

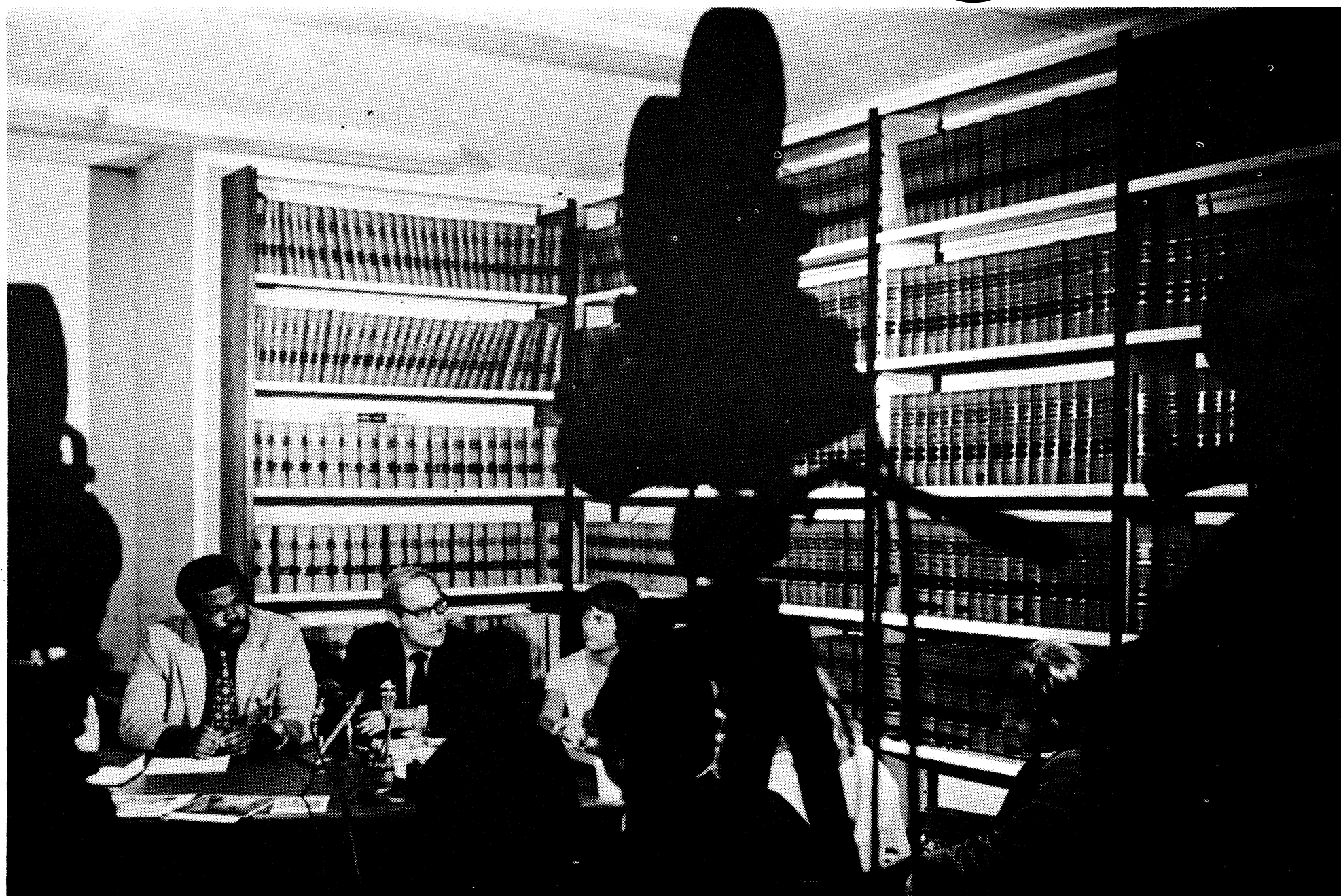
---

# THE MILITANT

---

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

## Socialists sue Nixon, demand full rights



Militant/Flax Hermes

Attorney Leonard Boudin, flanked by Andrew Pulley and Linda Jenness, explains legal action at news conference. Lawsuit on behalf of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance demands end to gov't bugging, bombing, spying, and harassment of socialists. See pages 3-6.

---

**Phase 4--prices up, wages held down/13**

**New suit against forced sterilization/15**

**Puerto Ricans hit gov't strikebreaking/17**

---

# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 7 Nixon tapes: one bug too many?
- 8 Diplomatic maneuvers in Cambodia
- 9 French revolutionists still in jail
- 13 Prices up; wages la behind
- 14 'Mad dog' of labor movement
- 15 Suit hits N.C. sterilization law
- 16 U.S. Navy role in Culebra, Vieques
- 17 Puerto Ricans protest National Guard
- 18 Why Healey quit Communist Party
- 19 Teamster officials use goons against ranks
- 21 The Guardian: 'two-stage' theory
- 24 Farm workers cite gains of grape strike

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 La Raza en Accion National Picket Line
- 12 Great Society Women in Revolt By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Behind Peron's return to Argentina
- 2 Issues before trade unionists in Uruguay
- 4 Defense campaign for Brazilian political prisoner

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 29  
JULY 27, 1973  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 18, 1973

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

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: England and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

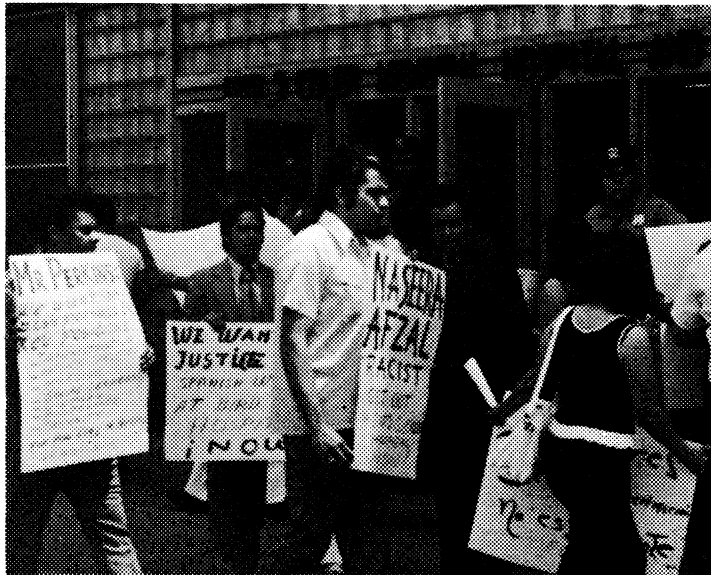
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**ONEITA TEXTILE WORKERS WIN STRIKE:** The strike by 700 workers at the Oneita Knitting Mills plants in South Carolina ended in a victory July 10 after a seven-month battle. The company gave in to the workers' demands for union recognition and a contract, which includes wage increases and a union dues check-off.

The victory for the Oneita workers, most of whom are Black women, will have a significant effect on workers seeking recognition for the Textile Workers Union at other plants in North and South Carolina.

### HOSPITAL WORKERS PROTEST DISCRIMINATION:

Thirty-five workers at the Bird S. Coler Hospital on Manhattan's Welfare Island held a picket line at the hospital July 17 to protest discriminatory practices against Spanish-speaking employees. The workers, organized into the Association of Spanish Health and Hospital Workers, are demanding the rehiring of two employees unjustly



Militant/John Lauritsen

fired and the right to participate in the hospital's administration. They are also calling for an end to discrimination in promotion.

The Association was established in March 1972 to deal with the problems of hospital employees throughout the city, most of whom are Puerto Rican and Black.

### NEW YORK RALLY TO PROTEST DEPORTATIONS:

A broadly sponsored antideportation rally, focusing on the case of 117 Haitians who face deportation, will be held in New York City July 28. The rally will also protest the recent massive deportation of Chicanos and Mexicans in the Southwest and the immigration raids conducted against Latinos in New York City.

Featured speakers will include Bert Corona of CASA-Hermandad in Los Angeles; Ramon Arbona of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; and Gerard LaTortue, a former Haitian political prisoner now facing deportation hearings in New York. LaTortue was imprisoned for speaking out against unemployment in Haiti. He escaped from jail and is seeking political asylum in the U. S.

The rally will be held at the Assembly Hall of the Riverside Church, at Riverside Drive and 122nd Street, starting at 2 p.m. For more information, contact the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

## Summer schedule

The last issue of The Militant before our summer break will be dated Aug. 3. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue of Aug. 31.

**HARLEM SIX CONVICTION THROWN OUT:** The first-degree murder conviction of Robert Rice, one of the Harlem Six, has been thrown out in federal court because doubt has been cast on the evidence used against him. A key witness originally testified that Rice had stabbed a Harlem shopkeeper during the 1964 robbery charged to the Harlem Six. That witness has since recanted his testimony twice.

Judge Harold Tyler Jr. ruled July 17 that Rice must have a new trial within 60 days or be freed from jail. He was serving a life sentence.

Four of the Harlem Six recently pleaded guilty to manslaughter, while protesting their innocence, in exchange for a suspended sentence. (They had already served eight years in prison.) The remaining member of the Harlem Six is still serving a sentence of 15 to 35 years; he is now eligible for parole.

### WITCH-HUNT LAW UPHOLD IN MASSACHUSETTS:

The Massachusetts House of Representatives has rejected a bill that would have allowed the Communist Party to run candidates in that state. The proposed legislation would have removed two reactionary "antisubversive" sections of the state election law. These provisions have been on the books since 1951, the height of the McCarthy era.

One conservative legislator argued that having Communist Party candidates on the ballot would encourage the growth of a group "bent on overthrowing our American way of life."

### DEMONSTRATION HITS JAILING OF CANADIAN BLACK ACTIVISTS:

Demonstrators marched through the streets of downtown Toronto July 1 protesting the jailing of Black activists Rosie Douglas and Anne Cools.

On June 25, the Canadian Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal from Douglas, Cools, and Brenda Dash, who were convicted on charges arising out of the 1969 student occupation of Sir George Williams University in Montreal.

Lawyers for the three had filed an appeal on the grounds that one of the jurors had publicly admitted before the trial that he could not give a fair judgment to Black people.

Douglas, the former chairman of the Toronto African Liberation Support Committee, faces two years in prison; Cools faces six months; and Dash, six months or a \$2,000 fine.

Douglas has announced he will seek deportation to his native Dominica rather than serve the prison term.

### NCLC THUGS' HEARING POSTPONED:

On July 16, Steve Getzoff and George Turner, both members of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, appeared in court to face charges of assault stemming from attacks on members of the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party. Getzoff is also charged with felonious assault by three members of the Socialist Workers Party.

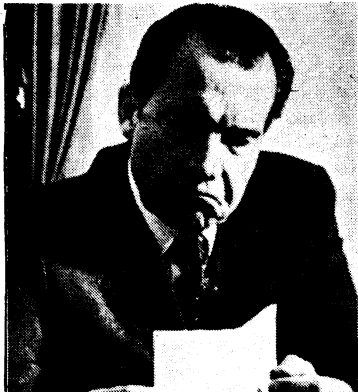
The hearing for Getzoff and Turner did not come before the bench until 45 minutes after the court was supposed to close. The judge postponed the actual hearing until Aug. 2. The judge also, upon the urging of the complainants, warned Getzoff and Turner that if they continue to harass witnesses (namely members of the CP and the SWP) they would await their hearing in jail.

### AGE REQUIREMENT FOR CANDIDATES UPHELD:

The U. S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit has overturned a lower-court ruling that struck down a law requiring candidates for Detroit city council to be at least 25 years old. A district court had held that the age requirement violated the fourteenth amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

The appeals court objected to the legal standards applied by the district court in reaching its decision. The case goes back to the lower court for hearings. —MIRTA VIDAL

**YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT**



WATERGATE: Nixon's few remaining friends still insist he's innocent. But the majority of the American people know he's guilty. Read The Militant for weekly socialist analysis of the Watergate scandal.

### Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- ( ) \$1 for three months of The Militant.
- ( ) \$2 for three months of The Militant and three months of the International Socialist Review.
- ( ) \$5 for one year of The Militant
- ( ) New ( ) Renewal

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_  
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## An appeal for support

# Open letter on Watergate from Linda Jenness & Andrew Pulley

Brothers and Sisters,  
The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have filed a far-reaching lawsuit as part of our campaign to expose and call a halt to the government's use of Watergate-style espionage and sabotage operations against us. This letter is to inform you of our plans for this important political action, and to solicit your support and cooperation.

### What is at stake?

Watergate has uncovered the existence of a massive secret-police apparatus operating in flagrant disregard of existing laws and of the protections guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. The primary targets of this apparatus are those who are fighting against the policies of the government. These targets include trade unions struggling to protect the rights and living standards of working people, Black organizations, the antiwar and student movements, and all radical and socialist groups.

The fundamental issue of Watergate is the extensive and continuing use of police-state methods against those government officials view as

"enemies" because of their political ideas. The discovery that these techniques were used in the 1972 elections has set off a chain of disclosures going far beyond what the Republicans did to the Democrats.

The facts uncovered have torn the shroud of secrecy from federal government operations aimed at silencing those who have demonstrated and organized against the Vietnam war, against racism, and for an end to the other evils created by the system of capitalist rule and oppression.

The reality is that both the Democrats and the Republicans, the two parties of the capitalist class, have restricted democratic rights and used police-state methods against opponents of the government. As the government apparatus has been vastly expanded over the years, the use of secret-police activities has been increased, with bipartisan approval.

### A long history

Government use of informers, provocateurs, bugging, and even physical assaults instigated by paid police agents is not new. The history of the

labor movement and Black movement in the United States is studded with examples of the fight against such methods. The Haymarket martyrs were victimized in 1886 for the actions of a provocateur, a police agent who threw a dynamite bomb into a crowd of workers demonstrating in Chicago for the eight-hour day.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were railroaded to prison as a result of a bomb thrown into a 1916 Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco. Even though they had nothing to do with the bomb, they were deemed "guilty" of having organized a strike of streetcar workers two weeks earlier.

The long list of targets of police frame-ups and Watergate methods include Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro defendants, the Rosenbergs, the victims of the anticommunist Smith Act, the Weathermen, the Black Panther Party, and many others. Throughout the years, literally thousands of labor organizers, Black activists, and radicals have been imprisoned as "subversives" or indicated on framed-up charges based on activities of government informers and agents-provocateurs.

Whenever social and political movements have threatened the privileges of the rich and the powerful, they have had to confront not only overt political opposition of those in power but the undercover police spies and provocateurs unleashed by those who command the repressive apparatus of the capitalist rulers.

The Watergate methods are used today against all those who pose a threat to the interests of the White House gang and their political allies and financial backers.

### United Farm Workers Union

Watergate-type activities pose a threat to the labor movement that all unionists should combat. One of the clearest examples is the drive to smash the United Farm Workers Union in California. The reactionary bureaucrats of the Teamsters union are doing the dirty work for the big growers, who are out to destroy the UFW.

These Teamster officials, including Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, do not in any way represent the interests and needs of rank-and-file Teamsters. In fact, they are so

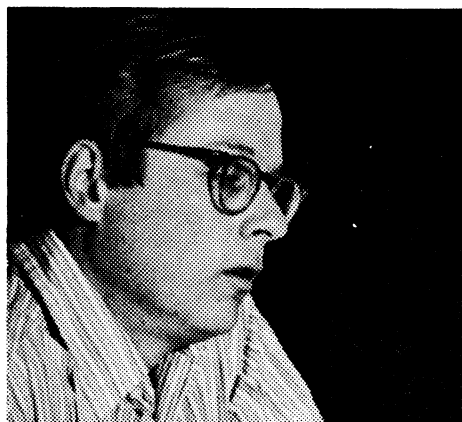
*Continued on next page*

## SWP, YSA file suit against Nixon

NEW YORK, JULY 18—The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance filed suit here today in federal district court against Richard Nixon, John Mitchell, H. R. Halde-  
man, John Ehrlichman, and 15 other officials and former officials of the U. S. government.

Filed by Leonard Boudin, one of the most prominent constitutional lawyers in the country, the suit charges Nixon and the other defendants with "illegal acts of blacklisting, harassment, electronic surveillance, burglary, mail tampering, and terrorism" against the SWP and YSA, and their members and supporters. The suit was announced at a news conference today at Boudin's office.

Plaintiffs in the suit include the party's 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and its 1973 mayoral candidates in Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, Seattle, Minneapolis, and Houston.



Herbert Jordan, associate of Leonard Boudin, explaining details of case at news conference.

The suit asks for a court injunction to halt all government harassment, intimidation, and illegal spying on the SWP and YSA. It also seeks to have the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations ruled unconstitutional. The SWP was placed on this list in 1948, without a hearing. The lawsuit charges that the decision to place the party on the list was part of a conspiracy to violate the constitutional rights of the SWP.

In addition, the plaintiffs are asking for damages totaling more than \$27-million for the numerous violations of rights suffered by the SWP and YSA and by individual members of the two groups.

Linda Jenness, speaking to reporters at the news conference, said, "The Watergate revelations have laid bare a network of illegal undercover police operations and government secrecy. These methods of rule are not merely an aberration that can be attributed to one party, or one wing of one party. The secret police arms of the government, some of whose practices have been exposed by Watergate, have been maintained and expanded for decades under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

"The use of repressive measures, the infringement of democratic rights and the super-secrecy of government functioning are essential features of capitalist rule today. . . . The growing resort to authoritarian methods of rule by the capitalist government is a threat that must be combated. That is the objective of our suit and of the political campaign we are launching."

Andrew Pulley, who is now national

secretary of the YSA, said that "a victory in this case will not only be a victory for the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party, but for all those who oppose the campaign of harassment directed at dissenters. The YSA will do everything possible to gain widespread support for this case."

The suit documents instances of wiretapping, tampering with mail, job discrimination, and harassment by government agencies, including the FBI. It also cites incidents of SWP headquarters being firebombed in Los Angeles in May 1970; bombed in Houston in March 1971; and burglarized in Detroit in October 1971.

The suit charges that these acts were part of a conspiracy involving federal officials. Their actions violate the first, fourth and fifth amendments to the U. S. constitution. The government officials who planned and implemented these activities are also accused of conspiring to violate the civil rights of the SWP and the YSA.

Leonard Boudin told reporters that he hoped this case will pave the way for other suits by political parties and other groups who have been victimized by Watergate-style practices. "We learned, in the Ellsberg and Berrigan cases," Boudin said, referring to his two most recent defense cases, "that the government takes extraordinary measures against those it views as threats to its policies.

"What is involved here," he said, "is the fight for the survival of democracy and the electoral process, which is in serious need of protection against the very people who have been elected to office."

Boudin estimated that the pretrial



Militant/Flax Hermes

BOUDIN: "This case is winnable."

procedures of questioning and obtaining statements from the defendants would take about eight months. After that a federal judge will hold a trial on the charges. In response to a reporter's question about whether or not he expected to succeed with the suit, Boudin replied: "This office never takes cases of this kind unless we believe we can win. And our record will show that we rarely lose. This case is winnable."

Judy Baumann, the national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, announced that her committee has established the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) specifically to build support and raise money for this case. She explained that the PRDF would seek to mobilize the broadest possible civil liberties support for the case and to raise funds to cover the expenses of the suit.



# ...Open letter from Jenness & Pulley

*Continued from preceding page*

steeped in corruption and are sitting on a scandal so widespread that it could aptly be called the Watergate of the labor movement.

High Teamster bureaucrats, tied in with underworld figures, have been conspiring to steal millions of dollars from union pension funds. Yet the White House recently ordered a halt to the FBI investigation of this conspiracy.

It is clear that in return for services rendered by the Fitzsimmons cabal—including political support to Nixon and aid in the union-busting campaign against the UFWU—the government is protecting these crooks.

Union leaders who dared to differ with Nixon were placed on the infamous "political enemies list." Those

Others, including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund offices in New York and attorneys for Bobby Seale and other Black Panthers, were subjected to break-ins by government agents. Black elected officials, including every single member of the Congressional Black Caucus, were included on the White House "enemies list."

Radical youth groups, such as the Weathermen, were infiltrated by FBI agents who themselves made and planted terrorist bombs, and then used these acts as the basis for trying to railroad the Weatherpeople to prison.

The government hired provocateurs to organize disruptions at antiwar demonstrations. It hired vigilante squads to attack prominent antiwar spokespeople, such as Daniel Ellsberg. The White House intentionally post-

prison guards and state police for demanding to be treated as human beings.

Even the federal antipoverty program has now been exposed as pursuing a racist policy of forced sterilizations of Black women, who have been subjected to deception, outright lies, and compulsion to submit to the operation.

## The socialist movement

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have also been victimized by the police-state methods of the capitalist rulers of this country.

The Socialist Workers Party makes no secret of its revolutionary Marxist views. The SWP is active in all areas of political life, fighting to end oppression and exploitation and furthering the struggle against racism, war, and sexism. Its stated goal is the education and the organization of the vast majority of American working people to establish a workers government and replace capitalism and all its horrors with socialism.

As a legally established political party, the SWP runs candidates for office across the country. These candidates act as tribunes for the progressive social struggles and try to win support for socialist ideas and activities.

In 1972, despite restrictive election laws that make it difficult for smaller parties to qualify for the ballot, the SWP won a place on the ballot in 23 states and fielded more than 100 candidates in local and state races.

In 1972, our presidential ticket polled nearly 100,000 votes, more than any other left-wing party.

The Young Socialist Alliance is an independent revolutionary socialist youth organization that has endorsed and campaigned for SWP candidates. The YSA is an organization of young activists fighting to bring about a socialist America.

## Constitutional challenge

Our suit charges that there has been an ongoing program of harassment, infiltration, and surveillance of the SWP and the YSA by the FBI and other government agencies—solely on the basis of our political views.

Under the Bill of Rights, the SWP and groups that support its candidates, like the YSA, are entitled to the same liberties as any other political party. Any laws or government policies that discriminate against us solely on the basis of our political ideas are unconstitutional and undemocratic.

We will prove through evidence and testimony in court that the outrages committed by the government against the YSA, the SWP, and its candidates prior to and during the 1972 and 1973 election campaigns were illegal and unconstitutional. We will demand that the courts enjoin the government officials—including those in the White House, the Pentagon, and the Justice, and Treasury departments—from continuing these activities. And we will also demand from these individuals responsible money damages (totaling \$26.5-million dollars) in compensation for the violation of our rights. We will ask for injunctions against:

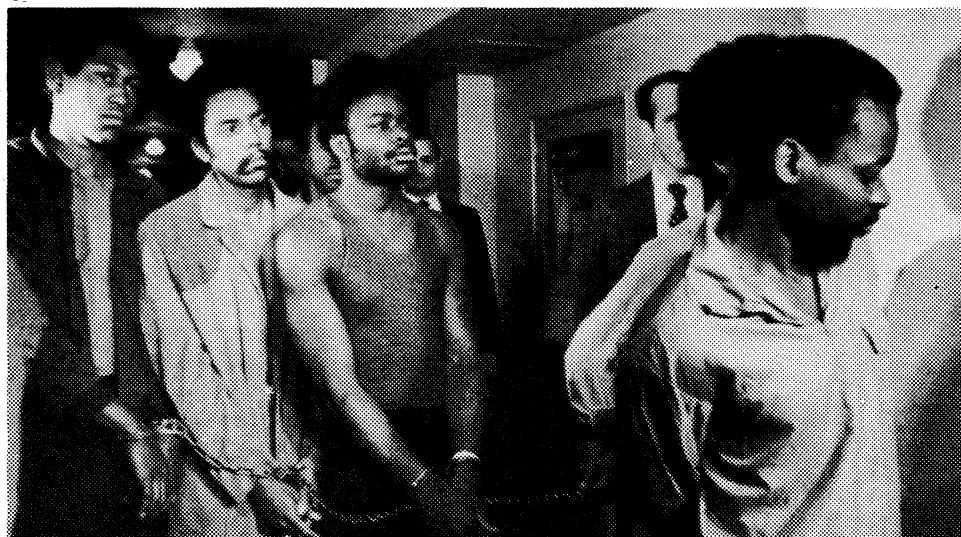
- Infiltration of police agents into the SWP and the YSA.
- Illegal break-ins and burglaries of our campaign offices to obtain lists of campaign supporters and other information.
- Bugging and wiretapping of our telephones and offices.

• Visits to our members, candidates for public office, and supporters by FBI agents; and visits by FBI agents to families, employers, and landlords of SWP and YSA members and supporters. These FBI activities are totally unrelated to criminal investigation, since no crimes are involved. It is purely political harassment.

• Reading of our mail by government agents, and the recording of names and addresses of those who write to the SWP and the YSA.

• Collusion between government agents and gangs of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, Ku Klux Klan members, and other ultrarightists who have tried to stop the SWP from running candidates for office by firebombing and shooting up our headquarters, and other terrorist attacks.

• The continued use of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organi-



Black Panthers in Los Angeles courthouse after 1969 police attack. Black Panther Party was victim of nationwide campaign of police terror and government frame-ups.

singled out for special harassment included United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock and dissident Teamsters Vice-president Harold Gibbons. Gibbons had been an outspoken critic of the war and a founder of Labor for Peace, a trade-union antiwar group. Fitzsimmons subsequently ousted Gibbons from his post as head of the Teamsters Central States Conference

## The Black movement

The Black Panther Party was targeted for a wave of frame-up trials, infiltration by agents, and physical assaults by trigger-happy cops. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover subjected Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to a vendetta that included massive espionage and behind-the-scenes attempts to discredit him through character assassination.

At the time King was killed, in April 1968, the FBI had him under very close surveillance. The question of possible undercover government involvement in King's murder remains unanswered. A similar question mark hangs over the assassination of Malcolm X three years earlier.

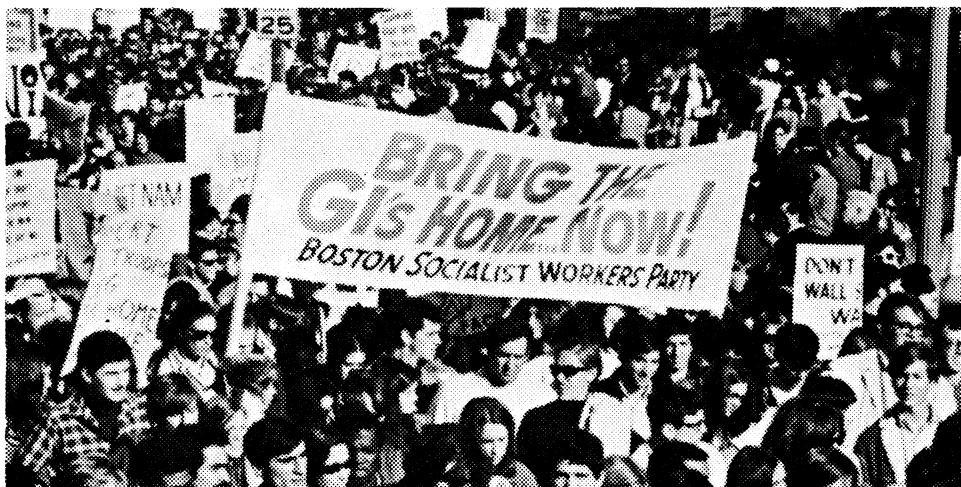
poned granting permits for mass marches in Washington so that the administration could create an atmosphere of confrontation and potential violence in its attempt to keep people from joining the protests.

The use of government power against the will of the majority was nowhere more clearly revealed than in Vietnam. Despite the protests and mass sentiment for the U.S. to get out of Southeast Asia, the president, with the complicity of Congress at every step, has carried out a brutal genocidal policy to prop up a hated dictatorial regime.

Government violence and police power in violation of fundamental human and democratic rights has been directed at innocent citizens, who have been terrorized and whose homes have been ransacked by federal narcotics agents.

In the Southwest, undocumented workers, the so-called illegal aliens, have been rounded up, deported to Mexico, and shaken down for bribes by federal immigration agents, who are themselves implicated in a vast scandal of corruption.

Prisoners, like those at Attica, have been brutalized and gunned down by



SWP has played a major role in organizing the mass antiwar demonstrations that Nixon and rest of Watergate gang viewed as major threat.



Militant/Harry Ring

Nixon administration has conspired with growers and Teamster bureaucrats in attempt to destroy United Farm Workers Union.

zations, a list used to justify many of the secret police actions against our organization and discriminations against our members.

Some of these practices are explicitly mentioned in the documents relating to the top-secret 1970 Huston "domestic security" plan. Although Nixon has claimed the plan was never put into effect, journalists investigating Watergate have proved this to be just another lie.

Provisions of the plan were implemented; and *they are still being used* against the YSA and SWP and other groups.

In addition to the evidence presented, we will ask the court to order the agencies involved to turn over to us all records on the SWP and the YSA. We will insist on seeing the logs and transcripts of wiretapped conversations, the reports of government agents, and the records of all other illegal measures taken against us. And we will ask for copies of the still-secret portions of the secret spy plan and any other such materials that may have been used to deny us our constitutional rights.

## Issue affecting all Americans

Some of you may say, "But I disagree with the views of the SWP and the YSA; why should I come to their defense?"

If civil liberties are to be reduced to defending the rights of only those we agree with, Nixon and the Watergaters will have won their crusade. The test of democratic rights comes precisely when it is a question of



protecting the rights of those with whom you disagree.

"But," some of you — trade unionists, Afro-Americans, women activists — may also ask, "what has this got to do with me? I am not a socialist. Nobody is going to accuse me of being a 'security threat.'"

The testimony of former government officials, like John Dean and Jeb Stuart Magruder, before the Senate Watergate committee shows the fallacy of this short-sighted reasoning. Secret operations set up by the capitalist government to spy on "extremists" were expanded to include those who criticized the Vietnam war, those who defended the rights of the Black Panther Party, and even those who worked to defeat Nixon in the elections.

The "national security threat" stigma can be extended to any group or individual. Working people fighting for a decent standard of living and for the right to organize and to strike; Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans struggling for an end to racial oppression; defenders of constitutional rights for everyone — are all potential victims of Watergate methods. The democratic rights of everyone in the U.S. will be strengthened if we are successful in this legal challenge.

## The need to fight back

In the past, persecution by witch-hunting secret police has led to mass movements of protest against these attacks. As people throughout the U.S. became aware of the frame-ups, millions saw the need to fight back in order to resist the threat and to protect and extend everyone's democratic rights.

The widespread outrage at the government operations that have come to light, and the overwhelming repudiation of Nixon's "national security" alibi as justification for abridging the rights of demonstrators and other political activists, now provides the opportunity for mobilizing broad forces to demand an end to these Watergate operations.

This opportunity must be seized by all of us who have been victimized by — or are potential victims of — the government secret police, and by all those who value the constitutional protections of the right to political activity. We must be willing to unite in this struggle despite our disagreements on other issues.

A massive expression of civil liberties support is needed to win this suit. We believe that the law and the Bill of Rights are completely on our side. But this is a political case; and we know that political issues are ultimately resolved not on the basis of legal arguments alone, but by the power and pressure of aroused and organized public opinion.

The slogan originally made popular by the Industrial Workers of the World, "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All," has never been more timely and relevant. It perfectly expresses the need for a united movement to defend the rights of all those who face the danger of victimization at the hands of the Watergate gangs.

If we can win this lawsuit, as we believe we can, we will deal a powerful blow to secret police methods and practices. To win such a victory, we need and ask your support.

In solidarity,  
Linda Jenness, 1972 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party

Andrew Pulley, national secretary,  
Young Socialist Alliance

# Suit documents long history of gov't violence and harassment

Early on a Wednesday afternoon in May 1970, a dozen Cuban exiles armed with automatic weapons, clubs, and whips forced their way into the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles.

They forced four SWP election campaign workers to lie face down on the floor, telling them, "You will die for Fidel," and "We'll kill you, you commies!" Meanwhile, they ransacked the offices and set the place on fire, leaving the four in what could have been a death trap. Fortunately, the campaign workers were able to escape through a fire door without injury.

This attack was the climax of a series of terrorist incidents against the SWP and other radical groups in Los Angeles. The Los Angeles cops, who admitted they had agents inside the Cuban exile groups, refused to conduct a serious investigation. However, political pressure forced them to arrest three men, who were eventually convicted.

When the three were first apprehended one of them told the district attorney that they had been approached by a man who said he was from the CIA, asking for their help. The cops, however, never followed up this lead.

The raid, the links to the CIA, and the use of Cuban exiles as thugs — all fit perfectly into the pattern revealed by Watergate disclosures. This attack in Los Angeles is part of the



Militant/John Gray

Los Angeles SWP offices after armed Cuban exiles set headquarters ablaze. One of the attackers later told district attorney of contact with CIA before assault.

deeply implicated in the subsequent Watergate revelations — conducted an "investigation." He concentrated on attempting to intimidate supporters of the SWP candidates and went so far as to accuse the SWP of bombing its own headquarters!

Mounting public pressure, especially after night riders shot up the headquarters in a second attack, finally forced the Houston police to arrest a couple of Klansmen. But the charges were dropped before they ever came to trial. Again, this move fits the pattern of what is now known about Watergate-style activities.

In the fall of 1971, the Detroit SWP campaign headquarters was burglar-

● FBI compilation of lists of voters who sign independent nominating petitions to put SWP candidates on the ballot. The superintendent of elections for the state of Washington has publicly acknowledged that after every election since 1942 the FBI has checked to seek who signs nominating petitions for the smaller parties. Some signers are contacted later and told they are supporting "a bunch of subversives."

● The frequent practice of FBI agents trying to get people fired from their jobs by "visiting" socialists while at work, and by "warning" employers that they have "subversives" working for them.

● In a clear pattern of politically motivated harassment, FBI agents have repeatedly contacted SWP and YSA members at all hours.

The purpose of this activity is to create an atmosphere in which those who dissent from government policies are intimidated from engaging in political or protest activity.

## The Militant newspaper

The socialist newsweekly *The Militant*, which supports the campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party, has also been subjected to attack. During the second world war, postal authorities confiscated several issues. Subscribers to the paper have been harassed by FBI agents.

Federal and state prison authorities have refused to allow prisoners to receive some issues of *The Militant*, although newspapers supporting Democratic and Republican Party candidates are not interfered with.

The U.S. attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations has been used to prevent supporters of the SWP from working at federal jobs, including the U.S. Post Office. In addition, some state governments use the list to regulate state employment.

In many cases, secret police dossiers of campaign activity are presented as evidence of ties to the SWP and then used to bar people from federal jobs. For example, a member of the YSA in San Antonio was told by the U.S. Civil Service Commission that she couldn't continue her work as a psychology technician. Part of the "case" against her was that she had attended a speech by Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate!

These secret-police dossiers will be subpoenaed as evidence in the lawsuit because they constitute proof that federal agents have conducted illegal undercover surveillance of perfectly legal electoral activities.



Militant/Ed Weaver

Socialist campaign headquarters in Houston after being shot up by night-riding Klansmen. Attack was one of a series of violent incidents, including bombing, in 1971.

evidence of government-motivated terror that will be brought out in the lawsuit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## Ku Klux Klan in Texas

In 1970, the SWP ran the first socialist candidates for state office since the time of Eugene V. Debs. In 1971, the SWP launched a vigorous municipal campaign in Houston. The anti-union, anti-Black Ku Klux Klan began an effort to silence the socialist candidates. They had the complicity of local and federal agents.

In a predawn attack in March 1971, a fragmentation bomb was hurled through the window of the Houston SWP campaign headquarters. Mayor Louie Welch responded to the outcry that followed this terrorist attack by quoting approvingly at a city council meeting from J. Edgar Hoover's smear of the SWP. Hoover had charged that SWP election campaigns were only "covers" for "un-American" activities.

An agent from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the U.S. Treasury Department — an agency

ized. The burglars stole lists of campaign supporters, financial contributors, people who had expressed an interest in receiving campaign literature, and subscribers to *The Militant*, the weekly socialist newspaper. The police were notified; when they arrived on the scene, one said, "It looks like an FBI job."

Several weeks later, another break-in occurred, this time at the apartment of the Michigan chairman of the SWP campaign committee. Ignoring items of value, the burglars made off with membership lists and other party records.

The FBI has been conducting a systematic campaign of attempted intimidation of members and supporters of the SWP and the YSA, including visits to landlords, employers, and relatives. This harassment masquerades as "surveillance," but its clear intent is to create an atmosphere in which socialists are stigmatized as "illegal." This "surveillance" itself is totally illegal since the SWP is not even accused of any criminal activities.

The FBI activities the suit will seek to halt include:

# How SWP has exposed gov't frame-ups in the past

The Watergate operations directed against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were stimulated by government attempts to counter the growing radicalization and the mounting interest in socialist ideas.

These repressive measures are part of a long history of government attempts to brand socialism "illegal" in order to frighten people away from supporting socialist ideas and activities. These techniques have their roots in the anticommunist scares and witch-hunting mentality that gave rise to McCarthyism in the 1950s.

"Watergating" against the SWP and other socialist groups has been going on for a long time.

## Smith Act prosecutions

As the May 24, 1973, *New York Times* reported, "... Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt on have permitted covert electronic surveillance and have authorized illegal burglaries to protect the country against what they perceived as threats to its existence." According to this article, the FBI began in 1941 to pursue "a policy of making otherwise illegal entries in connection with domestic intelligence-gathering operations."

It was in 1941 that the infamous Smith Act thought-control legislation, passed the previous year, was first used. The first victims of this reac-



James Kutcher, member of SWP, was fired from his VA job in one of the first uses of attorney general's list.

tionary legislation were members of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of General Drivers Union Local 544 (CIO) in Minneapolis.

The Smith Act was the first statute since the Alien and Sedition acts of 1798 to make mere advocacy of ideas a crime. The SWP was singled out for prosecution because of its determined defense of union democracy and its opposition to America's imperialist designs in the second world war.

Before the trial, in true Watergate style, undercover agents infiltrated the SWP and FBI agents raided the organization's offices to seize literature. Eighteen defendants were convicted and sentenced to terms ranging up to 16 months. Their sole "crime" was their advocacy of socialism and their opposition to the impending war. They were labeled a "threat to national se-



Militant/Larry Seigle

The Fort Jackson Eight, GIs who stood up for their right to oppose the war and racism in the Army. Andrew Pulley, now YSA nat'l secretary, is at left.

curity" to justify the denial of their constitutional rights.

The Smith Act was later used extensively against the leaders of the Communist Party, USA.

## Attorney general's list

The revelations about the White House "Enemies List" have provoked an outcry against arbitrary government blacklists. Senator Kennedy recently denounced those who compile "lists of enemies whose careers and lives are to be shattered because of their disagreement."

Yet one of the most widely used and clearly unconstitutional of such lists is still in effect—the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations. In 1947 President Truman issued an executive order authorizing the U.S. attorney general to draw up a list of "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive" organizations. The SWP was included on this list, which is used to bar citizens from government employment. Today it serves as official justification for Watergate-type measures against members and supporters of the SWP.

Once again, the sole "crime" of the SWP was its advocacy of ideas unpopular with the government. Despite requests for a hearing, the SWP was never offered the chance to defend itself, or even to find out the basis on which the listing had been made!

The violation of due process of law inherent in granting one individual—the attorney general—the power to use such a list against members of another political party has become abundantly clear in light of the involvement of Attorney General John Mitchell in the Watergate affair.

## The Kutcher case

In one of the first uses of the attorney general's list, James Kutcher, a member of the SWP who had lost both legs in the second world war, was fired from his job at the Veterans Administration. After a massive civil liberties fight that lasted eight years, the federal courts finally ordered Kutcher rehired with full back pay. Yet this list is still being used in 1973 to deny people government employment, solely because the government doesn't like their political views.

Alice Woznick, a member of the SWP, is currently fighting for her right to continue working at the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Md.

She is one of the plaintiffs in the suit filed by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

With the upsurge of campus radicalism in the 1960s, the YSA was singled out by anticommunist crusaders in Indiana. Three YSA leaders at the University of Indiana in Bloomington were indicted for "conspiring to overthrow the government of the United States and the state of Indiana." They were charged under a McCarthy-era law that made it the policy of the state of Indiana to "exterminate Communism and communists and any or all teachings of the same."

Attorney Leonard Boudin defended the three. The legal defense, combined with a broad-based public campaign of support backed by thousands of faculty members from coast to coast, led to the charges being dropped. The case lasted five years.

The link between this case and Watergate is embodied in the person of Tom Charles Huston, who in the early 1960s was studying law at the University of Indiana. Huston, an ardent right-winger, played a major role in aiding the prosecutor's case against the YSAers. This was the start of his career as a right-wing Republican politician.

From Bloomington he moved up through the Republican Party and made his way to the White House. There he drafted the 1970 "counter-insurgency" plan. When Senator Ervin labeled this plan evidence of a "Gestapo mentality" in the government, he was talking about people like Huston.

## Fort Jackson 8

In 1969, at Fort Jackson, S.C., members of the YSA who had been drafted into the Army helped organize GIs into a group known as GIs United Against the War. These soldiers—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites—insisted on their right to speak out against the war and against racism in the Army.

In one of the best-known of the GI antiwar battles, the Fort Jackson Eight successfully defended themselves against Army attempts to use an informer's testimony to railroad them to prison. Their case became the focus of a nationwide defense campaign that forced the Army to back down and drop all charges against them.

Andrew Pulley was one of the Fort Jackson Eight. He spent 60 days in the stockade before the case was won.

# Civil liberties group will support SWP suit

JULY 18—The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is appealing to all defenders of constitutional liberties to join in actively supporting the suit filed today against government secret police activities. The PRDF is an adjunct of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, a nonpartisan voting rights group.

The legal proceedings in this case are expected to be extremely involved and time-consuming. For this reason the expenses will be very high. "One of our major jobs," declared Janice Lynn, spokeswoman for PRDF, "will be to raise the tens of thousands of dollars that will be necessary just to cover the legal costs. We hope that the response to our fund appeals will be big enough to allow us to finance the best possible presentation of our case."

In addition to raising funds and soliciting sponsorship, the PRDF is planning to organize national speaking tours this fall for representatives to speak on the case. "We hope to be able to present our case directly to meetings of trade unionists, Black organizations, and women's and community groups. We will also be asking for active support from the academic community, writers and artists, civil liberties groups, and all other organizations that have a stake in the fight to put a halt to government Watergating," Lynn said.

The PRDF has already prepared sponsor cards and a brochure explaining the suit and the objectives of the PRDF. Copies of the legal papers filed today, which explain the case in detail, are also available from the PRDF.

"We urge all defenders of the Bill of Rights to join us in building support for this case, and in mobilizing the American people in defense of the democratic rights of all political groups and parties, including the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party," Lynn declared.

She explained that sponsorship of the case does not imply agreement with the political views of the SWP or the YSA. "We are asking for support on a civil liberties basis. The Political Rights Defense Fund welcomes the cooperation of Democrats, Republicans, socialists, and anyone else who agrees with us that all groups and parties have the right to carry out their activities without being harassed, spied on, bombed, wiretapped, or burglarized."

For more information on the case, and to make financial contributions, use the coupon below.

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

( ) Please send me more information on this suit.

( ) I would like to arrange a meeting for a representative of the PRDF to explain the case to my school or organization.

( ) Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to help cover expenses.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



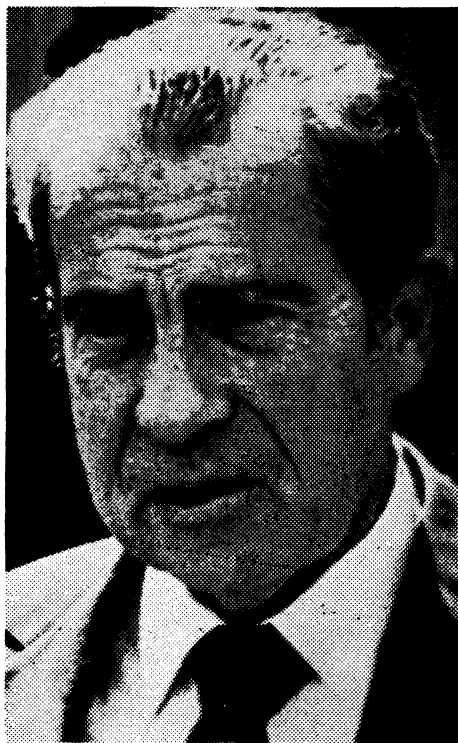
# The Nixon tapes: one bug too many?

By CINDY JAQUITH

JULY 18—"President Nixon has been maneuvered into a dangerously untenable position," today's *New York Times* editorial warned. Nixon's refusal to turn over tapes of his meetings and conversations about Watergate "might well be fatal to his Presidency," the *Times* editors predicted.

This latest turn in the Watergate events began July 16 with the surprise testimony of Alexander Butterfield, a former deputy assistant to Nixon and now head of the Federal Aviation Administration. Butterfield told the Senate Watergate committee that in 1971 the Secret Service installed bugs in Nixon's Oval Office, the Cabinet Room, Nixon's office in the Executive Office Building, the Lincoln Room, and at Camp David, not to mention bugging the presidential phone lines.

Nixon's refusal thus far to grant



NIXON: A long-term lame duck?

the Senate committee access to the tapes of meetings in his office has only deepened suspicions that the tapes corroborate John Dean's charges against him. In particular, Dean has said that Nixon talked to him about paying off the Watergate defendants

and about the cover-up in general long before the president admits he knew anything about these matters.

"The possibility should be recognized from the start that the elaborate and clandestine recording machinery might have failed at crucial moments," the *Times* editorial pointed out, "and it must also be noted that in expert hands tape recordings can be doctored to make people say things that were never said."

But in any event, the sudden admission by the White House that these tapes exist doesn't help Nixon's case. Why weren't the tapes produced long ago to refute the Dean charges, if in fact his testimony against the president is false?

The entire set of tapes might be embarrassing not only to Nixon, but to some of his recent international visitors as well. What kind of information was recorded during the Nixon-Brezhnev talks, for example, about Soviet plans for new betrayals of the world revolution in return for diplomatic and trade deals with U.S. imperialism?

To the extent that the new bugging revelations further erode Nixon's credibility, his ability to serve the interests of capitalism here and abroad also suffer. As the July 9 editorial in the *Christian Science Monitor* explained: "The lingering uncertainty is not only clogging the machinery of government, but damaging confidence in America at home and abroad as evidenced in the decline of the stock market and in the value of the dollar on foreign exchanges."

In his column in the July 12 *New York Times*, Anthony Lewis quoted from an article in the British *Financial Times*. The article called for "something akin to a spiritual rebirth . . . in the Presidential office" to "halt the catastrophic decline in confidence in the dollar before it brings the rest of the international monetary house down."

Writing in the July 17 *Washington Post*, columnist Joseph Kraft outlined the gloomy picture at the White House: ". . . there is now widespread demand that the President prove he can manage the economy effectively. . . . Mr. Nixon's claim of peace with honor in Indochina seems to be discredited.



'Remember, Not a Word to Him About Sordid Political Activities'

. . . Spectaculars built around summit meetings don't work either. . . .

Kraft's conclusion: "Perhaps there is opening up the possibility of retirement on the grounds of health. But if not, the outlook is for a President who is, in effect, a long-term lame duck."

Another measure of Nixon's sagging defense was the testimony last week by former attorney general John Mitchell and White House aide Richard Moore. Both told the Senate committee that Nixon was kept in the dark all along about the Watergate cover-up.

Mitchell went so far as to claim that the president never even asked him about Watergate, which prompted Senator Ervin to observe that "if the cat hadn't any more curiosity than that, it would still be enjoying its nine lives, all of them."

Majority counsel Sam Dash was more blunt with Mitchell. He asked Mitchell point-blank: "is there really any reason for this committee to believe your testimony?"

The senators then made mincemeat out of White House aide Richard Moore. At one point Moore became so hopelessly confused in his own contradictory statements that he simply said "I'll let the answer stand, whatever it is."

The failure of these two witnesses to discredit Dean's accusations left Nixon with little besides "executive privilege" to hide behind. And Senator Ervin set about to destroy that line of defense as well.

"Since . . . there is nothing in the Constitution requiring the President to run for re-election," Ervin observed during his questioning of Mitchell, "I don't think that executive privilege covers any political activities whatsoever. . . .

"I also take the position that executive privilege does not entitle a President to have kept secret information concerning criminal activities of his aides or anybody else," Ervin continued.

He concluded, "I don't believe there is anything in the Constitution that says the powers of the Presidency should be separated from truth."

Ervin twisted the knife a bit more on July 16, when he read from Nixon's book *Six Crises*. "I have never found a finer statement in respect to the desirability and the aim and necessity of congressional investigations than that made by the Congressman Richard M. Nixon," Ervin began with obvious delight.

He then read portions from the chapter "Politics With Honor," written about Nixon's role in the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings during the McCarthy witch-hunt.

"The committee," Nixon wrote, ". . . is investigating allegations that men exercising great financial power, great political power, and great governmental power have impaired, if not destroyed, the integrity of the process by which Presidents of the United States are nominated and elected."

"I do not know anything in which the country could have a greater interest than anything which requires Congress to determine whether or not such conditions existed. . . ."

When it's a campaign to frame up socialists and other dissenters, like the McCarthy-period witch-hunt, Nixon is all in favor of investigations and hearings. But now that the truth has begun to come out about the real criminals—the crooks in the White House—Nixon is rushing for cover behind the phony claim of "executive privilege."

## The Watergate payoff man

Herbert Kalmbach is one of the most sought-after attorneys in the country—or was. His law firm currently represents such giant financial interests as Atlantic-Richfield Company, United Air Lines, and Travelers Insurance Company. Until he decided to testify for the Watergate prosecution, Kalmbach had another big client, Richard Nixon.

Spectators during the Senate Watergate hearings the week of July 16 had an opportunity to learn firsthand what it means to be the president's personal attorney.

Kalmbach told how in 1970 he raised some \$400,000 for a secret White House project aimed at defeating the re-election bid of Alabama Governor George Wallace. Then in 1972 he collected \$220,000 for payoffs to Watergate defendants who otherwise might reveal the truth.

The arrangements for delivering this hush money to the defendants involved code words, secret pickups, and the hiring of Tony "Bagman"

Ulascewicz. Despite these clandestine measures, Kalmbach claimed it never occurred to him that the payments might be less than ethical. Instead, he said he thought the White House was motivated by a "moral obligation to provide for lawyers for [the defendants] and for the support of their families."

Even Senator Edward Gurney (R-Fla.), who has previously tried to protect the White House during the hearings, could not stomach this blatant lie. "If these activities were believed by you to be proper," he asked Kalmbach, "then why did Mr. Ulascewicz at your instructions distribute the monies to the defendants and their attorneys in luggage locker rooms at National Airport and telephone booths and counters in restaurants and in trash cans?"

Kalmbach has a few other questions to answer as well. Top executives at American Airlines, Chrysler Corporation, American Motors, Allied Chemical Corporation, and other big firms

have admitted that Kalmbach and other Nixon campaign representatives approached them for contributions in 1972. In many cases, the appeal for funds occurred at a time when the companies faced potentially embarrassing investigations or costly innovations to meet health standards.

In the July 15 *New York Times*, Ben Franklin explains why these companies felt a donation to the Republicans was going to a worthy cause. For example, Kalmbach called Chrysler board chairman Lynn Townsend for a contribution. "This was a time when the auto industry . . . was preparing an aggressive campaign to relax or delay the Federal air pollution standards on engine exhaust emissions . . .," Franklin writes.

"Mr. Townsend said that individual Chrysler executives, pooling their gifts through a company-administered fund, had given the Nixon campaign an undisclosed amount. The emission standards were later postponed for a year."



KALMBACH: Hit up big corporations for contributions to Nixon's campaign.

## **Nixon bombing continues**

# **U.S. steps up diplomatic maneuvering as rebel forces close in on Phnompenh**

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 17—Amidst an increasingly severe military threat to Phnompenh, significant sectors of the American ruling class are suggesting that President Nixon dump the badly shaken Lon Nol regime and seek a compromise with deposed Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

"... in Cambodia itself, the best that can be hoped for is a nebulous outcome, perhaps the return of Prince Sihanouk as head of a coalition with heavy Communist representation," the *Wall Street Journal* declared in its editorial column July 16.

Virtually every report from the battlefield spells deep trouble for the Lon Nol regime.

"Cambodia sinks ever deeper into crisis," said the July 23 issue of *Time* magazine. "For a time, in late May, the Khmer insurgent offensive slowed, but in June the attacks began again, this time concentrating on the area to the south and southwest of the capital. Village after village was held briefly, then abandoned after air strikes and



LON NOL: Cambodian premier fears Nixon's invitation to visit U.S. is part of a move to ease him out of power.

artillery duels. For the government forces, disaster follows disaster. When Kompong Kantuot near Phnom-Penh was abandoned, the government troops were forced to swim the Thnot River because insurgents had blown the bridges. Some of the soldiers—boys aged twelve to 15—drowned. Those who escaped heard others, left behind and afraid to swim, weeping in fear and despair."

*Newsweek* magazine reported in its July 23 issue: "The thing most likely to happen is that the insurgents will draw their noose still tighter around Phnom Penh. In contrast to Vietnam, this is no military stalemate. 'They are winning the war,' a Western military attaché says candidly of the Communists. 'They have had the hell bombed out of them, and yet they are still coming on strong.'"

"As the fighting and bombing have moved closer to the capital, the main roads leading into Phnom Penh have become choked with refugees fleeing the countryside. Their fields have been bombed, their homes burned, their friends and relatives killed and injured."

A general in the Phnompenh army told UPI July 15 that the military

situation was "very grave" as Lon Nol's forces retreat ever closer to the capital.

### **Lon Nol's 'health'**

There have been an increasing number of indications that Washington is dissatisfied with Lon Nol's performance. From Phnompenh, July 16, *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg wrote that "authoritative sources here report that President Nixon sent President Lon Nol of Cambodia a letter early this month inviting him to come to the United States for medical treatment related to his stroke in 1971, but that the invitation was declined, reportedly in the belief that it was a move to ease him out of power."

According to Schanberg's sources, "a large number of Cambodians, as well as Americans, now view Marshal Lon Nol personally, and perhaps his entire ruling group, as standing in the way of effective government here and of negotiations for a cease-fire with the Communist-led insurgents and Cambodia's former ruler, Prince Norodom Sihanouk."

Schanberg said that the "Lon Nol Government... has lost almost all the popular support that rallied to its side when it ousted Prince Sihanouk."

### **Kissinger's mission**

Clear evidence that Washington is looking at Sihanouk in a new light came when the Nixon administration announced last week that it would like Sihanouk to meet Henry Kissinger in Peking in August. Up to that point, Washington had refused to negotiate with the ousted Cambodian leader.

So far Sihanouk has refused to accept the invitation. According to a Reuters dispatch, Sihanouk explained that "any meeting with Mr. Kissinger would offer President Nixon an excuse to tell Congress and the American people that negotiations were going on. This, he said, would give Mr. Nixon leverage with Congress to continue the bombing after the [Aug. 15] deadline in the hope that the attacks would force the Sihanouk supporters to the conference table to negotiate a cease-fire."

On July 10, however, according to Agence France-Presse, Sihanouk had suggested that the matter of beginning negotiations without loss of face could be solved by talks between Washington and leaders of the Khmer Rouge liberation forces. According to AFP, "Sihanouk said Mr. Kissinger could use the Chinese Premier, Chou En-lai, as an intermediary to put forward proposals for negotiations with the Cambodian Communists, thus 'leaving open a tiny door.'"

The Nixon administration views the situation somewhat differently. It expects Peking to put the screws on Sihanouk. "By week's end," *Time* reported July 16, "there were indications that pressures by the major powers were having some effect in moving Cambodia toward a cease-fire.... Sihanouk... revealed that Chou En-lai had advised him that the Paris agreements prohibit China from giving the insurgents any more military aid. This may push the prince closer



The weakness of the Lon Nol regime is revealed by its reliance on very young soldiers like these.

to the conference table, or at least cause him to change his mind about meeting with Kissinger."

### **Le Duan in Moscow**

On a trip related to the Cambodian situation, Hanoi Communist Party head Le Duan and Premier Pham Van Dong were in Moscow this week. The *New York Times* indicated possible differences between the North Vietnamese officials and Moscow.

"The talks here ended with a declaration of solidarity with anti-Government 'patriotic forces of Cambodia' but no public mention of the desirability of a cease-fire there, despite evident Soviet interest in promoting a settlement in Cambodia," *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith reported from Moscow July 17.

"This phraseology was favorable to the North Vietnamese just as Moscow scored a gain in obtaining Hanoi's renewed pledge to abide by the Vietnam cease-fire accord without accusing Washington and Saigon of violations."

According to Smith, before the final declaration was signed, Le Duan had spoken at a Kremlin banquet and "sharply accused the United States and the Saigon Government of 'seriously and systematically violating' the cease-fire agreement on Vietnam."

Soviet party leader Leonid Brezhnev spoke at the same banquet and "not only avoided repeating those charges but pointedly insisted on 'complete and strict fulfillment' of the cease-fire accord 'by all sides.'"

Brezhnev "did not criticize the United States," according to Smith, and he "emphasized the gains of peaceful coexistence with the West." Meanwhile the United States continued its murderous daily bombing of Cambodia.

### **Diplomatic maneuvers**

It is apparent that secret diplomatic

maneuvering between Washington and Peking and Moscow is under way, aimed at imposing a "compromise" settlement on Cambodia. This secret diplomacy is carefully concealed from the world's public. Sihanouk would be doing the rebel forces in Cambodia a real service by demanding a halt to this secret diplomacy, which will do nothing to further the interests of the Cambodian revolution.

However, Sihanouk's past record does not bode well for the future of the Cambodian people. For more than two decades this onetime monarch headed a capitalist government in Cambodia. The "neutrality" of his regime served as a cover for the imperialist interests that dominated the Cambodian economy.

As the war in neighboring Vietnam was escalated by Washington, Sihanouk's "neutrality" played into the hands of the imperialists. This was one of the reasons Washington kept secret its bombing of Cambodia before the 1970 invasion. Sihanouk did not want the bombing publicized because it would have forced him to take a stronger stand against the hated U.S. aggressors.

Washington's military intervention is the main prop of the dictatorial regimes in Saigon and Phnompenh. Without U.S. support, these regimes would long ago have fallen to the rebel forces.

The future of Southeast Asia is for the people themselves to determine, and this means without U.S. intervention in any way, shape, or form. The refusal of Moscow and Peking to come to the aid of the Cambodian rebel forces against the U.S. bombers and the Lon Nol dictatorship is the latest chapter in their treacherous attempts to bludgeon the revolutionary forces of Southeast Asia into giving up their liberation struggle and accepting terms favorable to Washington.



## Challenges government provocation

# French Communist League calls for commission of inquiry

[The events of June 21—the date of the clash between antifascist demonstrators and police protecting a fascist meeting in Paris—are still far from clear. Soon after the events many observers, including Gerard Monatte, general secretary of the largest police union, pointed to strange elements in the government's version of what had happened.]

[By the time the Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International and the principal organizer of the antifascist demonstration—had been banned on June 28, there were already sharp disagreements among the police themselves over who was at fault for the violence.]

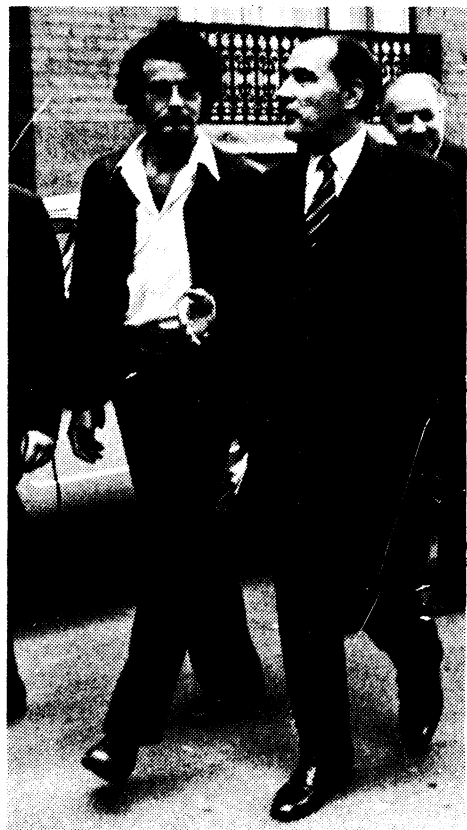
[What really happened is not only important because the June 21 demonstration was the pretext for banning the League, but because the charges against Alain Krivine, a leading member of the ex-League, are based on the fact that violence occurred June 21.]

[The following article, reprinted from the July 6 issue of the newspaper *Rouge*, demands answers to some of these questions from Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Marcellin engages in political wheeling and dealing the same way he swings a police club—with clumsy, crass, and dull-witted blows; to such an extent that after the June 21 demo, [Gerard] Monatte (leader of the largest of the police trade unions) accused him outright of being either a manipulator or an incompetent.

*L'Humanité*, *Le Monde*, and *le Canard enchaîné* all published similar reports: Marcellin and the prefect of police were said to have set things up so that the confrontations would take place in the worst possible conditions for the police.

*L'Humanité* wrote on June 28: "Ten minutes before the most violent clashes on the Rue Monge, the forces of order had had to fall back. A message was sent out over the police airwaves directed to all units then on duty. The message was clear, and it said in substance: nothing to report on any front;



French Socialist Party head Francois Mitterrand (right) walks with Alain Krivine in public display of solidarity. Shortly afterwards, Krivine was arrested.



Marchers in Bonn organized by German Trotskyists protest ban on Communist League.

things calm; no immediate confrontation feared."

Gerard Monatte confirms: "The question is whether this nonsense was deliberate or an accident." The police prefecture admits to having been "surprised" by the number of demonstrators. Monatte continues: "The leaders of the police forces can all the less claim surprise in that they must have recalled the serious and absolutely analogous incidents that occurred March 9, 1971, at the Porte de Versailles."

And another aspect around which explanations must be requested: the presence, on June 21, of individuals in civilian clothes known for their ties to the far right and used in curious ways: some were found among the demonstrators throwing Molotov cocktails at the police; others were on the other side, grenades in hand, right next to the police in uniform. Their deployment was so obvious that a commissioner was asked about these "reinforcements" and transmitted a report to his superiors asking about these "unofficial teams."

And we recall the existence of a mysterious panel truck that was said to have been supplying the demonstrators with cocktails and various other projectiles. Marcellin accuses the Ligue of having used this vehicle. But his cops know full well (since they had the Ligue's office under surveillance for a whole day before the demonstration) that there was no panel truck shuttling between the headquarters and the Latin Quarter.

If Marcellin (in agreement with Ordre Nouveau?) wanted to use the fascist meeting as an excuse to dissolve the Ligue, then he succeeded. But that does not throw us off the track. Any revolutionary organization really struggling in action against the bourgeois state or its auxiliary gangs is an organization on re-prieve, that must know that it is risking its existence. Moreover, Marcellin knows perfectly well that the dissolution of the Ligue does not mean that its militants will put an end to their activity or cease spreading their ideas.

But if, on the other hand, Marcellin believed that his machinations would strengthen the fascistized wing among the police and weaken the (majority) "democratic" tendency within them, then he failed completely. The impression of the police in operation at the Rue Monge that they had fallen into a trap can only intensify their unease and increase their defiance of their

ministers. As for the far-right leaflet handed out in certain precincts calling on the police to go on strike, it got hardly any response. Monatte's union federation has things well in hand.

Finally, a third point. The results of Marcellin's operation have not met with unanimity within the Council of Ministers. Some center ministers (like Stasi) and some UDR [Union des Démocrates pour la République—Union of Democrats for the Republic, the Gaullist party] ministers (e.g., Taittinger, minister of justice) have stated their disagreement. In fact, occurring as they do at the moment that subtle regroupments are going on among the right, the center opposition, and the center-right—speeded up by Pompidou's illness—Marcellin-the-cop's

## Protest in S.F.

On Saturday, July 14, the French Consul General in San Francisco held a cocktail party at the Hall of Flowers in Golden Gate Park in honor of Bastille Day. The wealthy members and friends of French high society were met by chanting picketers demanding that the French government end its ban on the Communist League and free League leaders Krivine and Rousset.

The leaflet distributed at the picket began, "Today is Bastille Day, the 184th anniversary of the great French Revolution. The revolution of 1789 declared the inalienable rights of the French people to freedom of speech and political dissent." The leaflet described the recent government attacks on civil liberties and demanded a reversal of these policies. The picket line was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

crude blunders are having a bad effect.

In any case, too many disturbing elements are piling up around the events of June 21 for us to be satisfied. The editorial board of *Rouge* has decided, with the assistance of some well-known personalities, to constitute a commission of inquiry. And if this commission of inquiry confirms the hypothesis that there was a plot on June 21, will Marcellin be hauled into court for violation of the "anti-wrecker" law? We shall soon see.

# Krivine & Rousset still in jail

From Intercontinental Press

Alain Krivine, one of the central leaders of the dissolved Ligue Communiste, the French Trotskyist organization, remains in jail in Paris as of July 16. Krivine has been charged under the witch-hunt "antiwrecker law" with having organized the June 21 antifascist demonstration in Paris. Violence provoked by the police at the demonstration was the excuse the regime used to ban the Ligue.

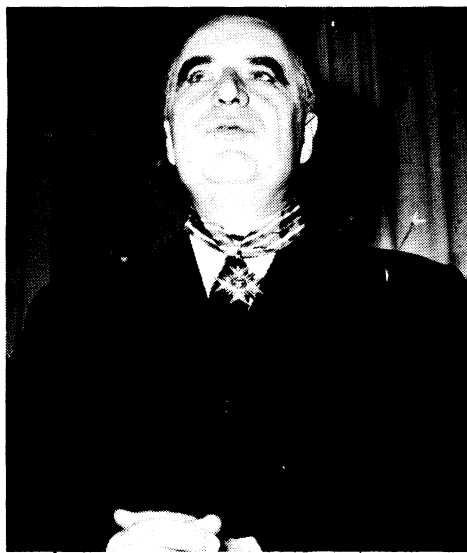
The "antiwrecker law" allows the government to charge leaders of an organization with responsibility for any violence that occurs at a demonstration that the group sponsored. Krivine thus faces one to five years in jail despite the fact that he was not even present in Paris on June 21 and was only tangentially involved in planning the demonstration. Also in prison is Pierre Rousset, another central leader of the ex-Ligue, who was arrested by police during a ransacking of the Ligue's headquarters on June 22.

On June 10 Judge Alain Bernard ruled favorably on a motion filed by Krivine's attorney, Yves Jouffa, demanding provisional release for his client. But the government prosecutor refused to accept the decision and immediately filed an appeal. The *chambre d'accusation* has thirty days to rule on the appeal.

**Contributions to help in the fight against the banning of the Communist League can be sent to: M. F. Kahn, 15 rue Clerc, 75007 Paris, France.**

The July 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, which reported the government's appeal on page one, published excerpts of several statements protesting the government's refusal to accept Bernard's decision. The Communist party daily *L'Humanité*, for example, wrote: "It was on the basis of the charges known to him that the examining magistrate [Bernard] made his decision, the only legal and fair one. The intervention of the prosecutor is nothing but scandalous. And to say the prosecutor is to say the regime. More than anyone, Marcellin [minister of the interior] knows how arbitrary these arrests and prosecutions are. He therefore fears a just decision and would disavow it and try to hold it back."

Statements protesting the government appeal also came from the Socialist party, the League for the Rights of Man, and the Fédération d'Enseignement Nationale, the country's largest teachers union.



POMPIDOU: If his government can get away with suppressing the League, more attacks on workers' organizations will follow.

# In Our Opinion

## July 26--Viva Cuba!

This July 26 is the twentieth anniversary of the attack led by Fidel Castro on the Moncada army barracks in Santiago de Cuba. His small group of revolutionary fighters was defeated, and a terrible retribution was exacted as Batista's henchmen tortured and cold-bloodedly murdered most of the captured rebels. But their heroic action marked the beginning of a struggle that led to victory over the Batista dictatorship five-and-a-half years later, and to the socialist transformation of Cuba.

The Cuban people kicked out the imperialist exploiters, nationalized industry, and carried out a thoroughgoing land reform. Today Cuba provides education and medical care on a scale unknown in any other Latin American country, while unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, and racial discrimination have virtually been eliminated.

The current upheavals in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay testify to the unfulfilled aspirations of the masses in countries still under the imperialist yoke, and to the immediacy of the Cuban example. The path of uncompromising struggle against imperialism and its native agents, the path blazed by revolutionary Cuba, points the way forward for the rest of Latin America.

That is why the Washington rulers stop at nothing in their efforts to crush this inspiring example: the Bay of Pigs invasion, nuclear blackmail, assassination, sabotage, economic strangulation through boycott and blockade. The imperialists in their arrogance even maintain a military base on Cuban soil at Guantanamo.

Watergate provides fresh evidence of the intimate ties between the U.S. government and the counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles aptly called *gusanos*, or worms. For the most part former pimps, gangsters, businessmen, and other parasites, these *gusanos* now serve as trusted agents for Nixon as they did for Johnson and Kennedy before him. Their services are purchased with promises that someday, with the Pentagon's and CIA's help, capitalist slavery can be re-imposed on the Cuban people.

The U.S. attempt to isolate Cuba has suffered reverses lately. Cuba now has diplomatic relations with 68 governments, including Argentina, Barbados, Chile, Guyana, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago in Latin America. It is high time for the U.S. to take the same step. A Harris poll conducted this spring showed that the majority of the people in this country favor diplomatic relations with Cuba.

This twentieth anniversary is an occasion for celebrating the victory of the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. It should also be the occasion for renewing our demands that the U.S. stop its attacks on Cuba, get out of Guantanamo, end the economic boycott, and recognize Cuba.

## More lies exposed

U.S. B-52 bombers made at least 3,500 secret bombing raids over Cambodia before Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia in 1970. Former Major Hal Knight, who finally decided he could no longer go along with the dirty work he had been assigned to, has revealed that he had been ordered to falsify bombing reports and destroy all evidence of what he was doing.

Those who authorized the cover-up included Melvin Laird, now a top Nixon aide, and General Creighton Abrams, now Army Chief of Staff.

Knight testified that he decided to tell the truth after the Pentagon prosecuted Air Force Commander General John Lavelle for conducting "unauthorized" raids against North Vietnam in 1971.

Interestingly, the White House has responded that there is no comparison between Knight's and Lavelle's raids, because the Lavelle raids were "unauthorized," but Knight's raids "were approved up and down the line." All this means is that there were more liars involved in the Cambodia bombing than in the raids over North Vietnam. "Up the line," of course, refers to Richard Nixon, commander-in-chief, and one of the most notorious liars who has ever held public office.

When Nixon ordered the invasion of Cambodia, he described it as "hot pursuit" and "protective reaction." The Knight revelations now show that the U.S. had invaded Cambodia with its murderous bombers months before.

Knight's revelations of yet more government lies should add new momentum to the growing outcry against the continuing bombing of Cambodia.

# Letters

## Real socialist movement

At present I am a graduate student, working for a masters degree in the philosophy of religion, but of late have become convinced that revolutionary socialism, as represented by the world Trotskyist movement, is the only viable and real socialist movement.

I have had contacts with your movement before and consider it as representing the real aspirations of the working class.

C. M.  
Dubuque, Iowa

## The Militant in Paris

Not until I came to France to study and work was I aware of the influence of the Fourth International. But in a few months I have grown to respect its analyses of world events and its militant actions aimed at building a widespread revolutionary movement.

In France, where the tradition of class struggle is deeply engrained and where nearly two-thirds of the population is in favor of disposing in one way or another of the ruling capitalist regime, the Ligue Communiste is considered such a threat to the ruling powers that it was recently pronounced legally dissolved, as *Militant* readers are no doubt already aware in full detail.

Upon my return to the U.S. in several months, I pledge my full and active support to the SWP. In the meantime, perhaps I can be of help in some small way. There is a sizable American student population in Paris and I'm certain that weekly sales of *The Militant* would be a successful venture.

In closing, let me congratulate *The Militant* on its exceptional coverage of the Watergate scandal and the awesome, systematic repressive tactics of the U.S. government.

J. C.  
Paris, France

## 'Thanks'

This is a short letter of thanks to you for granting us the coverage in your newspaper by carrying our letter and the "Three Just Demands" in your June 29 issue.

The events since we began appearing in front of the judge in Buffalo reaffirm our contention that the only significant help will come from the will of the people because all of our legal motions are blatantly being denied.

H. S. D.  
An Attica Indictee

## The Astros

In the July *Playboy* I found a statement that might interest you. Astronaut James Lovell Jr. said, "We've never sent any women into space because we haven't had a good reason to. We fully envision, however, that in the near future we will fly women into space and use them the same way we use them on earth—for the same purposes."

R. P.  
Oceanport, N.J.

## Honest election?

On July 4, the *New York Times* carried an article about an election in Yokosuka, Japan. The *Times* says that when U.S. nuclear submarines began calling at the port of Yokosuka, "leftists played on the Japanese 'nuclear allergy'—a holdover from the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945—to make the city a hotbed of anti-American agitation." This "nuclear allergy" has meant that the voters of Yokosuka have elected what the *Times* called "leftist" administrations for the last 16 years. Now this has changed.

On July 3, Kazuo Yokoyama, the candidate of the pro-U.S. Liberal Democratic and Democratic Socialist parties, beat the candidate backed by the Communist, Socialist, and Komei ("clean government") parties.

This upset, according to the governor of the state that Yokosuka is a part of, means "that Yokosuka wants to turn into a peaceful port city, rejecting the ideology which calls for drastic changes such as the immediate abrogation of the United States-Japan Security Treaty."

Is that so? In light of the recent Watergate revelations, as well as the proven role of the CIA in intervening in elections in foreign countries, I wonder about this election. Don't you think that Uncle Sam is concerned about the danger to his military power posed by the deep hatred of the Japanese masses not only for what the U.S. did at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but also for the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam? Don't you think the U.S. may be pouring millions into the campaigns of candidates willing to support its military bases remaining in Japan?

P. S.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Reconverted

I'm back. I'm the guy from the upper-middle-class background who was convinced of the need for socialism because I couldn't find a summer job. Well, my anger abated somewhat, although my convictions didn't, when I found a job in a cutlery at a low but decent enough wage for the summer.

Last Tuesday my faith in the capitalist system was completely restored when I was fired on two-days notice! The reason given was that they needed permanent help and had to let me go.

It's one thing to read about such things and quite another to experience them.

D. S.  
Allegany, N. Y.

## An old-timer

Enclosed is \$1 for an introductory subscription. I always bought the old socialist paper called *Appeal to Reason*.

H. W.  
Woodstown, N.J.





### 'Behavior modification'

I would like to add some information about the START program presently being conducted at the Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Mo., that was referred to in Baxter Smith's column on "'Behavior modification' for Prisoners" (*The Militant*, July 6).

START stands for Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training. The purpose of the program is to find ways to kill the will to resist of such prisoners who cannot "adjust" to regular penal institutions. The program is still in the experimental state, meaning that the prison officials really don't know what they're doing. The program has two immediate effects however: 1) it relieves pressures on prison officials by segregating the "troublemakers" in an isolated unit, and 2) it makes life as hard as possible for the "troublemakers."

Since a prisoner must "cooperate" in order to get out of the START unit, it is likely that START will simply become a convenient place to isolate political radicals for the duration of their sentences.

Edward Sanchez, one of six prisoners who are on a strike of total noncooperation, asks that letters protesting the program be written to: Norman A. Carlson, U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C. 20537.

Louella Wooley  
Warrensburg, Mo.

### Wants a critique

*The Militant* has often criticized the Communist Party and other radical organizations, but I have yet to see a critique of the program of the Socialist Labor Party and De Leonism. I think such a critique would be interesting.

S.M.  
Colorado Springs, Colo.

### We agree

Webster's defines woman thusly: "an adult female person."

In Linda Jenness' "Women in Revolt" column on sports (*Militant*, July 13) she refers to a softball team organized for "young women between the ages of 8 and 15" and later to a boxing program for "six- to 16-year-old women." Admittedly, there is a big difference between 6 and 8 and 15 and 16 year olds, but to refer to 6- and 8-year-old girls as "young women" is somewhat premature. There is nothing disparaging or insulting about referring to a girl as a girl; on the contrary, it is a weighty responsibility to be asked to assume the role of an adult before such time has arrived.

Martha Harris  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

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

## Safeway—'the happiness store'?

Among the many instances of noise pollution that radio and TV listeners in Southern California are subjected to is a banal, bouncy jingle that goes, "Safeway is . . . the happiness store!"

I can see where the owners of Safeway have something to grin about. Last year their 2,318 stores did \$5.3-billion worth of business.

But lately Safeway officials have expressed concern over the money they are losing due to the boycott being carried out against them by the United Farm Workers Union.

Farm workers are on strike because they want to join the union of their choice—the UFW—and improve their lives. Farm workers, many of them Chicanos, are forced to work for miserly wages and under horrible working conditions. The growers want to keep them this way. The UFW has called for a boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and a total boycott of Safeway and A&P stores.

Safeway claims to be an "innocent victim" and professes to be "neutral" in what it terms a "jurisdictional dispute between rival unions." Yet far from being a neutral, innocent victim, Safeway is the largest purchaser of scab grapes and lettuce. It has intervened in the strike, on the side of the growers.

Safeway has no concern for the well-being of the farm workers who pick the produce from which it profits. Neither is the capitalist giant concerned with the well-being of its customers. The only concern of this multibillion-dollar outfit is with profits.

It doesn't matter to them that the scab grapes they are selling do not meet minimum standards for sugar content. A few months ago, scab lettuce on Safeway shelves had to be confiscated by federal inspectors because it was dangerously contaminated with pesti-

cides. Farm workers suffered ill effects just from handling the stuff.

Last fall, Safeway donated substantial sums to support Proposition 22 on the California ballot. If passed, this measure would have made it all but impossible to organize an agricultural union.

In May, the Cost of Living Council found that Safeway was selling meats at from one to 20 cents over federal ceilings at more than 600 stores.

A few months ago the Interfaith Committee to Aid Farm Workers discovered through independent laboratory tests that Safeway was selling hamburger marked "lean" and "extralean" with extra fat violating federal standards. These same tests also found that ground pork was being sold as ground beef, and ground beef as ground lamb (at a higher price, of course).

The Interfaith Committee has sued the market chain, saying that it cheats customers out of \$85-million annually in this way.

Safeway has also been found to be mislabeling rib steaks as club steaks, clubs as T-bones, T-bones as Porterhouse, and Swiss steaks as round. In each case, of course, a cheaper cut was being fraudulently sold as a more expensive one.

In recent months Safeway has been found selling bug-infested health food cookies and putrid pork chops and misusing "USDA Choice" labels on non-choice meats.

If Safeway, as the biggest grocery chain in the country, could be forced to stop carrying scab produce, other stores would probably follow suit and the growers would be beaten.

Support the struggle of the farm workers for a better life, and protect your health—don't shop Safeway!



## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

## Murder cover-up

The cruelties of Thieu's barbaric regime in South Vietnam have been recounted many times. Protests against the Saigon butcher's official visit to Nixon last spring told of 300,000 political prisoners. A *Time* magazine reporter, David DeVoss, described some released prisoners as "grotesque sculptures of scarred flesh and gnarled limbs. . . . years of being shackled in the tiger cages have forced them into a permanent pretzel-like crouch."

Those were some of Thieu's victims who survived. The mutilated corpses of others are carted out of the prisons daily.

In the face of these facts, AFL-CIO bureaucrats in Washington have tried to maintain the pretense that a free and viable trade-union movement exists under the Thieu dictatorship.

Last February Tran Quoc Buu, the 58-year-old president of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT), came to this country. He warned against the "weak" terms of the cease-fire agreements, echoing Thieu's objections at that time.

Upon his return to Saigon, Buu sent cables to union officials here and in Europe reporting the "brutal assassination" on Feb. 22 of CVT leader Cao Van Nang, allegedly killed by National Liberation Front fighters.

The CVT, which claims a membership of 500,000, is deeply involved in Saigon politics. According to the March 7 *Christian Science Monitor*, the Thieu regime "is counting on the CVT and its allied political organization—a farmer-labor party . . . for support in elections that will decide the political system and order in South Vietnam."

On receiving word of Nang's death, AFL-CIO President George Meany immediately responded with a vigorous public protest, noting that the AFL-CIO executive council had previously urged "vigilant and stern protective measures against saboteurs and terrorists." He pledged "to encourage and assist the CVT in its vital role in the development of a free, democratic, and prosperous South Vietnam."

The aid Meany promised is siphoned through Mor-

ris Palladino, director of the Asian-American Free Labor Institute. This body is a beneficiary of the \$11.5-million slush fund supplied annually to the AFL-CIO by the U.S. Administration for International Development (AID). On-the-scene organizing in Vietnam for such operations is under the direction of the CIA.

In addition, the AFL-CIO decided to send a "special mission" to Vietnam, consisting of Thomas Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association; Hunter Wharton, president of the Operating Engineers; as well as Palladino, who is also an assistant to Jay Lovestone in the AFL-CIO International Affairs department.

Nothing was heard of the "special mission" for a couple of months.

It now appears that some CVT affiliates in South Vietnam tried to act like unions should. On April 17 there was a brief strike of 100 railroad workers in Central Vietnam. The leaders and supporters of the strike were arrested and thrown in jail.

Among those jailed was Pham Van Hi, leader of an association of private bank workers.

A July 3 dispatch from the *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, Fox Butterfield, said, "Vietnamese familiar with the case charge . . . Pham Van Hi . . . was tortured to death by the police."

The report further said that "American officials say they have been assured by the Saigon Government that Mr. Hi committed suicide."

"By coincidence," the *Times* article noted, "the disclosure of Mr. Hi's death came while an A.F.L.-C.I.O. delegation was in Saigon examining the progress of organized labor in South Vietnam."

This AFL-CIO delegation was not identified as the Gleason-Wharton-Palladino "special mission." But four U.S. "labor leaders" had scheduled an audience with Thieu before leaving Saigon July 6.

There will be no campaign by the AFL-CIO against Thieu's prison conditions nor any exposé of the brutal assassination of Pham Van Hi—unless the U.S. embassy orders it. A most unlikely prospect.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**What's so crazy?**—The 1971 movie dud *Hail to the Chief* is being re-launched. It's about a paranoid president who masterminds his own assassination plot to justify seizing total power. Says producer Norman Cohen, "I guess people are ready now to look at a movie about a crazy president."

**Note to ITT and other stocking stuffers**—The National Park Service said a permanent Xmas tree is planned for the White House lawn.

**Of piety and profits**—The Reverend Rex Humbard is taking his Cathedral of Tomorrow out of the girdle business. In the Cathedral's magazine, he said there were two reasons for getting rid of the Real Form Girdle Co.: "No. 1, I felt the Lord would have it that way. No. 2, the thing quit making money because you women quit wearing girdles and started wearing pantyhose."

**Hot tip**—Tell the foreman you insist on working harder during the summer months. It's the best way to beat the heat. Anyway, that's the advice of Dr. Bette Stephenson, chairwoman of the Canadian Medical Ass'n. "When your mind is active," she said, "you are not as aware of the heat as when you are idle." And if you use your back more than your brain that helps circulate the air, right?

**Matter of perspective**—The *Oil & Gas Journal* warns against the "knee-jerk reaction" of "extreme liberals" howling for oil nationalization. "True," the *Journal* concedes, first-quarter profits are up "substantially over the same period last year. In some cases they're a record." But it's simply a matter of putting this in "proper economic perspective." Like ain't it reasonable that the big five enjoyed a first-quarter net take of \$1.45-billion, a mere 26 percent increase over the same period last year?

**No badge for being prepared**—Philadelphia Girl Scouts will no longer earn merit badges for learning about sexual development, pregnancy, contraception, and abortion. The Scout program, *To Be a Woman*, will be continued, but because of pressure from the Catholic hierarchy, a merit badge will no longer be attached to it.

**Check it out**—Chicago will be the site of the first of a chain of pet motels. Individual suites will feature minibeds, astroturf carpeting, and piped-in stereo. "We've also spent \$250,000 on an environmental system which humidifies, cools, heats, and changes the air," said operator Robert Leeds. "When it's operating, our inside environment is cleaner than any Chicago hospital." Rates? Minimum for a small dog, \$2.75 a day, with graduated scale based on size and eating capacity. Leeds says his motto is "Pets Before Profits," but he does expect to turn a profit.



Let's Look At The Bright Side — Maybe It's Taking People's Minds Off Inflation

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



### No substitute for a good job

The Joint Economic Committee of Congress held hearings recently to "gather factual evidence and expert opinions" about discrimination of women on the job. The hearings were chaired by Martha Griffiths (D-Mich.).

Among the first to testify was Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers. Stein reported that "sophisticated" studies show a "residual differential of 10 to 20 percent in their earnings that women suffer simply because they are women."

Even though the "residual differential" is more like 40 percent, the fact that Nixon's council admitted to any discrimination at all is a step forward. This is the same council that issued a report last January saying that the differences in men's and women's earnings could not be attributed to discrimination "because there are differences of opinion about what should be classified as discrimination."

But still, the council's figures are 20 to 30 percent off. Where did they go wrong?

It might be that they are just fudging a little on the facts before them. For instance, it was

pointed out at the hearings that of seven recent studies on women's job discrimination, only one showed a differential between male and female wages as low as 20 percent. This was the one the council quoted. Some of the other studies ran as high as 46 percent. One study, for example, showed that the average earnings of college graduates between the ages of 25 and 34 were \$10,677 for males and \$5,812 for women.

Also, the council was blinded by the notion that women only work for pin money, so they distorted the already distorted unemployment figures. In fact, they said, "since women chronically have higher unemployment rates than men and are an increasing fraction of the labor force, a given overall unemployment rate is less serious than it used to be." Less serious to them perhaps, but not to the women involved.

They claim it's not "too serious" if women are unemployed because they assume that women don't *have* to work. However, two-thirds of all women in the labor force are either single, divorced, widowed, separated, or have husbands who earn less than \$7,000 a year — and they *have* to work or go

on welfare to live.

Of course, there could be another reason why the council's facts were so off base. It could be that they just don't give a damn.

The hearings disclosed that government agencies that do weather forecasting or collect tariffs have staffs six times larger than the staff of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. That commission is supposed to investigate both race and sex discrimination. It currently has a backlog of 65,000 cases.

Stein admitted that of the 50 staff members of his council, only two of them spend one-third of their time dealing with discrimination.

After predicting that the disparity between men's and women's unemployment rates would *widen* in the future, Stein tried to end on a cheery note. He told the hearings that Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan planned to change the name of the Manpower administration to Humanpower administration.

That's a real nice gesture and we appreciate it. But if Brennan thinks it's a substitute for a good job and equal pay, he's in for a surprise.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### Kawaida; Shockley's theories

On July 10 a New Jersey superior court judge brushed aside a series of legal challenges to the construction of Kawaida Towers housing project in Newark. His decision thus allows construction to resume on the 16-story, \$6.4-million low-to-middle-income housing project. It had been stalled for several months by white racist opponents led by Newark Assemblyman Anthony Imperiale. He falsely claimed that plans for the project had not been submitted to the Newark Central Planning Board and that the project had been given an illegal tax exemption.

Imperiale has also barked that if the Towers are completed, crime will increase in the area because the project's sponsor, the Temple of Kawaida, headed by Imamu Baraka, is a Black nationalist organization.

● The inventor of the transistor, William Shockley, has a new idea. Shockley is a physics professor at Stanford University and is also known for his racist theories on Black genetic inferiority.

Recently he requested Roy Wilkins, director of the NAACP, to present him with 100 or 200 "outstanding Black American intellectuals" for a new

experiment on Black intellect. Shockley feels he can prove the concept of Black inferiority by "testing" the amount of "white" blood in the veins of these intellectuals.

According to Shockley, if there's more than 20 percent "white" blood, which he claims is the national average for Black people, in the veins of these intellectuals, this will prove the theory that Blacks obtain their intelligence from their "white ancestors."

The transistor is a scientific advance over the vacuum tube. The old tubes would get hot, wouldn't last as long, but would glow when turned on. Transistors may not glow, but at least Shockley is consistent. His ideas on Black intelligence aren't too bright either.

● Operation PUSH, the National Welfare Rights Organization, the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, and other groups have begun a campaign to gather foodstuffs to send to the six drought-stricken sub-Saharan African countries where millions face starvation.

According to a NWRO statement, "Unless they receive large emergency shipments of food and

grain, all of these people will face a full-year of hunger as they await next years harvest. . . . We poor people are saying, even though we don't have enough to eat ourselves, we are willing to have a little stronger growl in our stomach to save the lives of millions of men, women and children."

The embassies of the affected countries have made ships available to carry the relief to Africa.

NWRO, PUSH, and the other groups plan to gather \$1-million in food to send over.

Nixon, despite all talk about the "sanctity of life," in contrast to this generous act of solidarity is doling out aid with an eyedropper.

● A group of prisoners at South Carolina Central Prison in Columbia, S.C., held an African Liberation Day demonstration on May 26. A spokesman wrote to us that despite the fact that permission had been granted, prison officials tried to harass protesters by denying them any cold drinks or ice on the hot day. In addition, shotgun-armed guards prowled the prison yard itching for a confrontation. The day's program, which included cultural events and outside speakers, however, came off without incident.



# World Outlook

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

JULY 27, 1973

## A plan to put a brake on workers struggles

# Behind Peron's return to Argentina

[The following article was published in the June 20-27 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). Since then, on July 13, Argentine President Héctor Cámpora resigned from office, promising new elections and opening the way for Perón's formal assumption of power.

[Although it is still too early to evaluate all the implications of this new development, one aspect was stressed by James Nelson Goodsell, writing in the *Christian Science Monitor* July 16.

[Many of Perón's former opponents, Goodsell claims, "regard his candidacy as the only viable solution to Argentina's growing list of problems including a lack of political leadership. . . . Moreover, given the growth of leftist strength both within and without the Peronista movement, the moderates and conservatives who once opposed Mr. Perón now see the former dictator as the best way to curb this leftist strength."

[The translation of the article is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

After eighteen years in exile, General Perón is returning to the country. His return is cause for rejoicing for the majority of the Argentine people, who remember the great gains made during his governments—the standard of living, the formation of massive unions that gave strength to the workers movement, and the nationalization of imperialist companies. Perón's return is one more in a line of victories won by the working class during the course of the struggles that have been dealing blows to the regime of the bosses since May 29, 1969, the date of the Cordobazo.

But General Perón is not coming back in order to head up these struggles all the way until the oligarchy and imperialism are expelled from the country. He is coming to attempt to salvage the bourgeois regime, which is flailing about in one of the most acute crises of its history.

His return is just one more step in his efforts to unite all sectors of the Argentine bosses and oligarchy in a common front. This is demonstrated in his approach of bringing the other big bourgeois party in our country, the Unión Cívica Radical [UCR—Radical Civic Union], into the government with full honors.

General Perón is also returning in order to try to move forward the country's economy, which continues to drag along in the state of chronic crisis it has been in since 1930. But he is not attempting to do this by turning to the workers movement and

placing the mainsprings of production and distribution under its control. On the contrary, he intends to carry out "National Reconstruction" without in any fundamental sense laying a hand on private ownership of the means of production and exchange—industry, land, trade. Thus he brought about the "Social Pact" [an agreement between the bosses and the labor bureaucrats on social peace and a truce on social struggles], which, once again, lays the consequences of the economic crisis upon the shoulders of the workers; it does this with the consent of all the country's exploiters, who came together in what the oligarchic daily *La Nación* termed "the most complete and representative business gathering held in more than a quarter century."

This attempt at National Reconstruction, which General Perón has just strengthened with his presence, has as one of its bases respect for the fundamental interests of imperialism and its monopolies, which, set up on our soil, are sucking out the wealth of the country. This is shown first of all by the nearly total absence of measures leading to the expulsion of these monopolies, and second, by the warmly approving commentaries on the government of President Cámpora by the big bourgeoisie's press in the United States.

Finally, Perón is returning in order to personally put a brake on all struggles of the workers movement that might constitute a danger for the bosses' government of Dr. Cámpora. In order to do this, he will use all the prestige he still has with the working class to try to convince it to passively agree to the role of silent partner to the Great Bosses Agreement put together around this government. The plea by Abal Medina on behalf of the Movimiento Nacional Peronista [National Peronist Movement], during which he called for an end to the occupations just a few days before Perón's arrival, is only a foretaste of this policy of holding back workers struggles. This is a policy that General Perón has applied in every instance in which mass mobilizations threatened the stability of the bosses' regime; the highest expression of this was his refusal to call on the working class to arm itself and struggle when his own personal fate was at stake in 1955.

These plans of Perón—for unity among the exploiters, good relations with imperialism, rebuilding the country on the basis of the exploitation of the workers movement, and defense of the bourgeois regime—are destined to fail, first of all because the working class will continue to press forward with its struggles in

the face of the inability of the system to solve its problems and those of the country; and second, because the economic crisis and imperialist exploitation will become increasingly sharp and will undermine the foundations of the bosses' agreement. Temporary improvements in the economic situation and partial retreats in mobilizations could postpone this inevitable process for a time. During this respite



Unity of the Peronist movement will be shattered by the class struggle.

the Peronist movement could retain its unity, and General Perón could maintain and even increase his prestige and influence among the workers. But once this process speeds up and erupts, the crisis of Peronism will be full-blown and total, and Perón himself, forced to choose sides in the clash between workers and capitalists, will cease to be the great legend he now is for the Argentine workers movement. Perón's return, then, represents the last card played by the Peronist movement and the first step toward its complete and final crisis. It is also the final card of the bosses' regime,

for with the disappearance of Peronist influence in the mass movement, the doors will remain open to the taking of power by the workers.

Perón is returning at a time when, unlike the situation during his previous governments, the capitalist system is in a wretched state of affairs and lacks any medium- or long-range solutions. He is coming back to a workers movement that has gone through four years of big mobilizations that have left it with rich experiences and a new determination to continue the struggle. He is returning to defend a weak government, badly situated in the quagmire of this situation, that has seen itself forced to grant democratic freedoms on a scale never before known. The workers will make use of and defend these democratic freedoms, conscious of the fact that they are the fruit of their own struggle, not of any brilliant strategic maneuvering on the part of General Perón.

During his government, Perón had sharp frictions with imperialism. These frictions could again occur, and if there is no letup in the pace of workers struggles, they could lead to the taking of positive measures that, although partial, would recover for the country some sector of our economy presently dominated by the monopolies. The workers movement must support this type of measures and struggle to make them more and more deepgoing, without having any faith in either the government or Perón to carry them to their logical conclusion.

Every extension of democratic freedoms and every anti-imperialist measure will provoke a reaction from imperialism and the oligarchy. The workers must defend the government from any attack by the forces of reaction; in doing so they can count on the total support of our party, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores.

But defending the government in the face of reaction, and supporting the positive measures that it might take, must not mean either compromise or the slightest political support on the part of the working class for the government and Perón, since they are the present representatives of the permanent and historic enemies of the workers movement. With regard to the return of Perón, the great architect of this government, socialists call on the workers to continue to struggle against these enemies—the bosses, the oligarchy, and imperialism—and against those who are serving to synthesize their interests: the government and General Perón. We call on the working class to mobilize to kick the bureaucracy out of the unions and the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] in order to replace it with a new, class-struggle leadership and build an independent workers party that can organize the struggles and lead them to their final goal: a workers and popular government that can begin the construction of socialism. □

## Left wing militants unclear on goals

# A discussion with Uruguayan trade

[The following first-hand report from Uruguay was written during the early days of the general strike called by the now outlawed Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—National Workers Congress) following the dissolving of the Congress June 27 by President Juan María Bordaberry. The CNT is the main workers federation, and represents some 400,000 workers. It is led by the Communist party.]

[The article was published in the July 4-11 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Various political tendencies exist side by side within the Uruguayan workers central union. We wanted to find out who they are and what they are thinking, and to get to know those in the opposition, those who in a generic sense might be called class-struggle tendencies because, like their counterparts in Argentina, they are defending trade-union democracy and the workers' determination to struggle.

Last year, a congress of rank-and-file delegates of the Uruguayan CNT was held. It brought together all the

factory delegates, of whom 60 percent supported the positions of the CP, and 40 percent supported the opposition. Our Uruguayan compañeros of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party] tell us that during the current year things have evolved favorably for the opposition.

In what follows, we will report on the discussions we had with this opposition.

It was the third day of the coup and general strike. At dusk, all movement in the streets ebbed away. It was a real challenge to find a taxi in order to get to FUNSA [Fábrica Uruguaya de Neumáticos Sociedad Anónima—Uruguayan Tire Factory, Inc.]. The entire opposition was meeting at FUNSA, a rubber factory, at 6:00 p.m.

FUNSA has the kind of authority that allows it to play a pivotal role for the opposition. Just as the Argentine SITRAC-SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord-Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Concord Workers Union/Materfer Workers Union] managed during 1971 to begin to centralize all the antibureaucratic currents (from Ongarism to the most revolutionary), FUNSA has earned the same right: It is the most important fac-

tory union controlled by the opposition.

The porter's office is controlled by a group of workers, behind whom is an old Spaniard who doesn't appear to understand very well what all the commotion is about. He is the regular doorman for the factory, and he has now been relieved of his functions.

present.

The meeting was held in the administrative offices. We could see that the office workers were also taking part in the occupation, which was a surprise for us Argentines.

The compañeros were curious to know who we were, since we had gone to the trouble to interview them. We



Uruguayan workers outside occupied factory in Montevideo

We went in, and went up to a circle of people and introduced ourselves to León Duarte. He was in jail for several months because of his activity in the Resistencia Obrero Estudiantil [ROE—Worker-Student Resistance]. Duarte received us fraternally and organized a meeting so that we could talk to all the delegations that were

explained that we believed that the hundred workers leaders gathered there held in their hands the key to the situation in Uruguay, for a real turn in events would depend on their deciding to organize themselves into a strong current and to adopt a class-struggle, revolutionary position with regard to the crisis.

## Bordaberry moves to strengthen control

# CNT leadership calls off general str

By David Thorstad

The leadership of the outlawed Uruguayan union, the Convención Nacional de Trabajadores (CNT—Workers National Congress), on July 11 called off the general strike that had paralyzed the country for fifteen days. The 400,000-member CNT had called the strike to protest the June 27 decision of President Juan María Bordaberry, under intense pressure from the military, to abolish Congress. On June 30, Bordaberry banned the Communist-party-led CNT, but despite the arrest of a number of its leaders, its apparatus continued to function clandestinely.

The ending of the strike, which had become the focal point of opposition to the coup, was a victory for Bordaberry. While the unions had been demanding the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of democratic liberties, the government insisted that it had agreed to no conditions during its secret talks with leaders of the banned union federation.

Minister of the Interior Colonel Néstor Bolentini told reporters July 11 that the banning of the CNT was "irreversible."

A United Press International dispatch from Montevideo, published in the July 15 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La*

*Prensa*, reported Bolentini as saying July 13 that "some" jailed union and political figures had been freed. "According to responsible union sources," UPI said, "in spite of the illegal status of the CNT, government representatives continued [during the strike] to hold talks with its leaders, who had secretly agreed to return to work in exchange for the release of imprisoned union activists."

The CNT, reported Howe in a July 12 dispatch from Montevideo, "issued a glum communiqué last night calling off the strike and acknowledging that it 'has not achieved the desired victory.'"

"The battle must continue but it is necessary to change the form of struggle," the organization's leadership declared.

Many union militants reportedly opposed the confederation's order to return to work. One example of this was the militant workers at FUNSA (Fábrica Uruguaya de Neumáticos—Uruguayan Tire Factory), one of the biggest factories in the country. "FUNSA was closed yesterday, under military guard," according to a UPI report in the July 13 *El Diario*, "and according to a spokesman for the strikers, the workers will not return to work because the general secretary of the plant union, León Duarte, is still being held in jail."

There was reportedly considerable bitterness and frustration among workers over the decision of the CNT leadership to order the strikers back to work. Just a day earlier, the CNT had announced that its unions would stand firm "until Mr. Bordaberry falls."

"At first some of our companions went hungry but we were getting organized and were ready to hold out," one construction worker told Howe. He said that he did not understand why the union leadership had given in.

The bitterness was shared by students, who were very active during the two weeks of confrontation with the government. Howe spoke to a group of medical students, whose union is affiliated to the CNT. "For two weeks," she wrote in the July 14 *New York Times*, "the students have been marching in peaceful demonstrations and distributing leaflets against the 'dictatorship,' and now that they have been ordered back to work by their union, they are showing disillusion, frustration and rage."

Bordaberry's strong-arm tactics against the strikers had not succeeded in forcing an end to the strike, the longest in the country's history. Police and troops repeatedly attempted to eject workers who had occupied their factories, only to find that the

strikers would return to reoccupy them.

On July 9, Bordaberry cracked down. His troops opened fire on a crowd, estimated at more than 25,000, that had converged on the center of the capital around 5:00 p.m., shouting "Down with the dictatorship!" and "United the people will never be conquered!" At least two persons were killed, twenty wounded, and 300 arrested.

Bordaberry also moved to crack down on the leaders of the political opposition, which is united in the Resistance Front. It consists of the National party; the Frente Amplio (Broad Front), a coalition of Socialists, Communists, and Christian Democrats; labor unions and student associations; and even a faction of Bordaberry's own Colorado party, the Movimiento de Unidad y Reforma (Movement for Unity and Reform), headed by Jorge Battle.

A number of the leaders of the opposition were arrested, including General Liber Seregni, the head of the Broad Front; he had participated in the July 9 demonstration.

Other opposition leaders who were under arrest by July 10 included Horacio Murdoch, president of the National party; José P. Cardozo, leader of the Socialist party; General Víctor Licandro and Colonel Carlos Zu-



# unionists

When we made this statement, we had a misgiving in mind: Why was it that gathered here was at least 40 percent of the Uruguayan workers movement, whose leaders call themselves socialists and revolutionists and criticize the sellouts of the Communist party, and yet these compañeros had not been able, after three days of the strike, to get out even one general leaflet for the entire country and all the workers?

The misgiving began to disappear as we listened to what the various tendencies had to say. Unfortunately, we could see that there is a long way to go to bring together a revolutionary current capable of challenging the leadership of the bureaucratic reformism of the Communist party.

We spoke first with a compañero from the Movimiento 26 de Marzo [March 26 Movement], which is a current that supports the Frente Amplio [Broad Front] of Liber Seregni. In response to various questions, he made clear that the factory occupations were decided upon as an administrative act by the Communist leadership of the CNT. Although he was critical of this method, the move itself struck him as correct. The big problem, he said, was that the CP—which has not come out with any position as a party—was giving it

no political objective and was not standing behind the occupations. This, he added, would lead to an inevitable attrition. Nevertheless, a solution was now taking shape.

Following such a good analysis, we expected that at this point the compañero would pose organizing the revolutionary class-struggle sentiments of the workers into an independent force and leadership. We asked him what he saw as the solution. His answer was very disappointing: He explained that he would have to support the call just issued by Liber Seregni.

Next spoke the compañeros from Resistencia Obrero Estudiantil. These are very combative compañeros who have been evolving from old anarchist positions toward Marxism. They made a blistering critique of the organizational weaknesses in the way the general strike was being led. They have tried to make up for these weaknesses by putting out an informational bulletin, which receives a partial distribution.

They listed a series of steps that could be taken to strengthen and broaden the strike by involving new layers of the population. But when it came to the political question, they agreed with the four demands made on the government by the CNT. In other words, in practice, these compañeros,

too, did not appear to agree with the idea that the workers movement, aside from its demands, is in a position to challenge the power of the bourgeoisie. Thus they focused on neither the appropriate objective nor tasks.

We then talked with compañeros representing plastics workers, dock workers, OODAE (confections and canning), General Electric, DELNE (electronics), Family Allowances (state employees), etc. In every case we noticed the same contradiction: On the one hand a critical attitude toward the CNT leadership, formulated with the correct arguments; but on the other hand a critical attitude toward the true capacities of the Uruguayan workers, which go far beyond their ability simply to paralyze the country, and include their ability to govern it.

Only the compañeros of the PRT posed the matter in this way: We must set the aim of this strike and of the struggle as beginning with the overthrow of Bordaberry and the coup-oriented military in order to bring about a provisional government of the CNT and the workers and people's political parties that will issue a call for a constituent general assembly.

This position was not discussed during the time we were there. At the moment, the minister of the interior is expected to issue some statement, and it is known that the military is discussing whether to call out tanks against the workers or to continue negotiations. The meeting had to be adjourned for elementary security reasons.



Tricontinental News Service

**BORDABERRY:** Main danger to his rule would be the development of a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions.

By this point, our misgivings had been confirmed. As we went out into the street, the old Spaniard at the door, true to his post, "searched" us—in the midst of a factory that was occupied, controlled, and run by workers, the old boss regulation of checking on people as they exited persisted.

Much more serious is the fact that the worker and revolutionary vanguard of Uruguay is still without a big party that can lead the workers to power; their consciousness is still under the influence of many "regulations" of the bosses and the reformists. We have no doubt that the colossal battle that they are waging will help to get rid of them. □

# ke in Uruguay

friategui of the Broad Front; and six members of the dissolved Congress. Four of the latter were reportedly members of the National party, the country's largest political organization.

Throughout the general strike, the approach taken by the opposition was one of appealing to allegedly dissident sectors of the armed forces to join the opposition and help overthrow Bordaberry. This strategy was reflected

in the special appeal addressed to the "patriotic majority" of the armed forces by the CNT, stressing that the July 9 demonstration that was brutally broken up by troops was not directed against the armed forces.

"We will not turn out as enemies of the armed forces but will respect your aims, which have been violated by the dictatorship," the message said. The CNT offered to cooperate in the military's program for "national reconstruction."

Despite denials by the three commanders in chief of the armed forces, rumors of divisions in the military per-

sisted. The rumors were based on a number of things, including reports that the navy refused to participate in raids June 30 to dislodge workers who had occupied their factories. They were carried out by the police and the army.

After a few days of forcibly ejecting workers, the army itself reportedly changed its tactic. *La Opinión* reported July 7 that instead of lining the workers up against the wall and then forcing them out at gunpoint, troops began to hand out leaflets to the workers asserting that "the army has come here not as your enemies but, on the contrary, to lend its physical support to the freedom to work, thereby guaranteeing the personal and collective integrity of the workers, who have for so long been bearing up under the pressure and coercion of a central labor union that has no nationalist sense and is motivated only by instructions imported from abroad."

The disorienting and counterrevolutionary strategy of the CNT's Stalinist leadership, and of the political opposition, failed even to achieve the limited aim of removing Bordaberry.

With the end of the general strike, Bordaberry quickly moved to consolidate his control. He met July 11 with the country's mayors to work out details for "neighborhood councils" to replace the nineteen elected municipal councils that he abolished along with the Congress. He will select the members himself.

He is next expected to name members of a Council of State, which is to replace Congress. It is to be made up of "notables" who have no "active participation in politics." He announced that he intends henceforth to rule by decree. □



Troops in Montevideo promised strikers 'the freedom to work'

Tricontinental News Service

## Campaign for defense of Brazilian political prisoner

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has launched a national emergency petition campaign to demand the release of imprisoned Brazilian peasant leader Manuel da Conceição.

Together with other U.S.-based groups, USLA is seeking to collect 5,000 signatures in da Conceição's behalf. Prominent U.S. citizens will present the signatures to Brazilian authorities in New York Sept. 7, the anniversary of Brazilian independence.

The life of da Conceição has been in danger since his most recent arrest in February 1972 in the northeast of Brazil. The Brazilian government has since placed him in a prison far to the south, somewhere near Rio de Janeiro.

The authorities undoubtedly transferred da Conceição because they recall what happened in June 1968 when the government launched an attack on the Union of Rural Workers of Pindare-Mirim Valley. Da Conceição is president of the union.

During the attack, the police shot da Conceição in the leg five times and

threw him in prison. After three days without any medical care, gangrene set in. He probably would have died if the peasants had not rebelled and occupied the towns of Pindare and Santa Ines. Although da Conceição's leg had to be amputated, the peasants' revolt won his release.

The February 1972 arrest of da Conceição stems from a struggle dating back to 1968 between local *latifundarios* (big landowners) and poor peasants. When the peasants refused to pay exorbitant land rents, the *latifundarios* plundered and then fenced off their lands.

The Union of Rural Workers proposed to tear down the fences and kill the cattle that the *latifundarios* were using to invade the peasants' farms. State authorities promised to send a commission to investigate the situation; instead they sent police to repress the peasants.

In 1969, thousands of soldiers invaded the northeast of Brazil under the guise of an "antiguerrilla" training exercise. They were unable to crush the peasant movement. Since that time the authorities have tried a more selective repression aimed at major lead-



Brazilian government refuses to reveal where peasant leader Manuel da Conceição is imprisoned, and has threatened him with death.

ers of the peasant movement. This is the reason for da Conceição's February 1972 arrest.

A letter written by da Conceição was smuggled out of Brazil last November. In the letter, he reported his transfer to a prison for common criminals, where he has been barbarically tortured. (See *USLA Reporter*, Vol. 3, No. 7, available for 25 cents from USLA.)

A June 1973 report from da Conceição's defense committee lists the international support his case has obtained. In Chile, for example, many workers and community-based groups and student and church organizations have actively supported the campaign for his release. News of the case has appeared in the press and on radio and TV.

The World Council of Churches, Amnesty International, and various committees based in Europe and North America have worked on da Conceição's behalf. USLA is appealing for stepped-up international solidarity actions to force Brazilian authorities to reveal where he is imprisoned and to prevent them from carrying out their threat on his life. He reported the threat in his November 1972 letter:

"They said to me . . . that when I had spent twelve months in prison, when the people had forgotten me, the government would order me placed in a helicopter and would throw me into the high seas. . . ."

Anyone wishing to participate in the petition campaign for da Conceição should contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. □

## Student struggle forces Thai regime to back down

The politicization of Thai students, a Bangkok daily wrote June 23, has passed "the point of no return." The regime would no longer be able to satisfy the students with "empty promises."

This comment came after at least 25,000 students — backed by clear support from the majority of the population of Bangkok — had demonstrated in the center of the city against the military government of Thanom Kittikachorn. The immediate demands of the student demonstrators were that nine students recently expelled from Ramkum Hareng, one of seven state-run universities, be reinstated and that the rector of the university be dismissed. They also asked for an inquiry into a violent incident at the university on June 20, during which two youths were said to have been wounded.

Late June 22 the regime granted the demands partially. The expulsion of the nine students was rescinded; while the rector was not fired, the regime did agree to conduct an "investigation" of his conduct. With the government's announcement, the students ended their demonstrations and returned to classes.

The rapidity with which the regime

yielded to the students' demands reflects the precarious situation it finds itself in. Rising prices have combined with food shortages (particularly of rice) to erode living standards. The continued presence of thousands of U.S. troops on air bases from which the bombing of Cambodia is conducted has generated anti-U.S. sentiment among the students and other sectors of the population. The National Student Center of Thailand, according to a report in the June 2 *Christian Science Monitor*, plans to begin in July a national campaign against the American bases.

The delicacy of the regime's position may be seen in the excuse it used to expel the nine students from Ramkum Hareng. They had published an article in a student paper satirizing Thanom and Deputy Premier Praphas Charusathien because they are still in office despite the mandatory retirement age of sixty for military of- week, the men had been on a five-day orgy in the woods — hunting by day and frolicking by night, with liquor and women in generous supply."

The officers had set up a "luxurious hunting camp at Thung Yai, in the state forest reserve." Game wardens

who discovered that the officers were killing rare animals protested. They were warned to keep quiet, but instead sneaked a group of journalists into the forest. Then came the helicopter crash.

Even after the wreck was investigated, the regime stuck, Nixon-style, to its story about top-secret missions, claiming the carcasses were "cover."

But then reporters published their photographs of the hunting camp. The ensuing public turmoil has put the regime on the defensive and is no doubt partly responsible for the students' willingness to take on the government.

On June 22 in a national radio speech, Thanom charged that the student demonstrators had been manipu-

lated by a "group of youth" who were working for their own end, which was to plunge the country into "disorder." Apparently, the speech did not have its desired effect. "The press," Jean-Claude Pomonti reported in the June 24-25 *Le Monde*, "did not fail to note that nobody believed this. 'Accusations like this,' the *Bangkok World* remarked, 'can only stir up even more trouble and show a lack of interest in the real problems at issue.'"

In any case, the students returned to their classes with the feeling that they had won a victory. One footnote to the student demonstrations is that they occurred at the same time that Bangkok was receiving its first-ever delegation of visiting ping-pong players from Peking. □

## Intercontinental Press

### THE COMING CONFRONTATION

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

For the answers read *Intercontinental Press*, the only English-language weekly magazine that specializes on news and analysis of revolutionary struggles from Canada to Chile and all around the world.

*Intercontinental Press*: A socialist antidote to the lies of the capitalist media.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

( ) Enclosed is \$7.50 for six months.

( ) Enclosed is \$15 for one year.

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.



## Phase 4 will mean even higher prices

# Prices still going up as wages lag behind

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 17—Rarely has such a mood of euphoria in the capitalist press surrounded the opening of talks between the United Auto Workers and the big-three auto trusts. The ruling class is basking in its success so far this year of holding wage settlements close to the guidelines set by the Nixon administration.

The auto rulers appear to be confident they can do the same thing. George Morris Jr., General Motors vice-president and chief company negotiator, told the *Washington Post* that there is no sense of "inevitability" of a strike this year. Three years ago the UAW shut down GM, the world's

postal, and other areas—have ended amid relative peace, with only a few scattered strikes."

According to today's *New York Times*, "Major settlements in the oil, rubber, electrical and trucking industries have ranged from 6 to 7 per cent a year, close to the Administration's guideline of a 5.5 per cent limit on wages plus 0.7 per cent for fringe benefits."

"As one U.A.W. leader observed: 'The economic settlement? I can give you that now, around 7 per cent.'" The UAW leadership professes to be concentrating on the issue of working conditions.

Yet the fact of the matter is that prices are going up this year at the fastest U.S. rates ever recorded. Price rises may be temporarily slowed with the 60-day "freeze," but it is certain they will shoot up again as soon as "Phase 4" goes into effect.

In the month of June, wholesale prices climbed 2.4 percent, the sharpest rate of increase in more than 22 years. "... wholesale prices have risen 47% over the last year, an all-time record for any 12-month period," reported the July 7 *New York Daily News*. These wholesale prices will be passed on to consumers.

Nixon administration voices are already warning that Phase 4 will bring new price increases. In Washington, July 12, John Dunlop, director of the Cost of Living Council, said that "the notion that prices should be stable after the freeze, either in the agricultural area or the nonagricultural area, doesn't seem to me an accurate reflection."

This was heralded the following day in the *Wall Street Journal*. "Big corporations have so much unused authority to raise prices that a potentially massive post-freeze price bulge threatens Phase 4," the financial newspaper reported.

A serious threat to consumer prices is contained in a farm bill that was passed through the House of Representatives on a voice vote July 16. The farm bill contains a provision, heavily backed by agribusiness lobbyists, that the president can permit

increases in food prices whenever necessary to avoid shortages of supplies. It makes Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz a virtual czar of food prices.

"The provision . . . could effectively nullify not only the current price freeze but also whatever food price controls President Nixon may seek to impose in Phase 4 of his economic policy," Marjorie Hunter of the *New York Times* wrote July 16. A similar provision was not contained in the Senate version of the farm bill, but it could be added in conference with the Senate.

The undermining effect of higher prices on wages was reported by the *New York Post* July 16: "While food prices continue to rise here, 'real spendable earnings' remain about the same as they were 15 months ago, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics," said the *Post*.

"The average factory production worker in the New York area earned \$162.76 a week in May, but his 'real spendable earnings' were only \$101.97, according to Herbert Bienstock, of the department's New York office."

"The average worker earned \$11.05 a week more in May 1973 than in May 1972, Bienstock said, but price and tax increases kept his real spendable income virtually the same," the *New York Post* reported.

The failure of union negotiators to insist on adequate protection against spiraling prices has been marveled at in the capitalist financial press. Following the Teamster settlement at the end of June, *New York Times* reporter Philip Shabecoff declared, "... most of this year's major labor negotiations are over and the pattern of wage settlements is pretty well established."

"Surprisingly—in view of the steep ascent of consumer prices in recent months—the wage settlements in these major industries have been uniformly moderate."

Shabecoff pointed to the "contrast between union wage restraint and the breakaway performance of prices."

Arthur Okun, a former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, told Shabecoff, "There is no question that labor has gotten the short end of the stick in the last six months, although it has not necessarily been by design."

The last comment is typically deceptive. Immense pressure from the government and from the trade-union bureaucracies has been applied on workers to keep wage increases within agreed upon limits. But prices are going up without any "design." For in the capitalist economy inflationary prices are beyond the control of the government, no matter what it pretends.

## As we go to press...

JULY 19—The Nixon administration has unveiled Phase 4. It immediately ends the so-called freeze on all food prices except beef. On Sept. 12, the ceiling on beef prices will also end.

"There is no way, with or without controls, to prevent a substantial rise of food prices," President Nixon declared in a brief message.

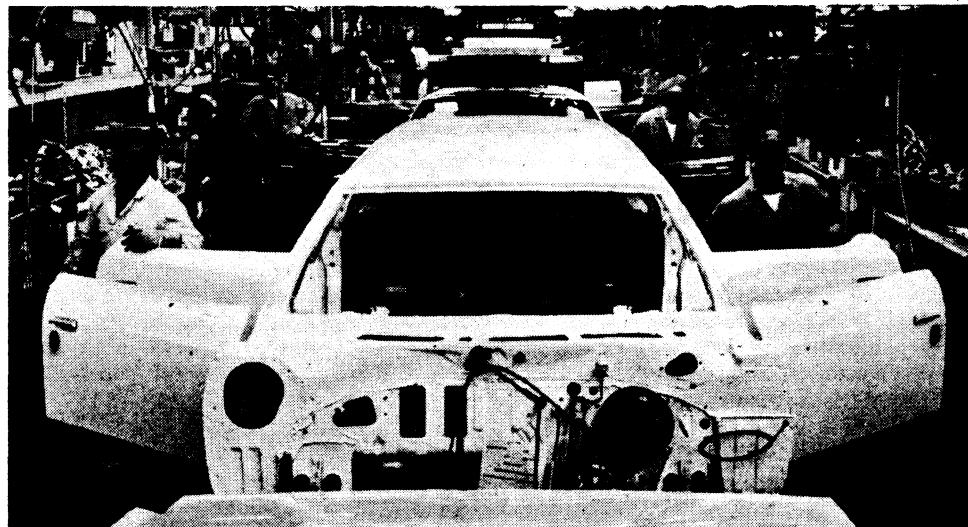
Workers' wages, already hard hit by spiraling food prices earlier this year, will be all the more battered in Phase 4. But instead of allowing the needed wage raises and cost-of-living protection against inflation, Phase 4 confines wage increases to the 5.5 percent guideline level, way behind soaring prices.

Phase 4 requires that food price increases be geared to production costs. But estimates of these production costs are made by the corporations, whose records are secret. This means there will be no food price controls at all. Controls on rent are also lifted.

largest corporation, for 67 days.

The July 16 *Christian Science Monitor* featured on its front page an article declaring, "Long-awaited wage talks between U.S. auto giants and unions bargaining for 800,000 workers begin this week in calm fashion. . . ."

"So far this year, other contract talks—in rubber, electrical, transport,



UAW bureaucrats hope to hold these workers' wages to Nixon's guidelines during auto talks.

## Some gains in West Coast longshore contract

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO—On July 14, ratification of a new two-year contract between the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) was completed. The vote was overwhelmingly in favor.

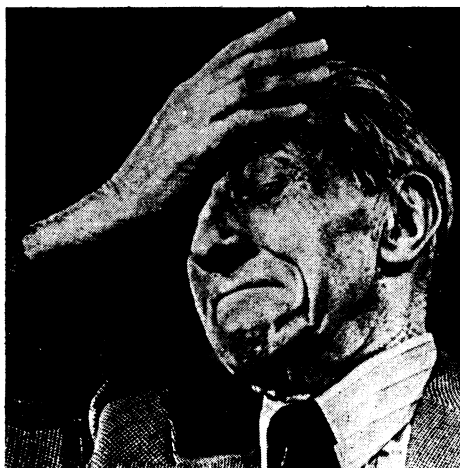
The settlement increases the basic pay scale for an eight-hour day for longshoremen and ship clerks from \$45.92 to \$49.50 for the first year and \$52.20 for the second year. It also provides five paid holidays, an improved wage-guarantee plan, and a cost-of-living increase.

Many of the basic demands of the union were not achieved—for example a seven-hour day, an adequate sliding scale of wages as a protection against inflation, and the elimination of the hated section 9.43 (steady-man clause). But gains were made, and most important—nothing was given away.

It is doubtful that more could have been gained without a strike, and the union was not ready to strike. The membership has not fully recovered from the 135-day strike in 1971-72. On the other hand, the PMA was also afraid of a strike. Their investment

in new container ships and port facilities was huge. It costs \$15,000 a day to maintain a ship whether it moves or not.

In this situation, with the strike weapon not readily at hand, it was fortunate that the negotiating committee was not a rubber stamp Bridges committee. Its composition reflected the division between the old-line, conservative, Harry Bridges leadership



BRIDGES: ILWU negotiators' demand for a seven-hour day and paid holidays gave him a headache.

and the union ranks, which first showed itself during the 1971-72 strike.

It was a young negotiating committee by industry standards. Several members were in their middle 30s. At least two, Herb Mills from San Francisco and Bill Ward from Portland, are college graduates.

One outstanding old-timer, Shawn Maloney, Seattle Local 19 president, combined with the young militants to call a halt to the ILWU top leadership's program. Since 1959 the union bureaucrats have been trading away the hard-won job conditions, manning scales, and work-load limits in exchange for wages and pensions.

One younger member of the negotiating committee told this reporter that they spent at least half their time negotiating with Bridges. "Each time before we ever got along to the ship-owners, we had to force Bridges and his boys into line. Believe it or not, among the things that he opposed was a seven-hour day and paid holidays!"

One of the most important gains was the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP).

The PGP is now ILWU written and administered. It is funded up to \$6-million a year. The money that is not used goes to the union. During the 18 month span of the last contract, the PMA paid out only \$638,000 of a \$9-million liability. They kept the \$8,362,000 that remained.

Although the previous plan provided for a 32-hour guarantee for high-seniority A-men, and a 16-hour guarantee for low-seniority B-men, the plan was drowned in 13 pages of exceptions and whereases that made it almost inoperative.

On April 20, 75 enraged B-men who had been working only two days a week occupied the PMA headquarters in San Francisco's financial district. The police Tactical Squad was called, but the union attorney and local officials backed up the B-men and no arrests were made. The PMA—and even Bridges—got the message. The ranks were fed up with a PGP that didn't work.

Now the PGP will guarantee A-men 36 hours weekly and B-men 18 hours weekly, averaged over a four-week period. The averaging system is a

Continued on page 22

# 'Mad dog' of labor mov't

The eagerness with which Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has directed a gang of hired thugs against the United Farm Workers Union places him high in the competition among trade-union bureaucrats for the title "Mad Dog of the Labor Movement." Fitzsimmons is not the first to be so honored, however.

We have reprinted here major excerpts from an article about an earlier contender for the title—Daniel J. Tobin, president of the Teamsters until 1953. The article, which first appeared in the May 17, 1947, *Militant*, was written by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party and now its national chairman emeritus.

The article is also contained in *Notebook of an Agitator*, a collection of Cannon's writings recently reprinted by Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

Among the whole gang of corrupt and contented labor fakers who infest the labor movement to its detriment—especially the AFL unions—and fatten on their crimes against the workers, one in particular is striving, not without success, to distinguish himself as the greatest scoundrel of them all. This is Daniel J. Tobin, the \$30,000-a-year president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, who has already won for himself the title of Mad Dog of the Labor Movement, and is demonstrating his right to hold it against all comers.

Tobin, a relic of the horse-and-buggy days of trade unionism, is a small-souled, grasping, selfish old reprobate who thinks the teamsters' union exists for his personal benefit. In addition to his huge salary he taps the union treasury for heavy expenses and pre-paid vacation trips for himself and family, and makes the union carry his son, whom he is grooming to become his successor, on the payroll at a fancy honorarium.

Tobin never knew anything about organizing workers and leading them in struggle to better their conditions. But he is an expert mechanic in the vile trade of breaking strikes, smashing democracy in local unions, working in cahoots with the bosses to keep rebellious workers from making a living at their trade, and spilling blood in

did not work very well. The Pittsburgh brewery drivers, with the help of other CIO fellow unionists, proved able to defend themselves on this ground. Tobin's importees then resorted to other techniques. One of their arguments in favor of the AFL as against the CIO was the use of a little homemade gadget known as the fire bomb.

These weapons were supplemented later with high-explosive bombs, charged with dynamite, which were recklessly thrown through the windows of distributors handling the CIO beer, regardless of the possible consequences to people living in the building.

At this time, when the reactionary offensive against the workers on all fronts calls for a labor leadership which would map out the strategy of a counter-offensive and inspire the workers for the struggle, Tobin's hand-picked Executive Board occupies itself primarily with the war against the workers.

The published proceedings of the Executive Board dealing with the appeals of suspended and expelled members read like the minutes of an Army court-martial conducted by officers who act from the premise that the private soldier is always wrong.

Tobin's criminal activities in Minneapolis have been rather widely advertised. It is known that he tried to break the great strikes in 1934. He didn't succeed then, and could not prevent a strong union being built without him and in spite of him. He then tried to get rid of the honest, fighting leaders of the union in 1941 by placing the union in "receivership." When the rank and file revolted against that, he called the federal cops through his friend President Roosevelt, and simply had the leaders thrown in prison.

At the same time, a horde of Tobin's gangsters, armed with blackjacks and baseball bats, were turned loose on the trucking districts with the open connivance of the city police, to force the truckdrivers to wear the button of Tobin's "reorganized" local. The State Labor Board, under Governor Stassen, denied the workers the right of an election to register their preference.

Having tasted blood in Minneapolis, Tobin has been running wild ever since in his violent campaign against any sign of independence or militancy in the ranks of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. At the present time approximately 40 percent of the local unions are under "receivership" with appointed officers and no autonomous rights. This simple fact in itself is the most devastating testimony of the extent of the rank-and-file discontent and revolt against the tyranny and treachery of this mean-spirited, vicious old man and his whole gang of well-heeled labor skates and common crooks who make up his unsavory machine.

Daniel J. Tobin employs yet another murderous weapon in his war against the rank and file of the IBT. He reinforces his brutal dictatorship over the local unions of the Teamsters International by the device of first expelling the dissident workers and then taking their bread and butter away from them by "taking them off the job." In the April number of *The International Teamster*, Tobin boasts about breaking up an opposition to the gangster-ridden union machine in St. Louis which culminated in a strike. "The International Union sent in a number of men," he says significantly, meaning a mob of strong-arm men whose assignment was to waylay the strikers and beat them up—"and every business agent and officer of our local unions in this city of St. Louis pledged his full and undivided help."

According to Tobin's account, the leading rank-and-file militants in the strike—truckdrivers, not gangsters—also had the bad habit of "continuously finding fault with the union officers." Consequently, "the general president ordered that charges be preferred against them." And, of course, "several of them were expelled from the union."

Next came the deal with the bosses. Says Tobin: "The employers were notified that those men were no longer members of the union and that our union shop agreement must be observed. The employers complied with the agreement, and those individuals were laid off by the employers." By this combination of anti-labor measures the strike was broken. The workers were beaten and forced into line. It was "a famous victory," and Tobin gloats over it. "In a few days," he writes, the men "begged to be allowed to go back to work." Maybe the poor devils had families to support. And maybe the families were hungry. The proudest men have been known to submit under such circumstances.

But proud men who beg through clenched teeth are dangerous animals to provoke. There are many of them in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at the present time, and their number is steadily growing. One of these days they are going to count noses and come to the conclusion that they are strong enough, if they all act together, to put a stop to the humiliations and defeats imposed upon them by brutal violence and treacherous collusion with the bosses. That will be a bad day for the Mad Dog of the Labor Movement. The dogcatchers will catch up with him.

## Support actions for UFW in California

Bay Area organizers of the United Farm Workers Union Safeway Boycott have called for a march and rally in San Francisco on Saturday, July 28, to support the UFW's struggle against the growers and Teamster's officialdom. July 28 is the anniversary of the signing of the key Delano grape contracts in 1967.

The rally will assemble at 11 a.m. at 24th and Folsom streets. It will then march to the Safeway at 30th and Mission streets for picketing.

In addition to this action, important sections of the Bay Area labor movement are supporting a labor caravan to Delano on July 21. Trade-union bodies endorsing the caravan include the Santa Clara and Contra Costa Central Labor Councils, the California Federation of Teachers, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Locals 10 and 34, International Typographical Union Local 21, Department Store Employees Local 1100, and Offices and Professional Employees Local 29. The caravan is also being built among rank-and-file Teamsters by the Committee for Concerned Teamsters.

The caravan will leave San Francisco at 5:30 a.m. from Department Store Employees Local 1100 at 1345 Mission Street. For information about a ride, call (415) 864-5613.

Plans continue for a July 28 march and rally in Los Angeles in support of the UFW strike and Safeway boycott. The action was called by the Farm Workers Support Coalition, which now has an office at the Social Services Union Local 535, 2300 W. 7th St. Telephone: (213) 663-1763.

Assembly is at 10 a.m. at Pershing Square. March at 11 a.m. to La Plaza (Main and Olvera) for a noon rally.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Like 'Mad Dog' Tobin, today's Teamster bureaucrats don't hesitate to use violence to intimidate workers who assert their rights. The hired goons shown here were used until recently to harass striking farm workers in Coachella, Calif.

gangster raids on the jurisdiction of other unions, and he is getting more proficient as he gets older.

Tobin disposes of a huge treasury—\$14,800,000 at the last report—accumulated from the dues payments of the hardworking and underpaid members of the union, and he utilizes a large part of it to maintain what amounts to a private army of murderous thugs, recruited in part from the underworld, many of whom have criminal records. These gangsters, under Tobin's direction, usually operating under the benevolent indifference of the authorities who are "taken care of" in various ways, wage war on the rank and file of the teamsters' union, and are at present especially preoccupied with a jurisdictional war to force the brewery workers to quit the union of their choice—the Brewery Workers Union, one of the oldest industrial unions and one well-respected in the labor movement—and to compel them to pay dues into the teamsters' union, whether they desire to or not.

In this campaign, beating, maiming, incendiarism and dynamiting are routine procedures, and murder is not excluded. Announcing a "knockdown drag-out" fight against the brewery workers, Tobin sent his private army of professional thugs into Pittsburgh. They moved in on Pittsburgh to convince the brewery workers that they should give up their own union, now affiliated with the CIO as a result of a free vote of the membership for that preference, and sign up in Tobin's union.

The usual practice of pulling drivers off their trucks and beating them within inches of their lives was tried first but



Militant/Harry Ring

Striking farm workers in Coachella, Calif.



## Black woman wins broad support

# Suit hits N. Carolina sterilization statute

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK, July 12—The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) today filed a class-action suit in North Carolina on behalf of Nial Ruth Cox, a 26-year-old Black woman, who was sterilized against her will when she was 18 years old. The suit asks that the North Carolina Sterilization Statute be declared unconstitutional and that \$1-million in damages be given to Cox.

The suit was announced at a news conference here initiated by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) and the ACLU. The news conference, held in the ACLU offices, overflowed with news media. Among the media present were CBS, NBC, and ABC television, the *New York Times*, *New York Post*, *Daily News*, *The Militant*, *Village Voice*, *Daily World*, Associated Press, and 10 radio stations.

Plaintiff Nial Ruth Cox was present, along with Brenda Feigen-Fasteau of the Women's Rights Project of the ACLU, who is handling the case, and Susan LaMont, national coordinator of WONAAC.

Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; Eleanor Holmes Norton, head of the New York Human Rights Commission; Joanna Misnik, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York city council president; Anita Murray, National Organization for Women; Georgia Henning, Communist party candidate for city council; and State Senator Carol Bellamy (D-N.Y.) all made statements.

Statements of support were read from Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) and others. Representatives from Planned Parenthood and other organizations were also present.

Cox told the press that at the time

she was sterilized in 1965 she was 18 years old and living in North Carolina with her mother and eight brothers and sisters. Her family was on welfare.

When she became pregnant, the social worker assigned to the Cox

The following is part of an exchange between reporters and Nial Ruth Cox, who was sterilized under provisions of the North Carolina Sterilization Statute.

When asked by a reporter why she believes the statute is racist, Cox replied, "Because I'm Black and they [white racists] want to stop the 'welfare' people."

Cox became visibly angry when a newswoman asked her why she had trusted the doctors if, as she claimed, they treated her like an animal. "I had no choice," Cox shot back. "What am I supposed to do? I'm Black. When you're Black and poor you have to do what the rich, white people say!"

When asked about her reaction to the case of the Relf sisters who were forcibly sterilized in Alabama recently, Cox replied, "It's heart-breaking because I know what I went through. It's a living hell."

family told her mother, Devora Cox, that unless Nial Ruth had an operation that would "temporarily" sterilize her, the family would be removed from the welfare rolls. No one explained the operation to the family either before or after it was performed.

"The doctors treated me like an animal with no brains," said Cox. "They would rush me in, rush me out, and brush me off when I asked them questions. After the operation I asked the

doctor, 'Can I have more kids?,' and he said, 'Of course, don't worry.'"

Six years later, after having moved to New York, where she works as a nurse's aide, Cox went to a doctor because of migraine headaches and severe stomach cramps. The doctor informed her, for the first time, that she had been permanently sterilized.

This case follows on the heels of the case of the two young Relf sisters who were sterilized in Alabama in June. The Relf sisters, 12 and 14, were sterilized without their knowledge or consent after their mother placed an "X" on papers she could not read and did not understand. When Lonnie Relf, the father of the two Black women, brought suit demanding an end to forced sterilizations and \$1-million in damages, it brought this issue to national attention.

Under the North Carolina Sterilization Statute, anyone under 21 can be sterilized without their consent if declared "mentally defective." Brenda Feigen-Fasteau explained that the doctor who performed the sterilization on Cox has asserted that she was "an 18-year-old mentally deficient Negro girl."

The class-action suit claims that the North Carolina Sterilization Statute "invidiously discriminates against women, against black persons and other racial, ethnic and cultural minority groups, against poor people, against welfare recipients, against unmarried persons, against persons under 21 years of age and against unwed mothers and fathers in violation of the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution."

It also asserts that the Statute "unduly interferes with the privacy of individuals by preventing persons from controlling their own reproductive functions."

Susan LaMont from WONAAC emphasized the fact that many people are unaware of the extent of the practice of forced sterilization. She pointed out that "at least 14 states have considered or are considering legislation designed to coerce women receiving welfare to submit to sterilization."

LaMont also explained that the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion makes it easier to fight against forced sterilization. As long as abortions were illegal, it was easy for racist hospital officials to demand that a woman undergo sterilization in order to obtain an abortion.



Militant/Linda Jenness

Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for New York city council president, denounces racism behind forced sterilization schemes at WONAAC, ACLU press conference.

Gloria Steinem urged that forced sterilization "be fought as a coalition issue." "It affects all of us," she said, "but especially women, and especially minority women." "The government," Steinem continued, "thinks it not only has the right to tap our phones, but to interfere in all areas of our personal lives, including governing our very bodies."

Joanna Misnik hit on the racist experimentation done on Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. "The Relf women were given contraceptive injections not proved safe. Chicana women in Texas were used as guinea pigs to test contraceptives. . . . Black and Latin political activists in jail are deemed 'criminally insane' and subjected to psychosurgical experimentation."

Misnik also pointed to the racist ideologies behind the population control advocates, "which say that the problems in our society are caused by too many poor, too many Blacks and Latinos. . . . The real danger lies with the tiny handful of capitalist ruling elite—the Watergaters and warmakers—who run this government in the interests of keeping themselves rich at the expense of the majority."

In conjunction with the news conference in New York, WONAAC also sponsored a well-attended news conference in Atlanta, Ga.



Militant/Linda Jenness

Gloria Steinem, Brenda Feigen-Fasteau, Nial Ruth Cox. ACLU announces class-action suit on behalf of Cox in forced sterilization case.

## 'Self-defense' plea in Detroit case wins acquittal

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Hayward Brown was found not guilty here on July 6 by a jury of 10 Blacks, one Chicano, and one Japanese-American. The 19-year-old Black youth had been charged with assault with intent to murder two Wayne State University (WSU) policemen.

This is the third acquittal for Brown in two months. On June 4 he was found not guilty in the Dec. 27 shooting of Patrolman Robert Dooley.

On May 10 he was found not guilty of four charges of assault with intent to murder four STRESS ("Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") cops.

Brown admitted shooting at the WSU policemen Jan. 12, but Brown's attorney, Kenneth Cockrel, argued that it was in self-defense.

At the time of the shooting, Brown

and two other Black men were the objects of a massive dragnet by Detroit police. Bown, John Percy Boyd, and Mark Clyde Bethune were anti-drug activists and were involved in a Dec. 4 shoot-out with four STRESS cops. STRESS was a police undercover and decoy squad until its abolition this spring in the face of Black opposition to its terror-squad tactics.

Boyd and Bethune were killed in Atlanta in February when the manhunt became nationwide.

Evidence was presented in Brown's defense to prove that he had ample reason to fear for his life and had to defend himself against the police. Police Commissioner John Nichols admitted, under oath as a defense witness, that he had called the three Black youth "mad dog killers." He said he still stood by his remarks.

Black policemen had testified that

orders went out in the police department to kill all three on sight.

After the verdict, Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan publicly attacked the jury, Black Judge Samuel Gardner, and the Black defense attorney. He called the acquittal a "miscarriage of justice" and charged that the jury had ignored the facts and based its decision on race.

He bemoaned the composition of juries, in Detroit especially, saying, "The way it is set up now, many businessmen and people in better-paid positions get out of jury duty."

Cockrel responded to Cahalan's charges by noting, "Persons who never had a word of criticism when all-white juries were sending Black people, Puerto Ricans, and whiteworking-class people to Jackson [State Prison] are suddenly becoming concerned and are

threatening the abolition of the jury system."

Stanley Leon, a 57-year-old steamfitter at a Ford auto plant and foreman of the jury, also countered Cahalan's charges. Leon didn't agree with Brown's actions as an antidrug activist but said that Cahalan simply presented too weak a case.

Leon said that "any jury of intelligent people, faced with the same information would have given the same verdict." He said the self-defense plea made sense to him. "Here was a young man [Brown] who'd ventured into something dangerous. I said to myself that he was being hunted like a slave with a price on his head."

Brown faces one last charge, a concealed-weapon charge predating the STRESS shoot-out. It is expected the charge will be dropped.

# Puerto Ricans say: 'U.S. get out!'

## The U.S. Navy in Culebra & Vieques

By MIRTA VIDAL

As the ferry from the "mainland" (as the island of Puerto Rico is known to inhabitants of its off-shore islands) nears the dock in Culebra, a hand painted sign can be seen that reads: "Welcome to Culebra — U. S. military prison."

Culebra is a small island some 20 miles off the east coast of Puerto Rico. Since 1936, Culebra has been regularly bombed, shelled, and strafed by the U. S. Navy, which owns one-fourth of the island. Uncle Sam annually invites navies from 20 other nations to join in the shelling.

I recently visited Culebra and Vieques, another nearby island, to get a firsthand view of what the Navy is doing to these islands.

During the ferry ride there, a young Culebran I was talking with pointed to a U. S. Navy submarine surfacing behind us.

That submarine, in the calm, splendid Caribbean setting, symbolized the relationship between the United States and the complex of Caribbean islands euphemistically labeled the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico."

This so-called Commonwealth has been a U. S. colony since the end of the Spanish-American War. And nowhere is that status more evident than in the large number of U. S. military installations throughout Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico's central location between North and South America, at the entrance to the Caribbean, makes it strategically important to U. S. imperialism.

It is estimated that some 13 percent of the island's tillable land is in federal hands—all of it rent free. That includes 4,000 acres owned by the Air Force, 14,000 acres owned by the Army, and 44,000 acres owned by the Navy. The largest bases are the Ramey Air Force Base on the west coast, near Aguadilla, and the Roosevelt Roads Naval Station on the east coast, facing Culebra and Vieques. Roosevelt is one of the largest bases in the world.

### One school, one doctor

Except for the Navy's operations, Culebra is a quiet place. Most of its 800 to 900 inhabitants live in one town. There is one school and one doctor. There is no tourism because of the danger posed by the Navy's activities.

Culebra is reputed to have some of the most beautiful beaches in the Caribbean, but they have been practically off limits to Culebrans since the Navy set up shop there.

"The Navy has the best beaches, like Flamingo," the young man on the ferry told me. "But no one is allowed to go there except on weekends, when they stop shooting."

One Culebran was killed in 1945 as a result of a technical error during Navy maneuvers. Another, a child, was disfigured while playing with a dud the Navy had left behind. And nine Navy personnel were killed when their observation post was mistaken for a target.

Understandably, the island's inhabitants live in a state of constant fear. Moreover, the military maneuvers have destroyed some of the Caribbean's most magnificent coral reefs. They are also driving away fish and unique tropical birds.

In 1969, the residents of Culebra organized the Committee for the Rescue of Culebra. It gained the active support of the two major proindependence organizations in Puerto Rico—the Puerto Rican



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

October 1971 demonstration for independence. Third from left is Juan Mari Bras, now general secretary of Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Independence Party (PIP) and the Pro-Independence Movement (predecessor to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.)

In July 1970 the PIP mobilized more than 3,000 people to go to Culebra to oppose the Navy's presence. Only about 1,000 actually made it to the island because of U. S. Coast Guard and Puerto Rican government interference.

In December of that same year, 600 to 700 Puerto Ricans marched in Washington, D. C., demanding that the Navy get out of Culebra.

Today, even the three former governors of Puerto Rico and its present governor, as well as a number of U. S. senators and representatives, oppose the Navy's use of Culebra.

The protest campaign has forced the Navy to make some concessions. Among them is an agreement to halt the shelling during weekends and holidays so that the beaches will be accessible to Culebrans.

### Debate continues

But these small concessions are no substitute for the Navy's getting out once and for all, and the debate continues.

Another wave of public outcry came last year when Defense Secretary Melvin Laird reversed his earlier promise that the Navy would leave Culebra by 1975, announcing the Navy would stay there until at least 1985. The reason given was simply that there was no better place for target practice.

But the Pentagon finally decided that the risk of further deepening the hatred of Puerto Ricans for their imperialist master was not worth taking. So, earlier this year, Defense Secretary Elliot Richardson, just before leaving his post to become attorney general, said the Navy would end its training activities on Culebra by July 1, 1975—under certain conditions.

One condition is that other Puerto Rican islands—Desecheo and Monito, off the west coast—be provided as gunnery ranges. And to add insult to injury, the Puerto Rican government must pay half the \$10-million expense of the moving operation!

Then the move must be approved by Congress. And the *Wall Street Journal* reported June 8 that already "Navy diehards refuse to accept" the decision and will begin "fighting behind the scenes on Capitol Hill to get a reversal."

There is more to it than that. As the young man on the Culebra ferry remarked to me: "I don't think the Navy will really leave Culebra. They'll move the shooting to other islands, but the bases will stay here."

As for Vieques, where the Navy conducts the same (though less publicized) operations, not a word has been uttered by the U. S. government.

Vieques is a larger island, 21 miles long by four miles wide, just south of Culebra. The Navy controls more than two-thirds of the island, including miles of superb beaches. The land area is used for large-scale training maneuvers and the offshore waters for mining and target practice. The Navy's gradual takeover has desolated the island, once a thriving agricultural area, forcing its residents to live in a narrow strip along the center.

While in Vieques, I talked with some young native *Viequenses* and Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) activists about the Navy's role on their island.

They explained that before the Navy moved into Vieques, sugar and pineapple were the island's main industries. At one time there were six sugar refineries. Now the Navy has taken over the most fertile land, including the best wells, leaving the most arid sections to the civilians.

### Jobs scarce

With the economic transformation, jobs are extremely scarce, and a large number of *Viequenses* have left for places like St. Croix in the Virgin Islands in search of work.

"The population has actually decreased," explained one of the young PSP members. "In 1942, when the Navy first came, it was around 11,200. Now it's down to 7,800."

To the young *Viequenses*, the Navy is a constant reminder of the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

"Christmas used to be a native feast," observed one of them, "with traditional food, songs, etc. Now it's all Bank Americard, American Express, and Santa Claus."

The PSP began to organize protests against the Navy's presence in Vieques in 1971. "At first we simply demanded that the Navy not be allowed to participate in the annual saint's day parade. But later we changed our demand to 'U. S. Navy out of Vieques' and organized a contingent carrying signs with that demand."

"In 1971, 30 people joined our contingent. In 1972, we drew 75 people. And this year we expect to get 100," they said with enthusiasm.

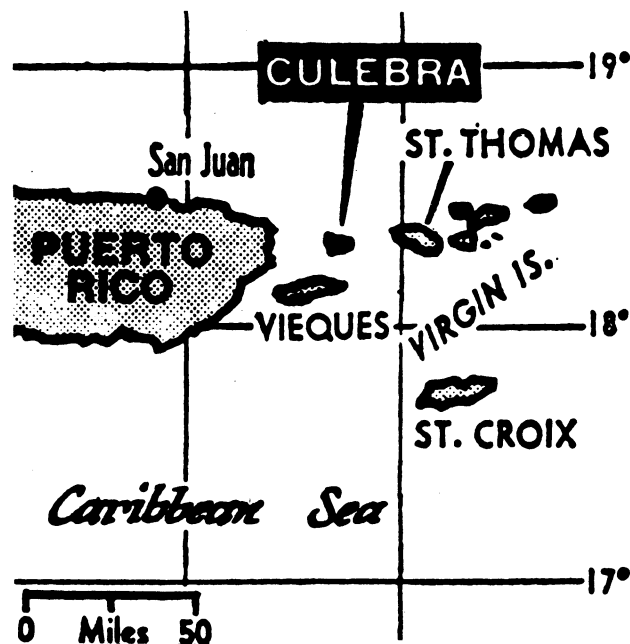
One other effect of the Navy's presence is that its mining operations interfere with fishing, an occupation important to the livelihood of many people on Vieques.

The fight of Culebrans and *Viequenses* is part of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people to determine their own destiny. The battle will continue until the United States gets out once and for all.



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

New rise of independence struggle in Puerto Rico has sparked demand that U. S. Navy get out of Culebra and Vieques.





## Strikes end, partial victory for firemen

# Puerto Rican workers protest National Guard strikebreaking

By DICK GARZA

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, July 12 — The island-wide strike by firemen that began on July 3 ended in a partial victory today. A settlement was also reached in the water and electrical workers strike that began July 5. The eight-day sanitation workers strike in San Juan was settled July 9.

The firemen and the water and electrical workers, whose strikes prompted Governor Hernández Colón to call out the National Guard, were demanding major improvements in working conditions, a shorter workweek, and higher pay.

A united labor march and rally, estimated to number 15,000 workers, was held July 11 in San Juan to protest the governor's use of the National Guard. Called by the Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU—United Workers Movement), the action was sponsored by nearly sixty unions. The demonstrators marched from the strike-bound Corona Brewery in Santurce to a rally point one block from the governor's mansion, taking over all four lanes on Ponce de León Avenue, one of San Juan's main thoroughfares, during the greater part of the march. Among the participants were Pedro Grant, coordinator of MOU and secretary-treasurer of the Boilermakers Union; Vicente Meléndez Borges, president of the United Firemen's Union; Francisco Delgado Reyes, president of the Electrical Workers Union (UIPICE); leaders of the Teamsters, Factory Operators, Teachers, Artists, Entertainment Technicians and Telephone Workers unions; Carlos Gallisá, attorney for the Firemen; a Puerto Rican Independence party (PIP) representative to the House; Rubén Berrios, PIP president and member of the Senate; and Juan Mari Brás, secretary-general of the Puerto Rican Socialist party.

During the rally, Pedro Grant scored Félix Morales Evaristo Toledo, president of the Union of Heavy Equipment Workers and of the Congress of Industrial Unions, for his support of the governor's call-up of the National Guard.

Meanwhile, various meetings were held between workers and government representatives with no apparent results.

However, in a separate move the governor's office announced its intention to order for the firemen new trucks to replace those ten years old, new security equipment, and three new



San Juan, July 11. Nearly 60 unions sponsored demonstration to protest use of National Guard against striking firemen and electrical workers.

auto-trucks for the fire-fighting fleet. The governor claimed the agreement was a result of talks between the fire chief and the government personnel director, and was not due to the strike. In addition, Ernesto Ramos Yordán, Speaker of the House, proposed that a special commission be set up within fifteen days to study the wage demands of the firemen and to report back to the governor within three months.

At a meeting held July 12, addressed by Pedro Grant; Angel M. Agosto, labor affairs secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and firemen's attorney Carlos Gallisá, the firemen voted to accept the proposals.

When news reached the striking electrical and water workers July 10 of a secret settlement made with Governor Hernández Colón behind the back of the negotiating committee by UTIER President Juan G. Morero, irate workers massed in front of the union's national office demanding Morero's resignation and resumption of the strike. The State Council, the union's leading body, soon afterward repudiated the agreement and announced the strike would go on. The morning of July 11, Morero and his

supporters ordered picket lines to disband and strikers to return to work under threat of losing their jobs. That night, the State Council voted to accept an agreement, which apparently was larger than that first announced by Morero.

The workers gained a company-paid dental plan; 7 percent of the yearly salary as a bonus; increases in overtime rates and meal allowances; special compensation for linemen working under hazardous conditions; and increases of various insurance benefits.

The break in the strike leadership confused UTIER workers and led to their return to work without winning many of their demands, in particular the demand for payment of social security contributions by the employer instead of by the workers. Local UTIER leaders, especially in the powerful Rio Piedras chapter, vowed to continue the fight against Morero and to call for a special convention to press for his resignation. They feel that the strike, the first in the union's thirty-three year history, has taught the workers many lessons that will be of use in next year's wage negotiations with the employers.

## Birds of a feather flock together

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — Politics has a way of bringing together birds of a feather. A recent case in point is Congressman Herman Badillo's failure to utter even a word condemning the mobilization of the National Guard against striking firemen and water and electrical workers in Puerto Rico.

Although he was supported by tens of thousands of Puerto Rican workers in New York in his recent bid for the Democratic Party nomination for mayor, Badillo was unable to muster up a statement of support for striking public employees in Puerto Rico.

What was the reason? It certainly wasn't that the demands of the work-

ers were unjust. They were reasonable demands for better wages and a shorter workweek. The real reason is that Badillo is close political friends with the man who called out the National Guard, Governor Rafael Hernández Colón.

Hernández Colón vigorously campaigned for Badillo in his recent campaign and helped raise thousands of dollars in Puerto Rico for him. A \$100-a-plate banquet was held at the El San Juan Hotel on June 22 to raise \$100,000 for Badillo's runoff with City Controller Abraham Beame.

Not only was Hernández Colón present, but three former governors of Puerto Rico from both the Popular

Democratic Party and the New Progressive Party were there. It's doubtful that any firemen or electrical workers or any of their friends put out the \$100 for that dinner.

Badillo's silence in the face of Hernández Colón's savage attack on striking workers in his homeland offers us an insight into how he might have handled strikes in New York City if he were elected mayor.

In contrast to Badillo, Norman Oliver, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, issued a strong statement denouncing the use of the National Guard against striking workers. He also marched in a picket line in New York to protest this attack.

## Protests greet Portuguese dictator in Britain

By TONY THOMAS

JULY 17 — Portuguese Premier Marcello Caetano's visit to Britain has sparked significant demonstrations by Britons protesting Portugal's barbaric wars against the independence fighters in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique.

About 5,000 people marched from Hyde Park to the Portuguese Embassy in London on July 15, according to a report in the *New York Times*. "About 500 policemen controlled the chanting crowd, which included several well-known Labor party members," the *Times* said.

It also reported that several hundred people demonstrated on July 16 outside an official dinner honoring Caetano at the Royal Naval College.

Caetano's visit was supposed to celebrate the 600th anniversary of the alliance between the Portuguese and British ruling classes, but recent revelations of Portuguese atrocities have turned it into a focus for public outrage.

Major London newspapers carried headlines like "This Man is Not Welcome" and "Don't Let This Dictator Into Britain." The Liberal and Labor parties passed motions demanding that the Conservative government cancel the trip, but Prime Minister Edward Heath refused.

Reports in the U.S. and British press have revealed Mylai-style massacres carried out by the Portuguese. The information comes mainly from Spanish and Portuguese priests in Mozambique.

In January 1972 Reverend Joaquim Teles Sampaio, rector of Macuti Parish Church in Beira, Mozambique, gave a sermon entitled "If You Desire Peace, Work for Justice," denouncing racism and colonialism in Mozambique.

According to the May 24 *Los Angeles Times*, Father Sampaio said, "We know from eyewitnesses that in November, 1971, a group of 40 commandos arrived in Mucumbura region, burning and wiping out everything in their path; more than 50 huts were burned down. We know that on Nov. 4 in the same area, 16 women and five children (whose names

Continued on page 22



Portuguese troops are responsible for hundreds of atrocities in Mozambique.

# Why Dorothy Healey quit The debate in Calif. Communist Party

By MILTON ALVIN

LOS ANGELES—The long-festering crisis in the California Communist Party has reached a new stage with the public resignation of Dorothy Healey after 45 years in the CP and the Young Communist League. Healey was Southern California chairwoman of the party for 20 years, a former member of the CP central committee, and the most prominent representative of the party on the West Coast.

She announced her action on her regular radio program on KPFA-FM July 9. She said her resignation was a response to a statement passed by the District Committee of the Southern Cal-



HEALEY: After 45 years, a Stalinist without a party.

ifornia CP earlier that day. According to Healey, the statement said, "The District Committee endorses the National Central Committee's estimate of Comrade Al Richmond's book [*A Long View from the Left*] as a weapon in the hands of the class enemy and calls upon each comrade to reflect the party's position when speaking and writing among masses."

"If I were to keep silent about the Central Committee's characterization of Richmond's book," Healey said, "it would represent a tacit acceptance that I agreed. I not only vehemently disagree but I consider their action a height of bureaucratic centralism."

Al Richmond was for many years the editor of the *People's World*, weekly West Coast voice of the CP. He was forced to resign after he wrote a series of articles opposing the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and expressing sympathy with the aims of the Dubcek leadership of the reform movement in Czechoslovakia.

## 'Independence' from Moscow

Richmond's book reflects the views of many CPers on the West Coast, including Healey. This grouping feels that the CP's political subservience to the twists and turns in Kremlin policy are an embarrassment and an obstacle to CP work inside the Democratic Party. They argue for more "independence" from Moscow for the Stalinists in the United States—not from a revolutionary perspective, but from the point of view of making it

easier to carry out their class-collaborationist policy.

Despite scathing denunciations of the Richmond book in the CP press, it has been promoted publicly by CPers on the West Coast.

Healey has repeatedly spoken out in public against the CP line in the past. Her open disagreements with the leadership date from the time of the 1956 congress of the Soviet Communist Party, when Khrushchev confirmed some of the monstrous crimes of Stalin. This bombshell speech threw Stalinist parties around the world into crises. The monolithic methods of rule, which had formerly led to the expulsion of any CPer bold enough to dissent or question party policy, were shattered. And dissident voices, including Healey's, began to be raised with relative impunity.

When the Kremlin troops invaded Hungary to crush the workers' uprising in the fall of 1956, Healey publicly expressed concern about the use of Soviet tanks in Hungary. She has also spoken out on the mistreatment of Soviet intellectuals and Jews.

## Debate on Czechoslovakia

The 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia brought many of these divisions to the fore again. The CP was openly divided on the invasion, which has remained one of the most sensitive issues for the CP leaders.

At a public meeting in 1968, Healey attacked Gus Hall's stand on Czechoslovakia. "The reforms took place completely under the leadership of the government and party in Czechoslovakia," she said.

In her resignation statement, Healey revealed that "the question of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia is a forbidden subject within the party since the National Committee decision approving it on Labor Day, 1968."

A few years ago Healey was removed from her post as chairwoman of the Southern California CP and from her seat on the central committee. She was also removed from the paid staff of the party.

In the spring of 1972, she expressed disagreement with the Kremlin's decision to go ahead with the Moscow summit meeting with Nixon despite the savage bombing of North Vietnam. Reacting to the widespread criticisms of this betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution, Healey used her radio show to dissociate herself from an editorial written by CP leaders apologizing for the Nixon-Brezhnev meet-

ing.

"I'm always for putting the priority where it belongs, and when a socialist country is being bombed, and while the people are being bombed who are fighting for national liberation in South Vietnam, that to me is the priority," she said.

"And when the term peaceful coexistence is used in the editorial," she added, "that is not the kind of peaceful coexistence I would fight for."

Healey did not refer to the détente between Nixon and Brezhnev in her statement of resignation, but she did mention another area of dispute inside the Stalinist party: the debate over the CP's electoral policy. "The Central Committee of the Communist Party here in the United States in December of 1972," Healey told her radio listeners, "approved a report which in essence said the party had been wrong in its electoral policy since the 1930s. Now I have no objection to a review of past policy. I do object when that review is made *totally* without the participation of the membership and when the new policy is agreed on as a line obligatory upon all Communists." (The report, by Gus Hall, that Healey was referring to has since been published under the title *Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters*.)

Although Healey focused on the question of the undemocratic nature of the decision—and there is no reason to doubt her charge that the decision was reached totally undemocratically—her real concern is not with undemocratic norms of procedure. As a member and leader of the Stalinist movement for 45 years she has gone along with far worse violations of workers' democracy without batting an eye.

## McGovern vs. Hall

Her objection is to the line expressed in the Gus Hall report. Hall's speech justified the policy of stressing the CP's candidates as election day neared, rather than giving all-out support to McGovern. Earlier in the campaign they had put heavy emphasis on supporting the McGovern campaign. The reason for the tactical adjustment was to avoid contradicting the Kremlin bureaucrats, who were openly favoring Nixon for reelection.

It would have been politically impossible for the CP to give outright support to Nixon. So they tried to resolve the contradiction by downplaying support for McGovern and emphasizing instead the campaign of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

Healey has supported capitalist party candidates in elections since the CP adopted this policy in the mid-1930s. In the 1972 presidential campaign she and those who agreed with her in California neglected the Hall-Tyner campaign and actively worked for McGovern.

Healey's open support for McGovern was merely a continuation of CP policy, but because many California Stalinists failed to make the tactical switch dictated by Moscow's new friendship with Nixon, they came under fire from Gus Hall. In his "Lame Duck" speech Hall launched a sharp attack on the California CPers and



RICHMOND: Will he be the next to go?

their role in his presidential campaign. "How do the comrades from California explain the mess there?" Hall demanded to know.

Despite his fulminations about shortcomings of the California CP, the local Stalinists recently declined to run a mayoral candidate of their own in Los Angeles. Instead, they supported Tom Bradley, a Black Democrat and ex-cop. This policy had Healey's complete support.

Following her resignation, the Southern California District Committee issued a statement that said, in part, "When she was asked, as a Communist, not to broadcast anti-Party material, she insisted upon doing so."

"There was, however, no move to expel Dorothy Healey. She deserted the Communist Party and is taking the course of openly attacking the Party, after failing after many years, to win the Party to her views. . . . The attempts to crush our Party have failed. Our class enemies now try a different tack: that of undermining the Party by distorting its manifold contributions and by trying to deflect radicalized masses from coming into our ranks."

However, this statement was not unanimously approved. According to



Czechoslovakia, 1968. Soviet tanks put end to 'Prague Spring.' Healey's public criticism of CP support for invasion struck sensitive nerve at CP headquarters.

Continued on page 22



# Ohio Teamster officials use hooligan tactics against ranks

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Just as Teamster officials have used goons to intimidate and harass striking farm workers in California, they have used hooligan tactics against rank-and-file members of the Teamsters union in Cleveland.

Four members of Teamsters Local 407 here were beaten recently by goons and sent to the hospital, according to Lester Williams, president of Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF).

The incident was one in a series of attacks designed to intimidate opposition to the new three-year agreement signed by Teamsters officials with the trucking industry. The contract has been imposed on 400,000 truck drivers and dock workers nationally, including an estimated 8,000 Greater Cleveland Teamsters represented by Local 407.

A vote to reject the new proposal took place at a union meeting of 3,000 on July 1. It gave notice to the Teamster officials that they are going to have some problems. After the vote was taken, the union bureaucrats suddenly announced a "bomb threat." The hall was partially emptied to allow police to search the area. No bomb was found. Members of the union told *The Militant* that union officials fabricated the bomb threat to break up the meeting.

The day following this meeting, seven large shipping companies in Cleveland were paralyzed by wildcat Teamster strikes. All the strikes were short-lived, however, as a result of the use of goons by the bureaucrats. "They're forcing us to have a referendum mail ballot which requires a two-thirds rejection [of the contract] to strike," explained George New, the vice-president of TURF. The bureaucrats will count the ballots.

New and Williams say that the pay raises in the new contract are not sufficient to keep pace with the cost of living, particularly for over-the-road drivers. In addition, the proposal is silent about the poor working conditions forced on the over-the-road drivers.

Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, has praised the contract. "It would raise earnings of some drivers to over \$32,000 a year by 1975," he claimed in a recent news conference. According to the *Cleveland Press*, Fitzsimmons also expressed his belief that Teamster members will continue to support Nixon until "all the facts are in" on the Watergate scandal.

Fitzsimmons said that with the new contract the base income of long-distance drivers paid by the mile would exceed \$20,500 annually without overtime.

"Sure we could make \$20,500," said

George New, who is a long-distance driver. "But that would mean driving 70 hours a week and [being] gone from home three to four days at a time.

"... I don't know where Fitzsimmons gets this \$32,500 from, except for a broker who owns his own truck. I guess Fitzsimmons gets it from the same place he gets our pensions—from his pocket.

"As for Watergate," New concluded, "our union officials have their own Watergate. They got it the same way Nixon did."

CLEVELAND, July 13—A section of Teamster Local 392 ended its strike against local department stores this week by a vote of 123 to 75.

It is likely that the strike would have continued if it had the support of Teamster officials. However, William Presser, Ohio Teamster chief, threatened to cancel strike benefits and ordered an end to the strike. International Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons demanded a membership vote through a mail referendum to be counted by union officials.

The strike by appliance haulers, however, did force the companies to raise their original offers from 77 cents to \$1.20 over three years. In addition, the strikers won a limited escalator clause.

# Cleveland ERA rally demands ratification

By NANCY BROWN

CLEVELAND, July 16—More than 175 people participated in a rally here July 7 calling for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment in Ohio.

The ERA was passed by the Ohio House of Representatives in February. In May, a Senate committee voted not to let the amendment out of committee. This prevents it from being voted on by the Senate during this session of the general assembly, which runs through 1974.

The July 7 rally was called by the Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) to keep the ERA before the public eye. Endorsers for the rally included Congressman Louis Stokes; 21st Congressional District Caucus; United Farm Workers Union; Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland; Case Western Reserve University Women's Center; Cleveland State University Women's Liberation; Women's Rights Committee of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Cleveland Council of Union Women; State Representative Harry Lehman; City Councilwoman Carol McLendon, and others.

Keynote speakers at the rally included Sue Johnson, president of Cleveland NOW; Councilwoman Carol McLendon; and State Senator Mari-gene Valiquette of Toledo, who sponsored the ERA in the state Senate.

Senator Valiquette said the ERA should be a target issue in the primary elections next spring. "The national Democratic and Republican parties have endorsed the amendment," she said, "and state legislative candidates should be made aware of their parties' platform stand." Valiquette urged working for the 1974 elections "from the bottom up" to elect state representatives from Ohio who support the ERA.

Other speakers at the rally included Roberta Scherr. "The way to win ratification of the ERA," said Scherr, "is not for women to rely on the Democrats and Republicans, who have proven that they are not interested in the rights of women, but to organize actions like this to win public support and to demand that the ERA be ratified."

# Atlanta Black workers stage walkout SWP's Bustin supports bank strike

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA, Ga., July 5—Debbie Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, held a news conference today in front of the Citizens and Southern (C&S) Bank just after striking Black employees had been arrested while picketing.

Bustin announced at the news conference that she was going to withdraw both her personal account and the SWP campaign account from the bank to show her support for the strikers.

Last week Black workers walked out to protest racism at the bank. Along with a walkout at J.C. Penney's, this is the latest in a series of strikes by Black workers here over the last year.

"Once again," Bustin told reporters outside the bank, "I challenge my opponents in the race to show where they stand. When I asked Maynard Jack-

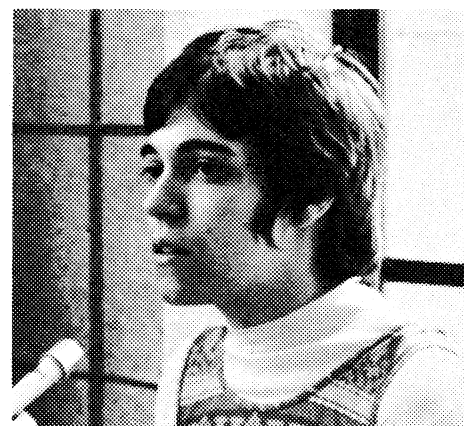
son [Black Democratic vice-mayor and a leading contender in the mayor's race] to join me on the picket lines during the strike of Black workers at Rich's Department Store, he said he wouldn't intervene 'in private labor disputes.' But these labor disputes are not private. Richard Rich and Mills B. Lane, owners of C&S, claim that Atlanta is not racist. But they discriminate against Black people in hiring and promotion and pay Black people low wages."

Police arrested the pickets because, Police Lieutenant Samples said, "They were using bullhorns and hollering." A local television reporter asked Samples, "Did you arrest the Shriners when they used bullhorns and made so much noise in their parade today?"

As the pickets were being arrested, one woman yelled out to Bustin, "Be

sure to make a statement for us!"

After talking to reporters, Bustin entered the bank to withdraw her account. Bank officials blocked a television crew from following her inside.



BUSTIN: Withdraws money from C&S Bank.

# Texas socialist hits 'subversive list'

By JILL FEIN

HOUSTON, July 6—The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit today against Texas Attorney General John Hill and the State Department of Public Welfare on behalf of Anne Springer McKnight. McKnight was denied a welfare job in Houston because she is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

McKnight met all requirements for the position of supervisor in the Harris County Child Welfare Unit. She was interviewed and offered the job in 1972, but before she was to begin work she was notified there would be a delay in her being hired. Four days later she was told that she could not be hired because of her affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party.

The suit says the state used the list of allegedly "subversive" organizations

compiled by the U.S. attorney general.

McKnight is seeking \$15,000 in damages and is asking that the attorney general of Texas be restrained from using such a list of organizations as a basis for denying employment.

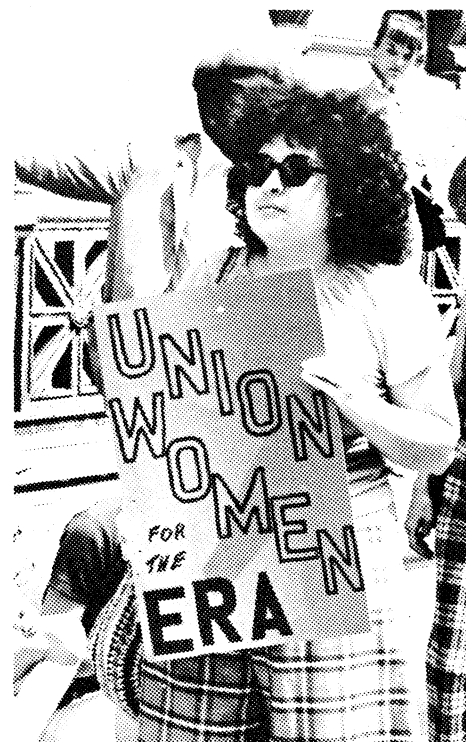
According to an article in the July 7 *Houston Post*, "Eugene Lege, director of the Harris County Child Welfare Unit, said he recalled Mrs. McKnight's employment application and understood the regional welfare office had refused to let his office hire her because she was a member of the [Socialist Workers] party. He said he remembered they were disappointed because she was so well qualified for social work."

At a press conference held this morn-

ing to announce the suit McKnight said, "I think I have the right to earn my living and support the political party of my choice."

Also present at the press conference was Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston. Fein said, "At the time McKnight was denied employment, the Socialist Workers Party was running a campaign for president of the United States, governor of Texas, and more than 100 other positions around the country."

"Denying employment to Anne McKnight was a travesty of justice. While we were running a campaign with all our candidates on the Texas ballot, our campaign supporter, Anne McKnight could not get a job with the state because she helped campaign for the Socialist Workers Party."



Militant/Herman Kirsch

One hundred and seventy-five people demonstrated in Cleveland on July 7 for passage of ERA.



## Libération

Libération. Montreal, Quebec. July 1973. 25 cents per copy. Eight months for \$1.

The July issue of *Libération*, the Québécois Trotskyist newspaper, contains a vivid picture of the problems facing revolutionists in Québec.

*Libération*, published in Montréal, reflects the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière/League for Socialist Action, the section of the Fourth International in Canada and Québec.

Two of this issue's most interesting articles concern activities of the Committee for Militant Unionism (CMU), a class-struggle trade-union committee supported by Québécois socialists.

One article is by André Doucet, a member of the CMU and the Service Employees Union. He reports on a successful struggle in his union to defeat plans for "participation" by workers in a management-controlled council at a hospital in Montréal.

CMU supporters in the union argued instead for a workers council, which Doucet explains would be "composed of representatives elected and recallable at every moment by the employees and all the unions

Calling for trade-union unity against the bosses and the government, Yvon-Doucet has urged that "a general assembly of delegates elected by the workers of all involved unions" decide on all collective contracts. This proposal was passed at a meeting of the Montréal Construction Union.

The union's leaders, however, have refused to carry the proposal out and have launched a campaign against Yvon-Doucet, suspending his right to vote and speak in the painters local to which he belongs. Supporters of union democracy are fighting now for his reinstatement.

Other articles in *Libération* center on the need for working-class political action and for a break with the nationalist-capitalist Parti Québécois (Québec Party). There is an editorial, "What a workers government would be; how to arrive at it?" and a statement by the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes



Socialistes/Young Socialists calling for an independent workers campaign in the Montréal elections for school board.

*Libération* also carries two important historical articles on the feminist struggle. "The Family and the Socialist Revolution," written in 1918 by Alexandre Kollontai, outlines the fight against the domestic slavery of women. Another article is the final installment in *Libération's* serialization of *Feminism and the Marxist Movement* by Mary-Alice Waters. This pamphlet is available in English from Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). A French edition is being published by Editions d'Avant Garde, 226 est, rue Ste-Catherine, Montréal 129, Québec, Canada.

There are several articles on international issues, including "Imperialist Canada/still an accomplice in Vietnam"; "Why the Argentine bourgeoisie supports the Peronists"; and "Maoism: myth and reality."

Rounding out this issue are an article on Watergate and major excerpts from the *Theses on Tactics* adopted by the Communist International's Third Congress in 1921.

*Libération* is a must for French-reading revolutionists in the U.S. and elsewhere. For a subscription, write *Libération*, B.P. 641, Succ. "N," Montréal 129, Québec, Canada.

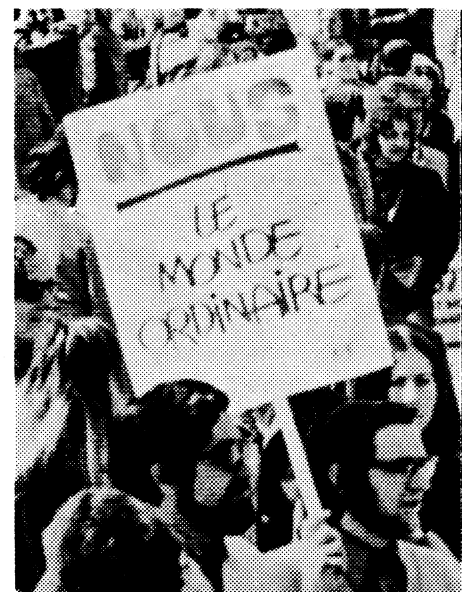
— TONY THOMAS

## Periodicals

of the hospital." Despite opposition from union bureaucrats and threats to expel militants from the union, the local voted 33 to 31 to boycott the elections for the management council.

Another article covers the case of Paul Yvon-Doucet, a socialist and CMU supporter, who has been victimized by union bureaucrats in the construction trades.

There have been sharp confrontations between construction unions of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU), the Québec Federation of Labor (QFL), and the Confederation of Democratic Unions (CDU). Yvon-Doucet and others have criticized the union officials in the CNTU and QFL for supporting legislation designed to foster these rivalries within the construction trades.



Public employees' demonstration during Spring 1972 workers' upsurge in Quebec.

## Women and the Chinese revolution

The Women's Representative. A play by Sun Yu. Performed at the Night House, 249 W. 18 St., New York, N.Y.

On May 1, 1950, the People's Republic of China proclaimed a new marriage law. The law prohibited forced marriage, polygamy, child brides, concubinage, and the paying of bride prices. It also granted women the right to divorce and made it a crime to interfere with the freedom of marriage and divorce.

For the next three years the Chinese Communist Party carried out a campaign to implement this marriage act. During that period many of the plays performed throughout China dealt with the marriage law. *The Women's Representative*, winner of the first prize in the 1953 People's Playwriting Contest, comes from that period when women were being encouraged to assert their rights as human beings.

The Night House production of this play—probably its first U.S. performance—clearly depicts the struggle for women's liberation within the Chinese peasant household. As one of the characters remarks, until the 1949 revolution, it was assumed that "a man roams over the whole world; a woman travels around the stove."

The play is about a young Chinese peasant woman, Wang Kuei-Yung. As the women's representative in her village, she has been drawn into an increasingly active role while her husband is away. Her mother-in-law has been waiting for the return of her son, hoping that then things will revert to their "natural order."

On the evening when the husband is to return, Wang Kuei-Yung goes to her literacy class as usual. The mother-in-law tries to keep her home by refusing to care for her child. But Wang Kuei-Yung simply takes her infant to a child-care center.

When the husband returns, his wife is not there to feed him and

## Theatre

care for his needs. And when she does finally come home, villagers invade the house to speak to her about their problems.

The husband tries to reestablish the old pattern of female submission and attempts to beat his wife when she refuses to give up her independence.

But the play is essentially a comedy with a happy ending. The husband comes to accept a bit of the new ways. He is especially pleased that his wife's independence brings greater material benefits to the family.

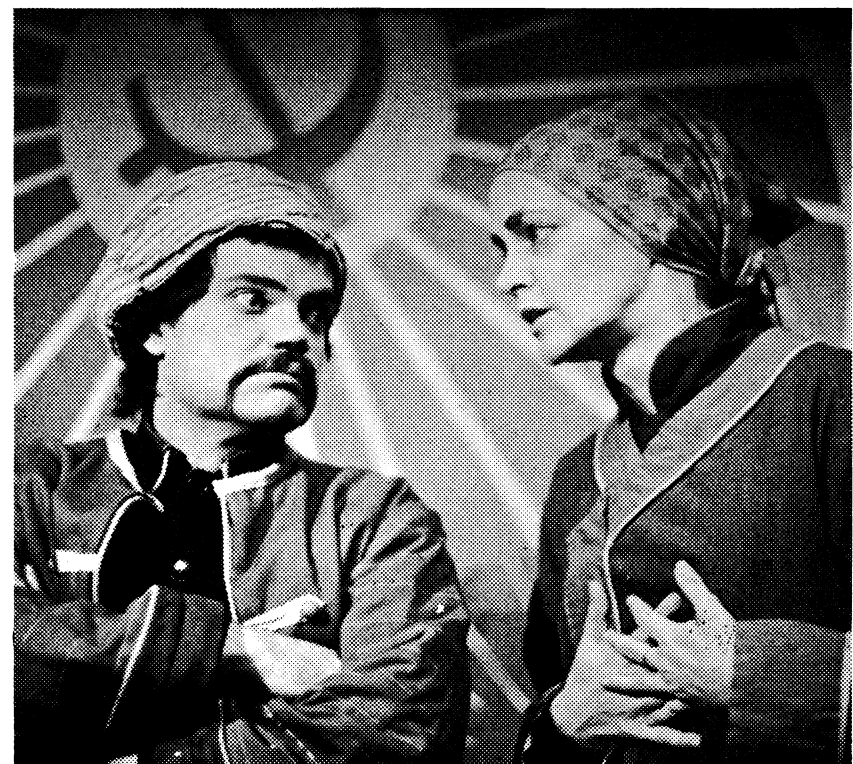
Several scenes in the play illustrate how women were won over to the revolution, such as the scene between Aunt Niu, an ignorant folk doctor, and Wang Kuei-Yung.

Aunt Niu earns her living by dispensing medicine that is sometimes harmful to her patients. At first she is hostile to Wang Kuei-Yung, who wants to suppress these practices. But Aunt Niu is won over when Wang Kuei-Yung arranges for her to attend classes in midwifery and to then return to her village to help lead the fight for better health.

The great campaign for freedom of marriage and divorce went out with a whisper in 1953. The Maoist bureaucracy retreated in the face of opposition to the new law. Today divorce is infrequent in China, and sex outside marriage or marriage itself before the age of 26 is considered "unsocialist."

*The Women's Representative* reminds us of the gains women have made in post-capitalist China—how far they have come and how far they must go.

— DIANNE FEELEY



Scene from 'The Women's Representative'

**Second of a series**

By TONY THOMAS

"The question was posed as follows: are we to consider as correct the assertion that the capitalist stage of economic development is inevitable for backward nations now on the road to emancipation...? We replied in the negative. If the victorious revolutionary proletariat conducts systematic propaganda among them, and the Soviet governments come to their aid with all the means at their dis-

ing to the Seventh Congress of the Stalinist Chinese Communist Party on April 24, 1945, Mao said:

"Some people cannot understand why the Communists [referring to the Chinese Communist Party], far from being antipathetic to capitalism, actually promote its development. To them we simply say this much: to replace the oppression of foreign imperialism and native feudalism with the development of capitalism is not only an advance, but also an unavoidable process." (From *The Fight for a New China*,

different sectors of this "national front."

The result was that when conservative and military sectors of NASAKOM sought to smash a growing mass mobilization, the Indonesian Communist Party was unable and unwilling to mobilize the masses or arm them to defend themselves against the national capitalists. More than 500,000 Indonesians, most of whom were Communist Party members, paid with their lives for their support to Mao's friend Sukarno.

One of the first efforts Davidson

through the October Revolution."

Davidson uses this and other falsifications to attempt to prove that Lenin opposed the theory of permanent revolution during and after the Russian revolution, and that the revolution in stages represents Leninism.

Before the 1917 revolution there were some differences between Lenin and Trotsky on the question of permanent revolution. Both agreed that the coming Russian revolution would be bourgeois-democratic in character, and both opposed allying with the Russian national bourgeoisie or placing any political confidence in them.

Lenin put forward the formula of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," that is, an alliance of the two main oppressed classes in Russia. He did not call for the dictatorship of the proletariat and direct implementation of socialist measures after a projected victory. This was not because he believed the Russian capitalists would be in the leadership of the revolution, but because he left open the question of the weight of the peasantry in the alliance.

Trotsky rejected the idea that the peasantry would play a political role independent from the working class or capitalists, although he agreed that winning the support of the peasants was decisive to the success of the revolution. Trotsky drew the conclusion that only the seizure of power by the proletariat, supported by the peasants, could lay the basis for solving the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution—and then only by implementing a series of socialist measures.

Their differences could be summed up as follows: Lenin left open the exact relationship between the proletariat and the peasantry in the democratic revolution; Trotsky felt that the specific variant for successful solution of these problems could only be the dictatorship of the proletariat with the political support of the peasants. Neither Lenin nor Trotsky thought at any time that political confidence could be given to the capitalists. Both opposed the two-stage view put forward by Mao and Davidson.

### 'Democratic dictatorship'

By the time of the 1917 revolution, Lenin had developed a concrete content of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" that was synonymous with proletarian dictatorship—not separate from it as Davidson claims. This is why Davidson is unable to find any polemics on this question between Lenin and

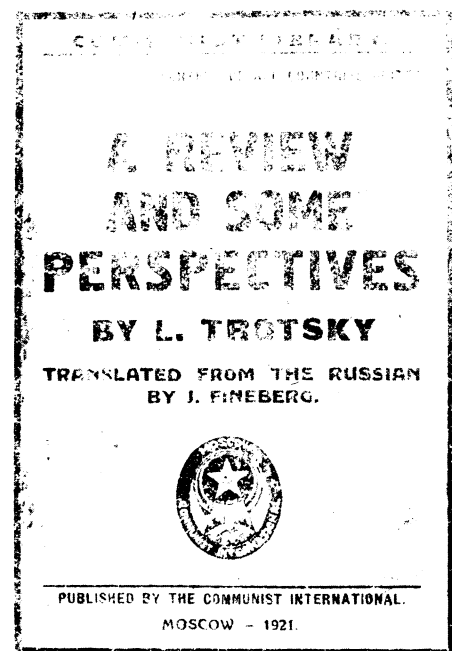
*Continued on page 22*

## The Guardian & Trotskyism

# Lenin, Mao, and theory of 'two-stage revolution'

posal—in that event it will be mistaken to assume that the backward peoples must inevitably go through the capitalist stage of development... the Communist International should advance the proposition... that with the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage." (V. I. Lenin, "Report on the Commission on the National and the Colonial Questions," July 28, 1920.)

This is the classic view of Leninism on the road to liberation for underdeveloped countries and oppressed nations. Revolutionary Marxists—basing themselves on Leon Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution and the concrete experience of the 1917 Russian revolution—believe that the liberation of these countries can take place only through a direct seizure of power by the working class, supported by the peasants and other oppressed layers, and through the initiation of socialist measures.



Cover of Trotsky's 'Results and Prospects,' which explains theory of permanent revolution, published by the Communist International in 1921.

Carl Davidson, in his recent series of articles on Trotskyism in the *Guardian*, attacks this view and defends the position of "two-stage" or "uninterrupted" revolution advanced by Stalin and Mao Tsetung. Davidson's attacks are part of the *Guardian's* campaign in defense of the counterrevolutionary positions of the Chinese bureaucracy.

Contrary to Lenin, Mao Tsetung holds that capitalism is a necessary stage of development in underdeveloped and oppressed nations. Speak-

New Century Publishers. New York, December 1945. Emphasis added.)

Opposition to two-stage theories of the revolution, as Lenin's remarks show, was one of the principles of the Communist International when it was led by Lenin and Trotsky. Trotsky's works *1905 and Results and Prospects*, in which he first developed the theory of permanent revolution, were printed by the Communist International as textbooks on revolutionary theory.

### Stalinism

In the 1920s, a conservative bureaucratic caste led by Stalin usurped control over the Communist International and the Soviet Communist Party. One of the main characteristics of this caste was the subordination of the world revolution to the prospects of making deals with various capitalist forces. Part of their struggle for this perspective was to promote the two-stage theory of revolution and to launch a vicious attack against Trotsky and other supporters of the theory of permanent revolution.

Their two-stage or "uninterrupted" theory became a justification for subordinating the colonial revolution to national capitalists willing to make diplomatic or military deals with the Soviet bureaucracy.

One of the first and most tragic examples of this was Stalin's demand that the Chinese Communists give support to Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang (Nationalist) Party during the Second Chinese Revolution in the 1920s. Stalin's support to Chiang went so far that the Chinese Communist Party was dissolved into the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang Party. He ordered the Chinese CP to follow its discipline, and Chiang was elected as an honorary member of the executive committee of the Comintern.

Educated in the Stalinist school and leading their own bureaucratic caste, the Peking rulers have championed this two-stage view to justify similar support to capitalist "friends of China" throughout Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The most disastrous example was the support given by the Maoists to Sukarno, Indonesia's capitalist leader until 1965. With Peking's blessings, Indonesia's pro-Mao Communist Party gave full support to Sukarno as the leader of the "national capitalists." It joined his NASAKOM coalition (standing for the national capitalists, the religious conservatives, the military, and the Communists) government. As part of its support for the "first stage," the Indonesian Stalinists called for "no confrontations" between



LENIN: 'Backward countries can go over to... communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage.'

makes to justify the two-stage theory is to falsify Lenin's position on this question. In his article in the April 4 *Guardian*, Davidson claims "Lenin insisted that the revolution would develop in stages" in Russia.

Davidson also claims that Lenin saw the Russian revolution of 1917 as taking place in two stages according to this schema: "the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants [which] came into being during the first stage, during the period of the dual power and in the special form of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies"; and a second stage, "the proletarian dictatorship



Demonstration in front of the Winter Palace in Petrograd, 1917. The *Guardian*, contrary to Lenin, claims there were 'two stages' in the Russian revolution.

# ...contract

Continued from page 13

weakness, as is the \$6-million a year limit. This is not enough. However, the negotiating committee felt it would survive the next two years unless the bottom falls out.

The cost-of-living allowance (COLA) section of the contract is inadequate. "COLA" means tail in Spanish, and in truth COLA is the stubby tail of the contract. To begin with, it doesn't go into effect until January 1975, six months before the contract ends. Also, the maximum increase allowed for a six-month period is 12 cents an hour.

Many small improvements on welfare items, such as 100 percent payment for dental work, were gained; but there wasn't enough push to get the big demands—the seven-hour day or the elimination of the steady-man clause.

The PMA claimed the seven-hour day would cost another 77 cents an hour. The negotiating committee backed off.

The shipowners appeared willing to modify section 9.43, which allows the employers to hire key machine operators directly, bypassing the rotating hiring hall. The rank and file has been so angry and frustrated with this section that productivity has suffered.

The PMA however, would only agree to small modifications that would in effect legitimize 9.43. Their strategy was to get the militant rank-and-file leaders on the negotiating committee to vote for the changes, and therefore be put in the position of selling the modified 9.43 to the membership. But the majority of the negotiating committee said, in effect, "Nothing doing; we'll conduct guerrilla warfare against 9.43 until 1975, at which time we'll throw it out—by strike if necessary."

Thus, the struggle to return all jobs to the hiring hall will continue. Generally, the ranks of the ILWU feel this negotiating committee did as well as it could, considering it had to fight on two fronts—against the PMA on

one hand, and Bridges on the other.

Negotiating committee meetings were open to all ILWU members, not secret and closed like in 1971-72, when Bridges ran things with an iron hand. It is evident that a new militant leadership is emerging, one that is better equipped to cope with the pressing problems facing the entire labor movement, not just the ILWU.

# ...protests

Continued from page 17

we have) were herded into a hut and burned alive by the so-called forces of peace and order. . . ."

The July 12 *Washington Post* tells of the exposure in London of another massacre. This time the source was Father Adrian Hastings, a lecturer on African affairs at the College of the Ascension in Birmingham. The account is based on a report he had received in June from the Spanish Missionary Society of Burgos.

"The report," the *Post* wrote, "asserts that Portuguese soldiers and security police shot, burned, beat and mutilated more than 400 men, women and children Dec. 16 at Wiriyamu, a village in western Mozambique."

"The account lists the names of 133 victims," the *Post* continued, "many of them infants, and says they were slaughtered because they helped Frelimo [guerrilla fighters]. . . ."

Hastings reported that survivors slipped away from the massacre after dark and gave their story to the Burgos missionaries. Hastings said that "his confidence in the Burgos Society convinces him that the account is accurate." He also said that two Spanish missionaries, Martin Hernández and Alfonso Valverde, have been imprisoned by the Portuguese for attempting to report other atrocities in Mozambique.

U.S. imperialism supplies hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic aid to the Portuguese colonialists. The entire system of genocidal warfare developed in Vietnam

has been brought to Africa with this U.S. aid—napalm, defoliation, "strategic hamlets," and Mylai-style massacres.

These revelations underscore the necessity for opponents of U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism to continue the campaign to expose and end the U.S.'s role in southern Africa.

# ...Healey

Continued from page 18

an account by Art Kunkin in the July 13 *Los Angeles Free Press*, "Long time party trade unionist and journalist Sam Kushner is one of at least three party leaders who refused to lend their names to the decision that requires all party members, and especially Ms. Healey, to publicly condemn a book which Ms. Healey evidently helped to write."

The decades of right-wing Stalinist politics Healey has practiced and taught to others leave little hope that her departure from the Communist Party will lead her to revolutionary positions. Her favorable attitude towards Richmond's book is a clue to her future. It can be expected to be confined to the brand of reformism she practiced for so many years in the CP.

However, her resignation will undoubtedly shake things up in the California CP, and her action may be followed by other CPers she has had influence over in the past. Many of these people have found comfortable roosts in the Democratic party and will be only too glad to remain there without further obligations to the Communist Party.

# ...Guardian

Continued from page 21

Trotsky during or after the revolution.

The period from February to Oc-

tober 1917 was marked by dual power between the Soviets and the capitalist Provisional Government. Lenin did not see this period as the stage of "democratic dictatorship" as Davidson claims. In Lenin's view, only the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the establishment of the single power of the Soviets represented the completion of the "democratic dictatorship."

In a letter outlining the tasks of the Bolsheviks after the outbreak of the February revolution, Lenin pointed out how this dictatorship was to be achieved. He wrote that the Bolsheviks must "transfer political power from the government of the landlords and capitalists . . . to a government of the workers and poorest peasants. This latter government must be organized on the model of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies. . . . Only such a government, of 'such' a class composition ('revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry') . . . will be capable of successfully carrying out the . . . chief task of the moment. . . ."

On the first anniversary of the October revolution, Lenin pointed out that it was only after the October revolution that the Bolsheviks swept "away at one blow the age-old enemy of the peasants, the feudal landowner, the big landed proprietor." On the fourth anniversary of the revolution, Lenin pointed out that it was in the process of the October socialist revolution that the bourgeois-democratic tasks were solved: "We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a 'by-product' of our main and genuinely proletarian-revolutionary, socialist activities."

Davidson's charges that the Bolsheviks pursued a policy of two-stage revolution in 1917 are thus patently false. In fact, the central problem of the Bolshevik revolution was the struggle against the Mensheviks and other supporters of the two-stage theory, who wanted to wait for the "necessary" capitalist development.

# Socialist Directory

**ALABAMA:** Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.  
**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.  
Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 573-1588. Bookstore open Mon-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Carbondale: YSA, c/o Jim Miles, 1207 South Wall, Hoffman House #147, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

**IOWA:** Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

**LOUISIANA:** Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., Lafayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

New Orleans: YSA, c/o Clarence Williams, 3141 N. Tonti St., New Orleans, La. 70117.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R. S. O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

**NEW HAMPSHIRE:** Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

**NEW JERSEY:** Central New Jersey: YSA, c/o Bill Balderston, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

**NEW MEXICO:** Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**OHIO:** Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 381-2897.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio, 43228. Tel: (614) 878-5297.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

**OREGON:** Eugene: YSA, c/o Mary Pauli, 1195 Tyler, Eugene, Ore. 97402. Tel: (503) 344-5525.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

**SOUTH DAKOTA:** Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

**VERMONT:** Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.



# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**POLICE FRAME-UP OF BLACK ACTIVISTS IN NORTH CAROLINA.** Speakers: Molly Hicks and Reverend Ben Chavis, two recent frame-up victims. Slide show. Fri., July 27, 8:30 p.m. Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Seminars related to classes on Transitional program, National question, Chinese revolution. Sun., July 29. Sessions at Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.W., Third Floor. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## AUSTIN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes at Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (512) 478-8602.

Wed., Thurs., Fri., July 25, 26, 27: The Cuban Revolution. Teacher: Harry Ring.

## BOSTON

**FOURTEEN YEARS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: RESULTS AND PROSPECTS.** A panel discussion with Jeanette Tracy, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston school committee; and others. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series on the Leninist conception of the party. Classes at 136 Lawrence St. (downtown). 50c per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

Wed., July 25, 7:30 p.m.: Composition of the revolutionary party. Teacher: Jay Ressler.

## CLEVELAND

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes at Debs Hall, 4420 Superior Ave. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

Thurs., July 26, 7 p.m.: The permanent revolution.

## HOUSTON

**VIVA LA HUELGA. THE FARMWORKERS' ORGANIZING DRIVE IN COACHELLA VALLEY.** Speakers: Barbara Cigainero, UFW Houston organizer; Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## Dolores Huerta to speak in N.Y.

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

## Sell The Militant

Help The Militant get around by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 12.5 cents each, and we bill you at the end of each month.

Please send me 5 10 25 other

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes at 3311 Montrose. 75c per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Fri., July 27, 8 p.m.; Sat., July 28, 2 p.m.; Sun., July 29, 2 p.m.: History of American Trotskyism. Teacher: Harry Ring.

## LOS ANGELES

**CHINA SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Les Evans, editor of International Socialist Review. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Third Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Classes held at 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. 50c per session. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

Wed., July 25, 8 p.m.: The permanent revolution in Cuba. Teacher: Eva Chertov.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series on the Leninist concept of the party. Classes at 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) 50c per session. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

Wed., July 25, 6:30 p.m.: The character and composition of a revolutionary workers party. Teacher: Marcia Gallo.

## SAN DIEGO

**HOW WOMEN LOST CONTROL OF THEIR DESTINY AND HOW THEY CAN REGAIN IT.** Speakers: Ann Forfreedom, feminist author and editor of Women Out of History; Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council. Fri., July 27, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. For more information call the Militant Bookstore, (714) 280-1292.

## SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Introduction to Marxism. Classes held Thursdays, 7:30 p.m., Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E. 25c per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Socialists for Honts. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

Thurs., July 26: Organizing the revolutionary party: democratic centralism.

## 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, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Series on Founding and early history of Fourth International. Classes held Monday evenings, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

## in the July-August YOUNG SOCIALIST



## WATERGATE: who are the real criminals ?

Also featuring: ● Interview with Argentine young socialist activist ● What is Behind the Nixon-Brezhnev Talks? ● Challenges Facing Black Struggle Today ● Farm Workers Fight for Survival.

The YOUNG SOCIALIST is an action newspaper reporting on the struggles of young people here and throughout the world. Subscribe today.

( ) Enclosed is \$1 for six months.

( ) Enclosed is \$2 for one year (11 issues).

( ) I would like to order a bundle of YOUNG SOCIALISTS a month at 12-1/2 cents per copy.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

YOUNG SOCIALIST, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

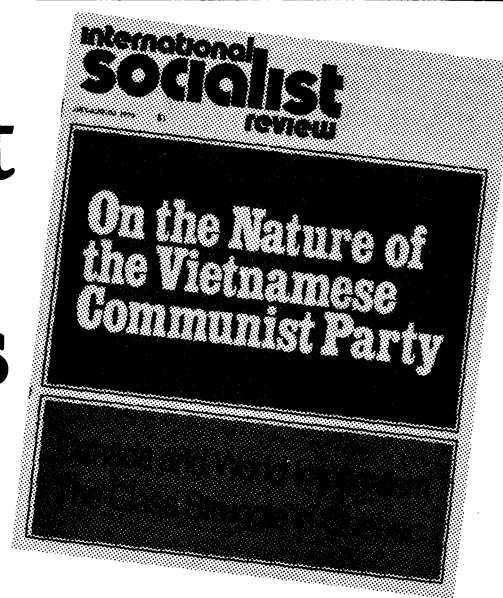
# Teamster Power

## Farrell Dobbs

Following the successful 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes, Teamster Local 544 began the organization of over-the-road truck drivers. Farrell Dobbs, the central strategist of this campaign and a revolutionary socialist, gives the step-by-step account of how it developed throughout eleven Midwest states. He describes the struggle by rank-and-file members for democratic control of their union locals, the forging of team leadership within the unions and the Central States Drivers Council, and the class struggle dynamic of the fight against the trucking bosses. A chapter of American labor radicalism rich in lessons for today's trade union militants. Index; Illustrations. 255 pp., \$8.95, paper \$2.95

A Monad Press Book exclusively distributed by  
Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014  
Tel. (212) 741-0690

## a Marxist analysis of today's issues



subscribe. 3 mos. \$1 / 1 yr. \$5

( ) Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

( ) Send me 1 year of the ISR for \$5.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014

## Genocide Against the Indians by George Novack \$60

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

## Bert Corona Speaks

on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare. In English or Spanish. 35 cents.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

## DETROIT

## Campaign Barbeque

6 P.M. SATURDAY, JULY 28 at 17132 Monica (near Six Mile Road and Livernois). Featured speaker: MACEO DIXON, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. For more information, contact the Socialist Workers Party, 3737 Woodward. Telephone: (313) 831-6135.

# THE MILITANT

## Struggle shifts to Arvin-Lamont fields

# Farm Workers cite gains of grape strike

By MIGUEL PENDAS

COACHELLA, Calif., July 16—"The damage is done. The *rancheros* [growers] have been hurt." This is how United Farm Workers Union leader Marshall Ganz summed up the strike that has been taking place here since April 16. Speaking in Spanish at a July 13 rally, Ganz told several hundred *huelgistas* (strikers) that the strike would be ending in the Coachella Valley as the harvest draws to a close.

The center of the grape strike has now shifted to the Arvin-Lamont area, about 100 miles north of Los An-

For information on Farm Worker support actions in California, see page 14.

geles. This is the second area to be harvested each year in California.

This spring, grape growers there refused to renew their UFW contracts and instead signed "sweetheart" deals with the Teamster union bureaucrats. More than 800 workers are now on strike in the area, trying to get the contracts back. Their ranks will be increased as the workers leave Coachella and join the strike in Lamont.

A group officially representing all of the Catholic men's religious orders in the U. S. joined the picketers July 13 in Lamont. The delegation of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men was led by Denver Bishop George Evans.

The group said it will throw "its entire support behind the right of farm workers to determine by secret ballot their choice of a union." Similar visits and declarations of support have come recently from the governing senate of the United Church of Christ and from officials of the National Council of Churches.

That same day, July 13, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons was addressing a businessmen's group in



Sacramento, Calif. United Farm Workers supporters confront Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons. Widespread support for UFW against Teamster-grower attacks has aided the struggle of the farm workers for a union of their choice.

Sacramento. Fitzsimmons viciously denounced the clergy who have supported the Farm Workers strike, calling them "fanatics" who are "ignorant" of the labor movement. He complained of having received nine bags of protest mail recently when a Teamster goon brutally attacked the UFW director of information, John Bank.

On the other hand, moaned Fitzsimmons, when a Teamster official was allegedly scratched on the forehead by a rock, not a single letter of protest was received.

In the larger grape-growing areas of Fresno and Delano, the grape contracts have not yet expired and it is uncertain which way the grape growers will go when they do. How-

ever, the experience of Coachella should be a lesson to them.

Wholesale prices for Coachella grapes are dropping so low that some growers have given up trying to harvest what's left of their crop. Most grapes are going for \$2 to \$2.50 for a 22 pound box—considerably below cost. Low prices throughout the harvest have caused them to "lose their tails," as one grower put it.

The low quality of this year's crop has been due to bad weather and the strike and boycott by the Farm Workers. In addition, now that other areas are starting to harvest, the demand for Coachella grapes will decline even further.

"The growers have lost money, are losing money, and will lose more," said Marshall Ganz as he detailed some of the growers' problems. "At the CID ranch, they are hardly working," he said. "The coolers there and at the Bagdasarian are full of grapes they can't sell."

"At Karahadian and others there is no more picking," he added. Some of the growers are reportedly looking into the possibility of harvesting their crops for raisins or wine, both of which are less lucrative options than table grapes. Ganz predicted that the growers will not succeed in getting out the full crop.

"We think it was a terrific victory," replied John Bank when asked about the Coachella strike. "We've forced them into a losing economic situation." The grape strike in Arizona is now over as well, and it too is con-

sidered a victory by the Farm Workers. "We're killing them on the prices there too," added Bank.

The boycott, also, continues to have an effect. For example, it was reported that in Toronto, Canada, one supermarket chain that had agreed to carry union grapes thought it would try to pull a fast one. The market owners bought some scab grapes, trying to take advantage of the drop in price. But the boycott was so effective that they lost money even with the cheaper grapes.

There have been no incidents of violence since the Teamster "security guards" were forced to withdraw from the fields throughout the state. The picket lines are somewhat quieter, and the pickets find it easier to talk to nonstrikers. The public scandal that resulted from the reign of terror Teamster goons had been carrying out against Farm Workers forced the bureaucrats to withdraw the thugs.

UFW leaders have carefully documented all incidents of violence instigated by the *gorilas* (goons) and have prepared a lawsuit demanding \$50-million in damages. The suit names Teamster officials, including Frank Fitzsimmons, as well as individual goons.

A blow was dealt to the union when Gallo Brothers, one of the country's largest wineries, signed a "sweetheart" deal July 10 with the Teamsters. The UFW had held this contract since 1967. Gallo employs 400 to 500 field workers in its vineyards and orchards at peak harvest time.

## Teamster payoffs investigated

LOS ANGELES—The Justice Department announced July 13 it has new evidence that Teamster officials did indeed accept payoffs from lettuce growers to join a campaign to destroy the United Farm Workers Union. Evidence is scheduled to be heard July 19 by a federal grand jury in San Francisco.

The Justice Department further declared it will investigate UFW charges that the Teamsters union hired goons to attack striking farm workers in Coachella Valley. The union has been pressing authorities to take action against those responsible for the violence.

UFW attorney Jerry Cohen said that the union learned of the payoffs from two former Teamster business agents.

One of the business agents, Frank Carolla, was present at the motel where the payoffs took place. According to Cohen, growers gave Teamster officials at least three payoffs of \$5,000 each during the 1970 UFW lettuce strike in Salinas, Calif.

Cohen said the money was taken to the motel by Bob Martin, former secretary-treasurer of the Western Growers Association, and Al Hansen, a grower from Salinas.