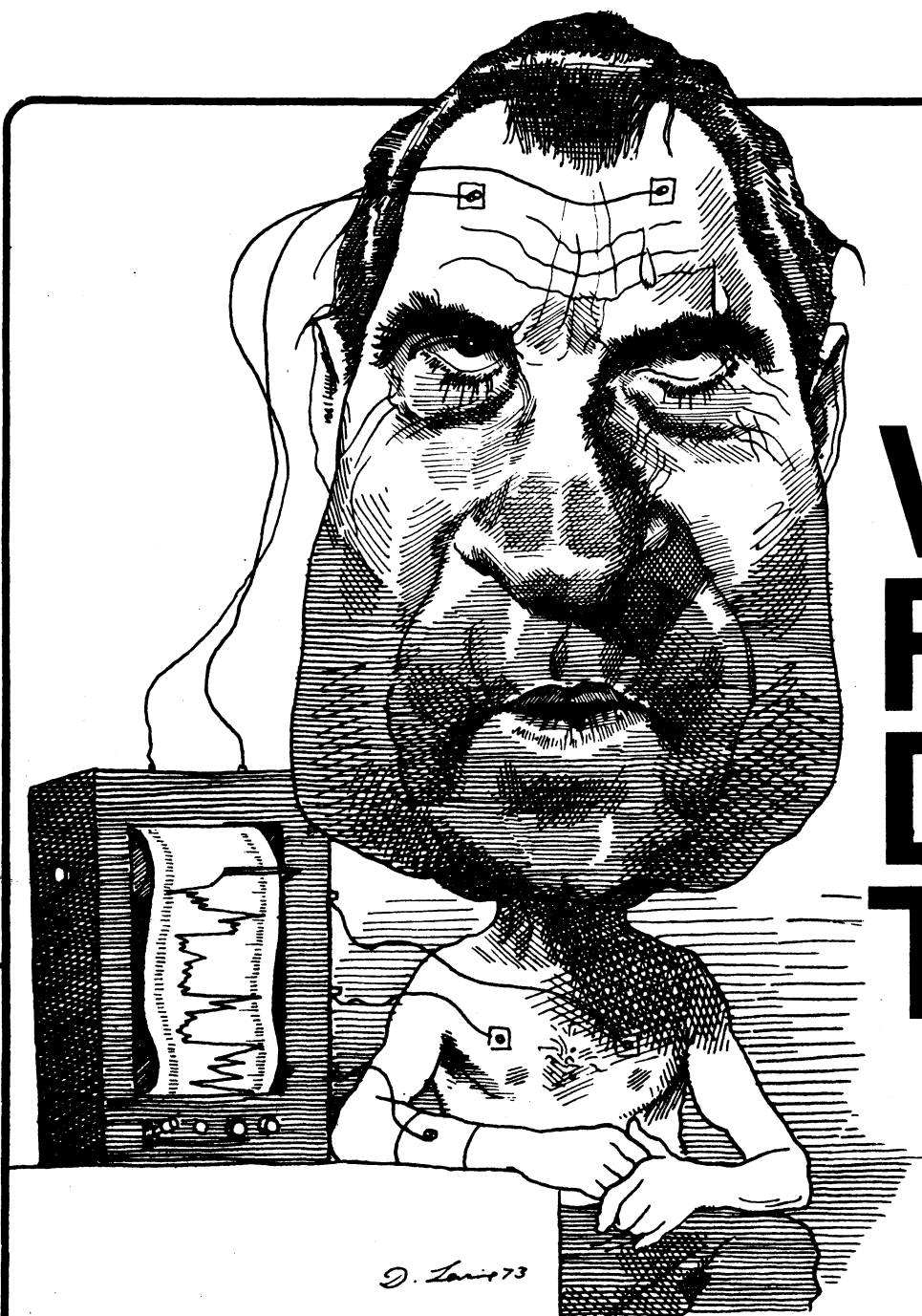


THE MILITANT

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



WATERGATE: WHY NIXON FEARS DEAN'S TESTIMONY

—page 13

Millions of people think Nixon would fail lie detector test, but this David Levine drawing was rejected by the New York Times and the Washington Post as 'too hot to handle.' It was first published by Rights, magazine of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. For Watergate news, see pages 13-16.

Brezhnev-Nixon deals: no step toward peace

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NEW DEATH SENTENCES IN IRAN: A military tribunal in Teheran condemned six men to death on June 10 and one woman, Simeen Nahavandi, to a 10-year term in solitary confinement. The verdict has been appealed to a military review board, which ordinarily gives speedy approval to such sentences. (For more information on the repression in Iran, see the World Outlook section.)

YSA LEADER CONDEMNS PERSECUTION OF IRANIAN STUDENTS: The recent indictment of six Iranian students accused of assaulting an Iranian consular official in San Francisco March 26 has been strongly condemned by Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

In a letter to the U.S. attorney in San Francisco dated June 17, Pulley stated, "the charges are politically motivated and stem from the defendants' activities in protesting the brutally repressive regime of the Shah of Iran." Pulley demanded "that all charges against the six be dropped immediately, and that your office and other agencies of the U.S. government halt all the harassment of these foreign students residing in the U.S."

TRADE UNIONISTS SUPPORT FARAH STRIKE: More than 1,200 New England trade unionists demonstrated in Boston June 15 in support of the striking Farah pants workers. Contingents representing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Massachusetts Teachers Union, the Farm Workers Support Committee, and the Socialist Workers Party marched from



Militant/Dave Wulp

the Clothing Workers' headquarters to Filene's department store, a major retailer of Farah pants. They then held a mass picket line during the lunch hour to support the strike of Farah pants workers in Texas. The Farah workers are mostly Chicanos who earn only \$1 to \$1.35 an hour in sweatshop conditions.

Demonstrating workers lost at least two hours' pay by punching out for the action, and busloads from Providence, Fall River, and New Bedford factories lost an entire day's pay.

BOSTON MARCH OPENS GAY PRIDE WEEK: Five hundred singing and chanting demonstrators marched through the streets of Boston June 16, opening the beginning of Gay Pride Week 1973. Contingents in the march, the largest so far in Boston, came from several New England groups, as well as from many gay organizations in Boston.

Participants in the march included State Representative Barney Frank, who introduced a bill into the Massachusetts legislature calling for full civil rights for gays. The bill was recently defeated. Also present at the demonstration were Diana Travis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge school committee, and Reverend Alberts from Old West Church. Alberts performed a marriage ceremony for a gay couple in April and subsequently lost his position as pastor.

'MONGO' SMITH CONVICTED IN DRUG FRAME-UP: Joseph "Mongo" Smith, chairman of the Los Angeles Young Workers Liberation League, was convicted June 12 on charges stemming from a drug frame-up. Smith, who is Black, was arrested Nov. 28 while distributing leaflets protesting the killing of two Black students at Southern University. He was charged with selling drugs to an undercover police agent.

According to a report in the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, Smith's conviction was based

largely on testimony given by a well-known professional witness for the L.A. police department in drug cases involving Blacks. Seven other witnesses testified that Smith was nowhere near the place where he allegedly sold the drugs on that day. There were no Blacks on the jury.

Smith, whose sentencing is scheduled for July 10, faces five years to life under California's indeterminate sentencing law. The Mongo Smith Defense Committee is looking into appealing his conviction.

CHICANOS WIN FIGHT FOR A NEW SCHOOL: Chicanos in Chicago's Pilsen community won a significant victory when the board of education agreed recently to build a new high school there.

The struggle began eight months ago when the board of education decided to shut down Froebel High School and transfer all the students to Harrison High School, ignoring the community's demands that a new school be built.

Recently several demonstrations were organized by the Committee to Build a New School in the Pilsen Community. The committee included students from Froebel and Harrison, two Chicano community organizations, and members of La Raza Unida Party.

On June 7, about 300 students and community members marched from Froebel to the board of education and demanded to meet with the superintendent of schools, but their demand was ignored. On June 13, when the demand for a new school was to be taken up at a public board of education meeting, some 40 to 50 parents and students attempted to enter the building, but many were prevented by police. The board, however, finally gave in to pressure and voted at that meeting to build the new school.

CAMPAIGN TO DEFEND HAITIAN EXILES IN U.S.: Between December of last year and April of this year 107 Haitian refugees fleeing "Baby Doc" Duvalier's regime have arrived in Miami, Fla., seeking political asylum. The U.S. Immigration Service has responded by charging them with illegally entering the country and has tried to have them deported. All of them face almost certain imprisonment, if not death, if they are returned to Haiti.

Twenty-five of the Haitians, fearing for their lives, have fled the authorities.

A campaign to win asylum for these political exiles has been launched by the Committee for the Defense of the Haitian People, a coalition of four Haitian organizations in the New York area and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The immediate focus of the campaign is to organize the sending of telegrams of protest to the immigration authorities in Miami. Telegrams have already been sent by Congresswoman Bella Abzug and Bishop Paul Moore.

Plans are under way to hold picket lines protesting the threatened deportations in both Miami and New York. For more information, call USLA at (212) 691-2880, or the Committee for the Defense of the Haitian People at (212) 491-6580. Protests should be sent to District Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 51 S.W. First Ave., Miami, Fla. 33130.

—MIRTA VIDAL

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U.S. bombs despite new Viet 'cease-fire'

From Intercontinental Press

By JON ROTHSCILD

"They must have made a secret agreement as well," the June 17 *New York Times* quoted an anonymous American official in Washington as saying, "because otherwise the exercise would have been pointless." The official was commenting on the June 13 communiqué declaring yet another cease-fire in Vietnam.

The communiqué was released in two versions—a four-party text signed by the Saigon regime, the U.S. government, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the South Vietnam Provisional Revolutionary Government, and a two-party text signed only by Washington and Hanoi with the "concurrence" of the other two parties.

The Byzantine, two-stage signing ceremony was not the only thing the June 13 communiqué had in common with the January 27 cease-fire agreement that it was supposed to concretize. Like the earlier accord, the June 13 document was negotiated in secret, settles nothing, and has already been violated by the Saigon gang.



KISSINGER & THO: Conferred in secret

The piece of paper in question is the fruit of some seventy-five hours of talks between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. It consists of fourteen points, many of which in turn consist of quotations from the January 27 accord.

The first two points, the only really specific ones in the communiqué, state that the U.S. military, "in conformity with article 2 of the [January 27] agreement," must "cease indefinitely aerial reconnaissance" over the territory of the DRV and must resume mine-sweeping operations in DRV waters. By affixing his worthless signature to the communiqué, Kissinger, in the name of his boss, tacitly admitted what Washington had hitherto denied: that the Nixon regime has been violating the Paris agreement by flying spy planes over North Vietnam and by failing to clear mines from the port of Haiphong and the rivers of the DRV.

In Point 3, the "two South Vietnamese parties" agree to issue new cease-fire orders to their respective military forces, the truce to go into effect June

15. Point 4 states that the "two South Vietnamese parties" will observe articles 2 and 3 of the earlier agreement, which delineate the specifics of the nonexistent cease-fire.

Point 5 explains that the "Two-Party Joint Military Commission" (JMC), which in reality has never functioned, should immediately begin its task of determining "the areas controlled by the two South Vietnamese parties." Point 6 says that military field commanders should meet so as to avoid new incidents of fighting, which has never stopped.

Point 7 repeats the January 27 accord's assertions prohibiting the introduction of military equipment into South Vietnam except on a one-for-one basis. Point 8 repeats the January 27 accord's assertion that civilian prisoners should be released, something Thieu refuses to do. Point 9 reiterates the January 27 accord's provision on establishing democratic rights throughout South Vietnam. Point 10 repeats the call for "free elections" and the formation of a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord. Point 11 states that members of the JMC should have diplomatic status—another provision already contained in the first cease-fire accord that Thieu refuses to implement. Point 12 states that the International Commission of Control and Supervision, which does not function, should be accorded cooperation by both sides.

Point 13, in its entirety, states: "Article 20 of the [January 27] agreement regarding Cambodia and Laos, shall be scrupulously implemented."

Point 14 states that Washington-Hanoi talks on reconstruction of the DRV should resume.

When Henry Kissinger was asked what there was in the communiqué, besides the goodwill and seriousness of the people who negotiated it, that would make it work any better than the first cease-fire agreement, he replied: "There is nothing in any communiqué that makes a communiqué work. The communiqué works because the parties concerned intend to implement it."

This could be considered to be one of Kissinger's less dishonest statements—provided the word "because" was changed to "if." And both the Saigon government and the Nixon gang have proven that they have no intention of implementing the communiqué, any more than they implemented the cease-fire accord itself.

The Saigon regime openly proclaimed its intention of violating the terms of the communiqué within twenty-four hours of its signing. On June 14 it issued a booklet entitled "The Paris Joint Communiqué of June 13: Analysis and Observations." Even the *New York Times* (June 15) was compelled to admit that Saigon "appeared



Thieu won't release political prisoners or allow democratic rights before 'elections.'

to have all but repudiated several of the key articles" of the communiqué. "Well-placed [Saigon] Government sources explained this by insisting that Thieu would not honor articles he deemed to be "contrary to the spirit" of the January 27 agreement.

For example, the booklet states that Saigon and the PRG must set the date for elections before a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord is formed and before wartime restrictions of democratic rights are lifted. That is, Thieu insists that the PRG must agree to hold an "election" before the several hundred thousand political prisoners are released from Saigon's jails and while Thieu's military rule continues to deny all political forces except his own the right to function.

And there was some evidence that Thieu did not even intend to go through the formalities of ordering his troops to cease firing. "Periodically throughout the day yesterday," Fox Butterfield wrote in a June 16 dispatch to the *New York Times*, "the Communists broadcast orders to their soldiers to stop fighting, and the [Saigon] Government announced that its field commanders had been instructed by radio and telephone to observe the new truce. However, reports from the field indicated that many Government soldiers had not yet [sic] received such orders by noon, when the truce was to begin."

As for the U.S. government, there is no more dramatic proof of its intention of disregarding the communiqué than the bombing raids still being conducted against the Cambodian liberation forces and civilian population.

When Kissinger was asked by reporters whether the section of the communiqué reaffirming Article 20 of the cease-fire agreement (which prohibits foreign military operations in Cambodia) meant that American

bombing raids would stop, he answered that "there is nothing that commits the United States to cease such operations." The day the communiqué was signed marked the one-hundredth consecutive day that American bombers had been in action over Cambodia.

Congress stalls on antiwar bills

JUNE 18—U.S. bombing raids against Cambodia continue at a rate of almost 200 per day, and yet Congress continues to stall on legislation to cut off funds for the raids.

Both houses have passed bills to cut off funds for the bombing, but action on them was delayed in a Senate-House conference committee—to "give Kissinger more time" to press for concessions from the North Vietnamese in the Paris talks on Indochina.

Finally a compromise proposal was cleared June 18 by the conference committee and sent to the House floor for approval. However, Speaker of the House Carl Albert has revealed plans to stall another week on the measure until the end of Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the U.S.

In another development, Nixon's war aims were revealed by his nominee for a new secretary of defense, James Schlesinger, who told the Senate Armed Services Committee that despite the detente with Moscow and Peking, "the military budget will rise." In response to a question, Schlesinger defended Nixon's bombing of Cambodia and stated, "I cannot exclude" the resumption of bombing of North Vietnam.

Ohio feminists, unionists slate rally for ERA

By CARYL LOEB

CLEVELAND—"July 4 is American Independence Day. July 7 will be feminist independence day—the beginning of an ERA movement which will see ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Ohio and then go on from there." So said Sue Johnson, president of Cleveland NOW (National Organization for Women), in announcing plans for a rally in support of the ERA. The action is slated for noon, July 7, at the old federal building.

The ERA passed the Ohio House of Representatives in February. In May the Ohio Senate Committee on Financial Institutions, Insurance and Elections voted not to let the amend-

ment out of committee to be voted on by the Senate as a whole.

Johnson continued, "We have come to recognize that two or three women visiting an elected official do not represent the power necessary to override the influence of moneyed interests which stand in opposition to equal rights for women. The way for us to win is not to work behind the scenes, but to keep the ERA in the public eye and rally women and men supporters to our cause."

The rally will be keynoted by Johnson and State Senator Marijane Valiquette, who submitted the ERA for ratification in Ohio. Other speakers will include Councilwoman Carol McClen- don, Socialist Workers Party candi-

date for mayor Roberta Scherr, and a representative of the United Farm Workers Union.

Ambitious plans are under way to publicize the rally. Some 25,000 leaflets will be passed out at the annual July 4 fireworks display.

Endorsers of the action include Congressman Louis Stokes; the 21st Congressional District Caucus; AFSCME Women's Rights Committee; Council of Union Women; United Farm Workers Union; State Representative John Sweeney and Jean Sweeney; State Representative Harry Lehman and Linda Lehman; Sheldon Schecter, state chairman of Ohio New Democratic Coalition; Socialist Workers Party; and many others.

U.S. CAPITALISTS SEEK ECONOMIC GAINS, COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY AID FROM KREMLIN

From Intercontinental Press

By DICK ROBERTS

The task of presenting the views of the minority of the U.S. ruling class on the developing Washington-Moscow détente fell to Senator Henry Jackson, a Democrat from the state of Washington.

Jackson opposes the détente. More specifically, he takes a dim view of Soviet Communist party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev's visit to the United States. Because articulating the interests of weapons-makers like Boeing has become unpopular in the United States, Jackson found himself obliged to find some other peg for his opposition to the Kremlin's rapprochement with Nixon. That peg was the status of Soviet Jewry.

"I simply say that after a lapse of 25 years," Jackson said in an interview in the June 18 *U.S. News and World Report*, "it's high time they [Soviet leaders] implement the Univer-

sally of the Moscow détente will serve to protect, not endanger, imperialist oil holdings. And not only oil holdings.

Prestigious ruling-class representatives rose to the Senate floor to scold Jackson. "There have been several articles recently indicating important economic transactions with Russia are in the making," said Senator J.W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"Goodness knows," Fulbright continued, "they are very important for this country, as they are for Russia. I think the country and, I would hope, everyone who is interested in the economic stability of this country would feel it would be to our mutual advantage."

Others echoing Fulbright's stand were Senate minority leader Hugh Scott and Democratic majority leader Mike Mansfield. Rarely has the U.S. ruling class—and its political representatives—been so united.

Long before the elected representatives of the U.S. Congress take votes, their positions have been determined. They have had a series of closed-door meetings to listen to the spokesmen of banking and industry. They have pored through official and semiofficial publications to learn the opinions of the ruling-class "think tank" experts.

These are the kinds of articles Senator Fulbright was referring his colleagues to. Typical is a June 10 report of the subcommittee on "National Security Policy and Scientific Developments" of the U.S. House of Representatives' committee on foreign affairs. The authors are John P. Hardt, a "senior specialist in Soviet economics," and George D. Holliday of the Library of Congress.

Hardt and Holliday trace the turn in Soviet-American trade prospects to the 1969 recession. "The U.S. domestic economic recession of 1969-70 and the recurring balance-of-payments deficits gave rise to a far-reaching review by the Nixon Administration of foreign economic policy. Expanded trade with Communist countries was considered as a means of increasing U.S. exports and stimulating domestic production and employment."

They quote the "Peterson Report" to emphasize this shift. This report was prepared in December 1971 by Peter



PETERSON: Sees openings for U.S. capitalists in the East.

G. Peterson, then a presidential assistant, to explain the economic motives of Nixon's "New Economic Policy." Peterson stated:

"Relations with the Communist world are now opening up rapidly. The United States has a long way to go in matching the trade levels

of East and West Europe with each other."

According to Hardt and Holliday, "the share of the United States in Western trade with the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe was about 3 percent of exports and 2 percent of imports



NIXON, BREZHNEV: Exchanging trade concessions, political concessions.

—roughly unchanged from 1960. With a tripling of total Western exports to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during the period 1960-1970 (from \$3.7 to \$10.0 billion), Western European and Japanese exports accounted for most of the increase."

This theme has been reiterated by the capitalist authorities. There are some gigantic trade and investment deals in the offing. But it is not mainly the absolute magnitude of prospective business with the East that is in question. It is a matter of which imperialist power gets there first. So far the United States is behind.

Hardt and Holliday are discreet about the political implications of the détente with Moscow. "Some observers argue that the Soviet Union acts as a moderating influence on North Vietnamese and Middle Eastern leaders and uses its leverage to dampen tensions and hostilities," they note.

A lot less discreet on this question was the "Survey on East-West Trade" published by the British financial magazine, *The Economist*, January 6, 1973. According to *The Economist*, "... a dispute between Mr Henry Kissinger and the then Secretary of Defence, Mr Melvin Laird ... ended with these two formidable men joining forces to insist (though to this day no American will formally admit it) that any trade agreement with Russia should be 'linked' to concessions from Russia on other fronts—arms limitation, Mr Nixon's visit to Moscow, talks on force reductions, Vietnam: 'We naturally did not offer Russia \$1 billion credit if they in return would help get us out of Vietnam—there's little need for crudeness in Moscow.'"

In any event, it's all part of the well-understood rules of diplomacy. U.S. officials will not "formally admit" that they are gaining Moscow's aid in betraying international revolution because they might not get that aid if they did.

Another side of this is brought out by Hardt and Holliday. This is the belief that the Moscow leadership itself is split on the question of how far to go in the détente and that economic concessions to Brezhnev will promote military concessions from Moscow to Washington's advantage. Hardt and Holliday explain, "The General Secretary appears to have emerged from the 24th Party Congress with more power and responsi-

bility than he enjoyed in the pre-Congress Brezhnev-Kosygin collegial leadership. At the same time, Brezhnev's future tenure in office and position of power are likely to depend to a large extent on economic performance. . . .

In any event, these experts downplay the economic significance of the détente in relation to its political significance. "By far the largest project envisioned at present is a bid by several U.S. and Japanese companies to help finance development of Soviet natural gas reserves. The transaction could reportedly result in repayment delivery of \$45.6 billion [milliard] of natural gas to the United States and Japan. Several other large projects for raw material development have been discussed. . . . For a number of years, large U.S. surpluses in the trade balance would be offset by outflows of U.S. credits. Some of the projects now being discussed would increase Soviet export capabilities only after an extended development period. . . .

"The economic advantages of Soviet-U.S. economic relations are likely to be significant in particular sectors, rather than for the national economy as a whole. Grain traders and petroleum companies, for example, may benefit, but the overall effect on the national economy will be modest.

"U.S. trade with the Soviet Union represented less than 1 percent of total U.S. foreign trade in 1971. In 1972,



FULBRIGHT: Sees détente as good for economic stability.

trade turnover increased substantially. However, if U.S.-Soviet trade should increase in eight years to \$3 billion [milliard]—a remarkable attainment—it would still be only about 2 percent of U.S. foreign trade. Currently, the United States imports as much in a week from Canada as it imports in a year from the Soviet Union."

In a paragraph of the report that was singled out for mention by the *New York Times*, Hardt and Holliday wrote: "... if the Soviet Union should reorder its priorities and permit more foreign decision-making involvement in domestic cooperative ventures, significant long-run benefits of a predominantly political nature might accrue to the United States, such as: a) the potential reduction of the Soviet threat to our security from reordered Soviet priorities; b) a degree of Soviet acceptance of the international system, implied by the U.S.S.R.'s permitting domestic involvement of foreign corporations as partners; and c) political advantages inherent in increasing international commercial and financial intercourse. Overall, such political gains might far outweigh the relatively modest economic returns."

SWP LEADER TO SPEAK ON DETENTE

A city-wide public forum will be held at 8 p.m. Fri., June 29, on "The meaning of Brezhnev's visit—What's behind the U.S.-Soviet détente?" Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will be the speaker. Catholic Center, New York University, 58 Washington Square South. Enter on Thompson St. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Party Campaign. Donation: \$1. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

sal Declaration of Human Rights, which the United Nations adopted. It says, among other things, that a person shall have the right to leave a country freely. I would hope the Soviet Union would permit the people who want to leave to leave."

Jackson went on to extend his supposed concern for the Soviet Jews to concern for a more burning issue for his mentors. "The average American," he claimed, "gets the idea that our trouble in the Middle East stems from our support for Israel. Nothing could be further from the truth. . . . The problem in the Middle East is the have-not Arab countries against the haves.

"The two stabilizing factors in the Middle East are Israel and Iran. It's only Israel and Iran that could prevent an overrunning of the regime in Saudi Arabia. A key country that we're concerned about for oil for the U.S. is Iran. Iranians are Moslem, but they aren't Arab. They have a realistically close alliance with Israel. . . .

"Then there is Kuwait. What's the threat to Kuwait? Israel? Not at all. It is Iraq, backed by the Soviet Union. What's the threat to Saudi Arabia? The have-not Arab countries: Egypt, operating through Yemen as they did several years ago; Syria, and Iraq, a country with a lot of oil but with an extremist government in power."

Jackson's attempt to drum up opposition to the détente by raising the specter of threats to American companies' Middle Eastern oil interests fell flat. The major sectors of U.S. finance capital have already con-

Demonstrations protest U.S. bombing of Cambodia and gov't Watergate crimes



2,000 at antiwar rally behind White House, June 16

Militant/Peter Seidman

By PETER SEIDMAN

WASHINGTON, June 16 — Two thousand people participated in a demonstration here today to protest the continued U.S. bombing of Cambodia and the government's Watergate crimes against the antiwar movement and the U.S. people. The demonstration was called to coincide with the first anniversary of the June 17, 1972, arrest of five White House burglars in the headquarters of the Democratic Party National Committee in the Watergate building here.

The demonstration was originally called by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) around the theme "Funds for Life, Not Death." The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) welcomed PCPJ's initiative in calling an action that could mobilize opposition to U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, and urged people to participate in the demonstration on the basis of the demands "End the Bombing of Cambodia Now! U.S. Entirely Out of Southeast Asia Now!"

NPAC built the action on the basis of these demands and sought to cooperate with PCPJ in the organization of the marshals, logistics, and rally. PCPJ, however, rejected NPAC's appeal for unity in action against the continuing U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. NPAC was not invited to participate in the selection of speakers for the rally.

The demonstration was organized to reflect PCPJ's central theme of "Funds for Life, Not Death." After an initial rally at the Watergate building, participants marched to a second rally at the Ellipse behind the White House and a third rally at the Department of Justice building. Along the way were various floats and contingents symbolizing the fight to free the political prisoners in South Vietnam, the struggle of Native Americans, and the boycott efforts of the United Farm Workers Union.

The rallies were chaired by the Reverend Paul Mayer of PCPJ and Gilda Warnick of the D.C. Coalition for Survival.

Speakers at the Watergate rally were Anthony Russo, who was recently acquitted in the Pentagon papers trial along with Daniel Ellsberg, and Arthur Kinoy, a prominent member of the National Lawyers Guild. Kinoy, it was recently revealed, has been a victim of illegal government wiretapping.

Russo stressed that it was the antiwar movement that brought about the exposure of the government's Watergate crimes. "We have to realize that the antiwar movement brought about Watergate," he said, "the pressure was too great... it would have broken somehow."

He said "We didn't realize the power the movement has. We didn't realize that we were driving the government up the wall."

Russo also called attention to the frame-up of Elmer Davis, a Black man who was railroaded to jail for allegedly having burglarized the office of Daniel Ellsberg's Beverly Hills psychiatrist. Davis is now in Folsom State Prison in California. It has been revealed that the burglary was in fact committed by a team of White House burglars.

Kinoy focused his remarks on a lawsuit being considered by the National Lawyers Guild that would seek to "set aside the 1972 elections as a fraud." He called on "all the people to



Militant/Peter Seidman

RUSSO: 'We didn't realize the power the movement has.'

join us in this action to call for a new election."

Speaking at the White House rally were Black antiwar activist and entertainer Dick Gregory and Professor Sokhom Hing, a professor at the State University of New York at Old Westbury, Long Island. Hing, of Cambodian descent, criticized the continued U.S. bombing of Cambodia. He called for the U.S. to honor the January 1973 Paris accords, which, he said, provided a basis for peace in Cambodia.

Hing also criticized Nixon's budget cutbacks in the U.S.: "Nixon says he has no funds for social welfare, but he has plenty for the bombing of Cambodia. He says there is a fuel shortage, but has plenty of fuel for planes to bomb Cambodia."

Speakers at the Department of Justice rally were Johnnie Tillmon of the National Welfare Rights Organization and People's Party 1972 presidential candidate Dr. Benjamin Spock.

Abe Bloom, a national coordinator of NPAC, told *The Militant* of his gratification that "so many of the 2,000 participants in today's demonstration marched in the NPAC and SMC 'Out Now' contingent. This reflected the efforts of our organizations to build this action and the stress we place on the need for ongoing protest against any U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia."

There was also a Communist Party contingent in the demonstration. The largest banner carried in this contingent was neither in protest of the U.S. government's war in Southeast Asia nor against its Watergate crimes. Rather, the main CP banner proclaimed "Trade Means Jobs. Welcome Brezhnev." This greeting was for Leonid Brezhnev, visiting general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Brezhnev's détente with Washington is being implemented, in part, through Moscow's treacherous role in forcing the Vietnamese liberation fighters to accept the continued existence of the U.S.-backed Thieu dictatorship.

It is safe to assume that Brezhnev's amicable discussions with the com-

mander-in-chief of U.S. military operations will not be marred by any impolite references to such unpleasant subjects as the murderous U.S. bombing of Cambodia or the aggression of the Thieu regime.

The demand for the U.S. to get "Out Now" from all of Southeast Asia was raised in Washington today—not by Brezhnev, but by the antiwar movement.

In addition to the Washington, D.C., demonstration, antiwar actions took place in a number of other places around the country.

About 100 people gathered at the federal building in Chicago June 16 for a picket line and rally in protest of continued U.S. bombing in Cambodia and to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. support to the Thieu regime in South Vietnam.

The picket line was punctuated with chants of "Out Now," "No Support to Thieu," and "Stop the Bombing, Stop the Bugging. U.S. Out Now!"

Steve Clark of the Chicago Peace Action Coalition (CPAC) told the rally that Congress was still stalling on action to cut off funds for the U.S. war effort in Cambodia. He pointed out that while Congress delayed, Cambodians were being killed by U.S. bombs.

Clark stressed that rather than relying on Congress to get the U.S. war machine out of Southeast Asia, the antiwar movement should continue to build independent, visible demonstrations demanding total U.S. withdrawal.

Bart Savage, speaking for the Chicago Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), blasted the Nixon administration for its attacks on the anti-



Militant/Peter Seidman

Mock tiger cage at D.C. demonstration symbolized Thieu regime's brutal treatment of political prisoners.

war movement in general and on the VVAW in particular.

Other speakers at the rally included Jack Spiegel of the Chicago Peace Council and the Reverend William Hogan, a long-time Chicago antiwar activist.

The demonstration was initiated by the Chicago Peace Council, a local affiliate of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and was endorsed by CPAC.

On June 14, a rally of 125 people met in Loring Park in Minneapolis to send off a contingent to the demonstration in Washington. Speaking at the rally were representatives of the Minnesota Peace Action Coalition, PCPJ, and Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement.

Demonstrations supported by affiliates of PCPJ and NPAC also took place in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Portland.

Why Fitzsimmons needs a public relations firm

The Teamsters, the Mafia, and Nixon

By BAXTER SMITH

"I can stand crooks, but it bothers hell out of me when a guy meets with mobsters and then with the president." That was how one California state investigator described his feelings about Frank Fitzsimmons. Fitzsimmons is president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the union involved in an all-out drive in behalf of agribusiness to crush the United Farm Workers Union.

An FBI agent remarked, "This



NIXON: scab grape eater

whole thing of the Teamsters and the mob and the White House is one of the scariest things I've ever seen. It has demoralized the bureau. We don't know what to expect out of the Justice Department."

Fitzsimmons' close ties to organized crime and the White House were the subject of a recent *Los Angeles Times* article.

The *Times* revealed how the Mafia is involved in "looting Teamster pension funds through illicit finders' fees, payoffs and kickbacks."

The Mafia is involved in four

schemes that include "a prepaid health care plan, a similar dental care program, a prepaid legal service and a series of real estate transactions involving more than \$40 million in commercial property in Orange and San Diego counties—all financed by pension fund loans."

The *Times* states that millions of Teamsters's pension fund dollars have been lent to the Mafia to help build Las Vegas casinos, country clubs, and other "mob watering holes." One such club, La Costa Country Club, was described by a Justice Department lawyer as "the West Coast R & R (rest and recuperation) center for all sorts of hoods from throughout the country."

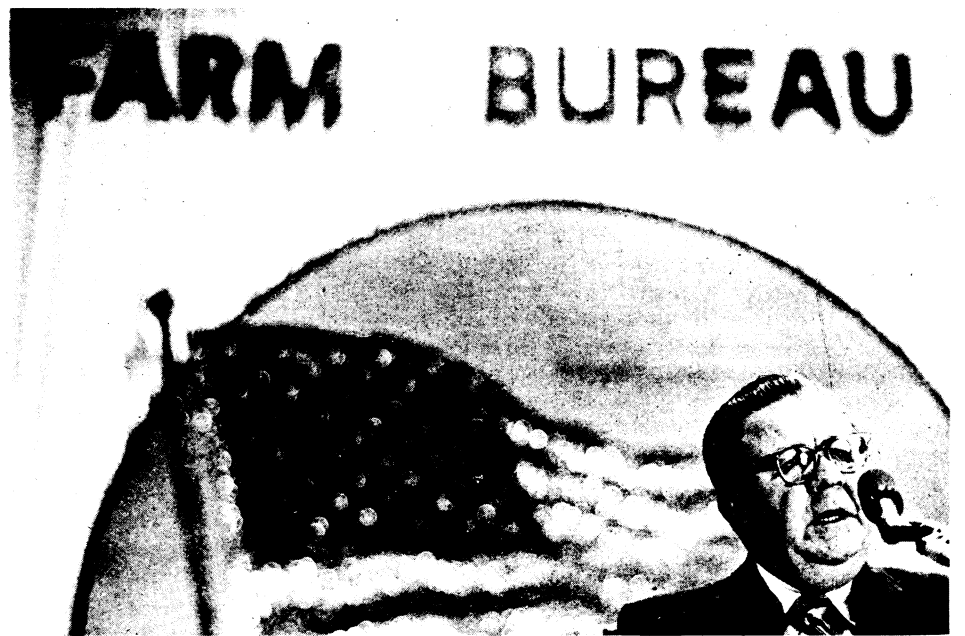
Another embarrassing matter for the Teamster officialdom is their connection to Watergate. An article in the Manchester, N.H., *Union Leader* ties G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, two Watergate burglars, to the Teamsters and Las Vegas gambling interests. According to the story, money from Vegas gambling interests and funds diverted from the Teamsters played an important role in financing one of the Watergate capers.

The article states that Fitzsimmons contributed \$175,000 in Teamster pension fund money to Murray Chotiner, close friend of Richard Nixon and director of one of the Watergate capers. This money "was not listed on Nixon's campaign lists but was kept in the secret [fund] maintained by Chotiner."

The article adds that "the secret campaign fund of \$350,000 used in part to finance the Watergate caper, was just a fraction of the money collected by the White House inner circle from certain gambling interests in Las Vegas and from money diverted from the pension fund of the International Teamsters Union."

Faced with these revelations, and fearful of compromising their drive against the United Farm Workers (whom they term "irresponsible" and "criminal") the Teamsters have retained the services of Hoover-Gorin & Associates, a Las Vegas public relations firm.

Teamster officials are paying Hoover-Gorin a sweet \$1.3-million a year in a four-year contract to attempt the impossible—polish their



FITZSIMMONS: Teamster bureaucrat speaks to grower convention

tarnished image.

The *Wall Street Journal* printed an article on the Teamsters's new PR firm and found that the company could use some polishing of its own.

The firm is headquartered a few blocks off the "Lost Wages" strip in Las Vegas. It claims to have "branch offices" in both Los Angeles and Cleveland. Although it doesn't actually have such offices, it does have two consultants in those cities.

The Los Angeles consultant, Harry Helgot, was recently arrested for trying to use \$175,000 worth of stolen

Treasury bonds and notes as collateral to obtain a \$100,000 loan. He already has one fraud conviction. The Cleveland consultant was paroled in 1958 after serving 20 years in prison in connection with the murder of two cops.

The *Journal* reports that Hoover-Gorin has done little for the Teamsters thus far. They're receiving over twice the average retainer fee a union would normally pay such a PR firm. Hoover-Gorin has boasted that they've "cranked out research reports,

Continued on page 22

Unions vote to support UFWU

LOS ANGELES—The Los Angeles branch of the National Association of Letter Carriers and Social Services Union Local 535 have voted to extend active support to the United Farm Workers strike.

A motion approved by the Letter Carriers June 11 declared:

"BE IT RESOLVED: That we support the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union in Coachella, California. We condemn the conspiracy of the Teamster officialdom and growers to prevent farm workers from having and controlling their own union. The UFWU has

become a symbol of the movement of Chicano workers and all farm workers for a decent life and human rights. This most recent attack threatens the very existence of the union.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That a subcommittee be formed to support the UFWU's call for a national boycott of stores selling non-union lettuce and grapes."

A similar resolution was adopted by the Social Services Union, with the proviso that a union representative be assigned to work full time on building support for the farm workers.

Teamsters sue Fitzsimmons, back UFWU

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Rank-and-file Teamsters here are taking legal action against their union's top officials, charging them with entering into a conspiracy with grape growers to bust the United Farm Workers Union.

Attorney Henry Giler has prepared a suit naming Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons; Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters; and other national and

regional officials. According to a news release, the suit charges "a conspiracy between Teamster officials and certain grape growers, which has led to back-door 'sweetheart' agreements between the Teamsters and the growers. These agreements were entered into without considering the wishes of the farm workers."

Plaintiffs in the suit are Mauricio Terrazas of Los Angeles Teamsters Local 598 and James Dycus of Local 208. Both are active in a rank-and-file committee that is organizing support for the UFWU. Also supporting the suit is CASA-Hermanidad, an organization that seeks to protect the rights of undocumented Raza workers.

The suit charges these activities on the part of the Teamster officials are a breach of obligation to their members. In particular it singles out the large sums of money spent to hire goons to ride herd on strikebreakers being used by the grape growers.

These goons, some of them recruited from motorcycle gangs, are being paid \$50 a day plus \$17.50 for "expenses" to intimidate striking farm

workers and those still in the fields who may be thinking about going on strike. One of these "guards," Mike Falco, was arrested June 5 when he punched the Reverend John Bank, director of information for the UFWU. The blow broke Bank's nose in three places.

About 120 of these goons have been brought into the Coachella area so far.

Referring to the Teamster officials as "strikebreakers," the news release also asserted that their activities "subject Teamster Union members to ridicule and . . . lower the reputation of the Teamster Union in the community and the labor movement."

According to attorney Giler, the Teamster-grower activities violate the California Jurisdictional Strike Act and are therefore illegal.

As soon as certain technicalities can be ironed out with Superior Court Judge Campbell Lucas, Giler plans to submit the suit. He will also be asking the court for a temporary restraining order preventing Teamster officials from using union funds to



Militant/Mike Henaghan

Rank and file Teamsters picket Oakland, Calif., Safeway.

"guard" property of grape growers or to interfere with picketing activities of the UFWU, and from enforcing "sweetheart" contracts in which the Teamsters falsely purport to represent field workers.



Militant/Harry Ring

BANK: UFWU organizer's nose broken by Teamster goon.

SOUR GRAPES FOR SCAB GROWERS

COACHELLA: UFWU STRIKE HAVING EFFECT

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., June 19—Scab grape growers in this area are suffering from a bad case of sour grapes.

Unseasonably cool weather and an increasingly effective strike by the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, have put the growers in a position of trying to market grapes that fail to meet federal standards for ripeness. As a result, their expenses have increased while the market prices have dropped.

In addition, the growers now face legal action for violating the federal sweetness standards, and the govern-



CHAVEZ: Growers underestimated support for UFWU.

ment is being confronted with demands to order the inferior grapes off the market.

Meanwhile, the two growers who did renew their contracts with the UFWU are marketing choice grapes and receiving a premium price for them.

Grapes are checked by federal inspectors to assure they contain certain established minimums of sugar. Some of the unripe grapes are reaching the market because the inspection system is inadequate and because some of the inspectors share the anti-labor bias of the growers. But large numbers of boxes are being repacked because the growers feel they can lose even more if the amount of unripe grapes reaching the market gets to be too great.

The National Farm Workers Ministry, an interfaith group supporting the strike, has filed a class action suit against three Los Angeles markets and a Coachella grower for offering the public grapes that fall below federal quality standards.

A representative of the religious grouping charged, "Growers are pick-

ing green grapes to mitigate the effects of the weather and the strike."

Last year grapes from this high-profit area were bringing the growers an average of \$11.50 for a 22-pound box. This year the price is running between \$9 and \$10 a box. However, the Freedman Company and the K. K. Larson ranch, which are harvesting grapes under UFWU contracts, are getting an average of \$1 more per box than the scab growers.

The superior quality of their grapes confirms that the strike has had as decisive an effect as the weather in bringing grief to the strikebreaking ranchers.

Cool weather during the early spring and a relatively high amount of humidity for this desert area significantly affected the ripening process. But the walkout of experienced field workers and the wide response of non-strikers to a union appeal for a slowdown resulted in improper preparation of the grapes for harvest, further driving down the quality.

Because Larson and Freedman had union workers, they had no problems with preharvest preparation and are enjoying a choice crop.

These hard facts are being noted by the growers. They have a taped telephone service here offering daily harvesting figures. Today's report began with a report on market conditions, stating that the demand on "best grapes" is "very good. Others — demand fair, the market weaker."

The report further pointed to the difficulties facing the growers in terms of output. As of yesterday, 343,903 boxes had been harvested. By the

COACHELLA, Calif.—The United Farm Workers Union won an important legal fight here June 15 when a four-day-old injunction was revoked. The original restraining order won by the growers limited the UFWU to two 45-minute periods each day for the use of loudspeaker devices to address nonstrikers. The injunction also provided for 15 minutes for response by the scabherding Teamster goons.

The order was thrown out on grounds that it constituted a deprivation of constitutional rights. Depositions were filed by 181 workers now on strike who said they had first learned of the strike as a result of being addressed in the fields by UFWU pickets.

same date last year, it was 2,113,737. An average harvest in this area is three million boxes.

More than a thousand workers have joined the strike, which is demanding cancellation of a fake sweetheart pact signed with the Teamsters and the renewal of UFWU contracts. Another thousand migrants who would normally show up here for the harvest are thought to have bypassed the area.

There are 1,500 people in the fields now picking grapes. These include a good number of "submarines" — UFWU supporters gathering information and working to influence the non-strikers.

Also, there are quite a number of Anglos working in the fields for the first time, including students and children.

Campeños who are veterans of the harvest here insist that there are no



Militant/Harry Ring

Militant farm workers picket lines have pulled many workers out of the fields, slowed others down. Recent grower attempt to limit use of bullhorns failed.

more than 500 experienced grape pickers in the fields that can be counted on for anything approaching normal production standards.

In addition to their lack of experience, many of the strikebreakers are visibly affected by the appeals and in some cases the unflattering characterizations offered by strikers who address them from the roadside with bullhorns and strong lungs.

This morning at the picket line at the Moreno ranch, one of the larger growers, I watched some of the strikebreakers trying to pack boxes of grapes under the drumfire of prounion arguments being addressed to them by pickets. For workers dependent on work bonuses, they gave no impression of unduly exerting themselves, and often stopped to listen to remarks addressed to them.

There are only a couple of weeks left to harvest the rest of the crop. More than 3,000 scabs will have to be brought into the fields to accomplish this. And while labor contractors are busy recruiting on the Mexican side of the border, it is by no means certain that they will be able to provide the amount of workers that will be needed.

Recently UFWU leader César Chávez commented that the unionbusting growers had been wrong on three counts.

First, they believed their foremen, who assured them that the field workers were dissatisfied with the United Farm Workers and would not support them. The workers have had criticisms, Chávez said, but they have demonstrated they consider the UFWU their union and are ready to fight for it.

Second, the growers persuaded themselves that this time a grape boycott would not work and are now getting the message that this is not so.

Third, they did not believe that the AFL-CIO would give any meaningful support to the farmworkers. They were plainly jolted when the AFL-CIO put up \$1.6-million with a promise of more to come. On the basis of

that support the UFWU has been able to offer unprecedented strike benefits of \$90 a week per striking worker.

However, there is still no evidence that the growers here are ready to reconsider their course, despite the beating they are taking.

The next test of strength will come in the Arvin-Lamont area, where the growers have also signed sweetheart pacts with the Teamsters instead of renewing their UFWU agreements. As the Arvin-Lamont harvest approaches there is no reason to assume that their situation will be any better than that of the Coachella growers. They are almost twice as far from the Mexican border, which will increase the difficulties in recruiting sufficient forces of strikebreakers.

The backdoor agreements the Teamsters presently have here and in Arvin-Lamont represent about 25 percent of the industry. The UFWU contracts have not yet expired in the Delano and Fresno areas, where the other

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UFWU PICKETS ARRESTED

JUNE 19 — Three UFWU picket captains were arrested this morning on charges of violating a court injunction limiting the activities of pickets. One of those arrested, Marshall Ganz, had entered the fields at the CID ranch to retrieve a packing box with a UFWU label. CID is no longer under union contract and should not be using the boxes.

In a separate incident, according to police, Teamster organizer William Grami was hit by a rock near a picket line. However, Teamster officials gave out a false story to news media that Grami had been shot by an assassin. This phony story was carried briefly on the UPI news wire before the report was discovered to be a lie.

DON'T BUY SCAB LETTUCE, GRAPES

COACHELLA, Calif.—The movement against scab grapes and lettuce is moving ahead. It was reported here that Lucky's, a Los Angeles supermarket chain, will not be handling nonunion grapes and lettuce. In the East, the boycott drive is now being sparked by UFWU leader Dolores Huerta. According to the June 15 issue of the Farm Workers' paper, *El Malcriado*, she reports that none of the major food chains in Boston will be selling scab grapes and lettuce. In New York, she reported, 16 major food chains with 150 stores are respecting the boycott.

By DICK ROBERTS

President Nixon's announcement of a new 60-day "freeze" of prices was timed to blunt the news that prices are rising at the fastest rate in the post-war period.

- Consumer prices rose 9 percent in the last three months—even faster than at the peak of the inflation primed by Vietnam war spending.

- Wholesale prices rose by 2.1 percent in May alone, an annual rate of 25 percent. These wholesale prices will be passed on to consumers.

- Farm and food products rose at the rate of

porate profits in the first three months of this year. "Corporate profits continued their record-breaking ascent in the first quarter of 1973," said *Business Week*.

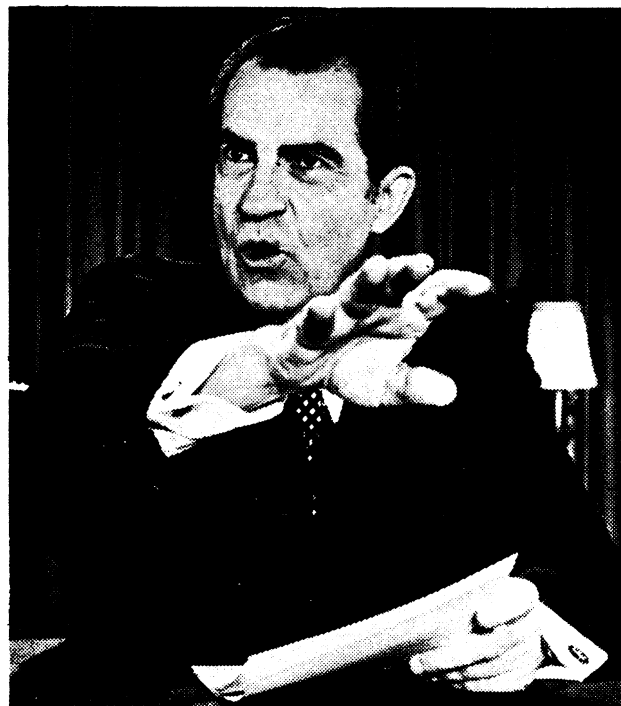
"Pegged at an annual aftertax rate of at least \$61-billion, this year's first-round figure is fully 23% ahead of the first-quarter rate in 1972, and 6.6% greater than the record \$57.2-billion rate of 1972's final quarter."

Profit increases in the auto trusts were: General Motors, 26 percent; Ford, 43 percent; Chrysler, 151 percent; American Motors, 345 percent.

The steel monopolies also picked up whopping profit increases: Bethlehem, 62 percent; Republic, 117 percent; and U. S. Steel, 157 percent.

Workers need escalator clause

Will Nixon's 'freeze' stop rising prices?



NIXON: Figures don't lie, but liars can figure.

43 percent in the last three months.

This all happens as workers' wage increases are shrinking.

President Nixon arrogantly claimed in his speech that "real per-capita disposable income . . . has risen by 7.5 percent" since August 1971. Nixon continued, "This means that, in terms of what your money will actually buy, in the past year and a half your annual income has increased by the equivalent of four week's pay."

Prices rising faster than wages

As the saying goes, "Figures don't lie, but liars can figure." Statistics for per capita disposable income reflect the personal incomes of capitalists, landlords, and corporation executives, as well as workers' wages. The bigger incomes have indeed been rising handsomely. But prices are now rising much faster than workers' wages. That means spending power is declining. The capitalists have been glowing over this for months. "Some of the best anti-inflation news," said the April 30 *Wall Street Journal*, concerns "the size of pay increases" in the first quarter of 1972. "The average annual wage boost over the life of the contracts dropped to 4.5% from 6.4% for all of 1972."

So wages were increasing at the rate of 4.5 percent in the period just before prices began shooting up at the rate of 9 percent. And these figures are for pay settlements in major industries. They do not include the vast majority of workers who are unorganized and whose pay increases are consequently even less.

Even Nixon had to admit that "wage settlements reached under the rules of Phase 3 have not been a significant cause of the increase in prices." It is the understatement of the year. Wage increases shrank throughout 1972, they continued to shrink in the first part of this year, they are still shrinking, and the result is the highest profits in U. S. history.

"Profits zoom in the first round" was the headline of the May 12 *Business Week* report on cor-

Exxon, which is jacking up world oil prices and crowding in on the gas-station market, raked in a 43 percent increase.

The two biggest meat-packing firms were among the leaders in the profit grab: Iowa Beef Processors, up 106 percent; Missouri Beef Packers, up 178 percent.

Corporation chiefs continued to raise their personal takes. *Forbes* listed salaries of \$875,000 a year each for GM's Richard Gerstenberg and Henry Ford II. Philip Hofmann of Johnson & Johnson pulled in \$874,000, while ITT chief Harold Geenen got \$813,000.

As the Nixon administration once again imposes a supposed price freeze, it is interesting to look back at the administration's January 1973 statement of economic policy. This is the "Economic Report to the President" prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers. It explained why the "Phase 2" controls were being dropped in "Phase 3."

"Last year's economic performance brought with it significant changes in public attitudes about inflation and in expectations about the course of the economy," the economic advisers proclaimed. "... doubts began to abate gradually as evidence grew that rates of wage and price inflation were indeed declining compared to the period prior to August 1971. Workers' cooperation in the wage control system was fostered by the realization that real wages were increasing. Strike activity fell and relative to total time worked was at its lowest point in almost 10 years. Although increases in food prices were troublesome during most of 1972, consumers could see a slower rise in the overall cost of living. Finally, although selling prices were constrained, so were costs, and business was able to enjoy some rise in profit margins in a setting of rapidly rising volume. These developments were all parts of a process that was one of the major objectives of the price-wage control system—the unwinding of inflationary expectations."

'Unusual industrial peace'

That report was published five months ago, in January. Throughout the report, the top economic specialists for the White House marveled at labor's cooperation. "... 1972 turned out to be a year of unusual industrial peace. . . . This outcome was a consequence of the public's strong support for the program and the cooperative attitude among workers and the leaders of organized labor. . . .

"An economic background for wage decisions had been established which was much more conducive to moderation than had prevailed earlier."

The report provided statistics showing the first-year wage rate changes in agreements covering 1,000 workers or more. These tend to be the highest, since the first year is higher than the next and these are major union contracts. In 1970 the mean increase was 11.9 percent; in 1971, 11.6 percent. It fell to 7 percent in 1972.

The economic advisers predicted an annual inflation rate in 1973 of 3 percent! By the end of the year, they promised, the inflation rate would be down to 2.5 percent!

On June 9, economic pundit for the *New York Times*, Edwin Dale, reported the gloomy attitude among Washington's economic advisers. "It is very

hard to comprehend," Arthur Okun of the Brookings Institution and former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers said.

According to Dale, "Hardly an economist, in or out of government, dreamed that the inflation rate of the last three or four months would be as great as it proved to be. . . ."

It is all baloney.

Inflation is the irrepressible effect of the expansion of credit, above all through massive government deficits. Under today's conditions of intense world monopoly competition, any expansion of the economy—and of credit, which goes along with it—inevitably exacerbates inflation.

The stepped-up inflation of the past half year has been fueled by the record-breaking government deficits of 1971 and 1972. More than \$80-billion went for war spending alone each year. These deficits, in turn, were the necessary antidote for recessionary tendencies, which had been dragging the economy down, pushing unemployment up, and jeopardizing Nixon's reelection chances.

While the White House published its syrupy pack of lies in January 1973, *The Militant* expressed quite a different attitude about the prospects of the economy.

Frank Lovell wrote in the Jan. 19 *Militant*, "Government manipulators of the economy are prepared to ride herd on all wage negotiations, running interference for the employers, forcing quick settlements within previously agreed-upon guidelines, leaving open questions of speedup on the job and general working conditions, and hoping that runaway prices and high unemployment will not provoke uncontrolled rank-and-file revolts in the union movement."

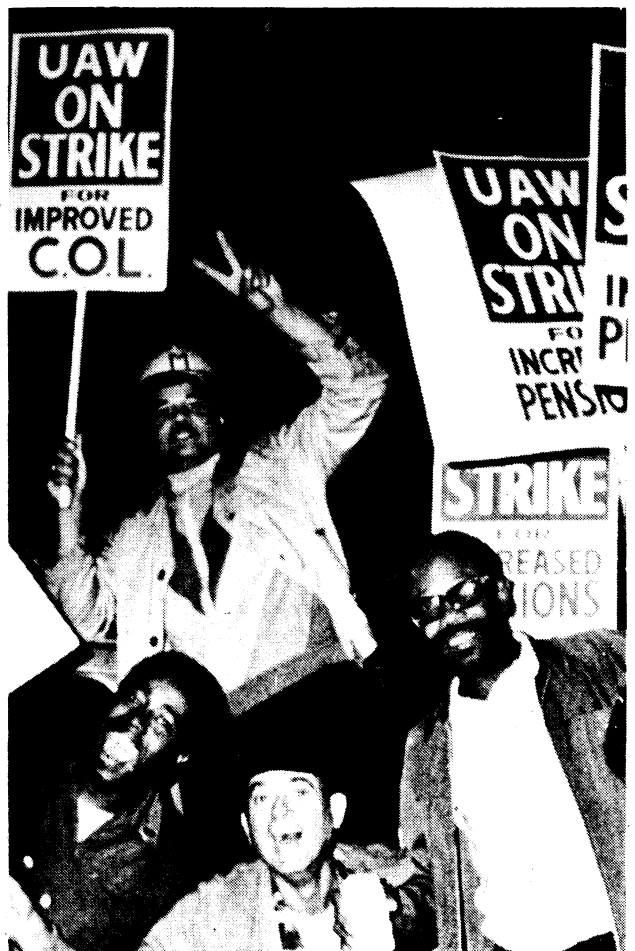
Events since January confirm the approach to these problems we favor. The capitalist government will not end inflation. Workers have to protect themselves against soaring prices through escalator clauses in their contracts.

Every rise in prices should be matched by a guaranteed rise in wages. Consumers committees should be established to watch over actual price rises, since government statistics are far from trustworthy.

A useful step in this direction was indicated by Ed Townsend, labor correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* in the June 18 issue. According to Townsend, "in letters going out Monday to AFL-CIO offices all over the country, federation leaders urge a massive monitoring of prices in the next 60 days, in cooperation with the government, to help combat price rises."

"During Phase 2, AFL-CIO had 30,000 volunteers out checking prices on a regular basis. The watchdog operation has been maintained since then in 30 major cities but with a much smaller force. The numbers will be built up again as quickly as possible."

Side-by-side the watchdog operation, which should put no confidence whatsoever in the government "control" program, the AFL-CIO should make its central demand in the fight against inflation cost-of-living clauses in all contracts.



UAW strikers in 1970 won 'C.O.L.'—cost-of-living escalator clause. Recent contracts in electrical industry included limited escalator clause; in rubber, none. But an unlimited escalator clause for all workers is the only protection against inflation.

'Labor Committee' goons continue threats

Arrest of NCLC thugs demanded in N.Y.

By LINDA JENNESS

JUNE 19—Three Socialist Workers Party members filed criminal charges against National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) goon Steve Getzoff on June 15. Rebecca Finch, coordinator of the New York SWP mayoral campaign, identified Getzoff from police photographs as one of the thugs who had attacked her and Jesse Smith and Ken Shilman on June 9. As a result of the assault, Smith was hospitalized with a broken arm and gashes on his face and head requiring 11 stitches.

To date Getzoff has not been arrested for this attack. On June 11, however, Getzoff and another NCLC hooligan, George Turner, were arrested for assaulting Ron Tyson, a reporter for the *Daily World*, and a companion, Rowina Pearce. Getzoff and Turner were charged with second-degree assault and possession of dangerous instruments. They had been armed with nunchakus, a karate weapon. Both were released on their own recognizance and ordered to appear for trial on June 26.

Nat Hentoff, *Village Voice* writer, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Roland Watts of the Workers Defense League have added their names to a statement demanding that the city arrest

the hoodlums responsible for the attacks. The statement, which demands "immediate action from the city administration . . . to stop these attacks," is being circulated for additional support.

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, in a statement issued today reiterated his demand that city hall order the "New York Police Department and the District Attorney's office to arrest these thugs and bring full criminal charges against them in order to stop these outrageous violations of democratic rights."

In the June 18-22 issue of *New Solidarity*, newspaper of the NCLC, the Labor Committee openly claims responsibility for these recent attacks. In a box headlined, "The Swamp Pays for Seattle Harassment," *New Solidarity* states: "One member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWAP) was hurt during a confrontation with Labor Committee members in New York on Saturday, June 9. The incident was in retaliation for the harassment of Labor Committee members by SWPers in Seattle on May 14."

The so-called "harassment of Labor Committee members in Seattle" refers to a meeting held in Seattle to protest NCLC assaults. The meeting was organized by the Black Panther Party. The SWP, along with several other political organizations, participated in the meeting.

After the meeting in Seattle, NCLC sent a letter to Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, demanding a "repudiation" of the meeting.

New Solidarity continues: "Barnes' impertinent failure to respond to the request was directly responsible for the retribution on June 9."

In another article in *New Solidarity*, the Labor Committee admits to the attack on Ron Tyson. "The two LC members, Steven Getzov and George Turner, were in the process of teaching Tyson a lesson," the article states, "when a plainclothes policeman interfered and made the arrest on June 11."

Harassment of the SWP by the NCLC continues. On Saturday



SPOCK: Joins growing list of people urging stop to NCLC terrorism.

morning, June 16, a woman came into the Militant Bookstore at 2744 Broadway in New York and began buying some literature. YSA organizer Jude Coren, who was in the building, which also contains offices of the SWP and the YSA, noticed two NCLCers outside looking into the window. She recognized one of them as a participant in an NCLC assault at Columbia University on April 23, and another as a longtime member of NCLC.

"We sent a defense team downstairs to watch the door," Coren says, "and the two goons walked to the end of the block and waved. We assumed they were signaling more of their people around the corner. The woman was in the bookstore about 15 minutes and then left. The two men walked up to meet her and they all walked away."

"About one minute later we received a call from Zeke Boyd, a leader of the NCLC. He said, 'This is Zeke Boyd. One of our members is up in your bookstore and if you don't let her go right away there's going to be trouble.' I told him that she had already left and he hung up."

"They were clearly trying to provoke an incident. They obviously sent the woman up to see how many of us were in the offices."

The Lower Manhattan branch of the SWP also received a threatening phone call from the NCLC. The person on the phone said, "This is the Labor Committee. Your people didn't listen too well last time. Your people have harassed us in Los Angeles. If you don't want another Jesse Smith you better discipline your people." The caller refused to give his name.

Apparently the caller was referring to SWP and YSA participation in the defense of a Los Angeles Chicana activist against threats by the NCLC.

Enriqueta Sánchez, a welfare worker in the Huntington area of Los Angeles, has been harassed by the NCLC since January. Several times NCLC members have visited Sánchez at her office and demanded that she join the National Unemployed-Welfare Rights Organization (NU-WRO), an organization set up by NCLC.

Last week, after making vague threats, pounding on the table, and shouting at Sánchez, NCLC members told her they would return to her office on Friday, June 15, to "discuss" once again her joining NU-WRO. Concerned about the threats, Sánchez invited several Chicano activists to participate in the June 15 meeting with her.

On Friday, when the NCLC members arrived at Sánchez's office expecting to meet with only her, they found instead 10 Chicano activists who wanted to sit in on the meeting. Miguel Pendás, a *Militant* reporter, was one of those present. Mark Schneider, YSA organizer in Los Angeles, was also present.

Schneider reports that the NCLCers told Sánchez she had a choice, "She could either join with them or be on Nixon's side. They told her that either the revolution or fascism was coming in five years and that there wasn't much time."

"The Chicanos present demanded to know what the NCLC was up to. They referred to the articles in the *Militant* exposing the terrorist attacks by NCLC on the movement and demanded to know if they were cops."

"The meeting ended with the Chi-

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Militant/Mark Satinoff

OLIVER: Demands New York police arrest NCLC thugs who attacked his campaign supporters.

Women protest right wingers' attack on abortion

By LINDA JENNESS

Nursing the wound dealt them by the Jan. 22 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, 800 people attended the fourth national "Right-to-Life" convention in Detroit June 9 and 10.

The convention was an attempt to reorganize reactionary anti-abortion forces to launch an all-out attack on the right of women to have abortions. The delegates, mostly women, decided to support both anti-abortion constitutional amendments now in Congress, one sponsored by Senator James Buckley (C/R-N.Y.) and another by Representative Lawrence Hogan (R-Md.).

John Noonan, chairman of religious studies at the University of California and a panelist at the convention, suggested setting 1976 as a deadline for mustering enough support to pass a constitutional amendment.

The conference also agreed to try to block abortions from being performed by pressuring state legislatures to pass restrictions on when and how abortions are to be performed, and by pressuring local hospitals into refusing to offer this service.

The conference was picketed by Wayne Women's Liberation, Detroit

Women's Abortion Action Coalition, and Young Socialists for Dixon. A spokeswoman at the picket told *Militant* reporter Rachele Fruit, "We will no more give up our right to abortion than we would our right to vote. Now that we have won this right we intend to keep it."

An opinion poll conducted by the *Detroit Free Press* reported that a majority of Detroiters oppose a constitutional amendment that would prohibit abortions. Among the comments of those questioned was, "Such an amendment would send women of this country back into the Dark Ages!"

In other states, women continue to defend the Supreme Court decision. On June 16, 75 people picketed in front of the State House in Boston. The protesters were demanding that the hospitals in Massachusetts carry out the decision of the Supreme Court, and that the state senators and representatives make certain that this is done.

Currently less than one-third of the general and maternity hospitals surveyed by the *Boston Globe* say their policies permit voluntary abortion. Approximately 10 percent of the state's general hospitals, those affil-

iated with the Catholic Church, do not perform abortions.

In Washington, D.C., the National Organization for Women sponsored a picket line of more than 150 people on June 11. The picket was held in front of the Catholic Conference Building, which houses the office of the D.C. "right-to-life" group. It was called to protest the Catholic Church's support to these reactionary forces.

The St. Louis Women's Abortion

Action Coalition (WAAC) sponsored a rally on June 15 to demand that the city hospitals open abortion facilities and that the state legislature implement the Supreme Court ruling.

Speakers included Judy Whittcombe, director of the new abortion clinic in St. Louis; Joyce Armstrong of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Rosalinda Lopez, a Catholic Chicana and member of the St. Louis WAAC.



Picket line outside national anti-abortion conference in Detroit. As one demonstrator put it: 'We will no more give up our right to abortion than we would our right to vote.'

Brezhnev diplomacy: travesty of Leninism

The Communist Party USA has sent a letter to Brezhnev hailing his visit as furthering the interests of the peoples of the world. The CP proclaims that the Brezhnev visit "serves the cause of progress, strengthens the anti-imperialist forces, and is in the self-interest of the peoples fighting for national liberation."

The CP has defended the visit as being in the tradition of revolutionary foreign policy and diplomacy followed by Lenin. But the fact is that Brezhnev's performance in Washington would horrify Lenin, just as class-conscious workers and other opponents of Nixon are repelled at the sight of this Soviet bureaucrat fawning over and joking with Nixon—the hated spokesman for U.S. imperialism, for racism, and for class exploitation.

Can anyone imagine Lenin accepting, with effusive gratitude, the gift Brezhnev received from Nixon: a Lincoln Continental town car—the very symbol of U.S. ruling class privilege? Or parading around in front of photographers in a special jacket emblazoned with the seal of the president of the United States? Can anyone imagine Lenin putting his arm around this war criminal and publicly proclaiming his "great respect" for Nixon?

Brezhnev is strengthening Nixon's hand just at the time when Nixon is facing rising popular opposition to the pervasive corruption of his administration, to his attempts to make working people pay for the effects of inflation, and to the continuing savage bombing of the Cambodian people.

But Brezhnev's concerns are not those of the masses of the American people. His policies are a travesty of the principles of international working-class solidarity, and the traditions of the Russian revolution under Lenin and Trotsky. He doesn't even make a pretense of meeting with rank-and-file unionists, Black militants, antiwar activists, and farm workers. No, he spends his entire time in "businesslike" meetings with the biggest U.S. capitalists.

This practitioner of "building socialism in one country" represents a national-minded bureaucracy that grew up under Stalin, sapping the strength of the world's first workers state. In the name of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, this parasitic bureaucracy has betrayed the class struggle and helped crush revolutionary upsurges on a world scale.

Brezhnev's visit to the U.S. is a continuation of this long Stalinist tradition. The purpose of the summit meeting itself is not to work out the various agreements on trade, culture, and technology that are being announced; Nixon administration officials admit that these agreements were reached months in advance of Brezhnev's visit.

The purpose of the summit is to promote the developing detente between Moscow and Washington. Brezhnev's message to the peoples of the world and of the U.S. is that "peace" is at hand; that conflicts between workers states and capitalist states, workers and capitalists, oppressed nations and oppressor nations, can all be solved through compromise rather than struggle; and that the Kremlin bureaucrats will not respond with socialist solidarity to struggles of the colonial peoples for their freedom.

Brezhnev's message is that the struggles of working people and oppressed nations come second to the narrow interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The meaning of the detente for the colonial revolution was made clear in 1972, when both Mao and Brezhnev toasted Nixon as U.S. bombers escalated their attacks on Vietnam.

The detente has provoked criticism in Hanoi and in the Arab East. The May 25 issue of the North Vietnamese newspaper *Nhan Dan* implicitly rebuked the Kremlin bureaucrats by attacking Nixon's goal of a "detente among the big powers" so that the U.S. can more easily "repress the small nations." Palestinian and other Arab newspapers have also raised questions about the meaning of the detente—pointing to the speculation that Brezhnev will make a secret deal with Nixon to pressure the Arab regimes into a settlement with Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people.

Many in this country mistakenly look to the detente as a hope for achieving peace in the world. But the way to achieve peace is not to call Nixon a man of peace and allow him to continue his policies of domination, aggression, and exploitation throughout the world. There will be no end to wars as long as the capitalist system remains.

Time for labor party

A national conference of the National Council of Senior Citizens was held in Washington, D.C., June 6-8. For the past 11 years, the elderly delegates have been voicing the same complaints about inadequate housing, inflation, a health-care system that takes an increasing amount of their income for inferior service, and an inadequate and expensive transportation system.

At each gathering the Democratic politicians make wonderful speeches about what they plan to do for the elderly. Visit your congressman and senators; write to them; elect a liberal majority to Congress. This is what we have been told to do for the last 40 years.

I attended a panel discussion on health care. Several of the delegates who had been to England and other countries where they have national health insurance spoke of their experience with that system, praising it.

I pointed out it was the labor parties of those countries that had forced the adoption of national health insurance. I said, "It is a disgrace American labor leaders continue to support the Republican and Democratic parties and have failed to organize a labor party."

Not only were my remarks applauded, but no one voiced any disagreement. If these elderly people who have for so long supported the Democratic Party are prepared to support a labor party is it not time to launch one?

John W. Anderson

Dearborn, Mich.

Energy crisis?

After reading your article on the energy crisis, I can't help but think of the B52 bombers over Cambodia, each of which is consuming about 3,000 gallons of fuel each hour.

Isn't it interesting how there's not enough gas to keep small, independent gasoline stations in business, but there is plenty available to conduct an illegal and immoral war that supposedly ended last January?

Paulus Gundlach

Boston, Mass.

Defense committee misused

In the June 9 issue of *The Militant* there was an article by Geoff Mirelowitz about the Conference on Racist and Political Repression held in Chicago. Mirelowitz predicted that the organization formed at that conference would not be a broad-based, nonexclusive organization that would defend all movement activists who are victimized, regardless of their political views.

In the past couple of weeks I have noticed two things about the Committee to Defend All Political Prisoners that confirm Mirelowitz's prediction.

This committee recently sponsored a demonstration in New York City in support of Carlos Feliciano, the Puerto Rican activist who is being framed up on conspiracy charges. The entire movement, of course, defends Feliciano, and it is good to hold rallies and demonstrations in support of his case.

The Committee to Defend All Political Prisoners, however, called this demonstration three days before the

elections and held it at the campaign headquarters of District Attorney Frank Hogan. Hogan was running for reelection against William Van den Heuval, a reform Democrat who had been endorsed by the New Democratic Coalition and other liberal forces.

In a leaflet and press release the defense committee distributed, Charlene Mitchell, a member of the executive committee of the defense committee, explained the purpose of the demonstration. "We want people to know what kind of a DA Frank Hogan really is." The Feliciano case wasn't mentioned until the fourth paragraph, and then with only two sentences. The average passer-by would have assumed that the demonstration was a pro-Van den Heuval action.

There are many people who added their names to the defense committee who would be both surprised and upset to see them used in this fashion.

Then I noticed in the *Daily World* an announcement of a speech to be given by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party USA, about Brezhnev's visit. The announcement said: "Sylvia Woods, coordinator of the Chicago Committee to Defend All Political Prisoners . . . will chair the June 30 rally."

The announcement gave the distinct impression that Woods, as chairperson, was endorsing the rally of the Communist Party USA. That, too, is a misuse of a defense committee.

E. J.

New York, N. Y.

Three just demands

As an Attica indicttee and subscriber to your informative periodical, I have taken the time to ask a favor.

Sixty of us have been indicted by the Special Selected Grand Jury based on the Attica massacre. As political prisoners we deem it essential to appeal to the people via the newspapers to support us in our just struggle for acquittal against the trumped-up charges by the state of New York.

The "Three Just Demands of the Indicted Attica Brothers" are:

1) That the indictments against the Attica Brothers be dismissed.

2) That the state officials responsible for the conditions that led to the revolt, and for the mass murder that ended it, be brought to justice.

3) That the 28 just demands of the Attica Brothers be implemented immediately under the supervision of concerned members of the community.

H. S. D.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Doesn't pay to complain

Your readers may be interested to learn what action the Justice Department has taken about the "wrong address" raids federal narcotics cops carried out recently in Illinois.

As you reported in the May 11 *Militant*, a gang of scruffy-looking narcos broke into two different homes in Collinsville, Ill., at the end of April and threatened the startled residents with instant death if they didn't come up with the drugs they



Scab grapes for Nixon

Grape season is here again. Harvested by strike-breakers protected by Teamster goons and cops, the first few boxes of grapes are being shipped out of the Coachella Valley. No doubt the juiciest, plumpest samples of the scab crop will be rushed off to Washington, D.C., for the enjoyment of the nation's highest official. In the White House kitchen they will be washed with the greatest of care to remove all traces of the dust and pesticides acquired in the vineyard.

Delicate bowls of china or perhaps silver ones of colonial design from the White House collection will be used to display the delectable green and purple grapes. Possibly the noble fruit will be served to visiting dignitaries as the clinking of champagne glasses and the strains of a waltz fill the air. Guests will talk and joke into the late hours of the summer night.

Perhaps some of the president's friends and political associates will be invited to sample the long-awaited new crop. Among them might be Teamsters union President Frank Fitzsimmons or some of Fitzsimmons's new-found pals among the owners of the vineyards in Nixon's home state.

But it's a long way from the White House dining room to the vineyards of Coachella Valley in the Southern California desert. Those who have tended the vineyards and are now on strike have never been able to enjoy their products in such an elegant atmosphere.

Today there is a strike because the life of a Chicano farm worker is filled with miserable, backbreaking work in the harshest of conditions, with few enjoyments to make up for it.

White House parties end in the early morning

hours—just when farm workers are getting up to face a long, scorching day in the fields. In the desert, the sun is already hot by seven a.m. and gets worse till afternoon. The heat is so intense that the work day begins at sunrise (about five a.m.) and ends at one p.m.

Every time a car or truck rumbles down the dirt roads the choking clouds of dust make breathing almost impossible. Flies, drawn by the fruit, are an incessant nuisance. When pesticides are applied, many farm workers fall ill from the poisonous fumes. Some have to work day after day with headaches, dizziness, nausea, decaying fingernails, and sores that won't heal—all caused by the bug-killer.

In California, some 75 percent of all farm workers are Chicanos. Most of the rest are Filipino, Japanese, or Arab. Yet they are forced to work for racist Anglo growers, who treat them as inferior beings and order them around in a foreign language.

They try to cheat the workers out of their wages at every opportunity—as if paying them a miserable \$2.30 an hour isn't bad enough.

Many farm workers do not even have permanent homes and must move from one rundown company shack or labor camp to another, following the crops.

Wages of \$2.30 an hour won't buy beef tenderloin for dinner, nor will it hire Meyer Davis's society band for get-togethers after work. The menu is more likely to consist of beans and tortillas and the entertainment of Mexican *corridos* played and sung by the farm workers themselves.

Their music may not have the elegance of a White House orchestra, but as they sing songs of union solidarity, they have a spirit that is unmatched.

supposedly had hidden away. The cops terrified the two families and ransacked both homes before discovering they had the "wrong address."

The cops have since been slapped on the wrists with five-day suspensions. The victims of the raids have fared quite a bit worse, however. Since they had the nerve to protest the raids and file suit against the government, *they are now being investigated by the FBI*. Talk about turning the victim into the criminal!

J. O.
New York, N. Y.

Is STRESS abolished?

Your obituary on the STRESS terror unit here in Detroit in the June 15 *Militant*, "STRESS police unit abolished in Detroit," seems a bit premature.

The June 11 *New York Times* carried a lengthy article on the STRESS unit, "Tactics of an Elite Police Unit Election Issue in Detroit," which indicated that STRESS is still operating. They make no mention of it being abolished, although they acknowledge the widespread opposition to it.

I have found *The Militant* to be more truthful and careful than the *New York Times* over the years. Who's right this time?

D. G.
Detroit, Mich.

Reply—*Militant* reporters confirmed the abolition of the STRESS terror unit with calls to various police department units in Detroit.

Inspector Frank Blount of the police department simply said, "STRESS is abolished" and that an announcement would be made in the future when the department's "reorganization" is completed.

We called the first precinct and asked for the "STRESS department." The receptionist answered that it "doesn't exist" and referred us to the Felony Prevention Section. We asked the Felony Prevention Section if "STRESS was still around. Does it still exist?" The answer was, "No, it doesn't exist any longer."

Acivists also confirm that STRESS has not been operating in neighborhoods where it had patrolled previously.

The *Times* article is dated. The quotes from mayoral candidate Mel Ravitz, for instance, appeared in Detroit newspapers several months ago.

Husband's 'precious issue'

I would like to take you up on your introductory offer of \$1 for three months.

I do not have the coupon enclosed because my husband will not allow me to cut up his precious issue. Actually, I can't blame him.

H. P.
San Francisco, Calif.

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



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Problems in printing trades

A letter from a printer in Melbourne, Australia, gives evidence of the uniformity of capitalist technology on a world scale. Little time is required for the most advanced methods of labor exploitation to expand around the world, affecting wages and jobs in every country.

Our Australian correspondent says the firm he works for is "introducing a new Optical Recognition Machine," one of the first in his country. He asks: what has been the effect of similar machinery in the U.S.; how did the printing trades unions here fight job replacement by the new production methods; and what tricks and deals were used by American bosses to install the new machinery and reduce the workforce.

Printers in this country are asking the same questions, even though the new processes are in more general use here.

These processes were introduced piecemeal over time, beginning more than 10 years ago. It has taken that long to develop the most advanced computerized typesetting systems. With the new cold-type paste-up method, all typeset copy can be stored in the computer memory bank. Changes can be made at any time, and the computer automatically reruns the corrected paragraph or any part of the original copy. This eliminates the work of floor men and many proofreaders in the old style hot-metal print shops.

Such highly advanced methods are not yet in general use because the capital investment exceeds \$1-million. However, cold type is common. And teletype tape is used to feed the old-style linotype machines, an advance that eliminates many printers in the shops that still use lead lineslugs.

Over the past several years the International Typographical Union (ITU) has forced the publishers to retain all presently employed printers. No one was ever fired because the job was taken over by a machine. But when workers quit, are fired for cause, or retire, they are not replaced.

Other changes have weakened the unions in this industry. Many metropolitan capitalist papers have gone out of business in the past 15 years. New York book publishers have moved their operations outside the jurisdiction of the local unions, some to

nearby union shops where the wage scale is lower, others to nonunion printers.

In recent years the publishers have set up an open shop organization, Master Printers of America, which campaigns against unionism.

More books and other materials are printed now, but with a constantly decreasing number of workers. And the average wage is declining, not rising. Unorganized teletype operators in some areas start at the minimum of \$1.60 an hour. In New York the union scale is \$7.50.

In the current New York newspaper negotiations, the publishers of the *New York Times* are demanding unrestricted use of the new automated equipment. They also balk at raising wages a modest 6 percent at a time when food prices rose 40 percent in the past year.

Bertram Powers, president of the New York Typographical Union No. 6, sees automation as the more important issue. He says, "I accept the *Times*' position that automation will call for fewer people, but we want to arrive at a reduced figure without casualties. This can be brought about by incentive retirements and normal attrition."

This is a rearguard action, striving to retain control of a constantly shrinking job market in the unionized sector.

The only answer to all of this is to cast aside all craft divisions and organize the unorganized workers along industrial lines—everybody from secretaries to delivery drivers in one union. The Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53 has belatedly embarked on this course in an effort to organize all printing industry workers in the Cleveland area.

If there is anything the printers in Australia can learn from the sad experience of union men and women in the U.S. printing trades, it is that they should quickly submerge their craft prejudices and start organizing under the banner of a single union for a reduction in the hours of work with no cut in take-home pay. This is necessary to compensate for technological displacement of jobs.

An escalator clause in every union contract is also essential to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Current definition—CIA: Caught In the Act.

Not to mention pigs in high places—President Nixon advised ex-POW John Drameis: "Watch out for some of those dogs you have to sit by" at Washington parties. Correcting himself, the president added, "No, there are some very nice girls in Washington."

"Be Prepared"—According to Hollywood columnist Joyce Haber, writer Adela Rogers St. John, who reportedly had a hand in the Checkers speech, is rumored working on a contingency resignation.

TV shoot-out—A Redding, Calif. man was jailed for firing 17 rifle shots into his TV. Apparently he was just ticked off by the outcome of a ball game. "Didn't you ever want to shoot your TV?" he asked the arresting officers. He was charged with shooting in an inhabited building and kicking out the window of the police car that took him to jail.

No honor among thieves?—The engines of three police cars and two motorcycles coughed and died one recent afternoon in Riverside, Calif. Mechanics found that the last batch of gas from the department's supplier, Standard Oil, had been diluted with water.

Of course, of course—An estimated 115,000 gallons of radioactive waste seeped into the ground from a leaky storage tank at the Hanford Atomic Works near Richland, Wash. It was the largest of 16 such leaks since 1958. An AEC representative said it would take 150 years for the radioactivity to decay and assured there was no danger to the public.

Note to science fiction buffs—Attacking "blue-collar blues" as a press fiction, General Motors is promoting a film they say shows that workers aren't unhappy and that the speed of the assembly line doesn't determine how hard they work. We've heard the

ranks are pressing for a new union contract reestablishing slavery so they could be even happier.

They should switch to assembly line—An American Management Association survey showed that "an alarming" 52 percent of supervisory managers found their work "at best, unsatisfying." Thirty percent felt their work had adversely affected their health.

The other 20 percent work at GM—Herbert Greenberg, a Princeton psychologist and pollster, said 80 percent of working Americans were dissatisfied with their jobs. He said they felt frustrated much of their lives, hated to get up in the morning, and once on the job, looked forward all day to quitting time.

We should have known—Leonid Brezhnev confessed to a West German reporter that in addition to his cigarette case with the time lock that is supposed to limit his smoking, "I have a reserve pack in the other pocket."

"We Are Poor Little Lambs
Who Have Lost Our Way.
Blah — Blah — Blah —"



Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Union women getting it together

At a meeting on May 29 with members of seven women's organizations, Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan pledged a nationwide "Partnership with Women." "There is no reason qualified women should not be able to work where and when they want, at jobs they want to do," Brennan said. "Every American has that basic right."

Since waiting for Brennan to make good on his pledge might be like waiting for the cows to come home, several groups of union women are organizing for themselves.

On May 19 and 20 the California State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, held its first women's conference. 300 women and a small number of men, representing many unions, met at the Jack Tar Hotel in San Francisco.

The State Federation of Labor agreed at its last convention to hold the conference but did very little to build it or encourage women to attend. Most of the organizing was done by a group called Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality.

The conference reflected the impact that the women's rights movement has had on working women and the trade unions. The women identified with

some of the main demands of the feminist struggle and discussed how to fight for these goals through their unions.

Among the resolutions passed were: support to the Farah strike and the United Farm Workers Union; support to the child-care campaign initiated by the San Francisco Child and Parent Action coalition; calling on the California Labor Federation to establish a women's division; and to make the extension of protective work laws to men a top legislative priority. Unfortunately, the conference did not go on record in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Speeches and panels were held on negotiating women's issues in contracts, organizing unorganized women, women and the law, and many other topics.

In Chicago, a committee of rank and file steelworkers of Local 65 is running a slate of candidates in the union elections to be held June 27. This committee, called Steelworkers for Change, is running Alice Peurla for president of the local. Steelworkers for Change is fighting for the right to strike, the right to vote on contracts, and for

free and open collective bargaining.

The first annual meeting of the Cleveland Council of Union Women will be held June 24 at the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Hall, 1925 St. Clair Ave., in Cleveland, beginning at 1 p.m.

This group, which was organized last July by 10 women from eight local AFL-CIO unions, has been fighting to gain support for the ERA from the Ohio labor movement.

In an open letter to union women, the Cleveland Council of Union Women says: "Our purpose is to unite in the labor movement for effective action in achieving a complete partnership with our union brothers in order to better serve the interest of all working people."

"We are no longer satisfied with our minor role in the labor movement. While some of us have achieved some recognition, our aim is to educate, encourage and assist in whatever way possible all labor women in Cleveland to have more of a voice not only within their own unions, but within the entire local, state and national labor movement."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Detente and Rhodesian chrome

Shortly after Rhodesia declared its independence from Britain in 1965, the United Nations imposed voluntary sanctions against trade with the white-settler regime. Two years later, in 1967, the UN followed this up with mandatory sanctions, the first time it had ever taken such a move.

Although most nations have adhered to the sanctions, the U.S. partially bailed out the Ian Smith regime in October 1971. At that time, Congress okayed a bill permitting U.S. companies to import chrome ore and other Rhodesian goods considered of "strategic value." The bill, which became known as the Byrd amendment, resulted in U.S. imports in 1972 of more than \$13-million in Rhodesian chrome, ferrochrome, and nickel.

Since then, Washington has come under increased attack both abroad and in this country. Numerous church groups, as well as Black students and longshoremen, have protested the U.S.'s coddling of Rhodesia. Thousands marched last month on African Liberation Day, demanding an end to

Nixon's racist policies on the African continent.

In the UN itself, the Security Council voted last April to "urge" Washington to "revoke its existing legislation permitting the importation of minerals from Southern Rhodesia." Then we heard the argument that the government had to take into account its legislation on "strategic materials" before it could reach a decision.

Washington has apparently felt the pressure. On June 13 a speech of John Scali, U.S. representative to the UN, was inserted into the *Congressional Record*. In the speech, Scali urged congressional action on proposed legislation to repeal the amendment.

Scali stated, "The evidence is mounting that this amendment not only damages America's image and reputation as a law-abiding nation, but it also has net economic disadvantages as well." The latter is always a persuasive argument in the hallowed halls of Congress.

He went on to explain that the "step-by-step improvement in Soviet-American cooperation for

peace," as part of the détente between Washington and Moscow, is better facilitated by repeal of the measure.

The Byrd amendment was originally passed so that Washington could import chrome from Rhodesia and thus avoid a "heavy dependence" on the Soviet Union—the cold war line. Since the détente, Brezhnev has offered to supply the U.S. with all the chrome it needs. He hopes to spare Nixon the embarrassment that goes along with violating UN sanctions.

Washington, in the interest of détente and seeing a cheap way of abiding by the UN sanctions, will no doubt take the Kremlin up on its offer.

Meanwhile, Scali was careful to make clear that the Nixon administration has no intention of abandoning its overall racist policies in southern Africa. In closing his speech, he proudly cited his "recent veto of a resolution calling for an extension of economic sanctions, now in force against trade with Rhodesia, to cover South Africa and Portuguese territories."

World Outlook

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

JUNE 29, 1973

Bulwark for imperialism

Shah's military buildup aims at domination of Arab-Persian Gulf

By Dianne Feeley

In a speech to the U.S. Senate in May, William Fulbright expressed concern that the U.S. government might move to take over oil-producing Arab countries either directly or through "militarily potent surrogates" — Israel or Iran.

Both these countries have played pivotal roles in the Arab East, siding with U.S. imperialism against any revolutionary activities. Israel's military power is well known. But although the strengthening of the shah's armed forces has been accomplished with far less fanfare, Teheran's military buildup has been no less real. The May 21 *Newsweek* characterized the expansion of the shah's armed capabilities as "the world's biggest military buildup since the American deployment in Vietnam."

U.S. imperialism's preoccupation with the Arab-Persian Gulf region is well-founded. The area contains 60-75 percent of the world's proven oil reserves. Further, the narrow Strait of Hormuz, at the eastern end of the Gulf, has been called Europe and Japan's "oil jugular vein." Every twelve to sixteen minutes an oil tanker passes through the Strait, heading for the Indian Ocean, and thence to West Europe or Japan.

When British imperialism withdrew its forces from the area in 1971, U.S. imperialism, acting in large part through the shah's regime, moved to establish tight control.

The shah's expanding military power in the gulf area has been paralleled by rising interest and involvement by the Teheran government in areas further east as well. This has taken the form of closer relations between the shah and the Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime in Pakistan.

The shah's first significant military move in the gulf came on November 30, 1971, when the Iranian army took control over three islands commanding the western approach to the Strait of Hormuz—Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb, and Abu Mussa. The total Arab population of the islands was about 450. On Greater Tunb the entire population was expelled; three Arabs were killed resisting.

The shah proceeded to build military bases on two of the islands, thus fortifying his hegemony in the gulf.

In an interview with *Newsweek* senior editor Arnaud DeBorchgrave, the shah explained his military expansion: "Not only do we have national responsibilities but also a world role as guardian and protector of 60% of the world's oil reserves. . . . The Nixon doctrine says the U.S. will help

those who help themselves. That's what we're doing."

Washington's Complicity

And, indeed, the Nixon administration is backing the shah to the hilt. Already more than 11,000 Iranian officers and soldiers have received military training in the U.S. It is acknowledged that more than 1,000 U.S. military personnel are now stationed in Iran. This represents one of the largest military "aid" programs in Asia. Three generals direct the operations, which include training the Iranian army, "advising" the rural police force (responsible for patrolling 80 percent of the country), handling air force cargo, as well as organizing the maintenance of the sophisticated armaments and planes purchased



SHAH: "The U.S. will help those who help themselves."

from the United States.

In addition to advising the infantry, the U.S. military is assigned to two naval bases, Khurramshahr and Abadan, which border on Iraq, near the Arab-Persian Gulf. There are also more than 300 U.S. "civilian personnel" working to train pilots and mechanics in the use and repair of helicopters.

Washington has had a military assistance agreement with Teheran since 1949. About \$800 million in military aid has been given. But since 1968, when the British government announced its intention of withdrawing its military forces from the Arab-Persian Gulf, Washington has stepped up arms sales to Iran.

In early 1973 the U.S. Defense Department announced the biggest single arms deal ever arranged by the Pentagon—the shah would buy \$2-3 thousand million in the latest military

equipment. More than half of the package consists of several hundred helicopters and interceptors. Iran's 1973 military budget represents a 45 percent increase over 1972. Announcement of the arms deal touched off demonstrations at universities throughout Iran.

The shah's troops were called in, the universities were closed, and, according to *Le Monde*, at least sixteen people were killed.

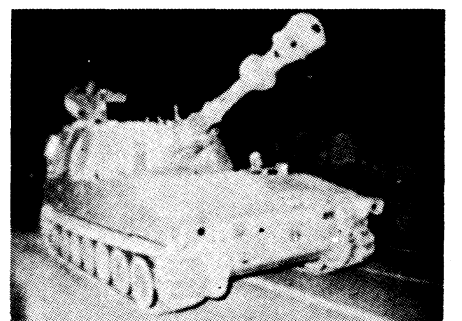
Nixon's ties to the shah's regime were strengthened by the appointment in January of Richard Helms, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, as U.S. ambassador to Iran. A leading administrator of the CIA in 1953, when a CIA-engineered coup overthrew Dr. Mossadegh's government and returned the shah to power, Helms was to utilize his past in his new position as ambassador.

As right-wing commentator Joseph Alsop wrote in the *Washington Post*, "Helms has two jobs. The first job is to assure the U.S. of an adequate supply of Iranian oil—and therefore non-Arab oil—in case of political difficulties with the Arab oil-producers. The second job is to give added toughness, direction and support to the Shah of Iran's effort to safeguard freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf."

The United States is the world's largest oil consumer. Currently it imports 8-11 million barrels a day from the Middle East, about 10% percent of its total consumption. But by 1980 that proportion is expected to rise to 25 percent. In addition to its involvement in the gulf as an oil-consuming state, the U.S. regime is committed to protecting the investments of the giant oil companies that reap a 55 percent return on petroleum investment in the Middle East.

In fact, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Iran, the three largest oil-producing countries in the gulf—among the most repressive governments in the world—have been militarily well equipped by Washington. In May the Pentagon announced the sale of \$500 million in arms to Saudi Arabia and acknowledged a similar sale it is working out with Kuwait, in addition to the \$2-3 thousand million worth of arms going to Iran.

A year and a half ago the December 4, 1971, London *Economist* noted: "Iran is being equipped with American aircraft, British tanks . . . to be the defender of Western interest in the Middle East." The close relationship that has developed between the shah and the Nixon administration has been amply illustrated by the shah's readiness to supply the Thieu regime with Phantom jets when Nixon was unable to make a quick enough de-



New additions to Iranian air force, army, marines.

livery. In addition, the shah exchanges intelligence reports on military developments throughout the Middle East with both the United States and Israel. The shah's military maneuvers in the gulf are part of this pattern.

The shah's support to the Zionist state of Israel is seen in his supplying Israel with most of the oil it needs and providing Israeli tankers with naval protection in the Arab-Persian Gulf. Hundreds of Iranian military personnel have been given advanced training in Israel.

The Shah's Presence in the Gulf

The shah's plan to control the Arab-Persian Gulf includes establishing a checkpoint in the twenty-six-mile-wide Strait of Hormuz. Iran and Oman would exercise "joint control," but given the shah's superior military force, Teheran would be the dominating party. This move may well set the stage for undercutting the oil-producing Arab states' demands for a greater share of oil profits. As Neil Ulman, reporting in the May 4 *Wall Street Journal*, remarked: "Talk of America's energy crisis has been widely reported and read in the Middle East and used to explain why the

Continued on following page

...Shah builds bulwark for imperialism

Continued from first page

U.S. might want Israel and Iran to grab Arab oil on its behalf."

In addition, Iran's military presence is designed to damp revolutionary activity throughout the gulf as well as stop shipments of arms to such groups as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Occupied Arab Gulf.

Only recently the shah sent nine helicopters and at least a company of marines to help Oman crush revolutionary activity in its oil fields, according to a May 21 *Newsweek* report. Estimates on the number of troops sent to Oman vary from the frequently quoted figure of 300 to the *Los Angeles Times* report of 2,900. (December 7, 1972). In addition 80 percent of Iran's infantry is deployed along Iraq's frontier. Clashes are frequent between the shah's forces and Iraqi troops.

Of this general situation the shah commented in his interview with DeBorchgrave: "Some of the regimes on the other side of the gulf may be overthrown by extremists and the subversive activities now going on. If [the Dhofar rebellion in Oman] ever succeeded, just try to imagine what we would be faced with . . . right in front of the Strait of Hormuz. At first a few rifles. And then naval guns and missiles. . . . I cannot tolerate subversive activities — and by that I mean anything that is imposed from the outside. . . . If [the Iraqis] started at breakfast, they could probably take over Kuwait by lunchtime. But if the Kuwaiti government resisted and asked for my help, they would get it instantly."

Iranian Oil

As the fourth largest oil-producing country in the world, and as the second largest in the Middle East, Iran produces 5.8 million barrels a day. The shah, upon returning to power in 1953, signed a twenty-five-year agreement with the Western oil consortium that produces 92 percent of Iran's oil in an operating territory of 30,000 square miles in southern Iran. Members of the consortium include British Petroleum (40%), Shell Petroleum (14%), Gulf Oil (7%), Mobil Oil (7%), Standard Oil of California (7%), Exxon (7%), Texaco (7%), Compagnie Française des Pétroles (6%), and the

Iricon group (5%). That group is composed of American Independent Oil, Atlantic Richfield, Charter Oil, Continental Oil, Getty Oil, and Standard Oil of Ohio.

Although the terms of the agreement do not expire until 1978, in early 1973 the shah "demanded" that the consortium either hand over its operations in 1978 or arrange a new, twenty-year supply contract. Not surprisingly, the consortium opted for the new contract, and only details and the actual signing remain. Under the new agreement, the consortium will still hold exclusive right to the bulk of crude oil coming from Iran. The shah will withhold a part of the oil produced both for Iranian consumption and for export, and under the terms of the old pact, the operating territory will be reduced by 30 percent.

The shah's government will assume primary responsibility for running and financing the petroleum operations, while the consortium will continue to provide operating services and technical assistance.

The consortium spokesmen pointed out that the finances of the new agreement were comparable to those worked out by the other gulf states last January. The shah's oil consultant in Teheran added that the pact would provide long-term stability, insuring "the continuous flow of crude oil to the markets supplied by the oil companies."

Shah's Front on the Indian Ocean

The shah's policies are closely linked to those of the U.S. government, and thus reflect the Moscow-Washington and Peking-Washington detentes. Iran recently signed a \$600 million contract with the Kremlin to supply the Soviet Union with natural gas. And the shah's wife visited China last year, where she received a far more lavish welcome than did Nguyen Thi Binh, foreign minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

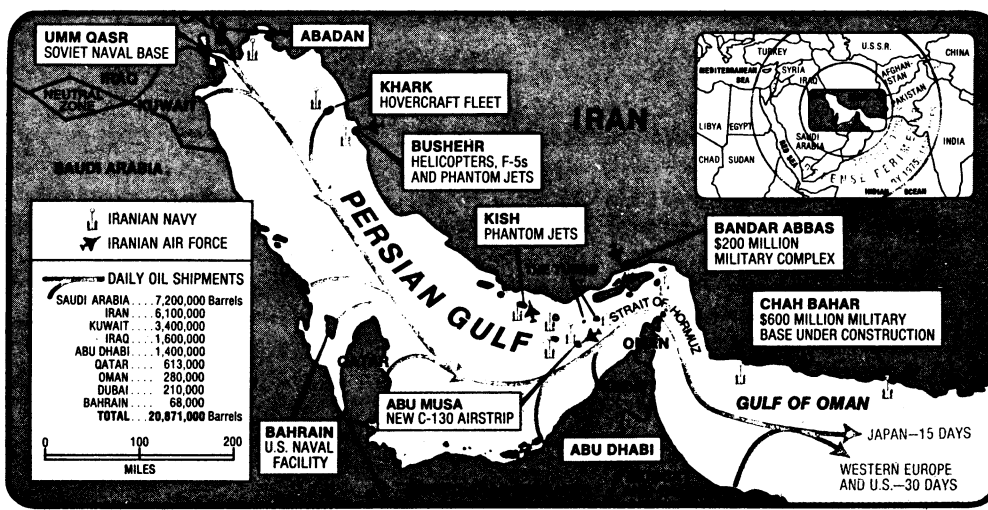
But when the shah visited the Soviet Union, he reportedly told Premier Kosygin that it would be wise to halt operation of the Soviet naval ships in the gulf. While the shah is willing to work out profitable financial agreements with Moscow and Peking, he is also beginning to expand his sphere of influence even beyond the Arab-

Persian Gulf into the Indian Ocean. Recently the shah worked out an arrangement with the island of Mauritius, situated off Madagascar, whereby Iran has port facilities in exchange for an undisclosed amount of aid. The Soviet Union also has fuel and water facilities on Mauritius, as well as a naval base at Berbera, in Somaliland, on the Gulf of Aden.

In addition, the shah is building two giant military bases on the Indian Ocean, at Chah Bahar and Jask. The \$600 million army, navy, and air force base at Chah Bahar Bay in

portance of Bhutto's visit to Teheran by ordering a horse-drawn coach — usually reserved for visiting royalty — for the Pakistani president. The two rulers decided to "expand and systematize" their ties in the areas of defense and economic development.

Given the fact that as recently as January 28 news agencies reported that Pakistani troops were pursuing a force of "up to 500 Baluchi rebels" into the mountains not far from the Iranian border, the development of the two military bases in Iranian Baluchistan puts force behind the shah's pledge. It is also possible to understand the shah's plan to provide roads, schools, jobs, and housing for Baluchistan, in an attempt to establish more effective control over the area — to "Persianize" Baluchistan.



Iranian Baluchistan will be the largest of its kind in the Indian Ocean. Although the shah insists it will be finished by 1975, the American contractors estimate it will take at least three to four years to complete.

These huge bases are to perform internal as well as external functions. They are situated in Baluchistan, an area inhabited by 750,000 Baluchi tribespeople who are united by culture and language with one million Baluchis who live in Pakistan. They are mainly farmers or nomads. Although most of rural Iran is extremely poor — half of all villages are not accessible by road, life expectancy is forty-five years, and the illiteracy rate is high — Baluchistan is one of the most poverty-stricken areas of the country.

As a direct result of the Bangladesh national struggle, the Baluchi nationalist movement is gaining strength. And a Baluchi movement for self-determination would not only hinder the shah's attempts to become a power on the Indian Ocean; it could well unleash the struggles of the other oppressed nationalities living in Iran — Arabs, Kurds, and Azerbaidzhanis.

The Link With Bhutto

With such a potentially explosive national situation, it is no wonder that the shah considers Pakistan's safety as important as his own. The shah speaks of the Bengalis' struggle for national independence as the "dismemberment of Pakistan" and has repeatedly pledged his support to Rawalpindi if other national groups within Pakistan attempt to form their own nation-state.

The shah has taken steps to cement close ties with Bhutto, including expanding Pakistan-Iran trade and channeling Iranian investment to Pakistan. At a May 9-14 conference with Bhutto (the second one to be held in 1973), the shah emphasized the im-

But wherever the shah turns, nationalist demands for self-determination spring up. His determination to wipe out the revolutionary movement in Oman is closely related to his own security problems. There are 50,000 Baluchis working in the small gulf states, and if they link up with the revolutionary movement in the gulf states or if the Baluchis living in Pakistan are able to win the struggle for self-determination, the effect would be far-reaching. In addition to upsetting the balance of power in the Arab-Persian Gulf, such a development would give added momentum to national struggles in Iran.

Nixon's Last Option

In Nixon's message on the "energy crisis" in April 1973, he spoke of the need for "mutual cooperation" rather than "destructive competition or dangerous confrontation." By cooperation he means support to the shah's plan and forcing the Arab countries into line. But the stakes are so high that there are other options. Peter Grose, a member of the *New York Times* editorial board, outlined a Western security pact modeled on the cold war strategy of a quarter-century ago. "Walter J. Levy, an American petroleum consultant who has gone further than anyone in designing an Atlantic-Japanese energy partnership," Grose wrote, "argues that neither the Common Market nor Japan nor both units together could amass enough leverage, without United States participation, to break the stranglehold which the oil producing countries could soon acquire on the industrial societies."

Nixon is apparently not prepared to use that option at this point. The regimes in Israel and Iran have thus far been able to do Washington's work. But this weapon lies in the American arsenal, should Nixon's friends prove unreliable in the future. □



Afrique-Asie

Revolutionary fighters in Dhofar, an internal colony of Oman. Shah sent marines to help beat back rebel forces.

Shah steps up frame-ups, executions

Seven Iranians are on trial for their lives in an "open" trial, according to the June 6 air-mail edition of the semi-official Teheran daily *Ettelatt*. The paper gave their names as Akbar Izad Panah, Nemataallah Ayouz Mohammadi, Raheem Banani, Manouchehr Nahavandi, Akbar Kanani, Kourosh Yektai, and Simeen Nahavandi.

The six men and one woman are charged with carrying ammunition, trying to kidnap former U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II, armed robbery, car theft, and actions against the security of the state.

The new trial follows the execution of eight persons in Ahwaz, an Arab region in southern Iran. The eight were tried in military court on charges of espionage and treason.

The announcement of their execution by firing squad in the May 28 *Ettelatt* was the first mention of the trials.

Two more people were executed June 4 in Ahwaz on charges of spying. After their execution, the shah's press reported their names as Abd Mousavi and Yakoub Mousavi.

In another incident, Colonel L. Hawkins, a U.S. adviser who had been in Iran for ten months, was shot and killed in front of his house in

A communication from the Iranian Students Association reports that a secret federal grand jury in San Francisco has indicted six supporters of the ISA on charges of "assaulting" an official of the Iranian consulate there. The charges stem from a conference held by the consulate at which Iranian students expressed opposition to the shah's policies. The indictments show the collusion between the shah's agents and the FBI to victimize Iranian critics of the shah's dictatorship. For information on how you can help the defense efforts for the six, write: ISA, G. P. O. Box 1639, New York, N. Y. 10001.

Teheran June 2 by two persons who escaped on a motorcycle.

U.S. Ambassador Richard Helms—a high CIA official in 1953, when the agency engineered the overthrow of the Mossadegh government, and director of the CIA for seven years before his present assignment—described the killing as a "meaningless murder!"

The World Confederation of Iranian Students issued a statement May 27 in Frankfurt, West Germany, on the report that the seven are being tried in an "open" court. The confederation pointed to the shah's past record of excluding from trials not only reporters and international observers, but even the immediate families of the accused.

At a conference of Amnesty International in Geneva May 15, a representative of the confederation addressed the 1,500 participants on the shah's systematic torture of political prisoners. The purpose of the conference was to launch an international campaign against the torture of prisoners. □

Step toward crackdown on labor militants

Peron opens attack on 'Trotskyists'

By Gerry Foley

"Get the Trotskyists!" This is the watchword in the Peronist ranks and among the government's allies," correspondent Philippe Labreveux reported in the June 6 *Le Monde*. "Hardly had ex-President Juan Perón sent out the word from Madrid, where he is preparing for his final return, than the trade unions, the youth groups, and several other organizations of the national Social Justice Movement launched a chorus of virulent attacks against 'extremists' of all stripes."

The blast from "el líder," according to Labreveux, was part of an operation aimed at curbing the guerrilla movements and the left wing of the Peronist movement and harnessing them to the new government. Such attacks obviously set the stage for asserting tight control of the mass movement and for isolating the more militant opposition groups.

The immediate target of Perón's attack was apparently the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People], which refused to go along with Cámpora's call for a truce and has expressed its determination to continue its commando operations.



SANTUCHO: 'ERP is not Trotskyist.'

Perón made a statement referring to "Trotskyist provocateurs," according to the May 30 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. He did so in response to reports in a Spanish monarchist magazine that far-left groups had participated in an attempt early May 26 to storm the Villa Devoto Prison in the Argentine capital. Two youths were killed when prison guards opened fire on the crowd; one was a Peronist. The leadership of the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth) blamed members of the ERP, among others, for provoking the incident.

In a news conference June 8 in Buenos Aires, however, leaders of the ERP denied that their organization was involved in the attack on the prison. In the June 9 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, their statements were summarized as follows:

"The ERP had absolutely nothing to do with the attempt to take the Villa Devoto Prison in the early morning of May 26. They claimed that the shots came from inside the prison and from a cellblock. They do not exclude the possibility of an attempt to force the door of the prison, but they don't know what the source of it was."

Furthermore, the four spokesmen—Roberto Mario Santucho, Jorge Benito Urteaga, Enrique Haroldo Gorriarán,

and Jorge Molina—denied that the ERP was Trotskyist:

"The ERP is not Trotskyist. It has an anti-imperialist and socialist program, and includes Marxists, Peronists, and Christians. Of its members, 38 percent are workers, they said.

"The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores exercises leadership and defines itself as Marxist-Leninist. It was linked to the 'Fourth International' but 'we have moved away.'" [Emphasis in original.]

Another guerrilla group that has continued its operations since the election is the August 22 ERP, a split-off from the ERP. The August 22 ERP, however, has given political support to the Peronists. It called for a vote for Cámpora and the other Peronist candidates in the March 11 elections.

Since the elections, the ERP and the Peronist guerrilla organizations have tended to diverge. "The Peronists, while they have not failed to point up the contradictions existing in the FREJULI [Frente Justicialista de Liberación—Liberation Front for Social Justice], have obviously closed ranks around the elected authorities," a commentator noted in the May 29 issue of *La Opinión*.

In his article in the June 6 *Le Monde*, Labreveux stressed the ties of the Peronist and non-Peronist organizations in the preelection period. "But for conscientious guerrillas, reconversion is not easy, and all the more so because the Peronists of certain clandestine groups and the Trotskyists of the ERP have carried out joint actions and, it is believed, help each other, particularly by supplying arms and money to cells that need them without making any ideological distinctions.

"It seems improbable, therefore, that the Peronist guerrillas will turn over their arms to the government and abandon clandestinity."

Nevertheless, the centrifugal pressures seem to be very great. The Peronist guerrilla groups, the Montoneros and the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces] held a press conference the same day as the ERP. The spokesmen of the two organizations, Mario Eduardo Firmenich for the Montoneros and Roberto Quieto for the FAR, took a stern and threatening tone toward their non-Peronist erstwhile comrades in arms.

"We tell the ERP," Firmenich said, according to the June 9 *Clarín*, "that in our country you have to accept the historical experience of our people, which is Peronism." Both spokesmen said that they had invited the ERP to reflect and to test their position with the masses.

The *Clarín* report continued: "They said that if the ERP or any other organization calls for revolutionary unity, 'it must realize that the only unity possible is around the Peronist movement.' But they did describe as 'so-called commands' those groups that are attacking the ERP from a McCarthyite position."

But more importantly, Firmenich and Quieto stressed that their organizations "form part of the Peronist movement, whose leader is General Perón. Therefore, we follow the strategy formulated by General Perón." So, it is hard to see how anything but a head-on collision is possible between the Peronist guerrillas and the ERP,

which announced its determination in its news conference to continue the fight until the "final triumph," the "socialist revolution." The latter is clearly not part of the "strategy formulated by General Perón."

The statement of the two Peronist groups, according to a June 8 AP dispatch, included a vow to "destroy any guerrilla groups that opposed the Cámpora Government." But no such pledge was mentioned in the *Clarín* report.



PERON: 'Get the extremists.'

International pressure is obviously being put on the Cámpora government to liquidate the guerrilla activity as soon as possible.

But the Peronist leadership has its own urgent domestic reasons for isolating and eliminating "extremists," and the guerrillas are the indicated place to start. As Labreveux noted in his June 6 article:

"Perón's offensive against the Trotskyists, and more broadly against the 'extremists' in his own movement who advocate the establishment of a socialist regime, has been favorably received in those trade-union circles that are favorite targets of the guerrillas, considered by them to be 'traitors to the working class.' José Rucci and the leaders of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] are beginning to raise their heads. Once again they feel protected and even favored by Perón, who sent them a warm message of support last week on the occasion of the special convention of the labor federation."

At the present time, the CGT bureaucrats are especially anxious to silence criticism from the left.

"Strengthened by Perón's support, the leaders of the CGT are now going to be able to conclude the negotiations initiated with the CGE [Confederación General Económico—General Confederation of Business] and José Gelbard, the minister of finance, with a view toward establishing a 'social truce' and launching a plan of economic stabilization. This austerity program will seek to assign the sacrifices necessary for straightening out the country's finances. But freezing prices and, to a certain extent, wages threatens to provoke serious discontent, or at least disappointment." □

Propose steps to a socialist Argentina

Revolutionists oppose Peronist 'social truce'

The Peronists invited all the Argentine parties to a second meeting in the Nino restaurant in Buenos Aires on May 22. The first meeting took place shortly after Perón's arrival in the country before the elections and was closed to the press. The PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party) refused to attend this gathering on the grounds that it was opposed in principle to secret political negotiations. The party agreed to participate in the second, since it offered the possibility of discussing the future of the country in the presence of the press and therefore in front of the Argentine people. The PST set forth its positions in an editorial statement in the May 23 issue of its weekly paper, *Avanzada Socialista*.

In the first place it hailed the Peronists' promises to restore political democracy:

"We agree fully with the proposals to guarantee and broaden the liberties and rights granted by the constitution, involving full respect for minorities.

"We hold this position not because at this stage we find ourselves temporarily in a minority. In the revolutionary left, our party is distinguished by its adherence to profoundly democratic principles, which lead us to struggle uncompromisingly for liberation from authoritarianism in all fields, against bureaucratic domination in the unions, imperialist domination of the nation, and capitalist exploitation of the society."

The first step toward the establishment of democratic liberties, the statement said, should be full amnesty for all the political prisoners and complete restitution to workers victimized for their trade-union activities.

Next, the statement called for broadening the area of political democracy:

"We think that in order to extend democratic freedoms changes must be made in the constitution and sanctioned by the sovereign will of the

of 150,000 old pesos a month, as well as a sliding scale of wages to compensate for inflation.

Instead of relying on European capital to replace U.S. capital, the PST maintained, the only way to develop the country is through the development of an internal market by raising the living standard of the workers and through internal saving. This requires establishing a state monopoly of foreign trade and repudiating the foreign debt which now totals US\$7,000 million.

"This debt has been contracted by illegitimate or dictatorial governments that had no right to mortgage the future of the entire nation. Strict currency control and nationalizing the banks and foreign trade . . . will enable us to stop the foreign monopolies—both European and American—from draining off the national wealth of the country and the labor of the workers with impunity as they are doing now."

The statement also called for nationalizing the foreign monopolies. But it stressed: "The workers must be the ones to supervise their functioning. Administration by state-appointed functionaries has proved totally inefficient."

At the Nino meeting, Juan Carlos Coral, the presidential candidate of the PST, repeated these demands, and added:

"We must forcibly repatriate the \$8,000 million that has been taken out of the country through the looting of foreign entrepreneurs and Argentine financiers; we must block the monopolies from shipping any profits out of the country."

The PST also demanded a deep-going agrarian reform to solve the problem of four decades of stagnation in the rural economy.

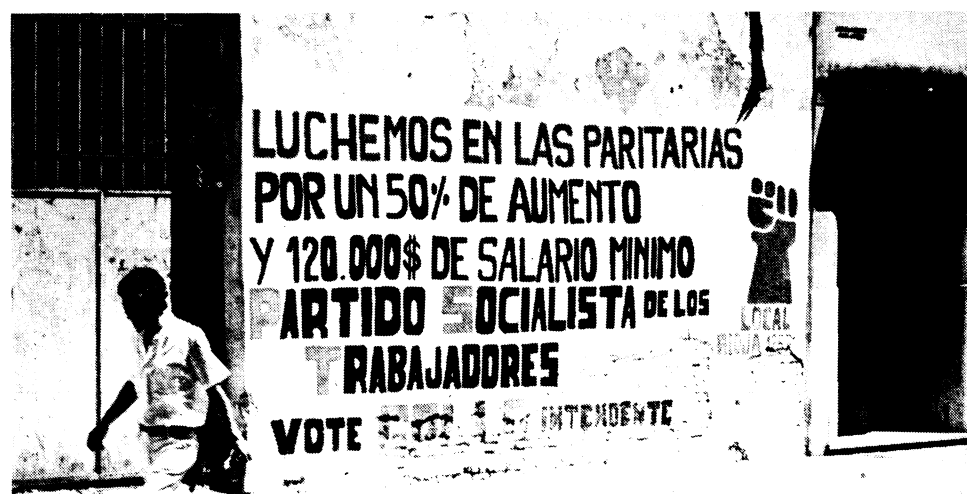
Although the PST statement promised the party's support for all positive measures by the new government, a pledge that was repeated by Coral at the Nino meeting, it expressed basic criticisms of the regime inaugurated May 25.

"If the class alliance advocated by the Peronists led to the great defeat of 1955 for the working class and the country, the cycle may be much shorter this time." The favorable international conditions for Argentine national capital achieving a certain freedom of maneuver within the framework of the imperialist system no longer exist, the statement explained. In fact, this time the very conservative forces that originally opposed Perón's reforms are supporting the new government and especially its call for a "social truce."

"Our doubts about the process that began on May 25 are motivated by class feelings and are only the political expression of the doubts of the workers, who see that the same institutions, parties, and personalities that opposed Perón in 1946 and overthrew him in 1955 and collaborated with the succeeding regimes are today supporting Dr. Cámpora and acclaiming his recent appeal."

The PST warned emphatically against any "social truce."

"Political instability, social tensions, struggle, and violence are the results of the economic system we live under. Therefore, we cannot agree to any truce with the Sociedad Rural [the big



Fred Halstead

The PST ran a slate of more than 2,000 candidates in the recent Argentine elections, using the campaign to expose Peron's party as a capitalist party and to promote mobilizations of the masses of workers in struggle.

landowners organization], the CGE [Confederación General Económica—General Business Federation], the Unión Industrial Argentina [Argentine Manufacturers' Association], or the monopolies, unless they stop exploiting the workers and the country. Hence our position and our advice to the workers must be brief and to the point: Don't let down your guard while the oligarchy and imperialism

are still intact. And this means fighting for the profound structural changes that alone can bring peace to the society."

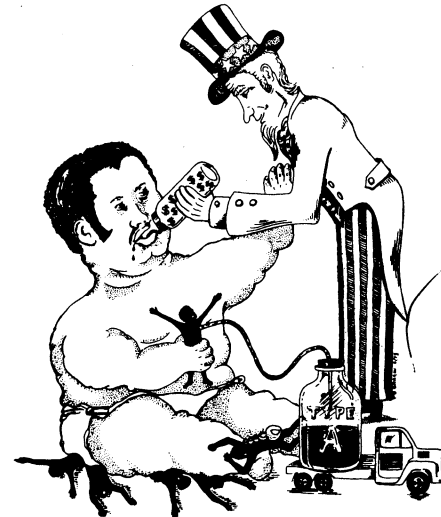
In his speech at the Nino, Coral pointed out that only a government directly representing the workers would be able to implement consistently the basic changes the PST calls for. □

Haiti under 'Baby Doc' is feature in new issue of USLA Reporter

Mistreatment of political prisoners in Haiti today is unparalleled anywhere in the world, according to an article in the June-July-August issue of the *USLA Reporter*, newsletter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Ten percent of those arrested die from torture in the first few days of detention.

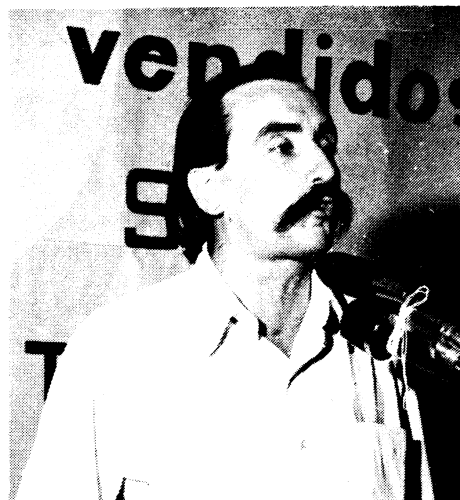
The issue also contains three articles on the denial of human rights in Bolivia. One is a summary of "Gospel and Violence," a statement condemning the growth of repression in Bolivia signed by ninety-nine priests, pastors, and other religious figures. The statement was highly embarrassing to the Bolivian government, but has received support from a wide spectrum of political groups, professionals, and union leaders.

To receive the *USLA Reporter*,



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CORAL: No class alliance

people, that the constitution must be made into an adequate framework for the period of transition to socialism. Calling a constituent assembly is, therefore, one of the most urgent tasks of the new government."

To reverse the decline in the buying power of the workers that occurred under the military dictatorships and conservative governments that followed the overthrow of Perón, the PST called for an immediate across-the-board raise of 50,000 old pesos [about US\$50], and a minimum wage

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Bows to pressure from Kremlin & White House

Senate delays testimony for a week

By PETER SEIDMAN

On June 18, the Senate Watergate committee voted 6-1 to postpone the public testimony of John Dean one week until the U.S. visit of Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was completed. Undoubtedly this announcement was met with a sigh of relief from the Watergate gang in the White House.

The potentially explosive nature of Dean's incriminating evidence led to a concerted effort in which the Kremlin and the White House worked hand in hand for a postponement of the Ervin Committee hearings. Neither side wanted to risk the embarrassment and possible interference with the summit that Dean's appearance might have produced.

The White House campaign to put

Columnist Mary McGrory reported June 19 that "The usual [White House] plea for 'delicate negotiations,' to which Senators have ever been susceptible during the 10 years' war in Vietnam, was whispered about, and had its usual effect."

Of course, the White House issued the usual denials of intervening in the Senate inquiry. Senate majority leader Mansfield cooperated by asserting he had initiated the postponement himself.

The White House pressure campaign was matched by an energetic effort by the Soviet bureaucrats to get the Dean testimony delayed. The June 19 *New York Post* reported that "it was an open secret in Congress that the Russians had forcefully conveyed their displeasure with the timing of the Dean testimony in all ways short of a formal intervention."

"Soviet officials argued that Dean's charges against the President would amount to an indirect attack on Brezhnev for having agreed to come here at this time. . . . They also acknowledged concern that the Watergate hearings would detract attention from Brezhnev's visit. . . ."

This intense behind-the-scenes pressure from the Kremlin to take the heat off Nixon gives the lie to Brezhnev's widely-quoted remark of June 14 that "it would be quite unsuitable for me to intervene in [the Watergate] affair in any way. . . . The thought never even entered my head as to whether President Nixon has lost any influence or has gained any influence as a result of Watergate."

As recently as last week, special federal prosecutor Archibald Cox unsuccessfully sought to have Dean's testimony postponed or at least held without TV coverage. His efforts to reduce the impact of the Ervin hearings reflect tactical differences between various capitalist politicians over how

best to conduct the Watergate investigation so as to most rapidly restore confidence in the government.

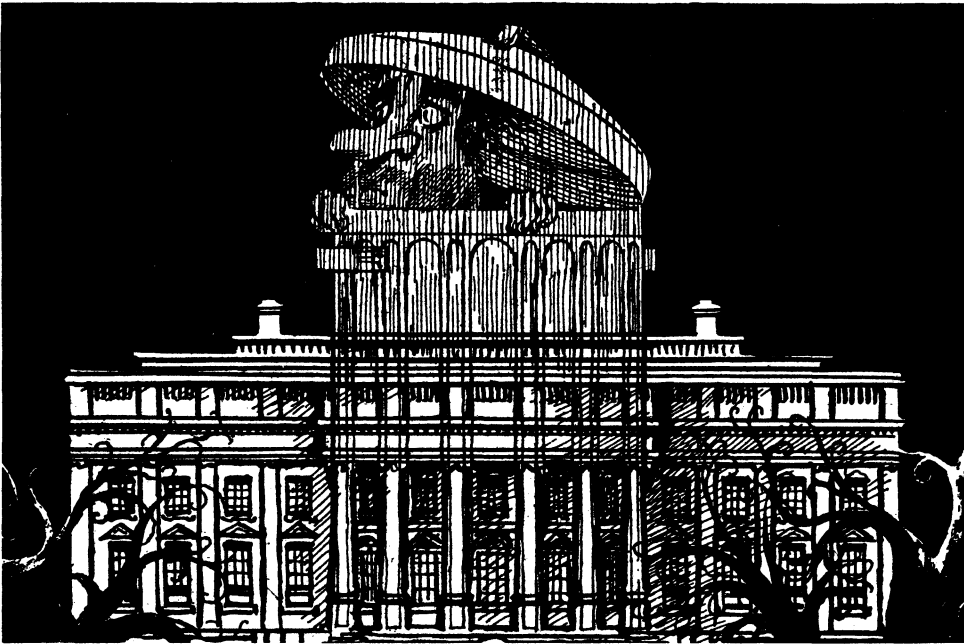
While differences may exist over how the investigations may affect domestic politics, virtually all the Democratic and Republican politicians closed ranks behind postponing Dean's testimony until Brezhnev's visit is completed. As one member of Cox's staff put it, "Brezhnev was able to do that, we couldn't."

The bipartisan character of the decision to delay Dean's testimony was shown by the 6-1 vote of the Ervin committee. Democrats Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy also supported the delay. Humphrey called it "desirable" and Kennedy said it was "statesmanlike and responsible."

Even Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey, who has so far been one of Nixon's most vociferous congressional critics, is holding his fire during the Brezhnev visit. On June 19, McCloskey announced he would cancel a scheduled congressional speech on impeachment because it would be "inappropriate" during the summit talks.

What explains the last-minute char-

Continued on page 22



Dean is a former counsel to President Nixon. So far, he is the highest-ranking member of the administration to assert that Nixon is guilty of conspiring to cover up the Watergate crimes. Further, Dean claims he can prove his charges.

Both the White House and the Kremlin place great importance on the successful completion of the Brezhnev-Nixon talks as a crucial step in the détente between the Soviet Union and the U.S. In addition, Nixon hopes to use the Brezhnev talks to bolster his own sagging political fortunes.

Dean's testimony on ice for a week is hardly surprising. Nationally syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported on June 15 that "the White House and other Nixon defenders have campaigned, furiously, with remarkable success, against Dean's reputation and credibility."

The columnists point out, however, that Dean's charges have so far held up well under White House fire, and if Dean "seems credible before the Ervin committee . . . the nightmare Watergate scandal will grow still bleaker."



DEAN: His evidence against Nixon won't be made public until Brezhnev visit ends.

Plan to blame Haldeman & Ehrlichman revealed

New Nixon alibi is 'last ditch effort'

JUNE 20—Terming it a "last ditch effort," White House sources leaked to the *Washington Post* a new line of defense President Nixon will use to protect himself from the Watergate scandal. The *Post* story, written by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, appeared June 18, on the eve of the scheduled appearance of John Dean before the Senate Watergate committee.

According to this new plan, Woodward and Bernstein report, "President Nixon is expected to defend himself . . . by saying he was misled by his former principal deputies, H. R. Haldeman and John D. Ehrlichman." These are the men Nixon referred to in his April 30 Watergate speech as "two of the finest public servants" he knew.

Woodward and Bernstein quoted one White House source as saying, "If the Dean charges are too devastating, and there is no reason to think they won't be, the President plans to come forward and acknowledge overwhelming negligence on his part, but will still deny criminal knowledge. . . ."

The White House will admit "misjudgments on the President's part and

indicate they resulted from misinformation and unauthorized action by Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

Until now, Nixon has backed up the story told by both Haldeman and Ehrlichman that the White House cover-up was engineered by John Dean, who bamboozled the president and his two top aides.

"However," wrote Woodward and Bernstein, "charges by Dean and others against Haldeman and Ehrlichman have convinced the President that he must abandon support of his former principal deputies."

As one official told the *Post* reporters, Haldeman and Ehrlichman have been "cut down to nothing and the President can't stand with them (any longer)."

Nixon did win a brief reprieve, however, when the Senate Watergate committee decided to postpone Dean's testimony for one week. In the meantime, the White House attacked Woodward and Bernstein's story for its "extreme unfairness," without denying the report itself.

Woodward and Bernstein also reported on the increasing isolation of the president as Watergate closes in

around him. "The sources described Mr. Nixon as alternately angry, depressed and feeling increasingly isolated, and under siege from investigators," they wrote. "Even among those who are advising him on Watergate . . . Mr. Nixon has refused to fully discuss his own role in the case."

In addition to the expected revelations in Dean's testimony, and the damaging evidence already presented by Nixon's deputy campaign manager, Jeb Stuart Magruder, other developments in the past week have intensified the pressure on Nixon.

On June 15 the *Washington Post* reported that convicted Watergater E. Howard Hunt had blackmailed the White House to the tune of more than \$200,000 in return for keeping his mouth shut after the Watergate break-in. According to the *Post*, Hunt threatened "to disclose the involvement of high Nixon administration officials in secret illegal activities unless he received large sums of money and a guarantee of executive clemency. . . ."

One possible reason for the payoffs to Hunt, said the *Post*, were "fears that Hunt would reveal the Nixon administration's secret operations against radicals, political opponents

and the press."

Former White House counsel Charles Colson has recently revealed some of Hunt's other activities, according to Jack Anderson's syndicated column on June 18. In a still secret deposition made May 28 before the Democratic National Committee, Colson told how he sent Hunt to New England to gather information on Senator Edward Kennedy's involvement in the 1969 drowning of Mary Jo Kopechne.

"The tough glib Colson also admitted he had dispatched Hunt to Denver to question Dita Beard about her famous memo linking an ITT financial commitment to the Republicans . . .," Anderson wrote. "Hunt wore a preposterous, ill-fitting red wig on this secret mission."

In another development, Senate Watergate committee head Sam Ervin (D-N.C.) has announced that the committee has received documents on the 1970 spy plan from John Dean. Ervin says he will introduce as public evidence the information in these papers on domestic spy operations. However, the committee intends to keep secret "foreign intelligence information" contained in the documents.

Watergate & the Black struggle

By DERRICK MORRISON

When the Watergate scandal first erupted, Harlem Democratic Congressman Charles Rangel, the Reverend Jesse Jackson of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), and other Black leaders called for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Later on, a retired FBI agent, affected by the Watergate revelations, disclosed the extensive bugging operation that the FBI had set up against Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. The Congressional Black Caucus and others responded by calling for the reopening of the King case to examine the evidence that a conspiracy reaching into high places lay behind the act of James Earl Ray, the convicted assassin.

As the Watergate scandal continues to unfold, major revelations have surfaced showing how the government sought to curb the increasingly militant and independent political thrust of the Black liberation struggle. At every mention of the massive domestic counterinsurgency plan the Nixon administration drew up in mid-1970, the "enemy" is listed as "Black Panthers, potential Arab saboteurs, antiwar radicals, and Soviet espionage agents."

The 'Black problem'

The Black struggle was clearly a central target of the government's drive to silence its opponents. According to the May 24 *New York Times*, "One official who worked on the [counterinsurgency plan] described the most serious issue facing the Nixon Administration in mid-1970 as 'the black problem.' He said intelligence indicated that Black Panther leaders were being covertly supported by some countries in the Caribbean and in North Africa. Some Government officials also believed, he said, that Algeria, which was vocal in its support of the Black Panthers in the United States, might become a main overseas base for the Panthers."

Yet, this "foreign" connection and the specter of "saboteurs" was disputed at the time by none other than the CIA. On the basis of its own study conducted in 1969-70—at the request of Nixon—the CIA concluded, according to a source quoted in the May 25 *Times*, "... the judgment of the intelligence community in 1970 was that there was no significant Algerian support for the domestic operations of blacks. . . ."

"We thought that it was absolutely imperative that the causes of what was happening—the Vietnam war and racial injustice—had to be understood."

This view of the domestic "disturbances" was disregarded by the Nixon administration. Its massive counterinsurgency plan was described in the June 4 *Newsweek* as the "most wide-ranging secret police operation ever authorized . . . in the peacetime United States." Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.), head of the Senate Watergate committee, said, "Those making this plan had the same mentality employed by the Gestapo in Nazi Germany."

Because Nixon refused to sign the plan—thereby being able to disavow any presidential authorization for illegal activities if things went wrong—FBI director J. Edgar Hoover raised strenuous objections to it. As a result the plan was never officially implemented.

Nevertheless, this did not prevent the Nixon administration, the FBI, and other arms of the government from using the methods outlined in the super-spy plan in going after leading organizations in the Black liberation struggle, principally the Black Panther Party.

Police attacks on Panthers

Ever since its inception in 1966 in Oakland, Calif., the Panthers had been the subject of police harassment and victimization. But with its growth into a national organization, a growth fed by the ghetto rebellions and the Black student struggle, the dimensions of the repression became national. By 1969 Black Panther Party units across the country were subjected to police attacks.

In January of 1969 Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins, leaders of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, were shot in the back by members of "US," a right-wing Black nationalist organization known to cooperate with L. A. Mayor Sam Yorty and police officials.

In April, 21 Panthers were indicted in New York City on fantastic charges of conspiring to bomb



KING: J. Edgar Hoover was out to 'get' him and the civil rights movement.

department stores and subways. And in December, Chicago police conducted the infamous raid on a Panther apartment in which they shot and killed Mark Clark and Fred Hampton. A few days later police in Los Angeles tried to storm a Panther headquarters. This led to a shoot-out lasting for hours in which two Panthers were wounded.

The following year, 1970, was marked by even more extensive police attacks on the Panthers. These occurred in cities such as Birmingham, Toledo, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Detroit. At the same time trial proceedings were begun against the 21 Panthers in New York, and against Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven, Conn. These were just two of the many Panther trials held that year.

1970 also brought to light federal involvement in these local police attacks. This came in a disclosure by Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman. According to the Feb. 9, 1970, *New York Times*, Uhlman "turned down a Federal proposal for a raid on Black Panther headquarters in Seattle because he did not want to popularize the Panthers' cause. He also said that such raids smacked of gestapo-type tactics."

Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agents

The proposal had been made the previous month by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Unit of the Internal Revenue Service, according to the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*. (This government outfit has been deeply involved in the secret-police operations, it has now been admitted.)

Because of the mayor's refusal, the FBI later turned down a request to investigate a series of mysterious bombings in the city. Hoover dubbed the Black Panthers the "most dangerous and violence-prone of all extremist groups."

At one point Hoover lashed out at such notables as Leonard Bernstein, Otto Preminger, and Dick Gregory for actively defending the Panthers' democratic rights. In fact, the Watergate revelations show that one of the Nixon administration's most pressing concerns in 1970 was the extensive civil liberties support of the Panthers from prominent Black and white liberals and Democrats.

According to a well-placed source quoted in an article in the May 24 *Times*, the support to the Panthers by many "moderate black leaders" after the Hampton killing "'made it harder for blacks to understand that these guys (the Panthers) were thugs and murderers. 'They had a free lunch program going,' the source added, 'where they were teaching kids how to kill whitey.'"

Committee of Inquiry

It was after the Hampton murder that people like Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and Whitney Young Jr. of the Urban League began to publicly express concern about the police campaign against the Panthers. They went so far as to set up a Committee of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and Law Enforcement. Wilkins and Arthur Goldberg, former U.S. Supreme Court justice and former delegate to the United Nations, served as cochairmen.

The Committee of Inquiry was supported by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the American Jewish Congress, and the Lawyers

Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. The last group is very prominent, containing lawyers from the most prestigious law firms in the country. It is no wonder the Nixon administration was worried.

The Committee of Inquiry never got off the ground, but the government's operations against the Panthers spilled over to include some of the organizations that were defending the Panthers.

After Hoover's veto of Nixon's super-spy plan the White House assembled its own spies, dubbed the "plumbers," under E. Howard Hunt Jr. and G. Gordon Liddy—later convicted as Watergate conspirators.

On Labor Day weekend in 1972 the Hunt-Liddy gang burglarized the Beverly Hills office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist. It has now come to light that the gang may have been responsible for raiding the national office of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund (LDEF) in New York the same weekend.

The day after the Los Angeles burglary, Hunt and Liddy flew to New York under assumed names. LDEF officials surmise that the raid on their office occurred then.

According to the May 31 *New York Post*, LDEF officials found "several desks pried open. A file cabinet with a combination lock that contained minutes of board meetings and other materials was also forced open."

At the time, the LDEF was involved in several sensitive cases, including the defense of Panther leader Seale on an aspect of the "Chicago 8" conspiracy, and Earl Caldwell, a Black *New York Times* reporter who had resisted subpoenas from a San Francisco grand jury investigating the Panthers.

The question should thus be asked, how many other offices were illegally broken into? How many phones wiretapped in the name of "national security"? To what extent did the federal government aid and abet the local police raids on the Panthers?

Did undercover agents set up Panthers?

The Black Panther Party at this time relied heavily on ultraleft rhetoric, using such slogans as "off the pigs," and "pick up the gun." Unfortunately, this political stance aided the government in its drive to portray the Panthers as the ones responsible for violence. It got in the way of placing the responsibility for the murderous violence unleashed by the government squarely where it belonged—on the police themselves.

Given the revelations of the role played by agents-provocateurs in various radical groups—including the Weathermen, the Camden 28, and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War—we must also ask, To what degree were police agents themselves responsible for setting the Panthers up for the many shoot-outs and indictments that occurred?

The Watergate methods of subversion and surveillance are not the exclusive property of the Republicans, and the Black Panther Party is not the first Black organization to be subjected to such methods.

The unfolding of the Watergate scandal prompted a former FBI agent, Arthur Murtagh, to reveal in the May 21 *Times* the extensive surveillance sur-



Mourner weeps at funeral for Fred Hampton. Widespread outcry against Hampton murder dismayed Nixon administration, whose aim was to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Judge to hear new facts on Gainesville 8 frame-up

By CINDY JAQUITH

JUNE 18—The further unraveling of the Watergate scandal has forced U.S. District Court Judge Winston Arnow to call a new pretrial hearing in the Gainesville Eight case. The hearing, which begins June 20 in Pensacola, Fla., will be the third in four months.

The Gainesville Eight are members and supporters of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). The Justice Department has charged them with conspiring to attack the August 1972 Republican convention with slingshots, cross bows, and automatic weapons. Their trial is scheduled to open July 17 in Gainesville, Fla.

The government's evidence against the antiwar veterans consists of a few slingshots and the testimony of FBI informers.

The defendants say the alleged conspiracy was fabricated by the government to make VVAW look like a violent organization, and to help justify the break-in at the Watergate. The Watergate burglars claimed they were seeking information on "violence" supposedly being planned for the Republican convention by antiwar veterans.

New information now strengthens the defense's contention of links between Watergate and the VVAW frame-up, according to a news release from the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Pablo Fernández, a counterrevolutionary Cuban, has admitted that he was hired as an agent provocateur by both the FBI and the Miami police. He said he was paid to spy on demonstrators coming to the Republican and Democratic conventions.

Fernández is also part of the gang of thugs repeatedly hired by Nixon's campaign to disrupt antiwar actions. Apparently because of his past work in this field, Watergater Eugenio Martinez tried to hire him last spring to disrupt the Democratic convention. Fernández says he turned down the offer because he was already working for two other secret-police agencies.

His assignment with the Miami police was to get VVAW members to purchase weapons from him. "We were hoping for the overt act necessary to produce a charge of conspiracy," admitted Major Adam Klimkowsky, head of the special investigation unit of the Miami police.

Fernández, who insists that the VVAW brought up the question of guns first, says he discussed weapons with Gainesville Eight defendant Scott



At pretrial hearing, Gainesville defendants will offer new evidence of gov't frame-up links to Watergate conspiracy.

Camil. As Klimkowsky explained, "We didn't want Camil to actually acquire weapons. . . . We wanted to find out what was in the back of his mind."

But Klimkowsky now admits that Fernández never turned in any information that could be used against the VVAW. Police informer Angelica Rohan has also contradicted Fernández's story. She says she witnessed a discussion where Fernández offered to get guns for the VVAW. "There was no indication whatsoever that they wished or desired to purchase one single bullet," she stated.

The defendants view this new information as further proof that they were framed up. "We were coming to the convention to exercise our constitutional rights," says Scott Camil, ". . . not to cause problems, and what problems did occur were caused by provocateurs."

The defense has also reported a suspicious burglary that occurred July 9, 1972, in the office of Gainesville Eight attorney Carol Wild Scott. The intruders, operating in a fashion similar to the those who broke into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, stole the file of defendant Camil.

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

rounding Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Hoover was out to "get King," and in 1963 got the permission of Attorney General Robert Kennedy to tap King's phone.

"The surveillance was massive and complete," Murtagh told the *Times*. "He couldn't wiggle. They had him."

According to the *Times*, "Sources in Washington confirmed the broad outlines of Mr. Murtagh's description. These sources confirmed that when Dr. King left Atlanta, the F.B.I. electronic surveillance went with him, and that his telephone in hotels in other cities were tapped, with reports of information derived from these taps fed into Washington as was the Atlanta data."

The tap continued into 1965, and the *Times* reported suggestions that the tap may have lasted right up until King's assassination in 1968, raising the distinct possibility of government complicity in King's murder.

Network of Black informers

Murtagh, who worked in the Atlanta office of the FBI, also revealed a network of paid Black informers that enabled him to learn almost anything he wanted to know about SCLC and other organizations.

These activities against the civil rights movement were carried out under Kennedy and Johnson, both Democrats. Watergate has shown both the Democrats and Republicans to be defenders of the status quo, using token concessions on one hand, and on the other repression against any independent political motion on the part of the oppressed and exploited. This is particularly the case with Black people, who occupy the very bottom rungs of society. Any rise on their part, independent of the racist oppressor, threatens to upset the whole capitalist apparatus.

For this reason Kennedy gave the go-ahead for Hoover's "get King" campaign. It is also the reason for Nixon's campaign against the Black Panther Party.

In the wake of the Watergate disclosures, there is a better case than ever before for a thorough investigation into the attacks on the Black Panther Party and other Black groups. Such an investigation should also probe to the very bottom of the campaign against King and his assassination. And it should find out who paid Talmadge Hayer, the man who admitted killing Malcolm X but refused to say who had hired him.

Unfortunately, neither the Senate Watergate committee under the leadership of Sam Ervin, nor the special prosecuting team under Archibald Cox, has given any indication of interest in pursuing these questions. Black leaders should demand that they do so.

The Congressional Black Caucus should follow up its call for reopening the King case. There is no reason why they couldn't initiate a full congressional investigation into how government secret police have victimized the Black movement.

An independent investigation, by the Black community and other forces, could bring as-yet unearthed facts to light. It could exert maximum political pressure for full disclosure of the facts by government investigators and for prosecution of those responsible.

Watergate provides fresh evidence that neither capitalist party can serve as an instrument for the liberation of Black people. The Black politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties only serve to confuse and mislead Black people as to the nature of these two parties.

Moreover, irony of ironies, the Black Panther Party has now stepped into the camp of these misleaders. This is illustrated by Bobby Seale's recent campaign for mayor of Oakland, where he ran as a Democrat.

To garner the fruits of the civil rights movement and to further the struggle for Black control of the Black community, these two parties of racism, sexism, and imperialist war have to be exposed and opposed.

Consistent education of the masses in these truths will help break them away from the two capitalist parties and pave the way for constructing a mass Black party. These are the tasks of the Black movement in the light of Watergate.

Why W'gate cost you money

You're getting less change back from your dollar at McDonald's hamburger joints because of Watergate-related secret campaign deals.

McDonald's owner donated \$225,000 to the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP). In return, just before the November elections Nixon's Price Commission approved a 10 percent hike in the price of McDonald's cheeseburgers. The rules said prices couldn't be raised unless there was a significant improvement in the quality of the product. So the Price Commission declared that more cheese on the burgers made the price boost legitimate.

If that sounds like a whopper, the whole story is contained in Jack Anderson's syndicated column on June 19. Anderson reports, "Sources close to President Nixon's fund-raising effort last year say government favors were exchanged for campaign contributions. A donation over \$100,000, they say, would entitle a contributor to a quid pro quo."

Another example cited by Anderson: carpet manufacturers, seeking to postpone the enforcement of costly new regulations on flammability, met at the White House with top Nixon aides. At least \$200,000 had been contributed to CREEP to arrange the meeting. "Result: enforcement was delayed," notes Anderson.

Anderson also sheds new light on the widely reported milk deal, in which the dairy lobby buttered up the administration with huge contributions to get a raise in the government milk-price support level. "The day after the first big contribution was delivered," says Anderson, "dairy price supports were increased over the objection of the Agriculture Dept. One source told us Agriculture Secretary Butz got his instructions at a meeting right in the Presidents' Oval Office."

"The increased supports brought the dairy farmers an extra estimated \$500 million from the taxpayers."

Though the bulk of the money came from the capitalists, some of the union bureaucrats who think like the bosses also got into the act. The Teamsters raised the most money for the Nixon campaign. "The Teamsters are considered the in-house union here," a lawyer for the Cost of Living Council said. The Teamsters, says Anderson, got "favored treatment" from the Council.

But it is unlikely that most Teamster members would agree that their "favored treatment" from Nixon was worth the money—not to speak of the higher prices they must pay for carpets, milk, and cheeseburgers.



McDonald's won approval for price hikes after secret donation of \$225,000 to Nixon campaign committee.

Magruder: 'permissiveness' and peace marches to blame for W'gate crimes

By CINDY JAQUITH

Just before Nixon's inauguration on Jan. 20, 1973, Jeb Stuart Magruder issued a statement attacking the protesters who planned to demonstrate against the war in Southeast Asia during the inauguration.

Magruder, who was then the director of the Inaugural Planning Committee, said he hoped the demonstrators would "express themselves peacefully and in accordance with the law and with a decent respect for the rights of others."

Five months later, on June 14, Magruder fidgeted on the witness stand as he described to the Senate Watergate committee how he and other top officials in the Nixon administration routinely discussed illegal activities ranging from kidnappings to hiring call girls—a network of crimes that first became known to the public when five White House burglars were arrested at the Watergate on June 17, 1972.

The spy plans, the cover-up after the Watergate scandal broke, the pay-offs to those who got caught in return for their silence—this is what "decent respect for the rights of others" means if you work for the White House. And the excuses now offered for these blatantly illegal acts by Magruder and his cronies reveal that these high-level crooks still take us all for fools.

Antiwar movement

During the time he worked in the White House, and later when he became deputy campaign manager of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP), Magruder said, the mass movement against the war in Vietnam was a major problem. "I was mainly engaged in the activities trying to generate some [prowar] support for the president," he explained.

At the same time, Magruder said, he saw people like his former ethics professor, William Sloane Coffin, recommending "that students burn their draft cards and that we have mass demonstrations, shut down the city of Washington."

Witnessing these "crimes," Magruder piously explained, made him and others in government "somewhat inured" to using illegal means to further the government's aims.

A marketing specialist before he came to the White House, Magruder apparently thought he could sell the Senate committee and the American people a new twist on the old "permissiveness" argument.

Nixon has often charged that a "permissive" society spawns illegal and violent antiwar activities.

In his testimony, Magruder claimed

the antiwar movement created such a permissive atmosphere that even the highest echelons of the government were infected with lawlessness.

After confessing to perjury and conspiring to commit illegal wiretapping, burglary, bribery, and other crimes, Magruder had the gall to call antiwar activists criminals! Of Coffin, who recently said Magruder had flunked his ethics course, Magruder remarked: "He tells me my ethics are bad. Yet he was indicted for criminal charges."

Magruder neglected to add that Coffin was acquitted of the charges of conspiring to promote draft resistance in the case, which was clearly a political frame-up.

But even if Coffin had been found

the antiwar movement—that Magruder and his White House cohorts feared the most. This was brought out in the questioning by committee chairman Senator Sam Ervin (D-N.C.).

Mass demonstrations

Ervin challenged Magruder's statement that it was the draft-card burning activities the Nixon administration saw as its greatest threat:

ERVIN: "The Reverend Coffin . . . he just came down and demonstrated. There were a great many demonstrations, weren't there?"

MAGRUDER: "He did quite a bit more than demonstrate."

ERVIN: "He was supposed to try



Militant/Flax Hermes

Nov. 15, 1969, peace march in Washington. Magruder testimony revealed depth of White House concern over mass antiwar movement.

guilty, as have many individual draft resisters, there is simply no comparison between the U.S. government's bloody war in Vietnam and the civil disobedience actions of Americans who opposed that war.

During the time when Magruder said there were "illegal" activities in the antiwar movement, the U.S. government (under both Democratic and Republican administrations) was raining tons of bombs on the Vietnamese people, slaughtering villagers like the peasants at My Lai, and devastating the Vietnamese countryside. The only crime of Coffin and the millions who marched in protest of the war was that they spoke out against this brutality.

It was the massive, legal antiwar protests—not the civil disobedience actions of a relatively small part of

to frustrate the draft."

MAGRUDER: "He did, and he participated in many activities that were considered illegal."

ERVIN: "You were disturbed at the demonstrations, weren't you, the people at the White House?"

MAGRUDER: "Yes, sir. We were."

During the time Magruder was on the White House staff, the largest antiwar marches took place. On Nov. 15, 1969, and again on April 24, 1971, hundreds of thousands of demonstrators converged on the capital demanding that the U.S. get out of Vietnam.

Nixon has always tried to claim that such massive outpourings against the war had no effect on U.S. policy. But Magruder's testimony shows the opposite—the antiwar demonstrations were a major political factor in the administration's calculations.

At one point in his testimony, Magruder admitted that "because of the activities of the antiwar movement in particular, much of the work [of the White House] was being delayed and stalled. . . ."

One way the rulers of this country tried to counter swelling antiwar sentiment was to step up illegal harassment and espionage against the American people. This was because Nixon knew he could never win support for the war by telling the truth about U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. As Magruder put it, there was a "feeling of . . . frustration at being unable to deal with issues on a legal basis."

So it was only natural that early in the 1972 election campaign White House counsel John Dean sent G. Gordon Liddy to the CREEP offices. It

was understood, Magruder explained, that in his official capacity as "counsel," Liddy would be organizing the espionage work for the campaign.

Liddy offered his first "intelligence plan" to CREEP and White House officials on Jan. 27, 1972, according to Magruder. The meeting was held—ironically—in the Justice Department, in the office of John Mitchell, then U.S. attorney general.

Kidnappings and call girls

Liddy's package of dirty tricks, budgeted at a mere \$1-million, included the following, according to Magruder:

- "Wire tapping, electronic surveillance, and photography. . . ."

- ". . . projects relating to the abduction of individuals, particularly members of radical groups. . . . Mr. Liddy had a plan where the leaders would be abducted and detained in a place like Mexico and that they would then be returned to this country at the end of the [Republican] convention."

- The use of call girls to extract information from, and possibly to blackmail, delegates to the Democratic convention. Liddy "envisioned renting a yacht in Miami and having it set up for sound and photographs."

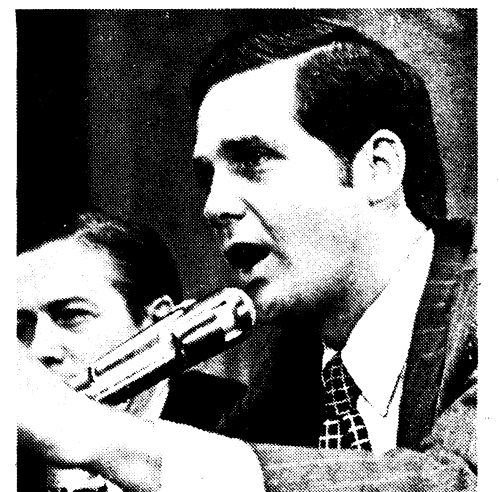
Liddy's proposal was rejected, Magruder explained, because it cost too much money! Mitchell and the others finally settled on a less expensive version at a cost of only \$250,000. It was in the course of carrying out this trimmed-down plan that Liddy's men got caught at the Watergate on June 17, 1972.

"The cover-up began that Saturday [June 17] when we realized there was a break-in," Magruder told the Senate committee. "I do not think there was ever any discussion that there would not be a cover-up."

In addition, Magruder said, there "never was an investigation" by anyone in the White House of the Watergate affair.

The *New York Times* and other newspapers are now running editorials bemoaning the corruption of "fine young men" like Magruder, and congratulating him for telling the truth. Even the senators on the Watergate committee got into the act. Ervin went so far as to wish Magruder "success in your future endeavors."

It is unlikely, however, that the American people are going to buy the argument that Watergate came about merely because a few White House underlings overstepped the bounds. As Magruder's testimony has made clear, Watergate crimes against those who oppose government policies are a routine feature of the strategy the capitalists use to keep themselves in power.



MAGRUDER: Falsely claims antiwar 'law-breakers' created mood responsible for illegal government activities.

'As American as apple pie'

The Watergate revelations are eating away at what little remains of Nixon's credibility. The latest Gallup poll shows that two-thirds of the American people believe Nixon either knew about the Watergate break-in or participated in the cover-up.

Forty-seven percent of those surveyed think Watergate is a "very serious matter," a jump of 16 percentage points since April. A full 97 percent of the population knows what Watergate is about.

But there are some people who simply refuse to be swayed by

public opinion, like the members of the Lincoln Club, for example. This exclusive group of 126 wealthy Southern California Republicans doesn't see why there's all this fuss over Watergate. Interviewed by *New York Times* reporter Everett Holles, "most of the club members took an attitude . . . that the Republican national campaign staff was only doing what came naturally."

After all, pointed out the club's treasurer, Robert Beaver, "Political espionage is as American as apple pie."

Answer to 'Muhammad Speaks'

Was African Liberation Day 'escapist'?

By MALIK MIAH

In the June 1 *Muhammad Speaks*, Brother Lonnie Kashif levels a serious charge against the thousands of Blacks who demonstrated in the streets in more than 30 cities May 26 in solidarity with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. He charges that these demonstrators were into "Pan-African 'Escapism,'" attempting to "escape" from the real day-to-day problems Black people face in America.

Is there any truth to Brother Kashif's charge? Is there a relationship between the struggle of Afro-Americans and the liberation movements on the African continent? Are demonstrations like May 26 irrelevant to the struggles Blacks are waging here?

These questions are not new to the Black movement. In fact, they were discussed more than 50 years ago with the rise of the movement led by Marcus Garvey after World War I. The Garvey movement had hundreds of thousands of members in the U.S., the Caribbean, and Africa. It promoted Black awareness, which included support for the African revolution.

Marcus Garvey's publication, *Negro World*, was banned in the French colonies and British West Africa because

Malik Miah is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and has been an active supporter of the African Liberation Day actions.

it indicted European imperialist rule in Africa and championed struggles against colonialism.

Garvey did not separate the struggle of Blacks in America from what happened to their brothers and sisters around the world.

Malcolm X

In the 1960s, the figure best exemplifying the interconnection of the Afro-American struggle with the colonial revolution sweeping Africa, Asia, and Latin America was Brother Malcolm X.

After Malcolm left the Nation of Islam he traveled twice to Africa and the Middle East to meet with African leaders.

In 1964 he founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Malcolm viewed the OAAU as a fighting instrument of Black communities from Harlem to Watts, as well as an instrument of Pan-African solidarity and action.

Unlike Brother Kashif, Malcolm considered solidarity with the African struggle against U.S. and European imperialism to be an important part of the struggle here.

A look at how the present movement arose, and the significance of the actions held thus far, also refutes Brother Kashif's charge of "escapism."

In the fall of 1971, three Afro-American activists went to the liberated territory in Mozambique held by FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). Among them was Owusu Sadaukai, then head of Malcolm X Liberation University in Greensboro, N.C., and now cochairman of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC).

They held discussions with the guerrilla leaders on how Blacks here could aid their struggle. After these discussions Sadaukai, along with the Youth Organization for Black Unity (YOBUS—a nationalist, primarily student or-



Militant/Baxter Smith

Demonstration of 3,000 Blacks on May 26 in New York City. An ongoing action campaign against U.S. complicity with oppression in Southern Africa can both aid the liberation movements there and advance the Black struggle here at home.

ganization based in North Carolina) and other Pan-African nationalist organizations, issued the call for the first African Liberation Day demonstration, held on May 27, 1972.

The focus of the first demonstration was captured in the slogan, "We are an African people." Applying many lessons of the antiwar movement, the organizers sought to build the broadest action possible. They welcomed support from a wide range of people, including Charles Diggs of the Congressional Black Caucus, Imamu Baraka of the Congress of African People, Angela Davis of the Communist Party, and Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

The actions, which focused on Washington, D.C., and San Francisco, were quite successful. More than 20,000 people marched in D.C.

May 26 actions

Based on the success of these actions, local demonstrations were called for May 26 of this year. These actions brought into much sharper focus U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism and the white-settler states of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The signs, slogans, and speakers at the demonstrations also tied in national and local issues—like police terror and Watergate—to oppression and exploitation in Southern Africa.

The May 26 actions were organized in a nonexclusive manner, embracing the participation of Blacks from liberal, Democratic Party, nationalist, and socialist organizations. Because of this united-front policy, attempts at exclusion did not go over in most cases.

For example, the New York ALSC defeated an attempt by certain sectarian nationalists to drive out women and socialist activists, as well as activists of other nationalist tendencies.

In contrast to previous experience in the Black movement, women played leading roles in ALSCs. The New York ALSC chairperson was a woman. So were many of the activists. Their role, which reflected the impact of the women's liberation movement on the Black struggle, helped cut across the reactionary prejudices against women activists held by some Pan-Africanists.

Along with coordinating the build-

ing of actions around the country, the ALSC national office in Greensboro, N.C., launched the United African Appeal to raise funds for the liberation organizations in Southern Africa. It raised more than the \$40,000 goal.

Student movement

Black students and student organizations were the driving force behind African Liberation Day. YOBUS played a big role again this year.

The Black student movement as a whole experienced a downturn after 1969, when it reached high points such as the struggles at San Francisco State College and Cornell University. But activities around African Libera-



MALCOLM X: Saw Afro-American struggle linked to African revolution.

tion Day, along with other factors, have prompted a modest revival.

ALD has begun to cut across the pessimism generated by government repression of previous struggles, some of which were led to isolation and defeat by ultraleftism. In addition it has contributed to undermining the authority of those Black student leaders who have been bought off and are collaborating with campus administrators to keep things cool.

Harnessing the energy of the Black student movement and turning the campuses into organizing centers will be key to the ALSC's ability to reach out and organize the Black community in a sustained campaign against

U.S. support for Portugal and the white-settler regimes. This process will also help educate and detonate into action white students and others over the issue of Southern Africa.

Such a campaign has the potential—if massive enough—to force the U.S. to cut off certain aid to those regimes.

The development of this struggle would bring Black people and others squarely up against government policies, raising their political consciousness and sharpening their opposition to U.S. imperialism—right here at home.

Gulf and Polaroid

A step in this direction is the campaign projected by the national leadership of ALSC against Gulf Oil and Polaroid, which will be discussed at an ALSC national steering committee meeting this month.

Activity initiated by a handful of Black workers at Polaroid in the Boston area exposed this "equal-opportunity employer" back in 1971. Polaroid tried to deny any complicity with the apartheid regime in South Africa, but the workers documented their charge that Polaroid cameras were used in the hated passbook system. The company felt compelled to run full-page ads in major newspapers and to send a team of supervisors to South Africa to whitewash its operations. Afterward, Polaroid claimed it got its South African distributor to raise the wages of its African workers.

If Polaroid was exposed and compromised by a campaign in just one city, think of the impact a nationally coordinated education and action campaign could have.

A mobilization of Harvard students led by the Pan-African Liberation Committee last year exposed how Harvard University, through its investments in Gulf, was helping the Portuguese colonialists wage war in Angola, where Gulf has a big oil operation.

Through meetings, teach-ins, pickets, and other activity on a national scale, Black people and others will come to understand why Gulf and Polaroid should get out of Southern Africa, and why the U.S. should pull out of NATO and end all military and financial aid programs to Portugal and the white-settler regimes.

Key to this campaign will be ongoing activities that can take the momentum generated this spring over into the fall.

BIG TURNOUT BY PUERTO RICANS, BLACKS

BADILLO VOTE SURPRISES EXPERTS, FORCES RUNOFF IN NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK, June 18 — The race for the Democratic Party nomination for mayor did not end with the June 4 primary as many experts had expected. Democratic machine favorite Abe Beame, the 67-year-old city controller, failed to poll the 40 percent of the vote needed to win the nomination. Beame will now face Congressman Herman Badillo, the nation's highest Puerto Rican elected official, in the June 26 runoff.

Badillo surprised nearly everyone by finishing with 29 percent of the vote to Beame's 34 percent in a four-

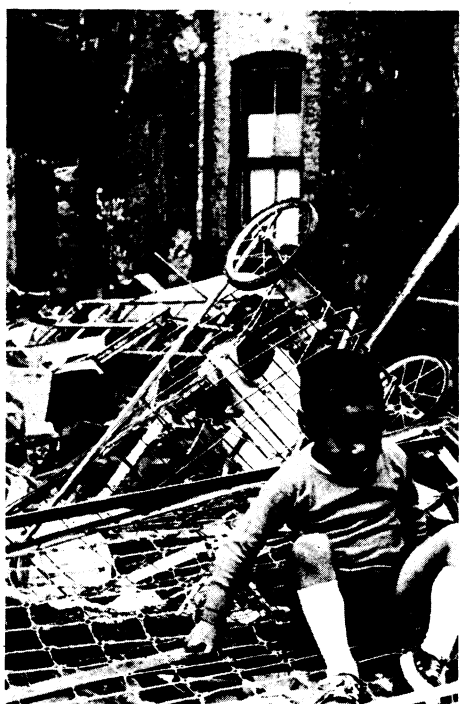
Joanna Misnik is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York city council president.

way race. Badillo's strong showing was due in large part to an unusually strong turnout in the city's Puerto Rican and Black areas, where the vote for Badillo was overwhelming. Overall, only 30 percent of the registered Democrats went to the polls.

The June 5 *New York Post*, in expressing surprise at the Badillo vote, noted that Blacks and Puerto Ricans "are not usually a major factor in primary elections." Badillo ran second to Beame in many areas of the city's predominantly white areas, but carried Manhattan and the Bronx.

The two other candidates in the Democratic race will not fade from the scene. Congressman Mario Biaggi, an ex-cop who made the strongest appeal to the racist "law and order" fears of some white voters, will run in November as the Conservative Party nominee. State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, who was endorsed by the reform New Democratic Coalition and who ran last, will remain in the race as the nominee of the Liberal Party.

No one was more surprised by the large vote for Badillo than the Democratic Party reformers in the New Democratic Coalition. At their endorsement convention in March, they spurned Badillo for Blumenthal, considered the more "moderate" of the two. The pundits were all bemoaning the "turn to the right" of New York voters and warning against any old-fash-



As Relocation Commissioner in the Wagner administration, Badillo worked hand in glove with real estate speculators and land developers, at the expense of the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

ioned NDC championship of the poor and minorities.

The NDC was out to win and saw Badillo's popularity with Puerto Ricans and Blacks as a hindrance in chipping away votes from the "law and order" appeals made by Biaggi and Beame.

A similar reading of voter mood prompted Black political leaders like Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and Congressman Charles Rangel to announce early in the primary warm-up that Blacks had no hope of fielding their own candidate for mayor.

However, despite the shortsightedness of some Democratic liberals, there were powerful forces who saw the Badillo candidacy as an asset, not a liability, to the Democratic Party. The *New York Times*, an organ of ruling-class opinion, strongly endorsed Badillo, as did the *New York Post* and the *Amsterdam News*, a Black weekly.



Mark Friedman, Brooklyn SWP candidate for city council, addresses street rally. SWP offers New Yorkers a genuine alternative to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

The *Times* called Badillo the candidate who could bring all of New York together again. It recognized that Herman Badillo was not a radical fighting for fundamental social change. Astute elements of the ruling class saw in Badillo an opportunity to defuse the growing political ferment in the Puerto Rican and Latino communities.

One million Puerto Ricans now reside in New York. Over the past years, they have begun to assert themselves in numerous struggles against the racist oppression they face. Puerto Rican students have fought for and won Puerto Rican studies departments that teach the truth about U.S. domination and exploitation of Puerto Rico.

Many young people have been aroused by the frame-up trials of Puerto Rican independence activists like Carlos Feliciano and Pancho Cruz. Puerto Rican women were among the leaders of the fight against day-care budget cuts. And thousands of Puerto Rican parents have been involved in an escalating struggle to rid the school system of racism and win control over the education of their children.

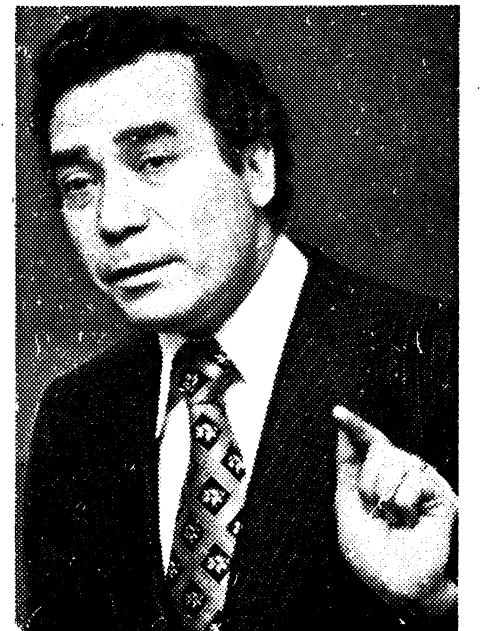
Fostering illusions

A segment of the bankers, landlords, and corporation owners who run the Democratic Party are seeking to head off and co-opt the struggles of the Puerto Rican community. They're trying to do this by fostering illusions that Puerto Ricans can achieve social justice within the framework of the capitalist two-party shell game.

The fact that sections of the Democratic Party leadership now feel compelled to promote the candidacy of a Puerto Rican for mayor of New York is testimony to the depth of the radicalization of the Puerto Rican community. Likewise, the promotion of Black politicians like Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Kenneth Gibson in Newark indicated that the Black liberation struggle was too powerful to be ignored by the ruling capitalist parties.

For anyone who thinks Badillo is really a champion of the Puerto Rican people "putting one over" on the Democratic Party, a closer look will reveal that his campaign did not fundamentally differ from those of the other candidates.

Although he voiced concern for the plight of the poor, his appeal was essentially to the "middle class." He assured them he wanted to be "mayor



BADILLO: section of the ruling class thinks best way to defuse Puerto Rican and Black radicalization is to elect him mayor.

His sole answer to unemployment—as high as 40 to 50 percent among Puerto Rican and Black youth—was a program to provide 8,000 civil service jobs yearly to city high school graduates. While Badillo cried out for more federal funds, he never attacked the \$82-billion spent on the imperialist war machine.

Badillo turned his back on the most significant struggle of the Puerto Rican community to date—the struggle against racism in the schools. Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents, many of whom supported Badillo,

The Socialist Workers Party campaign central office is located at 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. The telephone is (212) 982-4966. You can call, write, or stop by for copies of the campaign platform, and for Spanish-language campaign literature. The campaign committee will help arrange speaking engagements and informal meetings for the SWP candidates in your neighborhood or with your organization.

worked to reelect a school board in the Lower East Side School District 1 that reflected the interests of their communities. Meanwhile, Badillo was campaigning against school decentralization as a plan that "has only led to increased polarization. . . ."

Struggle in Dist. 1

The District 1 school board and Superintendent Luis Fuentes came under attack from every reactionary quarter for seeking to implement bilingual and bicultural programs and gain greater control by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents over the hiring and firing of personnel. In the face of this, Badillo boasted that he was one of those who asked for a public hearing to determine whether Luis Fuentes was a "racist."

His betrayal of the interests of Puerto Ricans in favor of the rich is not limited to Puerto Ricans in the United States. He opposes independence for Puerto Rico. He promotes the continuation of the commonwealth status, which allows U.S. domination of the island.

While support for Badillo is widespread in the Puerto Rican community, the major proindependence or-

Continued on page 22

'Please don't drink the water'

Residents of Duluth, Minn., read a chilling announcement in the local papers recently. Government scientists had discovered high concentrations of cancer-causing asbestos fibers in their water and warned against allowing young children to drink it.

The concentration of fibers turned out to be high indeed, nearly 100 billion per quart of water. The government announcement also explained why the warning was limited to children: adults had been drinking the water for so long that stopping now wouldn't do much good.

The asbestos comes from mill wastes dumped in Lake Superior by the Reserve Mining Company in Silver Bay, Minn., 60 miles northeast of Duluth. The company, which has always claimed that the wastes sink to the bottom and do no harm, has been dumping 67,000 tons of taconite tailings *each day* for the last 16 years.

Although environmental groups have been trying for 10 years to force a halt to the dumping, it was only a few weeks ago that government scientists began to investigate the effect of the taconite waste. Using an electron microscope, they quickly discovered that half the tailings form a deadly asbestos-like mineral called amosite.

Earlier government investigation has shown that amosite workers face three times the normal risk of stomach and lung cancer. They inhale the fibers eight hours a day on the job, and their bodies retain large amounts of this toxic substance.

The lethal effect of drinking amosite-laced water has not yet fully shown up because asbestos-caused

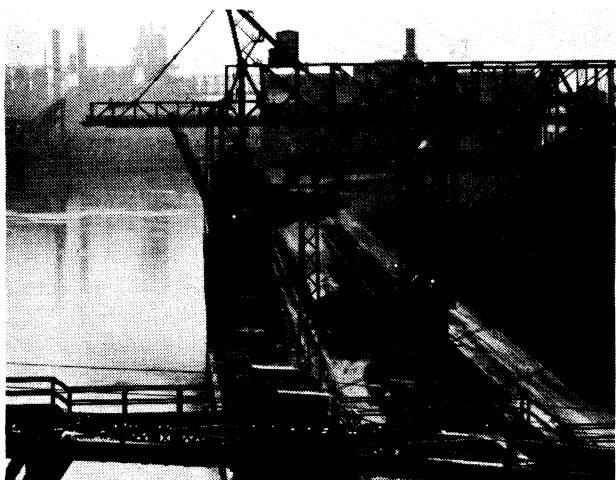
American Way of Life

cancer takes 20 to 30 years to develop. But "if the residents of Duluth have similar accumulations of asbestos as do asbestos workers," one cancer expert told reporters, "we can pretty well predict what's going to happen five or 10 years from now."

Even if Reserve were to stop dumping the taconite today, it wouldn't necessarily solve the problem. The concentration of the deadly asbestos fibers is already so high that it may be impossible to filter the water.

An extreme case? Nobody really knows.

The federal government inspects fewer than 2 percent of the nation's water supply systems—



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Pollution expert reports half the country now drinks water discharged by sewer systems only hours before.

the ones that serve interstate planes, trains, and buses. And these are only checked once every six years. The rest are inspected by the states—occasionally and none too thoroughly.

The last extensive federal water survey was made in 1969. The facts discovered then are enough to convince anyone that capitalism really fouls things up. Consider these findings:

Some 23 million people are drinking polluted water regularly from public systems.

At least eight million are drinking "potentially dangerous" water—water that could poison them at any time.

At least 500,000 people in 25 cities are drinking water the government has found unfit for interstate commerce.

There's nothing to indicate that our water has improved any in the last four years. In fact, says Dr. Daniel Okun of the University of North Carolina, half of us now "use water part of which only hours before had been discharged from some industrial or municipal sewer."

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Woman heads union slate

Chi steelworkers campaign for right to strike, union democracy

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—Hitting hard at the recently signed steel agreement, a rank-and-file group in Local 65 of the United Steelworkers in Chicago is running a woman steelworker as its presidential candidate in the local elections June 27.

The group, "Steelworkers for Change," has named Alice Peurala, a steelworker in U.S. Steel South Works, as its presidential candidate; Willie Ross, a Black steelworker for vice-president; and Don Jordan for inner guard. The group also plans to run candidates for a number of other offices in Local 65.

The central axis of the campaign being run by the Steelworkers for Change is the fight against the contract agreed to last March 29 by I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers, and the major steel producers. The new agreement calls for a "minimum" wage increase of 3 percent in each of the next three years. Most steelworkers realize it is going to be extremely difficult to get anything over this 3 percent from the bosses.

But the worst aspect of this new "experimental" agreement is that it has given away the workers' right to strike. Any disputes remaining when the contract expires in August 1974 would be turned over to an arbitration board. If the agreement remains in force, the next opportunity steelworkers would have to strike to win their grievances would be in 1977.

Abel made this agreement behind the backs of and without ever consulting the steelworkers. They do not even have the right to vote on their contracts. The agreement was endorsed at a meeting of local union presidents in Pittsburgh. Despite the fact the meeting was confined to these officials, the agreement met with opposition from some local presidents who were obviously feeling pressure from the ranks.

Shortly after the agreement was announced, Local 65 passed a resolution in opposition to it and calling for rank-and-file votes on all future contracts. Several weeks later, Abel replied that under the present constitution such opposition was not recognized.

Opposition to the Abel "experimental agreement" and expansion of union democracy are the central issues of the Peurala campaign. In addition to calling for the reinstitution of the right to strike, and rank-and-file votes on all contracts, the program of the Steelworkers for Change calls for a contract with a yearly wage reopener; a revision upward of the present escalator clause to



Steelworkers for Change candidates Don Jordan, Alice Peurala, and Willie Ross.

better reflect the rising costs of living; a reduction in the workweek to 30 hours with no reduction in weekly pay to spread available jobs; and the expansion of present union committees to include more rank-and-file members.

Peurala has been leafleting plant gates and holding weekly meetings in support of her campaign. She has called for a demonstration of all steelworkers in Chicago and northern Indiana at the Chicago headquarters of the United Steelworkers to protest Abel's sell-out.

The struggle by steelworkers for union democracy, which is reflected in Peurala's campaign, has been gaining support in the Midwest. Last February union dissident Ed Sadlowski ran against the bureaucracy-picked candidate, Samuel Evett, for director of District 31 (which includes Local 65).

Sadlowski based his campaign on membership ratification of all contracts and rank-and-file control over all union functions. He lost by less than 2,000 votes out of 45,000. He is currently challenging the election on the basis of reported vote fraud in several key locals.

In an election in Local 1010, which represents the steelworkers in the Bethlehem mill at Burns Harbor, Ind., a rank-and-file group has put forward Jim Balanoff as its candidate for president. Balanoff led the protest against the Abel "agreement" in his local.

Contrary to reports in the press, steelworkers are not happy with the new agreement. The job cutbacks, deteriorating working conditions, and skyrocketing inflation are beginning to force workers to take action to protect themselves.

Striking Ohio Teamsters demand:

'Unlimited cost of living clause'

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND, June 16—"We want an unlimited cost-of-living clause and a master contract for all the Teamster locals. We won't settle for anything less."

William Waithe, spokesman for striking moving and storage members of Teamster Local 392, was telling *The Militant* why workers had voted 135 to 4 to reject a \$1.02 an hour raise over a three-year period, with a cost-of-living increase of 16 cents an hour over the term of the contract.

Waithe said the offer by May, J.C. Penney, and other department stores "stinks." Even though it is higher than recent settlements in other industries, the movers' wages would still fall behind rising prices. The union is demanding unlimited wage increases pegged to rising prices to defend workers' incomes against inflation.

Waithe said, "The union attorney would like for us to accept a 5.5 percent increase. Why should we limit ourselves to the Phase 3 formula when everyone admits it's a failure?"

The movers lost a 13 percent wage increase in August 1971 when President Nixon imposed the Phase 1 wage freeze. They are demanding that this increase be added in the new contract.

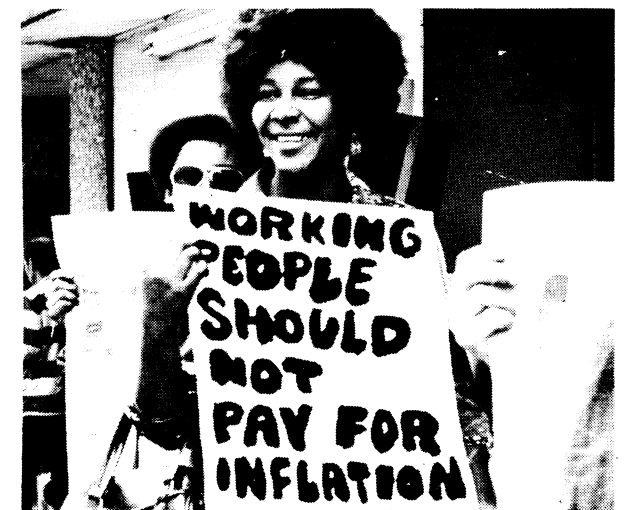
They are also demanding a single contract to cover all the Teamster locals, and equal pay with the over-the-road drivers. These drivers earn \$6.04 hourly—about \$1 an hour more than the movers.

The strikers have been militant. Nobody is allowed past the picket lines, even though Teamster officials have not asked members of other locals

to respect the picket lines.

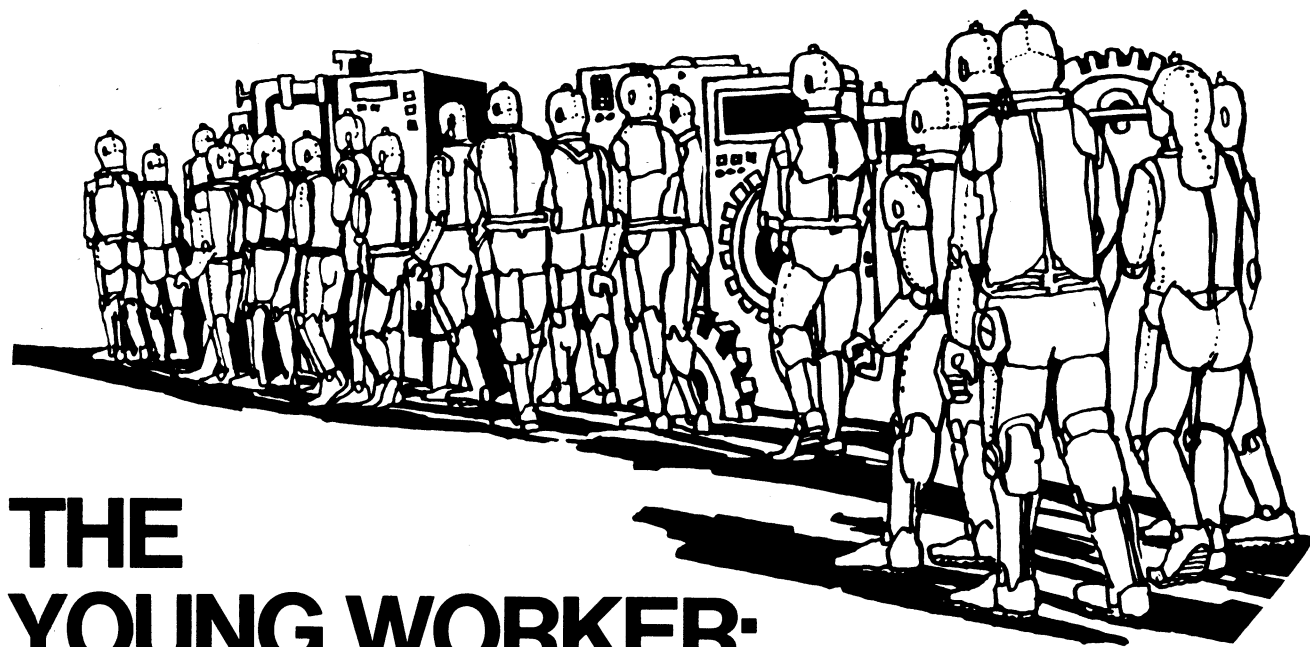
In one altercation on the line, the Cleveland cops used shotguns to ride herd on the pickets. In a scuffle, several police fell to the ground. Waithe reports that one of the cops pleaded, "We don't want to arrest you—play ball with us."

A striker answered, "You promised us that if we were peaceful and surrounded the door of the warehouse that we could keep the scabs from going in. Then you take them in and usher them out. Why should we play ball with you?"



Militant/Tom Vernier

Houston protest against high prices May 5. Ohio Teamsters are fighting for unlimited escalator clause as defense against inflation.



THE YOUNG WORKER: SICK OF ROBOT JOBS

Where Have All the Robots Gone? by Harold L. Sheppard and Neal Q. Herrick. Free Press. New York, 1972. 222 pp. \$7.95.

"Turnover rates are climbing. Absenteeism has increased as much as 100% in the past 10 years in the automobile industry. Workers talk back to their bosses. They no longer accept the authoritarian way of doing things." (From *Where Have All the Robots Gone?*)

Workers' dissatisfaction with their jobs is scrutinized in this book, which is based on a 1970 study of 400 white, male blue-collar union members, and a 1969 survey of 1,500 employed men and women.

Sheppard and Herrick's findings, though they must be regarded as tentative conclusions, are a valuable indication of the changing composition and attitudes of the workforce, especially among young workers.

They found that the dissatisfied workers were those who had little responsibility, variety, autonomy, or opportunity to learn in their work. These workers were more likely to feel alienated from society as well. Antiauthoritarian workers were more likely to find their jobs lacking autonomy and responsibility than authoritarians.

(Authoritarianism was measured by agreement

war in Vietnam and pollution as the top political issues in 1970. They tend to place less confidence than their elders in the Democrats, the Republicans, or in voting itself, as a way of producing social change. Of the under-30 workers registered to vote, 43 percent didn't vote in the 1968 presidential elections. Only 59 percent voted for Nixon or Humphrey, while 23 percent voted for Wallace.

This contrasts with the mere 14 percent of the over-55 workers who didn't vote, 82 percent who voted for Nixon or Humphrey, and 4 percent who voted for Wallace.

The key trend revealed by these statistics is the young workers' growing mistrust of the two-party system. Wallace won votes partly by playing on this mistrust, although his support was also based on the racist attitudes of many white workers.

Most young workers were found to have a different social outlook than their elders. They are more activist-minded and overwhelmingly more antiauthoritarian. The relative handful of authoritarian young workers, like the older authoritarians, expressed little job dissatisfaction.

On the other hand, the older antiauthoritarians shared the dissatisfaction of the young. Thus, statistically, at least, the greater job dissatisfaction of youth is explained by their antiauthoritarian approach to society in general and the workplace in particular.

One weakness of this study is that Sheppard and Herrick never mention the problem of speedup. This is a striking omission in a book whose authors cite the Lordstown General Motors strike (against speedup) as an example of worker dissatisfaction!

Their recommendations are addressed to the government, businessmen, union officials, and academicians, not to the working people they studied.

Their answers to the problems of alienated workers are "job enrichment"—redesigning jobs to make work more "rewarding"—and "job retraining."

But corporations will only redesign jobs to the extent that they can boost profits and cut costs. Where job retraining is being experimented with, the noble aims of the consultants are often subverted by management's tendency to transform the program into an experiment in speedup and union busting.

And job retraining programs will not be expanded while social welfare expenditures are being slashed. These cutbacks, like wage controls and speedup, are part of U.S. capitalism's attempt to make gains in the intensifying competition with Europe and Japan by attacking our standard of living. Past and present job-training programs, like the Job Corps, aid in this effort by supplying government subsidies for exploiting nonunion labor at below standard wages.

Sheppard and Herrick do shed some light (although unconsciously) on who *will* make the changes that can humanize the workplace. Young workers' increasing rejection of stultifying jobs and their growing distrust of those who rule this country are a portent of the future struggle that will sweep away the whole rotten system that organizes human labor to maximize the profits of a tiny few.

—ANDY BUSTIN

SOVIET SCIENCE FICTION

Solaris. Directed by Andrei Tarkovsky. A Mosfilm Production. 1972. Russian with English subtitles.

Since the early 1930s few well-made or thought-provoking Soviet films have gotten beyond the cutting-room. Only a handful, perhaps less than a dozen since the death of Stalin, have managed to squeeze past the obstacles of bureaucratic control that dictate to directors what they may touch on in their films or what style they may use to approach their subjects. *Solaris* is one of these rare few.

Employing the genre of science fiction (itself a fairly recent development in Soviet literature), Andrei Tarkovsky places a safe distance between himself and the political censors, who are always on the alert for veiled criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy. By bypassing contemporary society as well as the well-worn Russian classics, Tarkovsky gains enough freedom to experiment stylistically and to ignore the tenets of "socialist realism," which have been obligatory since the rise of Stalinism.

Billed in the U.S. as "the Soviet an-

Film

swer to 2001" *Solaris* defies any comparison with Kubrick's little bag of fireworks. While the film is visually compelling, with interesting alternations between color, black and white, and monochrome photography, Tarkovsky concentrates more on developing his characters and stimulating the audience into thinking about the complex questions he raises.

The planet Solaris consists of a vast ocean that is in itself a kind of brain trying to make contact with the scientists at the space station. The ocean can take one's thoughts, memories, dreams, and aspirations and materialize them, confronting humans with the concrete products of their own minds.

Tarkovsky constructs his film on two levels: the scientific problem of overcoming the ever changing limits on human knowledge and the related psychological problem of dealing with the unexplored reaches of the human mind.

As befits such an ambitious topic, a number of Tarkovsky's sequences border on the surrealistic. He visually reconstructs the fears of the main character, Kelvin, a cosmonaut sent to Solaris to find out what's gone wrong there. Kelvin, a cool and rational psychologist, almost succumbs to his guilt over the suicide of his wife, who reappears to confront him with his past.

While grappling with the manifestations of their own thoughts, Kelvin and the two other surviving scientists begin to understand a little bit about Solaris, or think they do. The final unexpected sequence, however, throws everything into question and leaves the viewer with all sorts of thoughts flying around in his or her mind. Such a questioning attitude can only have a positive effect on Soviet audiences.

—ERNEST HARSCH

Books

with a series of statements like "The most important thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents," and "A few strong leaders could do more for this country than all the laws and talk.")

The authors found that the highly educated, union members, and especially women are growing sectors of the workforce. Only 32 percent of the over-30 workers are female, for example; but 38 percent of the 21-to-29 age bracket, and 60 percent of the 16-to-20 age bracket, are women.

Young workers are more likely to be dissatisfied with their jobs than older workers. Women, Blacks, and the highly educated are the most likely candidates for dissatisfaction.

Young workers are also more likely to consider challenging work more important than questions like convenient transportation. They expect more of everything from their jobs than their elders do, including pay. The difference is especially sharp in expectations of meaningful, stimulating work.

Workers who have little faith in the Democratic or Republican parties, who voted for neither of these parties in 1968, or who don't believe that government policy is controlled by the people through voting, are especially likely to be unhappy with their jobs.

The young, white, male trade unionists is no chip off the old block, according to Sheppard and Herrick. Those who contend that the growing youth radicalization is confined to students out of touch with the realities of the workplace are out of touch themselves.

For example, these white male workers rated the

NEW BOOK WHITEWASHES PHONY 'SPY' TRIAL

FRAME-UP OF ETHEL & JULIUS ROSENBERG

The Implosion Conspiracy by Louis Nizer. Doubleday. New York, 1973. 495 pp. Cloth \$10.

Invitation to an Inquest by Walter and Miriam Schneir. Penguin Books. Baltimore, 1973. 487 pp. Paper \$2.95

These two books come to opposite conclusions on the famous "atom spy" case in which Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell were convicted in 1951. The alleged crime was membership in a Soviet spy ring that stole "atomic secrets" from the United States. June 19 marks the twentieth anniversary of the execution of the Rosenbergs.

The Implosion Conspiracy attempts to prove that the guilt of the accused was satisfactorily proved in court; *Invitation to an Inquest*, on the other hand, demonstrates that the accused were convicted on false and flimsy evidence.

Nizer fails to take sufficient notice of the cold war political climate in the United States at the time of the trial. In 1949, news that the Soviet Union had exploded an atomic bomb was released by President Truman. This ended the four-year U.S. monopoly of atomic weapons and at the same time created an atmosphere of hysteria in parts of this country.

Reacting to this news, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover immediately launched a massive drive to ferret out "spies" who had, he asserted, stolen the secret of the bomb. It never occurred to him and the rest of the witch-hunt pack that Soviet scientists were capable of producing an atomic bomb.

Nor did the fact that there were no such things as "atomic secrets" get any publicity at the time. How to create an atomic bomb was widely known among scientists in many countries. The problem was making the material for the bomb. This involved a long and costly process.

By his own acknowledgement, Gold was a liar and had a vivid and unrestrained imagination. Years later the Schneirs discovered that in many hours of questioning by his own attorneys, Gold had never even mentioned the Rosenbergs, Sobell, or the Greenglasses.

Before appearing in court, however, he spent many hours discussing the case with FBI agents. Yet his testimony was taken at face value, and the defense attorneys made the mistake of not cross-examining him.

Nizer clears both Judge Irving Kaufman, who presided at the trial, and Irving Saypol, chief prosecutor, of any biased acts, citing statements to that effect by defense counsel. However, any unprejudiced observer who reads about the trial cannot help but conclude that Kaufman acted as assistant to the prosecutor as well as judge.

Kaufman's frequent reminders to the jury that communism was not on trial and that it was permissible to use the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer questions served only to suggest to the jurors that communism was in fact somehow involved. Kaufman's questioning of witnesses was very extensive and favored the prosecution.

Prosecutor Saypol and his associates, including Roy Cohn, who later became notorious as one of Senator McCarthy's assistants, did not cover themselves with glory either.

"The veracity of David and Ruth Greenglass," Saypol claimed, "and of Harry Gold is established by documentary evidence and cannot be contradicted." This is not true. Not one single piece of documentary evidence was introduced in court or has appeared since the trial. No letters, written material or anything else of material nature were offered as evidence in connection with "atomic secrets."

Phony evidence

The entire case made by the prosecution consisted of alleged conversations. A photostat, but not the original copy, of Gold's registration at a hotel in Albuquerque was proved a forgery by the Schneirs. Gold and the Greenglasses testified that "atomic secrets" were exchanged for money in that city. However, investigation by the Schneirs revealed that Gold could not have been in Albuquerque on the single occasion when he said the Greenglasses gave him material for which he paid \$500. Thus Saypol's "necessary link" to the Rosenbergs

crashes to the ground.

Before passing sentence on the Rosenbergs and Sobell, Judge Kaufman said, "I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

Eisenhower rejects clemency

President Eisenhower, in refusing clemency, took up the same inflammatory theme, adding that the Rosenbergs "did what they did for money."

The sentence of death to the Rosenbergs was carried out on June 19, 1953, after all efforts to save their lives had failed. The Rosenbergs went to their death refusing offers of their lives in exchange for names of other members of the "spy ring."

Sobell, who was not accused of any connection with "atomic secrets," was nevertheless sentenced to 30 years in jail solely on the testimony of a single individual who was himself subject to prosecution for perjury. This person, Max Elitcher, has never been indicted or tried. His testimony consisted entirely of conversations allegedly held with Sobell and Julius Rosenberg. The odor of a deal involving Elitcher and the prosecutions hovers over his testimony.

Sobell was released from prison in 1969 after serving more than 18 years. David Greenglass was released in 1960, and Harry Gold in 1966. Ruth Greenglass was never tried.

In the period between their conviction and execution, the Rosenberg case attracted the support of millions all over the world. Prominent individuals ranging from religious figures such as Pope Pius XII to scientists Albert Einstein and Harold Urey pleaded for executive clemency but were rejected by Eisenhower.

The Rosenberg-Sobell case refuses to die and will very likely be with us until these victims of the cold war witch-hunt are fully exonerated.

Walter and Miriam Schneir must be credited with contributing to discovering the truth. Louis Nizer, on the other hand, offers a whitewash of those who were responsible for the victimization of innocent people. His book cannot withstand critical scrutiny.

— MILTON ALVIN



Mass rally in Paris demanding clemency for the Rosenbergs

Louis Nizer, a prominent attorney and author, is disappointing in his effort even though his book has enjoyed a place among the top 10 sellers.

Although he lists seven books in his acknowledgement, he excludes *Invitation to an Inquest*, which was originally published in 1965 (Doubleday) and was therefore available to him. His failure to try to disprove new evidence discovered by the Schneirs, or to deal with other doubts about the guilt of the victims that have arisen since their trial, is a serious shortcoming.

Another criticism that must be made is that Nizer, although an attorney of considerable experience, seems to take at face value testimony of such witnesses as Ethel Rosenberg's brother David Greenglass, his wife Ruth Greenglass, and Harry Gold. They implicated the Rosenbergs and each other in the alleged conspiracy.

David Greenglass, who was the chief witness against his sister and Julius Rosenberg, had expected to go free and was unpleasantly surprised to get a 15-year sentence. He had confessed guilt and pointed to Julius Rosenberg as the head of an extensive spy ring in the United States. However, in the 23 years that have gone by no such ring has been discovered.

Suspect testimony

Greenglass's testimony must remain suspect because just prior to his arrest he was involved in a bitter dispute with Julius Rosenberg over payment for his interest in a small business in which they had been partners at one time.

Richard Nixon, then a representative in Congress and a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, did his bit to fuel the witch-hunt. He joined the spy scare, demanding that the American people be given the facts about "the espionage ring which was responsible for turning over information on the atom bomb to agents of the Russian government."

Some months later, in February 1950, came the arrest of British scientist Klaus Fuchs, who had worked on the bomb in America. He subsequently pleaded guilty to passing information to Soviet agents.

McCarthyism

This was the event that launched Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy's successful bid to become the number-one witch-hunter in America. The Korean war broke out a few months later in June 1950. A few days after the beginning of the war, Hearst columnist Westbrook Pegler demanded that all members of communist organizations be put to death.

It was in the atmosphere created by these events that Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, was arrested and pleaded guilty to charges that he had been a Soviet spy and Fuchs's contact for many years. Gold was then sentenced to 30 years in prison.

When David Greenglass, then Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and finally Morton Sobell, were arrested, Gold turned up in court as a witness against Greenglass. He never claimed any contact with the Rosenbergs or Sobell.

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Demand Witch-Burners Halt Legal Murder of Rosenbergs

Stop This Political Witch-Burning



Electrocution of Couple Designed To Terrorize Freedom of Thought

By Harry Frankel
Political assassination under cover of "legal" mumbo-jumbo came closer to the Rosenbergs this week as last-minute moves by defense counsel failed to slow down the witch hunters' death drive. Thursday, June 18, is the date set for execution of the courageous couple, and world-wide protest has failed to secure a stay despite the fact that important new evidence indicates that government witnesses, upon whose testimony the hysterical death-sentence was obtained, had perjured themselves.

Throughout the world, delegations asking commutation of the death sentence are constantly visiting U.S. embassies. The Women's International Democratic Federation, on the eve of the World Congress of Women opening in Copenhagen on June 5, wired President Eisenhower a demand for clemency and that all new evidence be considered. The Federation represents 138 million women in 60 countries.

MASS RALLIES
In this country, the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case announced a nationwide series of actions including a National Clemency Train to Washington on Sunday, June 14, outdoor meetings and fights in the

Labor Must Fight This Injustice
An Editorial
A terrible and irreversible injustice may soon take place in the Rosenberg case. Representatives of all sectors of the nation have rallied to the defense of the Rosenbergs, but labor has not yet been heard from. And the labor movement is the only power strong enough to stay the hand of the executioner.
The official leaders of the trade unions of America

The Militant waged vigorous campaign to save Rosenbergs. Shown above is June 8, 1953, issue, with cartoon by Laura Gray.

...Teamster

Continued from page 6

statements, and fact sheets" on the Teamsters' war against the farm workers. But the *Journal* is not impressed: "A recent 'media information' package on the Farm Workers feud, for example, included two pages prepared by Hoover-Gorin and nine pages simply reproduced from the Teamster magazine."

The president of the firm, "Duke" Hoover, is quite impressed with the Teamster bureaucrats. He exulted, "The Teamsters are very proud, almost like the Marine Corps. I have never met people so dynamic. Watching them go into negotiations on a labor contract is like watching the tigers go after the Christians."

The Teamsters swear they can "honestly" represent the best interests of the farm workers. But the tactics of the Teamsters against the UFWU and their supporters reveal the true aim of the leaders of this thoroughly corrupted union.

Employing goons of various sorts, the Teamsters have beaten or intimidated many who side with the UFWU. And though they claim to have obtained better contracts for the farm workers, this too is false.

The Teamster contracts offer \$2.30 an hour and "participation" in the union retirement plan. The UFWU contracts provide \$2.40 an hour and fringe benefits. Most important, under the UFWU contracts the union hiring hall would remain. The Teamster pact would bring back the much hated labor contractor system.

Fitzsimmons and his friends atop the Teamsters union in no way represent the interests of the farm workers for whom they hold sweetheart contracts. And they don't represent the truck drivers and other workers in the Teamsters union either.

...UFWU

Continued from page 7

75 percent of the growers are.

The Fresno and Delano growers are watching the situation here closely,

and it is no longer certain that they will opt for the Teamsters.

Farmworkers spokesman John Bank put it this way:

"It's advantageous for them to destroy the United Farm Workers, but not if they lose money. For them that's the be-all and the end-all. When their profits are in jeopardy, there's no loyalty greater than the profit motive."

It is reported that at the Moreno ranch 50 percent of the boxes harvested have had to be repacked. It's safe to assume that the Fresno and Delano growers will take a long hard look at such a report.

...NCLC

Continued from page 9

cano activists telling the NCLCers that they weren't going to stand for them coming back and harassing Enriqueta Sánchez. The NCLCers said that they probably wouldn't come back. On their way out, one of them said, 'We'll see you on the other side of the barricades.'

"Then they turned to Miguel Pendás and said, 'You did a good job here.' I guess they thought all the people present at the meeting were brought by the SWP because of the frequent references to *The Militant*. Actually, the people present were activists from different political persuasions, including some people from Sánchez's office. Sánchez had asked everybody to come to the meeting."

...Senate

Continued from page 13

acter of the delay in Dean's testimony? Mansfield said on June 18 that the idea of a postponement of the hearings "didn't strike me until this morning." This, however, is highly implausible since the timing of the Dean testimony and the Brezhnev visit has been known for some time and has been the subject of much discussion.

During his preliminary, closed-door testimony to the Watergate committee over the weekend, Dean may have revealed even more incriminating ev-

idence against Nixon than the senators had expected. Fear of the damage such testimony might do during Brezhnev's visit may have caused the Senate probers to reverse their previous position that the Dean testimony must go on, visit or no visit.

...Badillo

Continued from page 18

ganizations have opposed his candidacy. In the April 1 issue of *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, an editorial states: "Claridad refuses to support any Puerto Rican politician running on a capitalist party ticket. . . .

"One, we feel that anyone who runs in a capitalist party is trapped, trapped by its politics and its bosses. . . .

"That makes Herman Badillo a mouthpiece for the capitalist class.

"Second, we will not support a candidate until he supports the independence of Puerto Rico and the Socialism which goes hand in hand with that independence. . . .

"Third, our concept of political action is not voting. . . . We believe that the candidates are not our representatives; they are people who are hired to coopt movements."

Los De Abajo, the newsletter of the Puerto Rican Independence Party in New York, says: "The mayor of New York City is a man within a party machine set into motion by big economic interests which are over him. In short, he is a part of a machine manipulated by the rich. . . . No matter how much good faith Badillo has, supposing he has any, as mayor of New York, he will be unable to do anything against those interests and in favor of eliminating the misery suffered by those who support him. . . ."

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has been waging a vigorous campaign to expose the fraud of the Badillos and the Beames. The SWP opposes all the candidates of the capitalist parties.

The Communist Party, on the other hand, has been supporting Badillo

in the primary while at the same time fielding its own candidate for mayor, Rasheed Storey. Storey, however, has placed a moratorium on campaigning in deference to backing Badillo against Beame.

In a statement reported in the June 16 *Daily World*, the CP says, "A Beame victory will encourage the racists on all fronts. It will mean more tension, more violence, and real polarization." The CP urges "all New Yorkers to defeat this racist drive. We urge white people to reject Beame."

In a feeble attempt to mask its pro-Democratic Party orientation, the CP claims, "In urging the defeat of Beame we are certainly not endorsing Badillo for mayor." What the CP doesn't explain is how Beame can be defeated without Badillo winning the nomination, and therefore most likely the election next fall. Despite their claims to the contrary, a Badillo victory in the general election is exactly what the CP is working for.

...N.C.

Continued from page 24

With the opening of the trial, defense lawyers are stressing the unconstitutional nature of the grand jury that indicted Chavis and the Hickses. They pointed out that in the recorded history of Wilmington's court system, Blacks have never served as jury commissioners, the officials responsible for selecting jury lists.

Judge Robert Rouse ruled, however, that the exclusion of Blacks from this post does not violate the constitution.

Defense lawyers have also objected that prejudicial pretrial publicity makes a fair trial impossible in Wilmington.

During jury selection today, 40 of 54 prospective jurors were excused because they had already formed an opinion about the guilt or innocence of the defendants or else didn't believe in the judicial concept of "innocent until proven guilty."

The jury finally empaneled has four Blacks. Wilmington has 18,000 Blacks and 64,000 whites.

Trial proceedings continue in this racially charged city.

Socialist Directory

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

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Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.

Calendar

ATLANTA

POLICE TERROR IN ATLANTA: THE SHOOTING OF PAMELA DIXON. Speakers: Mary Joyce Johnson, Dixon's attorney; Tony Dutrow, Socialist Workers Party; and other activists in Dixon defense campaign. Fri., June 29, 8:30 p.m. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor (above Radio Shack). For more information call (404) 523-0610.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party. 50c per session. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

Sun., July 1, 11 a.m.: Lenin on the national question. Teacher: Joe Soares.

AUSTIN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Three classes on the Chinese revolution. Teacher: Les Evans. June 29-July 1. At the Militant Bookstore, 1801 Nueces. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

BOSTON

FILM: THE BATTLESHIP POTEMKIN by Sergei Eisenstein. Speaker: Richard Cahalane, graduate student in history at Northeastern University. Fri., June 29, 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.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Three classes on Permanent revolution in Vietnam and Vietnamese Stalinism. Teacher: George Johnson. Sat., June 30, 7:30 p.m.; Sun., July 1, 1 p.m. and 4 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. 50c all three sessions, 25c per session. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Series on the transitional strategy for revolution. Classes at 136 Lawrence St. (downtown Brooklyn). 50c per session. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party and Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

Wed., June 27, 7:30 p.m.: Land or Death: How the transitional program was applied in Peru. Teacher: Carla Hoag.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at 4420 Superior Ave. For more information call (216) 391-5553. Thurs., June 28: Transitional Program. Teacher: Phil Lazar.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Socialism in America. Series of classes held Sundays, 3 p.m., 3311 Montrose. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Sun., July 1: Foundations of the Leninist Party in the U.S.A.

LOS ANGELES

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE. Speakers: Marwan Abu Ali, Palestinian citizen; Marc Bedner, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 29, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK CITY

THE MEANING OF BREZHNEV'S VISIT—WHAT'S BEHIND THE U.S.-SOVIET DETENTE? Speaker: Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 29, 8 p.m. Catholic Center, New York University, 58 Washington Square South. Enter on Thompson St. Ausp: New York Socialist Workers Party Campaign. Donation: \$1. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes held at 706 Broadway, (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. 50c per session. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., June 27, 8 p.m.: Maoism and the Chinese revolution. Teacher: Les Evans.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Classes at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., June 27, 6:30 p.m.: Foreign policy of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. Teacher: Russell Block.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Three series of classes: Basics of Marxism, the Leninist party, Spanish Civil War. Classes held at 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. 50c per session. For more information call (215) WA 5-4316.

Mon., June 25, 7 p.m.: Principles of Leninist Party Organization.

Thurs., June 28, 7 p.m.: Seminar on Spanish Civil War.

Sat., June 30, 2 p.m.: Transitional Program.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Three series of classes: United front vs. popular front, What is a Leninist party?, Theory of permanent revolution. Teachers: Ken Davies, Harry Ring, Holbrook Mahn. Classes on Wednesdays, 8 p.m. Special weekend classes: Sat., June 30, 11 a.m. and 3 p.m.; Sun., July 1, 1 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

YOUNG SOCIALIST SUMMER CLASS SERIES. Introduction to Marxism. Classes held Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E. 25c per session. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Hants. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., June 28: The materialist method.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFK-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

UPPER MIDWEST SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Formative years of the Communist International—a seven-class series on the early years of the C.I. in its revolutionary period. Lecture followed by discussion groups. Monday nights, 7:30 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Party Minneapolis Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance. Reading material for classes available at Labor Bookstore, 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

PERSPECTIVES FOR LABOR IN '73: THE FARM WORKERS STRUGGLE AND ORGANIZED LABOR. Speakers: Gilbert Padilla, vice-president, United Farm Workers Union; Frank Lovell, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., June 29, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum and United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO (Washington area). For more information call (202) 783-2391.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Two classes: Sat., June 30: Transitional Program and its application; Current radicalization and the new period of capitalist decline. Teacher: Frank Lovell. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

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THE MILITANT

Black activists in North Carolina facing frame-up trial, mounting racist violence

By BAXTER SMITH

WILMINGTON, N.C., June 19—"God save the state and this honorable court."

With these words, the head bailiff today brought to order a Wilmington, N.C., Superior Court. On trial are Reverend Ben Chavis, field organizer for the Commission for Racial Justice (CRJ); Molly Hicks, and her daughter, Leatrice Hicks. The three are accused of being "accessories after the fact of voluntary manslaughter."

If convicted, each defendant will face up to 10 years in prison.

The charges stem from the March 13, 1971, shooting of Clifton Eugene Wright, which occurred in the wake of intense racial strife earlier that year.

Chavis and the Hickses are charged with "giving aid, comfort, and assistance" to Donald Nixon, who was guarding the home of Molly Hicks against white vigilante attacks. In an earlier trial, Nixon was found to have

killed Wright, who had visited the home.

Chavis and the Hickses are charged with counseling Nixon to tell police officers he had seen a white man run from the home after shooting Wright.

The trial opened yesterday amid rising white racist violence.

In the early morning of June 16 Paul Allred, a former leader of the local vigilante group Rights of White People (ROWP), was arrested for trying to run down four Blacks with his car. Later that afternoon, several sticks of dynamite with a burned out fuse were found outside the home of a local Black activist.

On June 17, a support rally was held for the three defendants at a local park. To intimidate supporters, the police had the park enclosed with barricades and cop cars, both marked and unmarked. A police helicopter flew overhead. Cops were stationed throughout the crowd and stood on surrounding buildings.

Nevertheless, some 1,200 people turned out to hear Angela Davis; Ben Chavis; Owusu Sadaukai, chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee; Larry Little of the Black Panther Party; Irv Joyner, a community director for the CRJ; and other local speakers.

A statement of support for the Wilmington Three was received from Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher. Another support message was signed by U. S. Representative Charles Diggs,

Richard Hatcher, and Imamu Baraka for the National Black Assembly.

During the defendants' support rally, local racists were busy organizing. A rally was held by the ROWP, Ku Klux Klan, and National State's

WILMINGTON, N.C., June 20—At 12:19 a.m. today a dynamite explosion ripped apart the B'nai Israel Synagogue here. This is the latest bombing in the current wave of terror gripping this city.

Leroy Gibson, the leader of the Rights of White People, a local terrorist group, had told a June 17 rally of white racists that they should take 'strong actions' during the visit of Angela Davis for the trial of Ben Chavis, Molly Hicks, and Leatrice Hicks.



Militant/Baxter Smith

Part of the crowd at the June 17 rally in defense of Ben Chavis, and Molly and Leatrice Hicks.

Rights Party, which drew 75 people. All three groups have been vying for the support of local racists. ROWP claims the Klan is "too moderate."

Later that evening, a dynamite explosion wrecked the rear portion of the home of a white Wilmington resident. When interviewed by reporters, the victim revealed his car had been sabotaged earlier and that he had thought someone was out to "get him." Police have not turned up any clues in the case.

Continued on page 22

Racist terror major issue in local election

Anger rises in Atlanta over police killings

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, June 14—Anger over police shootings that have left five Blacks dead and three others wounded in the past four months has become the key issue in the 1973 municipal elections here.

One of the dead was a victim of Atlanta's new stake-out squad, an entrapment unit much like the former STRESS squad in Detroit.

Another was Hubert Comer, a Black

Joel Aber is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Atlanta city council president.

motorist who was stopped by a cop and shot on Peachtree Street, Atlanta's main thoroughfare. Officer J.K. Ragland and four other cops planted a knife on Comer's body, but they weren't even suspended from the force by Chief of Police John Inman until they were fired by the Board of Aldermen.

So far not one cop has been tried as a result of these murders. Chief Inman refuses to even reprimand killer cops.

This afternoon dozens of angry Blacks stormed out of a Fulton County courtroom as the judge announced his refusal to indict a white cop who shot and critically wounded a 14-year-old Black woman June 4.

Pamela Dixison was shot outside her apartment in the Capitol Homes

housing project. Her mother had called the police because her mentally disturbed daughter was poking holes in the screen door with a kitchen knife.

Eight witnesses testified to what happened next. Seven patrol cars responded to the call; the cops stood in the yard and laughed, but made no attempt to disarm Pamela Dixison. After several minutes she walked off the porch towards the cops. All backed away, except for officer J.D. Roberts, who drew his revolver and shot Pamela Dixison through the stomach.

As the hearing on the indictment of Roberts began yesterday, 200 demonstrators converged on the Fulton County court house after marching from Capitol Homes. They carried signs reading "Justice for Pamela Dixison," "End Police Terror," "Black Control of the Police," and "Fire Chief Inman."

Debby Bustin of the Socialist Workers Party was the only mayoral candidate to show up at a June 10 rally at Capitol Homes to protest the shooting of Pamela Dixison. Bustin has demanded the firing of Chief Inman and the abolition of the stake-out squad. The SWP's position, presented at open hearings and news conferences over the past three months, has been carried on every major radio and television station.

Black Democratic Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson is considered the leading candidate for mayor. Three

months ago he was calling for the firing of Inman, but he has since retreated. Jackson now says, "I'll dismiss him if I find he can't do his job after I take office."

Inman was appointed by the present mayor, liberal Democrat Sam Massell, who went on TV to tell Atlanta's citizens, "What Atlanta needs is a tough, honest cop like John Inman."

The "law and order" statements of these Democratic candidates were echoed today by Judge Kermit Bradford in his refusal to indict Roberts in the

shooting of Pamela Dixison.

"It seems," Judge Bradford said, "that respect for law enforcement has reached a new low in Atlanta, Ga. Justice will not be served by anarchy and street justice. . . . The only hope of a society gone mad is Christian sanity."

Attorney Howard Moore, who represented Pamela Dixison's mother, told reporters this afternoon he intends to bring suit against Massell and Inman in federal court to prevent them from carrying out further terror in the Black community.



Demonstrators outside Fulton County Court House June 14

Militant/Lynn Henderson