had stopped a nine-year-old boy carrying a gun. According to them, this nine-year-old gun-toting burglar said he had broken into Romero's home and got the weapon, and that "I had a real arsenal, a lot of weapons there."

The "real arsenal" consists of six rifles, all registered, on a gun rack in Romero's house.

When the boy and his grandmother were spoken to by Romero and his lawyer, the boy explained that he had found the weapon in an empty lot and had told this to the police.

A committee to defend the Crusade activists victimized during the March 17 police attack has been formed. Letters and contributions can be sent to the Denver Chicano Legal Defense Committee, P.O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218.



Militant/Harry Ring
Since March funeral for Luis Martinez, Denver cops have stepped up attempts to intimidate Chicano movement.

Raza Unida Party aids striking rubber workers

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Support is building for 750 workers, most of them Chicanos and Latinos, on strike nearly three months at R.G. Sloan Company's plastic pipe-fittings plant in Sun Valley. They are members of the United Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO.

The beleaguered strikers have turned to the Chicano community seeking support in the face of scab violence, police harassment, a company that is determined to bust the union, and an official labor movement that has been less than vigorous in its support for the strike.

The members of United Rubber Workers Local 621 are demanding a three-year contract with raises of 25 cents the first year, 22 cents the second, and 21 cents the third; cost-of-living increases; company-sponsored health and insurance plan; and bonus pay for graveyard and swing shifts. The company refuses to negotiate.

The demands are quite modest when you consider the tremendous increases in the cost of living in the three years since the last contract was signed. At the present time starting pay for employees is a miserable \$2.01 an hour.

The company would like to convert the plant to a "continuous operation" with workers having 12-hour shifts, eliminating overtime. In addition, the company wants to establish an open shop, which would in effect destroy the union.

The company has been hiring strike-breakers, some of whom have been armed with baseball bats, rocks, and firearms. One scab attacked a picket line with an ice pick. Others have threatened pickets with pistols, and some have taken shots at pickets, narrowly missing. Some union members were sent to the hospital after being hit by a car driven by scabs.

The North Hollywood division of the Los Angeles Police Department has been helping to promote company-inspired violence by not taking meaningful action against scabs caught red-handed attacking strikers. Meanwhile, they arrest strikers on such trumped-up charges as "pushing and shoving." Some cops threatened to "blow out their brains" if strikers didn't watch out.

Immigration officers have been harassing pickets, asking them for documents. Many of the workers are from Mexico and Latin America and do not have work permits. The threat of deportation is used to intimidate them.

Local courts have cooperated with the company's union-busting drive by

issuing an injunction limiting picketing to only 28 persons. More than 150 strikers have already been ordered to appear in court for supposed infractions of the injunction.

Many of these facts were brought out by strikers Hiram Rivera and Rubén Benito and Eugenio Hernandez of the San Fernando Valley Raza Unida Party at a May 8 news conference covered by several Spanish-language media.

According to a statement released by the strikers, the R.G. Sloan Company has a history of racist and sexist discriminatory practices and is the subject of a suit by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The strikers' situation is made difficult by the fact that they have been subsisting on strike benefits of only \$25 a week provided by the international union. Strikers have maintained a high morale in spite of the many hardships. This was shown when a May 18 union meeting voted unanimously to continue the strike.

Another problem facing the workers is the apparent lack of interest in the strike by the official labor movement. It was only after the workers had been out for eight weeks that the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Los Angeles finally got around to endorsing the strike.

The strikers began to seek support from the Chicano community, and the first place they went was to the local chapter of La Raza Unida Party. Raza Unida became known to many Chicanos in the San Fernando Valley through the campaign for state senate of Andrés Torres a few months ago.

Raza Unida activists have organized news conferences and strike support meetings and are seeking legal aid for those facing charges.

A May 20 meeting organized by La Raza Unida Party and the union drew more than 200 strikers and supporters. The film *Salt of the Earth*, about a militant Chicano miners strike, was shown. Bert Corona from CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), an organization of undocumented Raza workers, addressed the rally. A representative of the United Farm Workers Union read a letter of support from union President César Chávez.

Supporters are collecting food to help families of strikers trying to get by on the meager strike allowance, and there are plans to issue a strike newspaper. Anyone who can help in this regard or who wants further information should call (213)361-6281.

2nd Gary Lawton trial slated for Riverside, Ca.

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES—The second "ambush" trial of Gary Lawton and Larrie Gardner is scheduled to begin May 28 in Riverside, Calif. At the request of his lawyer, Nehemiah Jackson's trial was separated from that of the other two codefendants, and will begin about two weeks later.

Lawton was freed March 30 on \$50,000 bail, ending two years of incarceration.

In a surprise move on May 3, at District Attorney Lee Porst's request, Judge John Hews dropped the conspiracy charge against the three. This cut the bail in half, and \$25,000 of Lawton's bail was transferred to Gardner. On May 5, a bond was posted for Nehemiah Jackson, and both were released.

A rally was held in Riverside's Black community shortly after the release of Jackson and Gardner. Lawton has been speaking on campuses in the area to raise funds for the defense committee.

The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee has just published a pamphlet on the case, *The Frame-Up: Outrage in the Desert*. It sells for 35 cents and is available at movement bookstores.

Money is desperately needed to continue defense efforts. To order the pamphlet on consignment or to arrange a speaking engagement for Gary Lawton, contact the defense committee at P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412 or call (714) 684-4098 or 686-6087.

Support Farm Workers Union, Antioch students Black trade unionists meet in Washington

By DERRICK MORRISON

WASHINGTON, D. C. — More than 1,000 Black trade unionists met here in a three-day conference May 25-27 and declared their support for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Union.

The proposal to back the UFWU in its fight against the union-busting effort by the growers and the Teamsters union bureaucrats was adopted after a spirited discussion. Several Black Teamsters opposed the motion.



Jesse Jackson: Watergate has exposed Nixon's 'law and order' demagoguery.

The conference, which was held at the Statler Hilton Hotel, also called on the AFL-CIO and other unions to support the strike of Mexican-American workers at Farah Manufacturing Company and the boycott of Farah products; the Shell Oil boycott and strike; and the Equal Rights Amendment.

After hearing a report on a strike at two Oneita Knitting Mills plants in South Carolina, the conference went on record to build support for the nearly 1,000 striking workers, 75 percent of whom are Black women.

The Black unionists called on Congress to halt the Nixon administration's cutbacks on social programs

and its plans to eliminate the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

The conference extended support to the mid-June actions against Nixon's budget cuts called by Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). The conference also went on record in support of the student strike at Antioch College against projected budget cuts there.

They called for a thorough investigation of the Watergate scandal.

Lastly, the conference adopted a constitution to formally establish the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

This was the second conference of the CBTU. The first was held last September in Chicago, and the principle organizers of that meeting as well as this one were: William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), AFL-CIO; Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL-CIO; Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers; Nelson Jack Edwards, vice-president of the United Auto Workers; and William Simons, president of Local 6, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

The participants at the conference were primarily union officials and staff people. About a third were women. The conference was open to all unionists and a handful of white union officials attended.

However, this conference did not have the blessing of the top AFL-CIO officialdom. For one thing, the CBTU supported McGovern in the 1972 elections and opposed George Meany's backhanded support to Nixon. For another, though they don't offer a clear alternative to support for the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties, these Black union officials reflect more sharply the pressures from the Black community for meaningful action against Nixon's racist policies.

In summing up the thinking of the conference Nelson Jack Edwards commented, after pointing up how racism



Militant/Derrick Morrison

Union officials at Black trade unionists' conference (left to right): William Simons (AFT); Horace Sheffield, representing Nelson Jack Edwards of UAW; Bill Lucy (AFSCME); Cleveland Robinson (Distributive Workers).

had become disreputable in the 1960s, "Racism is becoming more respectable now than brotherhood."

This theme was developed in greater detail by Reverend Jesse Jackson, national president of Operation PUSH, who addressed the gathering Saturday night, May 26. That morning the principal speaker had been Arnold Miller, the recently elected president of the United Mine Workers.

Jackson used the Watergate scandal to expose and attack Nixon, demonstrating the hypocrisy of administration catchwords like "law and order" and "crime in the streets." He hailed the formation of the CBTU and pointed out how it could play a major role in building protests against the cutbacks.

Jackson related how the Black strug-

gle had moved from the issue of Jim Crow or legal segregation to the larger issues of social justice, issues that concern not only Blacks but many other people. He cited the default of the organized labor movement in moving with Blacks on these issues, which center on the mounting problems of the cities.

He said Black unionists are in a key position for getting other sections of the labor movement to move with Blacks on urban problems.

The CBTU plans to build local units in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C. CBTU leaders estimate that there are nearly three million Black workers in the organized labor movement.



Militant/Dick Roberts

Anticutback demonstration in Washington, D. C., in February. Black trade-union officials discussed the need for further action against Nixon's racist policies.

National 'conference against repression' meets

By GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

CHICAGO — Nearly 800 people attended a "Conference on Racist and Political Repression" held here May 11-13. A number of defendants and activists in local political defense cases around the country were present.

The preconference publicity indicated that an organization would be formed to support and defend victims of racist and political repression. The size of the conference, and the number of defense cases represented, are evidence of the need for an organization with this purpose.

To be effective, such an organization would have to function on the principle of nonexclusion and defend all movement activists who are victimized, regardless of their political views. Such a group could provide legal aid, raise funds for defense expenses, and help coordinate national publicity efforts and actions around defense cases.

While this kind of organization was clearly what many of the participants in the Chicago gathering were seeking, the new organization formed at the conference will not provide this vehicle.

At no time in the conference did the new group state clearly that it

would provide legal aid to all radicals who need it, regardless of their political views. Nor was there any discussion about the basis on which the group would decide which of the many political defendants to support with money and publicity.

During the weekend, workshops were held to discuss prison conditions, police brutality, immigration and deportation, legislation, the armed forces, repression and the labor movement, and repression of political organizations and individuals.

Dozens of proposals passed by workshops and plenary sessions declared many of the cases to be "top priority" for the new organization. So many cases were placed in this category that the question arises as to what the real priorities of the group will be.

An article in the May 17 *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, singled out only three of the proposals that came out of the conference. They were:

1) To expose the "political repression drive in North Carolina" including the case of Ben Chavis, one of the "Wilmington Ten."

2) To launch a campaign to repeal the Subversive Activities Control

Act, the "no-knock" provision of the 1968 antiriot act, the Washington, D. C., preventive detention law, and to abolish the House Internal Security Committee.

3) To organize local commissions of inquiry into police crime in cities across the country. These local commissions are to gather documentation of police crime over the past 10 years and then call a national conference to formulate an indictment.

The Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League were heavily represented, and many of their members played leading roles at the gathering. CP leader Angela Davis gave a keynote address to the conference. Henry Winston, CP national chairman, was introduced three times to standing ovations.

On May 12, an evening rally was held at Dunbar High School. Among the speakers were Jose "Che" Velazquez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers Union; Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; and Tony Russo of the Pentagon papers case.

The final plenary session of the conference voted on proposals from workshops and discussed at some length

the proposed structure for the new organization. Disagreement arose over the structure. A small group of individuals, including representatives from the National Black Students Caucus and the Illinois Committee of Ex-Offenders (ICE) offered a structure proposal and threatened to walk out if it was defeated.

Charles Howard of ICE stated, "We are very concerned that this conference not create a party for the Communist Party. We are not willing to be used by any opportunist organization." Their structure proposal was defeated, but they chose to remain at the conference.

Elected as cochairpersons of the new organization were Angela Davis, anti-deportation leader Bert Corona, and Carl Braden of the Southern Conference Education Fund. Elected as vice-cochairpersons were Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement; Alfredo Lopez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee; Reverend Ben Chavis of the Commission of Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; Bill Takahashi of the United Defense Against Repression, Los Angeles; and Fred Bell of the United Defense of Political Prisoners, Dallas, Texas.

HOW BUILDING TRADES UNIONS SHOULD FIGHT RISING PRICES

By FRANK LOVELL

Things are beginning to look different to some of the labor skates who head the building trades unions. Not long ago when Peter Brennan headed the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council in New York he seemed to speak for all of them. His view then was that construction workers were in great shape.

We look out for the industry, he declared, and the boss looks out for us. We are satisfied. The rest of the union movement ought to copy our example. Brennan went on to even greater heights, he thought, when Nixon made him Secretary of Labor. But the building tradesmen are not doing so well.

Dissenting voices are heard. Edward Carlough, president of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, has submitted his version of "The Hard-Hat View," published May 3 on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times*. He notes that interest rates, profits, prices, and unemployment are all going up. He discloses that the "880 biggest companies in the United States last year made profits—after taxes—of \$52.6 billion, an all-time record."

In contrast to this bonanza for the bosses, Carlough complains that "the guy in overalls had his wages frozen part of the year, and controlled the rest of the year."

After a hard look at the "new" union movement, which he naturally identifies with the privileged crafts, this is what he now deplors: "We so-called great and powerful American trade unionists have become a tray of cream puffs. We're being gouged by the price fixers and clobbered by the tax collectors, while all the time our unemployment rate continues at over 5 per cent nationally, and over 10 per cent for construction workers."

A dim view

Carlough is not the only one who takes a dim view of present conditions. On March 24, S. Frank Raftery, general president of the Painters union, sent a letter to general presidents of International unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO building trades department. It said in part: "We have participated in the CISC [Construction Industry Stabilization Board] and the wages of our members have been controlled. Contractor profits in the construction industry rose by over a half billion dollars in 1971 while our wages were held to average increases of approximately \$.60 per hour. In 1972, while our wages [increases] were held to \$.42 an hour, or approximately 5.6 percent, profits of contractors rose almost 24 percent."

"In addition, the profits of the building materials suppliers rose 31 percent in 1972 over 1971. . . . The prices of building materials which these corporations supply have skyrocketed out of proportion. The price increases of lumber products in the past year alone, as the National Association of Home Builders reports, have caused home owners to pay \$1,000 more for their homes because of price increases. These home owners are our members and they are the same individuals whose purchasing power is being severely limited by the wage controls of the CISC."

Raftery threatened to resign from the CISC if larger wage increases were not forthcoming.

Rank & file criticism

The reason for Raftery's concern is clearly stated in the opening sentence of his letter. "As many of you are well aware, the wage control program

under the CISC has come under severe attack by many of our rank-and-file members."

This is not surprising. With unemployment in the construction industry at 10 percent, as Carlough says, prices are skyrocketing. With the organized sector of the industry shrinking, it is no wonder that construction workers are voicing their discontent and are becoming restive under the policy of collaboration with the government and the employers that the officials of these unions have imposed.

In view of this latest assessment of their position by these top union officials, concurred in by AFL-CIO President George Meany, where does this leave Peter Brennan?

He cannot claim any longer to reflect the view of the union bureaucracy, nor to represent any segment of the union movement. He no longer speaks for Meany, nor for "hard hats," nor for anyone but himself. Perhaps



Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan no longer can claim to speak for 'hard hats.'

Brennan can qualify to speak for those who toil in the Wall Street vineyard, reaping fabulous profits under the Nixon wage-control policy.

These same bureaucrats—Meany, Carlough, Raftery, and all the others—shared the opinions expressed by Brennan at the time he was appointed Secretary of Labor. They hailed his appointment, and praised Nixon's wisdom in making it.

The belated complaints of Meany and associates now are the pained noises of dupes who think they have been betrayed. They thought they could buy time by supporting the New Economic Policy proclaimed by Nixon on Aug. 15, 1971. They asked for nothing more, no improvement in the standard of living of the workers they professed to represent. All they hoped for was to hang on to what they had. But they were unable to do even that. The workers are now worse off than two years ago, and worse times are coming.

As always happens when times get

tough, the union officials try to blame the members. But the construction workers were not the architects of Carlough's "cream puff" unionism. Construction workers do not consider themselves part of the "new" middle class. These are the false notions that have been peddled for the past 20 years by the union bureaucrats.

What union members want now is a fight against inflation, action to defend their standard of living. Carlough, Raftery, Meany, and all the other high-ranking leaders have no heart for such a fight. They are squirming now under pressure of the workers who pay their high salaries. But they are only looking for new ways to crawl into a "better" economic controls policy, which they will help the government impose in the future just as they have in the past.

End war spending

The government cannot and will not roll back prices no matter how loud these union bureaucrats scream. The fight against inflation requires a complete reordering of federal spending. This means elimination of the wasteful and inflationary war spending and munitions manufacturing, which drains away \$80-billion annually. Instead, this money should go into useful construction of schools, hospitals, low-cost housing, and other socially necessary projects. Building tradesmen have a greater stake in these than most other workers.

The federal government should be forced by the union movement to begin immediately vast public works projects to rebuild this country, which is badly in need of reconstruction and reclamation.

This is the only way to curb the 10 percent unemployment in the building trades, which will get worse if the union movement does not act to end unemployment.

Escalator clause

The only protection unions can offer their members against rising prices is an escalator clause in every contract, providing for automatic wage increases pegged to the rising cost of living. This protection should be extended to the incomes of all working people and to those on Social Security pension, welfare, and other forms of relief.

When the unions undertake actions to protect their own members and those still unorganized, the often-talked-about need to organize the unorganized will then become an easy and natural plan of action. Given the long history of racist practices in the building trades unions—most notably the virtual exclusion of Blacks from the more skilled and highly paid jobs—a good beginning would be for these unions to renounce these practices and support preferential hiring for Black workers.



Militant/Howard Petrick

April 28 rally in San Francisco protested high prices, wage controls, unemployment, and taxes unfair to working people. Building trades unions all over the country should join others in building such protest actions.

Reed tour in New Zealand has wide impact

The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in the May 18 *Socialist Action*, the newspaper of the New Zealand Socialist Action League.

By KAY GOODGER

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—The effects of the recent national speaking tour by Evelyn Reed, American feminist and Marxist anthropologist, will be felt for a long time to come.

Besides addressing hundreds of people at meetings in seven different cities throughout the country, Reed was interviewed by several women's magazines, and recorded sessions on TV's "Gallery" and the popular radio programme "Feminine Viewpoint." Dozens of orders were taken for her book *Problems of Women's Liberation* and for other pamphlets she has written, which were all sold out by the time she arrived.

Reed began her tour in Dunedin on April 26 and spoke in Christchurch, Auckland and Palmerston North before addressing the Young Socialist National Educational Conference in Wellington, May 4-5. She then went on to Nelson and Hamilton before leaving the country for Japan to continue her lecture tour.

In each centre, Reed met with local feminists and spoke about the development of the American feminist movement, as well as presenting her main lecture, "Is Biology Woman's Destiny?"

This longtime feminist's ideas about the hidden history of women created much interest. She explained that when myths of "natural inferiority" are exploded, women can see what the real roots of their oppression are, and can have confidence that their lives need not be limited because of their biology.

Reed received her biggest audiences, totalling over 800, in Auckland, where in addition to the two planned public meetings at the university, she was invited to give a lecture at the Medical School.

At a lunchtime meeting at Victoria University in Wellington, Reed clashed with anti-abortion males in the audience. "The total impudence of them," she said, "to think they can command all women and put them back in the dark ages."

Throughout her tour, Evelyn Reed spoke of the victory that women had won with the U.S. Supreme Court's decision to give women the right to abortion up to the twenty-fourth week of pregnancy. She asserted that this was a tremendous step forward for women, the biggest since the right to vote had been won.

One of the highlights of Reed's tour of this country was a two-hour session on Auckland's radio talk back show. Reed attracted so many calls that the show was extended beyond its normal running time, and the debate she set off continued the next day.

By insisting on being referred to as "Ms. Reed," she provoked a sudden debate in the letter column of the *Christchurch Press*, with many women criticising a letter-writer who complained that it was unfair to hide a woman's marital status in this way!



EL TEATRO CAMPESINO

La Carpa de los Rasquachis. Produced by El Teatro Campesino.

La Carpa de los Rasquachis, or *The Tent of the Underdogs*, is a four-part play performed by El Teatro Campesino, a group formed out of the United Farm Workers Union struggle. The group recently appeared in New York.

La Carpa is presented in two simultaneous forms: *actos*, short guerrilla theater skits in Spanish and English, and the *corrido*, a running narrative sung and played in Spanish. In a *corrido*, which is inspired by old Mexican ballads, all the basic elements of drama come together—character, dynamic conflict, tragedy, comedy, and satire.

All these elements work very well in *La Carpa*. The stage action is full of acrobatics and simple but clever devices that symbolize objects, actions, and states of mind. The versatility of the group is impressive: most of the members act, sing, and play musical instruments. In a seemingly spontaneous but carefully structured improvisation, an actor who is singing on the side will rush onto the stage with perfect timing. The warmth and humor is always there; the group has the most beautiful sense of the comic and the absurd.

In the first part of the play, which tells the story of Jesus Rasquachis, we get many tragicomic insights into the life of Mexican farm

Theatre

workers. They are underdogs from the moment they set foot on American soil—and the customs officer harshly asks them how much money they have—until the moment they are buried. As the *corrido* puts it:

*Ah, my dear countrymen
they are taking me to my final rest
and even in the cemetery
you see discrimination.*

The second part deals with two of Jesus's sons. Both get into corruption in the Chicano community: one as a drug pusher, the other as an opportunistic politician who uses his brother's intake from pushing and pimping to finance his campaign. In the end, when the politician has reached success and wants to "go clean," he kills his brother, who has now become an embarrassment to him.

Dramatically opening the third part is a group of young Chicanos in dark glasses and marching boots, who rhythmically tramp the floor. Brandishing their guns, they dedicate their berets as love tokens to admiring young "chicks." This part is a spoof on the tactics of "pick up the gun."

The last part of this epic, based on the myth of the Mayan god Quetzalcoatl, leaves a few religious ambiguities. The male in all his peacock-like splendor represents the soaring Spirit and the female, the earthbound old Materia, who is dragged off in a rope.

Although the ending is a little unfocused, the major message comes across loud and clear: the slavery and oppression of the Chicano people and the systematic destruction of their culture must be ended, and the means to the end is organizing the masses of Chicanos into action. The means to that is with facts, presented with imagination, wit, and skill.

For information on El Teatro Campesino's future performances, contact Luis Valdez, P. O. Box 274, San Juan Bautista, Calif. 95045.

—KATARINA VALLINE

BIRD LIVES!

Bird Lives! The High Life and Hard Times of Charlie (Yardbird) Parker by Ross Russell. Charterhouse. New York, 1973. 404 pp. Cloth \$8.95.

Bird Lives! is a major step in the direction of correcting the sad inadequacy in the field of Black musicology. Ross Russell has established himself as an important voice in this field.

Jazz musician Charlie (Bird) Parker was one of the most significant Black artists of the century, and certainly the greatest musical genius. With hardly any formal training, and no financial or moral support, he made a revolution in Black music that established the bedrock of what continues to be the most dynamic of American art forms.

Raised in the saloon district of depression-era Kansas City, he sought his inspiration from the Black giants of the "swing" period—Lester Young, Lips Page, Count Basie, to name only a few. By 1935, at the age of 15, he had succeeded in mastering their art, and began a new trend in Black music, later known as bebop.

He left his wife and child in K. C. and, after traveling with various Black swing bands, landed in New York City, where at the age of 18 he joined the Earl "Fatha" Hines orchestra.

There was immediate tension between the "traditional" swing-oriented musicians in the Hines band and the

And go he did. But not long enough. He died in 1955, at the age of 34. He had been addicted to drugs for 15 years, and at the time of his death had advanced cirrhosis of the liver, perforated peptic ulcers, and a heart condition. He died penniless, his legacy of musical ideas having been taken over by lesser artists without a mention of where their ideas were born.

The cultural hero of an entire generation of Black people, Parker was viewed with scorn by the establishment of his time. Although jazz is the sole indigenous contribution of the U. S. to world culture, the so-called "sophisticated" critics rejected Parker's work.

Despite these critics, Parker left a musical legacy unequalled in creative ideas. *Bird Lives!* is a tremendous contribution to the recognition of that legacy, and to the struggle for recognition of Black musicians in general.

—RICHARD LESNIK

Books

young insurgents, called the "beboppers," of whom Bird was the wildest and greatest. With vocalist Billy Eckstine and trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, Bird participated in the creation of the first bop orchestra in 1944.

But the atmosphere of the big band proved too constricting for Parker and he soon left to form the first bebop quintet. With Dizzy Gillespie on trumpet and a rhythm section of drums, piano, and bass, the bebop revolution was brought to New York's 52nd Street, known as *The Street* to the "hip" crowd. A new, exciting era in Black music began.

Charlie Parker's music was marked by an unusual ability to come up with new ideas. While the boppers (Lester Young, Coleman Hawkins, and others) had established the smooth, "pretty" sound of the bop saxophone style, Bird established the high speed, varied tones, and unheard-of harmonic varieties of bebop saxophone style. Together with the trumpet style of Gillespie (in large part drawn from the ideas of Parker) and the new rhythmic approach of drummer Max Roach, Black music took a new and bold step forward.

Bird was the hero of the "hip" movement of the late 1940s. He often ate two or three meals at one sitting, followed by two giant glassfuls of gin, and topped off by a fix of heroin. Full and flying high, he was ready to go.



Charlie (Yardbird) Parker

Militant sales double as drive nears end

By NANCY COLE

MAY 30—*Militant* sales surpassed 8,500 for the first time in the spring sales campaign last week. The total of 8,680 was more than double the 4,253 total of the first week of the campaign in February. High sales reflected the continued interest in a socialist analysis of Watergate and the intense sales efforts of *Militant* supporters around the country.

Lower Manhattan members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party set a new record for the campaign by selling 1,129. That gave them the highest week's sale of the campaign and made them the first to break 1,000.

According to reports received so far, close to 700 copies of the June 1 *Militant* were sold at African Liberation Day actions across the country. This includes 145 in New York City; 122 in Oakland; 80 in Knoxville, Tenn; and 76 in Washington, D. C.

More than 600 Young Socialists were also sold.

According to sales director Ron Wolin, with 50 people selling they didn't try any spectacular new places, but rather sent more teams more often to their regular locations. Sales included 302 outside of May's department store and, because of a rainy week, 300 inside the Port Authority bus terminal.

Three Lower Manhattan supporters sold more than 100 *Militants*—Ron Wolin, 133; Richard Orawiec, 129; and Jim Kendrick, 103.

With both Upper West Side and Brooklyn also surpassing their quotas, a total of 2,068 *Militants* were sold in New York City last week.

Brooklyn supporters sold their highest number yet—491—and close to 300 of those were sold from SWP campaign tables on Saturday. They tried one new method, going door-to-door in the housing projects surrounding Pratt University. During one hour two people sold 19 *Militants*.

Besides Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, seven other areas set records for sales in their cities. They were Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Portland, Seattle, and Washington, D. C.

After steadily making progress for the last three weeks, Philadelphia supporters hit their high this week with 417 sold. This was despite the fact that it rained all week, and many sales had to be reorganized for indoor locations.

Portland supporters sold 125 downtown during weekday rush hours. And at Portland Community College one Black student commented that *The Militant* looked like a good paper, took five of them, and returned later with the money from sales.

All areas report that disgust with Nixon and his cronies is expressed by the vast majority of people who see *The Militant*, especially the May 25 issue with the unflattering photo of him on the cover. Ben Harris from Nashville writes, "One woman bought two copies—one for myself and one so I can send that picture of Nixon to a friend."

Although the sales campaign will have ended with the June 1 issue, sales of the current issue with special features on the meaning of Watergate and the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union are especially important. Many areas report plans to continue their sales efforts in the same spirit as during the sales campaign. If other readers want to help get out the socialist view of Watergate by selling a bundle of *Militants*, send in the coupon below.

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK	% WEEK
Lower Manhattan	1,129	500	226	(584)
Boston	845	500	169	(708)
Philadelphia	417	275	152	(326)
Brooklyn	491	325	151	(408)
Seattle	374	250	150	(274)
San Diego	310	250	124	(275)
Chicago	602	500	120	(543)
Cleveland	360	300	120	(325)
Washington, D. C.	301	250	120	(265)
Denver	266	225	118	(247)
Atlanta	343	300	114	(315)
Upper West Side	448	400	112	(360)
Portland	217	200	109	(145)
Austin	160	150	107	(153)
Oakland/Berkeley	521	500	104	(509)
San Francisco	507	500	101	(403)
Los Angeles	450	450	100	(350)
Nashville	40	40	100	(40)
Storrs	14	15	93	(15)
Detroit	262	350	75	(390)
Twin Cities	249	350	71	(285)
Houston	330	500	66	(400)
Knoxville	15	25	60	(*)
Central New Jersey	14	32	44	(32)
Hartford	15	35	43	(15)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	8,680			
GOAL	7,000			

(*no report)

Please send me a weekly bundle of *Militants* and bill me once a month (12.5 cents/copy):

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Watergate game plan—'bug your friends to play'

For the wiretappers, spies, burglars, and other "national security" crooks in Nixon's palace guard, Watergate turned out to be a regrettable caper. The moral lesson is now being drawn by one and all. Especially the adult games sector of American business. Some of them "have been quick to perceive that there's more money to be made in the aftermath of a major scandal than perhaps was ever involved in the scandal itself," reports the May 24 *New York Post*.

So now you can buy "The Watergate Puzzle," a jigsaw puzzle that will "bug you" as you try to fit the pieces to produce a picture of the White House with thousands of insects crawling out the front door.



Martha Mitchell: 'wild card'

And you can buy "The Watergate Scandal." In this game you draw cards marked "campaign chiefs," "attorney general," "White House aide," with a wild card, "attorney general's wife."

According to the rules, "nobody in the Watergate Scandal wins; there are just losers." Except for the manufacturers. They expect to sell five million sets at \$2.99 each.

A game that may prove to be even more popular is "Watergate Darts." It costs \$7.95. The game has a slogan: "Bug your friends to play."

The game consists of a circular board dotted with likenesses of Watergate characters like John H. Ehrlichman, G. Gordon Liddy, John and Martha Mitchell, Sam Ervin, and John

Dean. They are arranged in concentric circles, and you throw blunt "tricky Dick" darts at them.

In the bull's-eye, with a score value of 100 points, is former White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman.

Why isn't Nixon in the bull's-eye? David J. Mahmood of Hobby Time, Inc., told the *New York Post*: "Right now this is all we have. But we've got it set up so the faces can change as the sands shift. If Nixon is implicated, he could go in the center. We might even move the point total up then from 100 to 1000."

Not in the market? Then you might want some Watergate stationery. One letterhead says, "Re-elect Incumbent President, Top Sneakret."

A revolutionary publishing house

In 1930 a group of revolutionaries in the United States launched Pioneer Publishers. It was founded as a publishing house with the motto: "a Marxist library at a price every worker can afford." Today Pathfinder Press carries forward this work of publishing revolutionary books and pamphlets.

On its seventh anniversary Pioneer Publishers received a congratulatory letter from Leon Trotsky. He wrote, in part: "There is weight in the idea that the center of social-revolutionary and revolutionary philosophical thought will shift in the next

News from Pathfinder

period to America. Under the blows of the crisis and the social shake-ups there will here arise a generation of revolutionary theoreticians capable of saying a new word. All the more necessary is it to create for this awakening social criticism a stable base in the form of a publishing house not bound by any other consideration and obligations outside of the objective to open to humanity a new road of development. Pioneer Publishers can accomplish a great historic task. Our common

goal is to help them." (*Writings of Leon Trotsky*, 1937-38, Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, 1970.)

During the past 10 years Blacks, Chicanos, women, and students in the United States have spoken many a "new word," adding their voices and actions to those of rebel youth in every part of the world. And alongside of these militant actions, there is a growing body of literature assessing the revolutionary potential of these new movements and exposing oppression and exploitation, explaining why it exists and how to end it.

Today more radical books and newspapers are published than ever before in history. But the publishing industry, like any other capitalist institution, is dominated by a thirst for profits. Publishers stampeded into the radical publishing arena at the end of the 1960s. Undoubtedly their market-analysis experts reported a growing interest among young people in books of social protest and political criticism. So with an occasional condescending chuckle about the silliness of the youth struggles, senior editors issued the command to seek out and publish radical books.

Without question they have produced some books of value to revolutionaries. *Sexual Politics* by Kate Millett is one example. But with equal facility they

have churned out "feminist" novels by male ghostwriters. They have published valuable books like *The Young Lenin* by Leon Trotsky—but marred by incorrect footnotes and prejudiced introductions.

And they all flatly reject books examining the role of a revolutionary party in ending oppression and building a socialist society.

No, revolutionaries today cannot depend on these factories of cellophane-wrapped and sterile ideas to publish the suppressed history of workers, Blacks, Chicanos, women; to expose U. S. capitalism; to document the atrocities of imperialist exploitation in Africa, Latin America, and Indochina; to print Marxist philosophers, historians, anthropologists.

To publish such works is the goal of the revolutionary publishing house.

In coming weeks this column will discuss the various aspects of Pathfinder Press as a revolutionary publishing house: the books and pamphlets being published; how they are advertised, distributed, and sold all around the world; how prisoners write in requesting books for study; the effect of Nixon's cutbacks on the circulation of radical books; and many other subjects.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

Calendar

BOSTON

THE CRISIS IN BOSTON'S SCHOOLS. Panel discussion with Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston school committee; and others. Fri., June 8, 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.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WHAT'S BEHIND THE ENERGY CRISIS? Speaker: Steve Beck, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 8, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

IN DEFENSE OF PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS. Hear their story. Speakers: representatives from the Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz Defense Committee and the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee. Fri., June 8, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

...crash

Continued from page 5

Skolnik explains that while it is common to find cyanide in the bodies of plane crash victims, because the poison is produced when the victims inhale fumes in the wreckage, 553's pilot had much larger amounts of cyanide in his system than is usual.

Despite this evidence, the FAA hearing on the crash of Flight 553 found that the plane crashed because of too much ice on its wings at landing.

Skolnik was not allowed to testify at other hearings being held by the NTSB on the crash, at least until the board's announcement that it would now look into his allegations.

Former top White House aide Dwight Chapin, however, did appear at the board's hearing—as a representative of United Airlines! Chapin had resigned from the administration to become an official of United shortly after the June 17 arrest of the Watergaters at the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters. His presence at the hearing suggests strong interest by friends of the Nixon administration in the board's findings.

The May 26 *New York Times* reports that Senate Watergate probers are also looking into Skolnik's alle-

gations.

Most reports have indicated that Mrs. Hunt's role in the Watergate conspiracy was to distribute hush money to those in a position to implicate higher-ups in the scandal. In light of Skolnik's charges, the Senate investigators should be interested in finding out who Mrs. Hunt was going to see in Chicago. What Watergate activities were taking place there that had to be covered up? Was her plane blown up to prevent her from revealing more, still unknown, Watergate crimes?

Are Skolnik's charges far-fetched? If Mrs. Hunt really did have secret information about Watergate, Skolnik's arguments seem well within the range of possibility. After all, blowing up just one airplane in flight would be small change for the Vietnam bombers in the White House.

...exiles

Continued from page 6

trained with U.S. naval, air, and army weapons. Their invasion of Cuba on April 17, 1961, was masterminded by American military experts and the CIA in total violation of U.S. laws.

Just as Nixon lied to the American people throughout the Vietnam war, Kennedy lied also, talking about the "Peace" Corps and the Alliance for Progress in Latin America while he was planning the invasion. As late as April 12 Kennedy made a statement promising no U.S. intervention in Cuba.

For decades, the U.S. imperialists had kept the Cuban people under the heel of poverty, illiteracy, disease, and a dictatorship steeped in corruption and policies of mass repression and torture.

The Cuban revolution, supported by the overwhelming majority of the population, took the wealth of the country out of the hands of millionaires—like Kennedy—and put it at the service of the people. Land was given to the peasants, rents were slashed in half, low-cost housing was built, unemployment, illiteracy, and hunger were virtually eliminated.

Kennedy's invasion of Cuba was a

total flop. There was no uprising in support of the invasion. Instead, the Cuban people mobilized to defend their revolution and fight off the invaders.

Who were these *gusano* mercenaries?

Of the 1,000 prisoners from the invading force captured in Cuba, it was found that more than 800 were rich landlords, capitalists, or sons of Batista officials—those whose extensive property had been nationalized, and handed over to the workers and peasants by the Cuban revolution.

On April 20, 1960, Kennedy openly admitted the aim of his invasion of Cuba: "I am determined on our system's survival and success, regardless of the cost and regardless of the peril."

It is this same commitment to maintaining the capitalist system of exploitation that motivates Nixon today. Democratic and Republican administrations alike will use any illegal methods necessary to protect the "security" of the ruling capitalist class in their position of power over this country and the world.

...UFWU

Continued from page 16

ments, the Farm Workers face formidable odds, and the gravity of their situation should not be underestimated. The very existence of the union is in the balance.

Walking on the picket line with these striking workers, their high morale, militancy, and sense of union solidarity are plain to see. They deserve and need the broadest support.

Money and dried and canned food must be collected for them. The boycott of Safeway and A&P must be stepped up, and the grape boycott must become the cause of millions.

...Nixonite

Continued from page 8

people, primarily from the academic community. This was the largest such list of supporters in any civil liberties case in decades. Resolutions in support of the defense were passed by

scores of organizations.

The fight with Hoadley and Huston lasted four years. But the witch-hunt was ultimately defeated. The charges against Levitt, Bingham, and Morgan were dropped, and the 1951 "Exterminate Communism" law was declared unconstitutional.

The Bloomington case was an important chapter in the history of the current radicalization. It helped to set the stage for the development of the student and antiwar movements, and the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement. The Bloomington case was also a resounding defeat for the Indiana right-wingers, not the least of whom was Tom Huston.

True to character, Tom Huston now crops up as a "sneaky operator" in the Watergate scandal. His contempt for civil liberties is still with him. And his right-wing, reactionary mentality and philosophy still motivate him. That's the stuff the Nixon administration is made of.

...‘aliens’

Continued from page 24

The government's role is essentially one of cooperation with the bosses. When there is a short supply of low-paid workers, they shut their eyes to the smuggling of workers across the border. And that goes double when strikebreakers are needed in the drive to crush the United Farm Workers Union.

When the shortage of labor or the need for strikebreakers diminishes, there soon follows the massive raids and deportations.

Various concerned groups have protested the new deportations. On May 29, more than 200 people picketed the Immigration offices at the downtown federal building to protest the dragnet operation. The action was called on short notice by CASA-Hermanidad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers), an organization focusing on the problems of undocumented Raza workers.

CASA is now organizing a major march and rally for June 16. For information phone (213) 487-4171.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon-Sat, 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

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Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

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KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., Lafayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

New Orleans: YSA, c/o Clarence Williams, 3141 N. Tonti St., New Orleans, La. 70117.

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College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

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MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

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Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 381-2897.

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Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

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San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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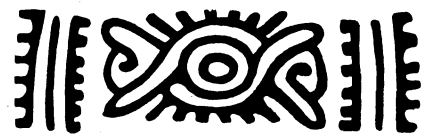
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THE MILITANT

iViva La Huelga!

Rally of 2,000 sets drive for all-out grape strike in Coachella Valley

By MIGUEL PENDAS

INDIO, Calif. — The final push for a major walkout in the Coachella Valley grape fields was launched at a rally here May 27. The crowd of nearly 2,000 heard United Farm Workers Union (UFWU) President César Chávez speak as well as representatives of many other unions bringing messages of support. The atmosphere was enthusiastic, optimistic, and festive.

The great majority of those present were strikers and their families. Some workers attending the rally were joining the strike for the first time.

A huge red flag with the union symbol—the black Aztec eagle—served as a backdrop for the speaker's platform.

The rally was conducted in Spanish and chaired by Marshall Ganz, one of the union's leading organizers. Ganz introduced union representatives who came from all over the country to observe the strike and join the picket lines.

Nick Kurkel, personal representative of AFL-CIO President George Meany and director of organization of the Texas AFL-CIO, brought greetings.

Representing the American Postal Workers Union was the national organization director David Johnson. "What the Teamsters are doing here in the valley of Coachella is something the union movement cannot accept," he said. Johnson also pledged the support of his union with food and finances and said that the union's 300,000 members will boycott Safeway and A&P throughout the country. These stores are among the major



Militant/Howard Petrick

Rally of Coachella Valley, Calif., farm workers. Representatives of AFL-CIO unions pledged support to United Farm Workers Union in fight for its life against grower-Teamster assault.

carriers of scab grapes and have been selected by the UFWU as major targets of the grape boycott.

Speaking for the Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, of Riverside County, in which Coachella is located, was Gino Scheletti. He read a resolution passed by that body condemning the "coalition of Teamsters, corrupt politicians, and grape growers seeking to destroy the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, through sweetheart contracts without the knowledge and consent of the grape workers."

The Riverside Central Labor Council voted to endorse the strike and to

send delegates to the UFWU office in Coachella. Scheletti also presented the strikers with 22 cases of canned goods collected by the Culinary Workers Union at Riverside City College, and added, "We will feed you; you will not go hungry."

"You will have more money, more canned goods. We will make a door-to-door canvass starting tomorrow."

He also announced that the Central Labor Council was holding a rally in Riverside June 2 in support of the UFWU, and that they expect 2,000 people. He closed with the shout, "Power to the farm workers!"

Others introduced and brought to the stage included Art Tamaripas from United Auto Workers Local 216 in Los Angeles and UAW international representative Pedro Medrano from Texas.

Bill Arballo and Bill Rubio from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Los Angeles presented the strikers with money and food. The week before their union, mostly Chicanos, had donated \$1,000.

Representatives of the United Steelworkers, the Hotel and Restaurant

Continued on page 16

CASA-Hermandad calls June 16 protest

Door-to-door dragnet in L.A. for 'illegal aliens'

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Nearly a thousand Latino workers, mainly Mexican, were rounded up here by federal cops May 23 and summarily deported. Officials said the Gestapo-like raids were the biggest of their kind in this area in three years.

An immigration department official said the sweep against so-called illegal aliens would continue indefinitely to decrease "the very heavy concentration" of undocumented workers in the area.

Bolstered by a contingent of U.S. Border Patrol agents, the Immigration cops focused the raids on the downtown garment sweatshops, which employ many undocumented Mexican workers, and in the San Fernando Valley, where they are employed in a variety of low-paying jobs.

Those seized in the raids were loaded into buses and shipped across the Mexican border without any pretense of "due process" of law.

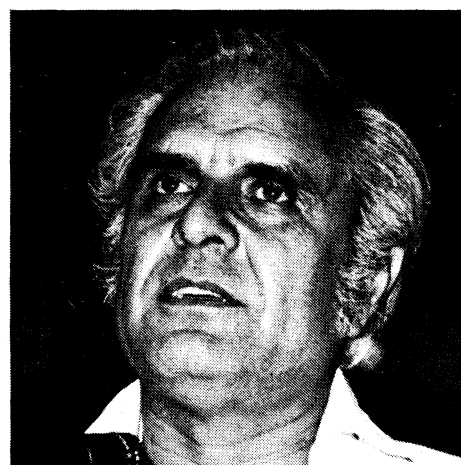
One of the deportees told reporters he was leaving behind a family including two children born here.

Across the border, if they have any money, they will be put on buses and planes run by outfits that have agree-

ments with U.S. and Mexican officials. Money for "fare" will be taken from them and they will be shipped deep into Mexico—without regard for where they come from—and dumped off.

Bert Corona and Soledad Alatorre, the directors of CASA-Hermandad, said the raids are part of a nationwide campaign of terror directed against Mexicans and other Latin Americans.

The raids, purportedly undertaken to apprehend "illegal aliens," have oc-



Militant/Dave Warren

Bert Corona: 'It is not safe to have a brown skin.'

curred on a door-to-door basis and have led to the harassment of all persons with brown skin, Corona charged.

In these raids the elderly, the infirm, and innocent children have been arrested and imprisoned. Little attention, he said, has been paid to the hardships and the heartaches caused by the tactics of Immigration agents. In one case they took away a grandmother, leaving her grandchild with a baby-sitter who did not know the whereabouts of the child's mother.

Immigration agents are also unlawfully entering private homes, churches, restaurants, and factories, creating a climate of fear, apprehension, and confusion.

Corona added that similar raids have taken place in other cities in recent weeks. In Chicago, streets have been roped off and Puerto Ricans have been mistakenly deported to Mexico. In San Antonio, Texas, and in New York City, brown-skinned people have been harassed as they enter and leave the city's subways. And in Oklahoma City, 280 people have reportedly been arrested.

"It is not safe to have a brown skin and live in the U.S. today," Corona

told reporters.

Recent revelations have put the spotlight on the sewer of corruption that goes under the name of the U.S. Immigration Service and Border Patrol. In addition to the illegal agreements for the shakedowns by bus and plane operators, officials accept bribes from crooks who take stiff sums from undocumented Mexicans to "smuggle" them across the border while cooperative officials look the other way.

Another lucrative racket is the sale of forged entry permits to those seeking to come here. The forged cards get people into the U.S. when the border cops decide it pays.

Once in the U.S. with no legal status, the workers are at the tender mercy of racist employers who grind superprofits out of them while using them to depress already low wages in the area.

Instead of reaching out to these superexploited workers, many union bureaucrats take the racist, antilabor position that it's easier to have the government deport them than it is to wage a common, effective fight against the bosses who try to pit them against union workers.

Continued on page 22