

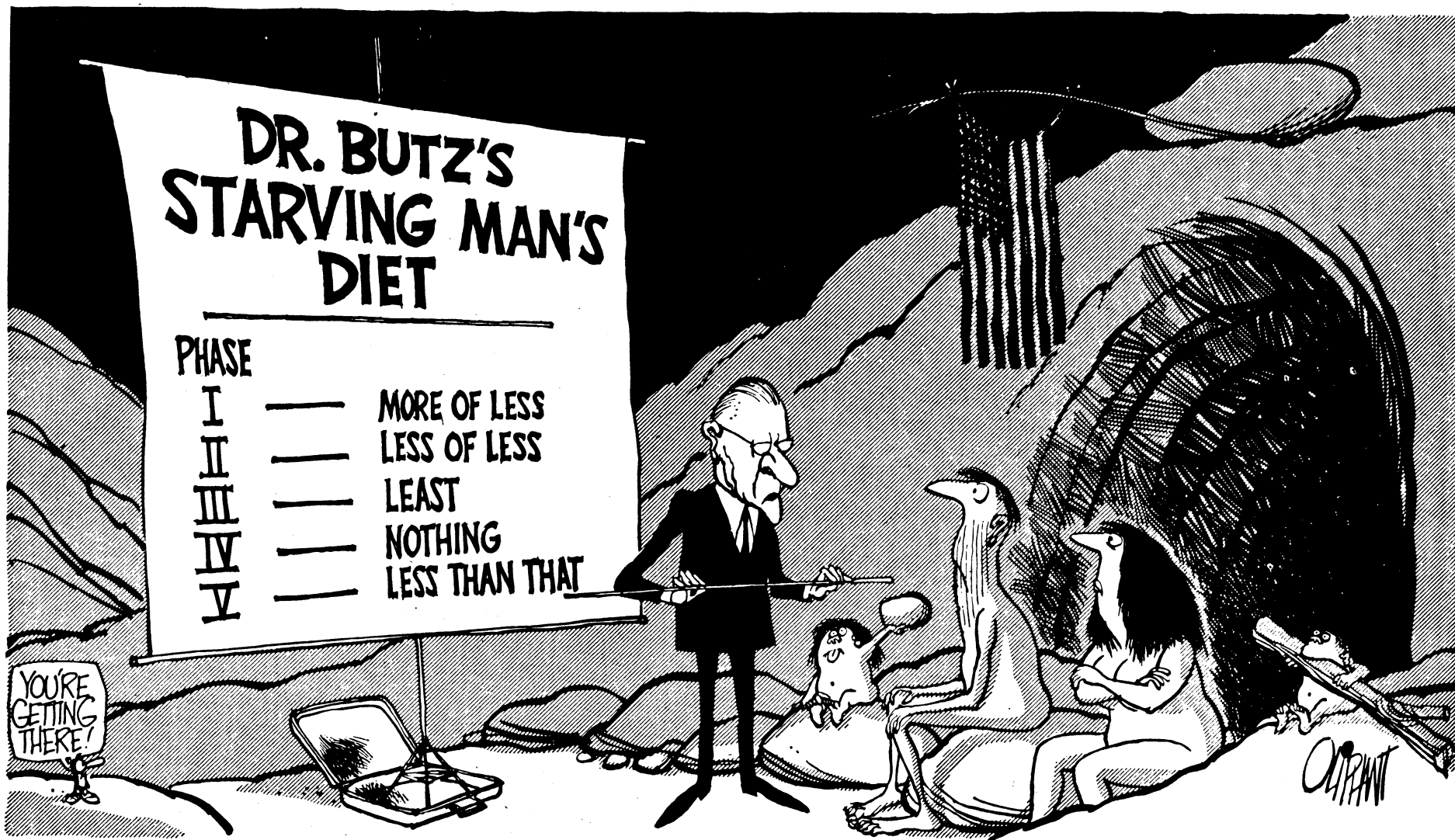
THE MILITANT

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

Sept. 8 protest in Chicago

Black groups, unions set anti-inflation rally

— page 3



The real Sam Ervin: racist and antilabor

— page 4

Vietnam vets expose frame-up trial in Fla.

— page 5



In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 6 'Plot' to kill Nixon is publicity stunt
- 7 Watergate—the week in review
- 8 Farm workers vigil for de la Cruz
- 9 UFW spreads boycott
- 13 Ohio prisoners demand rights
- 14 PST enters Argentine election
- 15 N.Y. socialists obtain ballot status
- 16 Shanker unchallenged at AFT convention
- 17 Women march for ERA, abortion rights
- 18 Union paper reviews 'Teamster Power'
- 19 Bailey defeated in Berkeley recall vote
- 24 Support actions multiply for farm workers' boycott

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

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Interview with Alain Krivine
- 2 Trotsky: Why Marxists oppose individual terrorism
- 4 Canadian New Democratic Party convention

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

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PROTEST CONVICTIONS FOR 'THOUGHT CRIME' IN ISRAEL: Fifty people picketed the Israeli consulate in New York Aug. 21 to protest the recent sentencing of Rami Livneh and Mali Lehrman to 10 and seven years, respectively, in prison in Haifa.

Livneh and Lehrman were sentenced not for acts of espionage or terror, but for failing to report a discussion with a member of the Palestinian resistance organization Fateh who was visiting Israel.

Livneh was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Alliance. The judge at his trial argued that "the purpose of the organization was to carry out a violent revolution in order to overthrow the present government in Israel and to set up in its place an Arab-Jewish regime. . . . A change in the present regime and the establishment of an Arab-Jewish regime in its place. . . . constitutes an impingement of the sovereignty of Israel. . . ."

The Ad-Hoc Committee for the Preservation of Civil Liberties in Israel, which called the demonstration, pointed out that "this decision has created a legal precedent by which anyone favoring a binational state or an end to an exclusive Jewish state is guilty of violating the security and sovereignty of Israel. Thus the concept of thought crime has been introduced."

WILMINGTON NINE GET CHURCH FUNDS: In an unprecedented action, the United Church of Christ recently voted to allocate \$350,000 toward bail for the Wilmington Nine. The decision came at a meeting in St. Louis attended by 800 delegates from each of 40 conferences of the denomination.

The Wilmington Nine, along with Reverend Ben Chavis, were convicted in 1972 on charges stemming from a rebellion in Wilmington, N.C., in 1971.

Bond of \$40,000 each will be posted for the nine now awaiting an appeal of their conviction in North Carolina prisons. Chavis, a staff member of the church, was recently released on bail and is awaiting an appeal this fall.

According to Irving Joyner, director of the church's criminal justice priority team, "This is the first time in history that a denomination has done such a thing."

DEMONSTRATORS HIT REPRESSION IN MEXICO: About 50 persons, mostly Chicanos, marched in a picket line Aug. 22 in front of the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles to protest police repression in Mexico. In recent weeks, large numbers of police have attacked student demonstrations in Mexico City, including one commemorating the Cuban revolutionary holiday, the 26th of July.

On another occasion, 600 cops invaded the campus of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) on the pretext of chasing some "criminals." The L.A. protest was organized by several groups, including the National Committee to Free Los Tres, CASA-Hermandad, the Lincoln-Boyle Heights chapter of La Raza Unida Party, and the People's Collective.

CALIF. BALLOT SUIT MOVES AHEAD: The way has been cleared for an early hearing on the suit brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) against ballot restrictions in California. Federal Judge Robert Schnackle has denied a state motion to join the suit with another challenging the constitutionality of California's independent nominations law. If the motion had been granted, the CoDEL suit would have been delayed.

California law requires a new party seeking ballot status to obtain the signatures of 663,000 voters or to register 66,300 members. Last month, a legislative advisory committee voted 9 to 7 against the recommendation of its own subcommittee to ease this requirement. The proposed reduction to 16,000 registered members would have enabled La Raza Unida Party, a co-plaintiff in the CoDEL suit, to qualify for ballot status.

HOUSTON TEACHERS STRIKE ENDED: The strike by the Houston Teachers Association (HTA), which represents 9,000 teachers, was called off after one day at a meeting of 5,000 teachers Aug. 20.

The teachers faced opposition from the right-wing Congress of Houston Teachers, which mobilized its membership to break the strike, as well as from the board of education. An emergency meeting of the school board threatened to revoke the certificates of striking teachers and to confiscate retirement funds—possibilities opened up by a vicious antiunion state law. All but a few hundred teachers voted to return to work.

The school board has promised amnesty to strikers,

but it has refused to say whether they will be paid for the day they were out. On Aug. 27, a special board meeting called to consider the demands of the HTA was attended by 300 teachers. The HTA was demanding an \$1,100 across-the-board increase. Starting teachers in Houston get \$7,100 a year.

The board of education argued that it had no money, and voted only a \$100 increase. In contrast, the salary of Dr. George Garver, the general superintendent for the Houston Independent School District, was raised to \$46,000 less than six months ago.

SWP CAMPAIGN SCORES ANOTHER FIRST: On Aug. 26, Debby Bustin and Joel Aber became the first socialist candidates to be placed on the ballot in the history of Atlanta city elections. Both candidates presented petitions containing more than 10,300 signatures of registered voters, and both have been informed that they are certified for ballot status. Bustin was the third of 11 candidates to qualify for mayor, and Aber was the first of six to qualify for city council president. All the other candidates for city-wide office qualified by paying filing fees of \$1,000 for mayor and \$600 for city council president.

BLACKS, WOMEN LAUNCH FIGHT AGAINST TV STATION: Militant reader Judy Hagans reports that the National Black Communications Caucus (NBCC) and the Detroit chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) are prepared to file a petition with the FCC to deny license renewal to WJBK-TV2, Storer Broadcasting's CBS affiliate in Detroit.

The groups charge that TV2 has refused to negotiate in good faith with community organizations over improved programming, community access to the station's facilities, and fair hiring of Blacks and women.

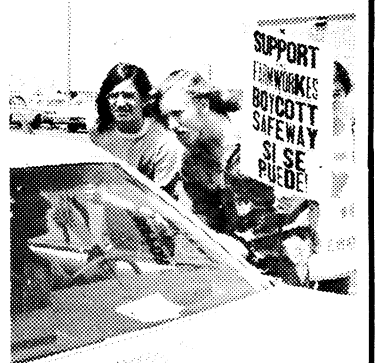
Joining NOW and the NBCC in the action, which will be taken to federal court if necessary, are the Women's Radio Collective, the Michigan Women's Political Caucus, and the Interfaith Centers for Racial Justice.

In a recent FCC survey, all three of Detroit's major network stations ranked poorly in their records on hiring and programming, with TV2 just missing the list of the 10 worst in the country. Although all Detroit stations are guilty of sexism, racism, and tokenism, TV2 was singled out as the worst offender.

IOWA INDIANS OCCUPY GOVERNMENT OFFICES: Ten Indians were arrested in Des Moines, Iowa, Aug. 22 after they occupied part of a state office building for more than two hours. The occupiers, led by Ron Petite, a Des Moines activist in the American Indian Movement (AIM), issued 12 demands centering mainly around prison conditions, parole reforms, and discrimination against Indian prisoners in Iowa. All 10 participants in the action were charged with disturbing the peace and were released on bail.

—DAVE FRANKEL

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Unions, Black groups mobilize for Sept. 8 price protest in Chicago

By **BRUCE BLOY**

CHICAGO—"The whole theme of this demonstration is 'We have had enough!' The people have had enough, Mr. Nixon!" said Reverend Willie Barrows, coordinator of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice, at a recent planning meeting for the demonstration being organized here.

More than 200 representatives from labor, civil rights, antiwar, student, and older people's groups attended the Aug. 23 planning meeting. They hope to turn out thousands of people in the streets of Chicago on Sept. 8 to protest the high cost of living and unfair taxation, and to demand jobs for all.

The coalition was initiated this summer by Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity); Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers; and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. They also called for the Sept. 8 demonstration.

Speaking at a July 27 press conference to announce the formation of the coalition, Jesse Jackson called for "a halt to inflationary prices, and

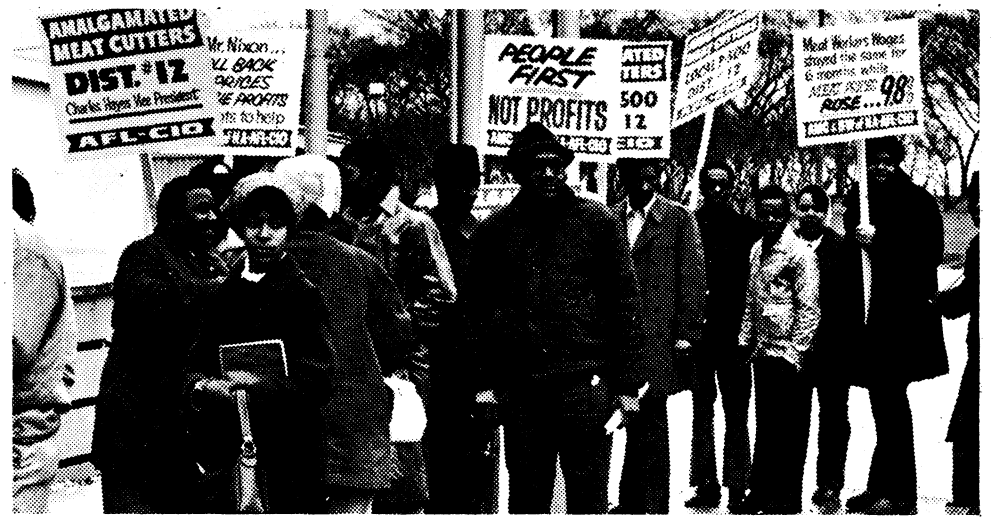
outraged at soaring prices, especially for food. On April 28 a demonstration in San Francisco against inflation and wage controls drew 3,000 to 5,000 protesters. It was called by the United Labor Action Committee, a coalition of Bay Area trade unionists.

At the April 28 rally, several speakers pointed to the need to continue demonstrations if prices kept climbing. In recent months, during Phase 3 1/2 and now Phase 4, prices have risen faster than ever.

On the other hand, major contracts negotiated this year, covering teamsters, rail, steel, electrical, and rubber workers, have not included wage gains that come anywhere near making up for inflation.

Although some have partial escalator clauses, none of the contracts have included an unlimited escalator clause to raise wages at the same rate as the real increase in the cost of living. This is the only measure that can really protect workers from inflation.

So, as one might expect, anger is still building up over prices. It is significant that the Sept. 8 demonstration has drawn even wider Black and labor support than the April 28 action did. Up to now, 67 unions and union



Militant/Terry Quilico

Members of Meat Cutters union at April 4 demonstration of 3,000 in Chicago. The action, initiated by Operation PUSH, protested inflation and government cutbacks in social-services spending. PUSH and Meat Cutters are among those actively building Sept. 8.

tee, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party.

'Into the streets'

In a recent interview, Reverend Barrows said, "We felt that with what is happening in this country today, with Watergate, with the distrust that people have in the government, that the people must then move into the streets."

To organize the largest possible turnout on Sept. 8 the coalition has secured two offices, one at PUSH headquarters and the other at Amalgamated Meat Cutters headquarters, both with full-time staff people. The Meat Cutters and the UAW have assigned personnel to work full time on building the demonstration.

Weekly Thursday night coalition meetings are held to coordinate activities of various committees set up to mobilize labor, community organizations, students, teachers, senior citizens, and clergy.

At the large Aug. 23 planning meeting Ed Heisler, a member of the United Transportation Union, reported on efforts to organize union support. He said letters had been sent to every labor organization in the Chicago area, calling on them to support the march.

The American Federation of Government Employees had already distributed 3,500 leaflets to its membership and planned to hand out 9,000 more the next week. The American Postal Workers Union is organizing a leaflet and telephone campaign to reach its members. The Chicago Teachers Union plans to leaflet schools the week they open in hopes of turning out not only teachers but also students and parents. Both the UAW and the Meat Cutters are putting out their own leaflets and encouraging

the organization of union contingents in the shops.

The meeting also heard plans for a media campaign that will include a series of news conferences by women's organizations, labor leaders, and Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican organizations.

A speaker's bureau has been organized to send speakers to union meetings and urge members to attend the march.

About 50 women from Chicago-area unions attended an Aug. 27 meeting

The Sept. 8 demonstration against inflation, unfair taxes, and unemployment will assemble at 11 a.m. at State and Wacker Streets.

For more information about how you can help build the demonstration, call the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice at (312) 373-3550.

of the Women's Trade Union Caucus. The meeting voted to support and build the Sept. 8 action and to call a news conference for Labor Day.

In addition, PUSH had turned its weekly Saturday morning meetings, which are carried live on radio and reach thousands of people in the Chicago area, into rallies for building Sept. 8. At the PUSH meeting on Aug. 25 Ed Heisler, speaking as secretary of the coalition's labor committee, spoke to the 500 people present.

"When we march, demonstrate, protest, and go on strike, then the politicians listen to us," he said. "Mass action is the only way to make the fat cats in Washington listen to our demands. Our power is in the streets, and that is where we must be on Sept. 8."



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Part of crowd of 200 at recent meeting to organize support for Sept. 8 demonstration against high prices and unemployment.

peace. This latter point means cutting the military budget. To continue ignoring the fact that the military budget is one of the chief sources of inflation is to invite economic chaos."

Jackson said, "We will be dealing with the state of the economy for all people by launching massive demonstrations in major cities across the nation. Chicago will initiate this major drive in September."

Rising anger over prices

The meat boycott last April showed that millions of people were becoming

representatives have endorsed it, including the UAW, AFSCME, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, United Farm Workers, American Federation of Government Employees, Chicago Teachers Union, Shoeworkers Union, American Postal Workers Union, Illinois Union of Social Services Employees, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and United Electrical Workers.

In a letter sent to UAW locals in Region 4 (Illinois-Iowa) urging them to support the demonstration, UAW regional director Robert Johnson pointed out that the action comes just a week before their contracts with the auto manufacturers expire.

Blacks are the hardest hit by inflation. Workers of the oppressed nationalities are paid less to begin with and suffer a higher rate of unemployment than white workers. Since they are at the bottom of the wage scale and spend a larger portion of each week's income on food, the effect of skyrocketing food prices is especially devastating for Black people.

In addition to the Black trade unionists who helped initiate the Sept. 8 action, a number of influential Black community organizations are involved in building it. These include PUSH, the Chicago NAACP, and the Chicago Urban League.

Other groups participating include Clergy and Laity Concerned, Chicago Peace Action Coalition, Chicago Peace Council, Student Mobilization Commit-



Militant/Bruce Bloy

BARROWS: Leader of Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice.

Unions back demonstration

In a press release issued Aug. 27, Gustavo Gutierrez, a leader of the United Farm Workers Union in Chicago, stated: "On Sept. 8 the United Farm Workers are joining with 65 other unions . . . to fight for our common goals. We urge Teamster brothers and sisters and everyone else to join us in saying 'Viva la Causa' and to unite Sept. 8."

Another statement of support came from Neil Bratcher, Illinois District director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 19. "This march here is but the first step in a massive organizing effort across

the country," he said. "Chicago will be the kicking-off point. . . . There will be other marches, but the ultimate purpose is that we will have a climax like we did in 1963—another march on Washington."

Don Jones, president of Local 1395 of the American Federation of Government Employees and a member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, stressed the importance of the demonstration for impending union negotiations. "The workers will move to awaken any union that is sleeping, to make them aware of their individual needs and to make sure that the union represents all the people in the union."

The truth about 'Senator Sam'

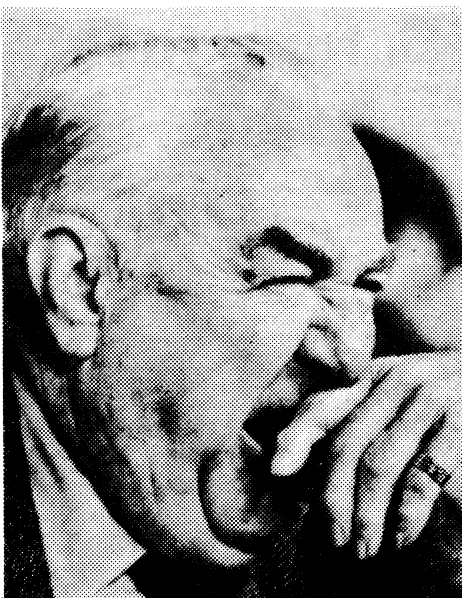


By PETER SEIDMAN

The role of the Senate Watergate Committee in bringing to light the government's Watergate crimes has won it great popularity. Indeed, the committee's chairman, Senator Samuel Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.), has emerged as something of a hero. "Uncle Sam" is cultivating his image as a knight in shining armor doing battle with the Watergate dragon.

Ervin's reputation as a defender of constitutional rights dates from the late 1960s, when he emerged as a prominent critic of government surveillance of dissenters. This reputation came in handy when the Senate Democrats decided to set up a Watergate committee and needed a "Mr. Clean" to head it.

With all the publicity on Watergate, however, Ervin's real record and views have been buried. A look at positions he has taken in the past shows clearly that in his view, civil liberties should be strictly limited to those who are white, male, and over 21.



ERVIN: No knight in shining armor.

As a major power in the Democratic Party, Ervin has long proven that his loyalty is first and foremost to protection of the capitalist system. And he has not hesitated to defend the wars, racism, and economic exploitation that go along with it.

As a leading Dixiecrat, he has consistently opposed civil rights for Blacks, supported antilabor legislation, and defended U.S. aggression overseas, including in Vietnam.

Ervin's 19-year Senate record as a staunch defender of capitalist rule both in the U.S. and around the world helps to clarify the real function of his Senate Watergate Committee. Its purpose is not to change the system of capitalist minority rule that makes Watergate crimes inevitable, but rather to reverse the erosion of popular confidence in the government that has resulted from the scandal.

Civil rights

Ervin has been a leader of the racist Dixiecrat bloc in the Senate ever since his appointment to that body in 1954.

He opposed the 1954 Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregation in public schools. He felt the Supreme Court ruling menaced what he called the "integrity" of the races and that school integration threatened to "destroy each race."

In 1956, Ervin drafted a statement signed by 19 senators and 77 representatives pledging to use "all lawful means" to reverse the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

In 1959, he opposed a proposal made by then-Attorney General William Rogers that would make it a federal crime to use force to obstruct federal court orders in school integration cases. Ervin said he didn't like to see the administration use its power arbitrarily against "southern white folks."

Ervin helped lead a filibuster against the civil rights bill proposed by the Kennedy administration in 1963. Then-Attorney General Robert Kennedy asked Ervin whether he would support the bill if the administration accepted certain amendments Ervin had submitted. Ervin replied he would still not support the bill because "I love my country too much."

Ervin also objected to the bill because he felt that one section of it that provided funds for promoting public understanding of desegregation actually amounted to governmental "brainwashing."

Ervin also led the unsuccessful Dixiecrat attack on the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and helped lead a southern filibuster that killed the 1966 civil rights bill.

Ervin's opposition to civil rights legislation continues to this day.

Women's rights

Ervin is the most prominent Senate opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the Constitution. The ERA would bar discrimination on the basis of sex.

Throughout the 1970 Senate debate on the ERA, Ervin led the charge against the legislation. He argued that the ERA would deprive "millions of women and little girls" of the "rights" they have in the field of domestic relations.

In order to block the ERA's passage, he put forward a series of amendments that caused it to lose support. After one of these amendments was added to the ERA, thereby ending its chance of passage in the 1970 Senate session, a beaming Ervin told reporters, "I'm trying to protect women from their fool friends and from themselves."

Foe of labor

Ervin has opposed, on the grounds of "states' rights," numerous federal minimum-wage bills. After opposing a 1960 proposal to raise the minimum wage to \$1.25 and extend its coverage, he said, "I ask the Senate not to put me in the position of being in opposition to the Legislature of North Carolina. . . . I have sufficient other problems."

(In 1960, per capita personal income in North Carolina was \$1,562, making it the 45th lowest state in the union.)

In 1967, Ervin voted against a proposed amendment providing for automatic increases in Social Security payments whenever there were rises in the cost of living.

Also in 1967, Ervin voted for SJ Resolution 81. This law, which was bitterly opposed by the unions, provided for binding arbitration of the first nationwide rail strike in more than 20 years. Similarly, Ervin voted for binding arbitration of the West Coast Longshoremen's strike in 1972.

Ervin also voted to extend the Economic Stabilization Act of 1971, thereby giving Nixon a free hand to freeze

wages while prices — and profits — skyrocketed under Phases 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Defends U.S. Imperialism

Ervin has also been a strong defender of the interests of U.S. imperialism around the world. He supported the legislation financing the Vietnam war and opposed the "peace" amendments offered by liberal legislators under pressure from the massive U.S. antiwar movement.

In 1971, Ervin voted to end import restrictions on chromium ore that were passed as sanctions against the racist government of Rhodesia. That year he also voted for the Jackson Amendment, which authorized U.S. military credits of \$500-million to bolster the power of the Zionist state of Israel, including authorization for the purchase of F-4 Phantom jet fighters.

In 1972, Ervin voted against an amendment put forward by Senator John Tunney (D-Cal.) that would have suspended U.S. military assistance to the dictatorship in Brazil until the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights determined that the Brazilian government was not torturing political prisoners.

Ervin's home state of North Carolina is the leading tobacco producer in the U.S. In 1970, North Carolina accounted for more than 40 percent of the value of the total tobacco crop in the U.S.

Senator Ervin represents the interests of the tobacco moguls, not the interests of their victims. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that he was one of the foremost opponents in the Senate of any move to label smoking as "hazardous" to health.

In 1964, Ervin announced, following the release of the surgeon general's report linking smoking to cancer, that he would sponsor legislation prohibiting the Federal Trade Commission from requiring the tobacco industry to label cigarettes as dangerous to health.

Typical capitalist politician

The Senator from North Carolina has a spotty record even in the sphere of civil liberties. For example, in 1970 he voted against granting the vote to 18-year-olds. And in 1972 he supported a Senate bill that would have repealed the equal-time requirement for presidential and vice-presidential candidates, thereby barring socialist and other smaller parties from receiving media coverage in the elections.

Moreover, throughout his career in the Senate, Ervin has always been an advocate of granting the *states* the right to wiretap.

Ervin's real record as a defender of the racist, sexist, antilabor imperialist policies of the capitalist ruling class reveals the futility of relying on him to put an end to government Watergating. He and the other Democrats are no real alternative to Nixon and the Republicans. The record shows

Continued on page 22

From Sam's cracker barrel...

In 1964, Sam Ervin led the Dixiecrat opposition to the Civil Rights bill then being considered in the Senate. Ervin called the proposed law "the most monstrous blueprint for governmental tyranny ever presented to the Congress. . . . the tragic truth is that the bill is as full of legal tricks as a mangy hound dog is full of fleas."

In 1968, Ervin protested to President Johnson against plans to post cigarette health warnings on U.S. mail trucks. Ervin blasted what he called an attempt "to brainwash the

American people." He called the proposed warnings "scare tactics."

And in the 1970 debate on the Equal Rights Amendment in the Senate, Ervin opposed what he called the "blunderbuss" approach of the ERA. Among his arguments against the ERA was his fear that "laws requiring separate rest-rooms for boys and girls in public schools . . . would be annulled." He also objected to the fact that the ERA, if passed, might take the responsibility for support of wives and families off of "where the good Lord put it — on the man."

Defense calls only one witness

Gov't frame-up of Vietnam vets falls apart

By LINDA JENNESS

GAINESVILLE, Fla., Aug. 29—"All the government has proved is that 1984 is a lot closer and there is no such thing as privacy any more. I move for a directed verdict of guilty against the government. . . ." At that point, Scott Camil, one of the defendants in the Gainesville Eight frame-up trial, was threatened with a contempt citation by reactionary Judge Winston Arnow. Camil is acting as his own defense attorney.

The defense was arguing on a motion for a directed acquittal after the prosecution rested its case early this week. In more than two-and-a-half hours of argument, the defense showed that the government had failed to prove any of its charges.

Seven members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and one supporter have been charged with conspiring to disrupt the 1972 Republican national convention with automatic weapons, crossbows, and slingshots.

The government brought forth 27 witnesses, including seven undercover provocateurs and informers. Most of the witnesses gave only brief testimony relating to the purchase of 60 sling-

Becker, both government informers. They testified that at a meeting at Scott Camil's home in May 1972, a "plot" was arranged to attack police stations with "fire teams" using fire bombs, hand grenades, crossbows, and automatic weapons.

These attacks were supposedly to divert police from Miami Beach, where other VVAW members would be using "wrist-rocket" slingshots to provoke a riot.

The testimony of this pair was discredited when defense attorney Larry Turner showed that not only did they act as provocateurs, but that neither of them had ever seen a dangerous weapon in the possession of any of the defendants.

During cross-examination by the defense, Lemmer's and Becker's memories got progressively worse, until in answer to almost every question they would say, "I don't recall."

Sensational charges

Another key witness for the government was Sergeant Harrison Crenshaw of the Dade County Public Safety Department, another informer. Crenshaw upped the ante on sensational charges by saying that the



Gainesville Eight defendants walking to courthouse

shaw's testimony was shown to be totally manufactured. "Did you ever see any of the defendants have in their possession a bazooka?" asked defense lawyer Larry Turner. The answer was no. "An automatic weapon?" No again. "A grenade or an M-79?" No. "Did you ever see any of the defendants have in their possession a B-52 or a nuclear submarine?" asked Turner. No again.

The government also brought forward a chemistry specialist for the FBI, Cecil Yates. Yates testified that a device, supposedly demonstrated by Camil at the May meeting, was explosive. The "weapon" consisted of a plastic vial containing gauze-wrapped potassium permanganate and glycerine. An informer had testified that Camil had suggested that this device should be dropped into the gas tanks of police cars.

Under cross-examination, Yates was forced to admit that dropping a lighted match in a gas tank was much more likely to cause an explosion than dropping one of the plastic vials in.

In spite of the obvious fabrication of the "evidence" and blatant violations of court procedures, chief prosecuting attorney Jack Carrouth argued that the defendants "intended to, and conspired to, and they decided to pro-

voke, encourage, and participate in a riot" at the Republican convention.

Carrouth claims that the eight young men intended to "radicalize" peaceful demonstrations by starting a police riot.

After more than four hours of arguments from both sides, Judge Arnow dismissed the defense motion for acquittal in less than 60 seconds.

Doris Peterson, a young defense attorney, then told the jury the next day, "We have a pleasant surprise for you. After carefully reviewing the evidence . . . the defense had decided to call only one witness and then rest its case." The jury was visibly surprised. So were the spectators, who are mainly young radical supporters of the VVAW.

The defense called Dr. Steven Stellman, a Ph.D. in physical chemistry who teaches at the University of Colorado in Denver. Dr. Stellman is an expert in explosives.

No 'bomb' at all

After explaining, in layman's terms, the scientific definitions of "explosive," "bomb," and "incendiary," Stellman showed the court results of his experiments with exactly the same kind

Continued on page 22

Jurors protest bugging

The jury hearing the case of the Gainesville Eight is quite different from most juries selected in Gainesville, Fla.

There are seven women on the jury and five men. Three of the jurors are Black, two men and a woman. There is one female student and one Vietnam veteran. The median age of the jury is 31.

Earlier in the trial, five members of the jury sent a letter to Judge Arnow saying, "Perhaps the jury has become paranoid, but three-fourths of our home telephone

numbers have been acting strangely." The jury asked the court to check to see if their phones were bugged.

Another juror complained that a magazine brought to her by her husband had been totally mutilated by the censorship process. The marshal had cut out every article that mentioned Watergate, even though the articles did not mention the Gainesville Eight case. The marshal had also verbally abused and insulted her husband. The woman demanded that the marshal be re-assigned. — L. J.

shots. Several other witnesses testified that Stanley Michelson, the VVAW supporter, failed to report the alleged conspiracy to any federal agency. Michelson is charged with being an accessory after the fact and concealing knowledge of plans to commit a crime.

Two of the key government witnesses were William Lemmer and Charles

"assault" on the Republican convention was to include blowing-up bridges and using anti-tank cannons and machine guns obtained from right-wing Cuban groups.

Crenshaw also claimed that the VVAW had kidnapped someone and held him in a cabin in Arkansas.

Under cross-examination, Cren-

Judge 'Bo' Arnow gags defense, bars sketches

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—The Honorable Winston Arnow, judge in the frame-up trial of the Gainesville 8, is called "Bo" by his friends. It's short for "Good Ole Boy." He owns two bird dogs and a hunting jeep, and teaches Sunday school at the local Baptist church.

Arnow longs for the return of the times when "a man can stand up with tears in his eyes in proud support of his country."

He was the architect of the racist "freedom-of-choice" plan developed to impede school integration in the South in the mid-1960s. Judge Harold Carswell, the man Nixon tried unsuccessfully to elevate to the Supreme Court, called the plan "the best I've ever seen."

Arnow was described in the *Miami*

Herald as a man who "grew up with a grits-and-butter drawl and a passionate respect for hard work, the majority of his country and the elemental fairness of the law."

But when two FBI agents with a suitcase full of electronics gear were found in a broom closet next to the courthouse offices of the defense, Arnow accused the defendants of "making a mountain out of a molehill" when they protested. He justified his stand by saying, "Somebody's got to believe in something."

One thing "Bo" Arnow does believe in is keeping the opposition silent. He has imposed a gag rule on the defendants, their lawyers, and anyone working in "concert" with the defendants. He even barred CBS artist Aggie Whelan from drawing sketches in

his courtroom or even from memory.

A friend of Judge Arnow's told the *Miami Herald* that Whelan was barred from sketching because "she was making him look like Judge Hoffman." (Julius Hoffman was the judge in the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial.)

Arnow has been totally one-sided in his rulings in this case. He has allowed chief prosecutor Jack Carrouth to go way beyond the charges in the indictment in his direct examination of witnesses. The defendants are charged with conspiring to provoke a riot in Miami Beach, but Arnow has allowed Carrouth to elicit phony testimony about "fire teams," "political assassination squads," "kidnappings," and many other sensational charges, none of which have been substantiated.

The defense, on the other hand, has not been allowed to delve into the relationship between the government witnesses and the FBI, even though much of the government's case is based on testimony from paid informers.

Nor has Arnow allowed the defense to probe into star informer William Lemmer's past history of drugs and mental instability.

Arnow's favorite saying in the courtroom in response to the defendants is, "You and your fellow defendants are on trial here. The government is not on trial."

But just the opposite is the case. The attempted frame-up of the VVAW is just one more attempt by the Nixon administration to stifle dissent in this country.

Used to smear Black movement 'Plot' to kill Nixon—just a publicity stunt?

By DERRICK MORRISON

The mysterious assassination plot announced just before President Nixon's visit to New Orleans Aug. 20 has apparently evaporated into thin air. But the "discovery" of the alleged plot did lead to the frame-up of Edwin Michael Gaudet on a charge that the government could not later prove, and to a calculated smear attack on the Black liberation movement.

It is a sign of the magnitude of the government's credibility gap that the day after the Secret Service announced the plot the *New York Post* reported, "In Washington, the official report of a possible conspiracy to kill Nixon created little excitement. A few reporters even regarded it cynically as an effort to create sympathy for the President, beleaguered by the Watergate scandal."

However, John Crewdson, writing in the Aug. 22 *New York Times*, said that agents of the Secret Service and FBI "insisted that the alleged conspiracy was both broad and intensely

serious and that its threat has not been 'blown out of proportion,' as some New Orleans police officers reportedly complained today."

The agents maintained that Gaudet's reported threat on the life of the President and the "conspiracy" were distinct and separate.

Four days after Nixon's visit to New Orleans the federal government dropped the threat charge against Gaudet, claiming that the woman who had "definitely identified" Gaudet "could not confirm her previous positive identification." The federal authorities have refused to divulge the identity of this woman.

Gaudet was actually in New Mexico at the time the witness said he made the threat in a New Orleans bar. He is now in jail on \$25,000 bond for shooting at a police officer who was trying to arrest him for the alleged threat.

The "conspiracy" was attributed first to two and later to six unidentified "Black militants" on the basis of a

report to the New Orleans police by an "informant." The report was submitted to the police two weeks before Nixon's visit, and yet there have been no arrests because police "cannot piece together enough evidence to prosecute," reports the Aug. 25 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The Aug. 24 *New York Times* reported, "Federal sources said it was possible the information would not be substantiated. They added that they expected the investigation into a reported assassination conspiracy to be resolved by the weekend, either with arrests or with an announcement that sufficient evidence could not be gathered."

This bizarre incident has now been dropped by the capitalist press. It is clear that the "plot" was a total fabrication. However, we may never know whether the whole affair was merely the work of some overeager secret police agents, or whether Nixon was actually toying with the idea of a sensational frame-up case against

Black activists to whip up racist sympathy to counter the Watergate disclosures.

In any case, Gaudet is still in jail and the Black liberation movement has once again been used by the cops as a scapegoat.



GAUDET: Framed up to create sympathy for Nixon?

Burglarized radicals, embassies Black bag jobs: FBI specialty since '30s

By ANDY ROSE

A number of former FBI agents and officials admitted to news reporters last week that the FBI has been carrying out illegal burglaries for more than 30 years. This evidence confirms assertions by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance that such illegal spying and harassment has been directed against them.

In a statement released Aug. 24, the day the admissions were made public, Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York and a plaintiff in the SWP's and YSA's suit against the government, said: "This is not news to me or my party. My personal files as well as those of other Socialist Workers Party members have been rifled through and stolen. We have already filed suit in court against President Nixon, the director of the FBI, and other government officials for these and other infringements of

our democratic rights."

Janice Lynn, national field secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is handling the SWP and YSA suit, said the revelations provided "additional evidence for the charges made in this suit." She said the ex-agents might be called to testify.

Nixon himself initiated the revelations at his Aug. 22 news conference. He complained that although burglaries were "authorized on a very large scale" under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, nobody talked about impeaching them. Presumably this let Nixon off the hook for the 1971 break-in at Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office.

Former Democratic attorneys general Nicholas Katzenbach and Ramsey Clark both piously denied ever authorizing burglaries. But ex-FBI agents told reporters that not only was Nixon right, but in fact the burglaries

went back at least to the 1930s.

According to the Aug. 24 *New York Post*, targets for the "black bag" jobs—so-called because the G-men carry bags of burglar's tools—included foreign embassies and "certain civil rights organizations and militant leftist groups. . . ." Break-ins were reportedly used to get information and to plant microphones.

The *Post* quoted William Turner, an agent from 1951 to 1961, as saying "burglary was a common investigative technique. . . . I went on a number of these kind of operations." Turner also named some ace burglars currently employed by Uncle Sam. He said FBI agent George Burley is the "No. 1 burglar" in the country, and agent Chris Scaturro has received several "meritorious awards" for his outstanding "black bag" work.

The burglary disclosures prove again that Watergate tactics are not

an aberration peculiar to Nixon. It has been standard procedure for both Democrats and Republicans to violate their own laws and then conceal their actions from the American people.

The news is far from welcome to those elements of the ruling class who would like to blame it all on Nixon. The *New York Times*, in an Aug. 25 editorial on Nixon's admissions, wailed, "It is hard to imagine any Presidential statement more calculated to undermine public confidence in the integrity of government. . . ."

The *Times* lamented, "The saddest side-effect of Watergate across American society is the degree to which respect for the processes of government has been tarnished. Many Americans of younger and older generations alike have grown cynical about the way politicians—any politicians, of either party—are presumed to operate once they ascend to power."

Textile workers sue company for bugging

By DICK ROBERTS

J.P. Stevens & Company, the notoriously antiunion Southern textile manufacturer, has been sued \$71-million for electronic bugging of a union organizer's motel room. The suit was filed by the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA), the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, and 19 individuals.

The suit charges that J.P. Stevens officials illegally bugged the motel room that served as an office and meeting room for efforts to unionize the company's Delta plants in Wallace, S.C. A bitter, so far unsuccessful campaign to unionize the giant textile firm has been waged for the last nine years.

J.P. Stevens officials have resorted to every kind of violence, fraud, and scabbery known to the boss class in their effort to crush the union drive. Electronic surveillance in the tradition

of President Nixon's Watergate thugs is a natural for the J.P. Stevens firm.

According to the Aug. 16 *New York Times*, "The complaint charged that a tap had been placed on the telephone in Room 24 of the Wallace Motel, permitting a pickup of all conversations, between Oct. 31, 1972, when a union organizer checked in, and Jan. 19, 1973, when a Southern Bell Telephone employee discovered the listening device. The telephone company turned the electronic equipment over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the union said."

Employees of the motel also reported seeing electronic equipment in Room 22 of the Wallace Motel adjacent to the union organizer's room.

The suit against J.P. Stevens follows an earlier report of electronic bugging of a union room by the American Motors corporation. In South Bend,

Ind., July 31, officials of American Motors admitted bugging a union room in the South Bend plant. Two executives were supposed to have been removed from office because of the incident. James Beck, recording secretary and unit chairman in charge of negotiations for Amalgamated Local 5 of the United Auto Workers, declared, "The men feel, justly or not, that they lost out on grievances during the past few years because, they believe, private union strategy talks were overheard."

The textile workers' suit against J.P. Stevens parallels the suit against President Nixon and other government officials for wiretapping, tampering with the mail, job discrimination, and other methods of harassment against members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

This \$27-million suit was filed in

New York July 18 by the well-known constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin. Janice Lynn, spokeswoman for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is building support and raising money for the suit against Nixon, welcomed the moves of the TWUA against J.P. Stevens.

"It is crucial to fight against such repressive measures wherever they occur," she said.

She noted that the legal and constitutional issues raised in the TWUA suit are almost identical to the points raised in the PRDF case. "The only difference is that we are suing the government, and they are suing a corporation."

"The suit against J.P. Stevens highlights the fact that Watergate-style measures are a challenge to the democratic rights of the union movement," Lynn said.

Nixon refuses order to release tapes

By PETER SEIDMAN

President Nixon hoped his dramatic Aug. 22 news conference would convince the U.S. people that they "must move on from Watergate." New York Republican Congressman Howard Robison's observation, however, that the president is "not just a lame duck, he is a wounded duck," more accurately reflects Nixon's position one week later. Despite its "counteroffensive" on Watergate, the administration is still deeply mired in the crisis.

Dissatisfaction with Nixon's attempt to "move on" from the Watergate issue revolves around his refusal to release

on all sides, a number of new Watergate crimes are coming to light, thereby continuing to undermine popular confidence in the government.

These new disclosures make it clear that the central issue in the Watergate scandal is not Nixon's individual guilt or innocence, but the widespread illegal bugging, burglary, bribery, and other "dirty tricks" the capitalist minority uses as a matter of course to maintain its rule.

This has been highlighted by the growing likelihood that Vice-president Agnew will be indicted. Agnew is under investigation by the U.S. Attorney's office in connection with an alleged political payola scheme involving road building contracts while he was governor of Maryland.

Mr. Law 'n Order?

A flood of leaks to the press has made it clear that Agnew's days as the "Mr. Law 'n Order" of the Nixon administration are now over.

On Aug. 23, Agnew's immediate successor as county executive of Baltimore County was indicted on 39 counts of bribery, extortion, and conspiracy. At least three other top county officials have also been indicted, including many close associates of Agnew.

The extent of corruption in the state where Agnew began his climb to the vice-presidency is indicated by this dispatch in the *Washington Post*: "BALTIMORE, Aug. 23—Maryland's top transportation official today lifted his moratorium on giving business to engineering firms under federal investigation because he said there are so many firms now being investigated a moratorium could stop road work in the state completely."

For a capitalist politician like Agnew, the only bad thing about this widespread payola is getting caught with your hand in the cookie jar. The truth is, extortion of firms doing business with both the states and the federal government is quite common.

A study that appeared in the Aug. 26 *New York Times*, for example, found that of six state governments surveyed, only two—Texas and California—"seemed free of taint." In Florida, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, payola is so common that consultants are "expected to pay a major share of campaign costs."

Agnew and—perhaps—Nixon are furious about the flood of leaks regarding the charges against the vice-president. Nixon has ordered that anyone working for the government found to have leaked information in this case be "summarily dismissed." And Agnew has decried the use of smear tactics against him by "some Justice Department officials."

Behind the leaks

But behind the leaks that have been so prominent in the coverage of the

Watergate scandal lies the complex infighting of different individuals and interest groups in the government bureaucracy seeking to discredit political foes or to point the finger of suspicion away from themselves by spilling the beans on others.

There is some evidence that Nixon himself, in a desire to shift the scandal onto his running mate, may be behind the Agnew leaks. One Agnew adviser was quoted as saying about the White House: "My feeling is they want him indicted. . . . Then they want him impeached because you can only have one impeachment proceeding in the House of Representatives at a time—

Agnew associate put the real feelings of the Agnew camp more bluntly: "It doesn't really matter what a man with 38 percent support in the Gallup Poll says about you anyway. . . . A White House endorsement could be the kiss of death at this point."

No personal gain

At his Aug. 22 news conference, Nixon tried to mitigate the Watergate scandal when he said, "Thank God, there's been no personal gain involved. That would be going much too far, I suppose." In view of the fact that Agnew faces possible indictment for his involvement in kickback schemes totaling millions of dollars, this particular piece of presidential morality appears to be premature.

Nixon's assertion that there has been no personal gain in the Watergate scandal also contradicts the mounting evidence that he himself is living well beyond the means afforded even by his generous \$200,000 a year presidential salary.

The August 27 *Christian Science Monitor* reveals that Nixon's palatial estates in San Clemente and Key Biscayne have been equipped largely at taxpayer's expense: "Last May the General Services Administration published a preliminary figure of federal costs at San Clemente amounting to under \$100,000, then changed this a month later to \$1,884,000. But that was just the start. In August came three new simultaneous estimates from separate official sources that caused eye-rubbing in the capital: total cost for equipping, protecting, and servicing Mr. Nixon's retreats approached \$10 million. . . ."

A House subcommittee under Rep. Jack Brooks (D-Texas) is now investigating the cost.

Despite Nixon's continued low rating in the polls, the spreading gangrene of the Agnew scandal, and Nixon's "Love Story" behavior in office ("Being president means never having to say you're sorry"), some White House watchers, according to the Aug. 28 *Christian Science Monitor*, think Nixon may be making a comeback.

The *Monitor* reports, however, that others are not so optimistic: "they reflect that in a few months time several top members of the former Nixon team may be before the courts in highly publicized troubles; that a more militant Congress, which has already ended the Cambodian bombing war over presidential reluctance, will be passing new legislation on the domestic front which may bring White House vetoes . . . ; that the Ervin committee will be back at work; and that the big wave of inflation, like on the long slow Pacific combers that beat on the sand of the Western White House, may crest and crash in an economic recession."

"It is too soon for many to believe that the administration has regained momentum in its manifold difficulties."



secret White House tape recordings of presidential conversations that might prove or disprove his innocence. While federal judge John Sirica ruled Aug. 29 that Nixon must turn over the tapes to him, this decision will likely be appealed all the way to the Supreme Court. Nixon declared he "will not comply" with Sirica's order.

Nixon's refusal to release the tapes casts a shadow over his claims to be innocent. As the *New York Times* editorialized following Nixon's Aug. 22 news conference, "The aplomb with which Mr. Nixon acquitted himself before the cameras could not, however, obscure the fact that he added nothing of substance toward illuminating the issues or resolving existing conflicts."

Sam Ervin, chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee, made the same point about Nixon's news conference. "The recordings are the best evidence there is," he said. If Nixon releases the tapes, "We can make a determination of fact very quickly."

Furthermore, while Nixon's "counteroffensive" has been met with criticism

and any other candidates for impeachment would have to wait in line."

At his Aug. 22 news conference Nixon said, "My confidence in [Agnew's] integrity has not been shaken. . . . In fact it has been strengthened by his courageous conduct and his ability." But other reports indicate that the White House has a more realistic approach to Agnew's troubles.

The Aug. 26 *New York Times* reports that the possible indictment of Agnew could put Nixon in a "difficult position, with a choice, as some of his advisors see it, between allowing the Agnew case to embarrass the Administration through much of its remaining three and a half years, or publicly calling for the Vice President to step down."

"The White House staff is already studying this and other contingencies, including whom the President might nominate under the 25th Amendment to succeed Mr. Agnew."

And despite Agnew's public show of gratitude for Nixon's support, one



Farm Workers' vigil for Juan de la Cruz

By FROBEN LOZADA

ARVIN, Calif.—The air is refreshingly cool in the park. It's almost midnight—halfway through the all-night outdoor vigil the farm workers are holding by the coffin of Juan de la Cruz, the *compañero* who was shot down on the picket line Aug. 16.

Two men hold vigil by the coffin. They are solemn, older men. They were probably good friends of the dead man. One stands by the head

A veteran movement activist in Texas and California, Froben Lozada is director of the Chicano Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland.

of the coffin, the other at the foot. Each holds a black flag in his hands. After a while, two others relieve them. It's done without any words being exchanged.

At intervals, people pass by the coffin to pay their respects. This continues throughout the night.

Around are the voices of strikers in quiet conversation. I join in some of the discussion.

Silvestre Galván, a 33-year-old striker, describes a new shooting incident.

"This morning they shot at another striker, but he ducked in his car and swerved like he was hit. He thinks they were Teamsters. Two of them, in a new car.

"But, you know, the scabs carry guns too. And the cops don't arrest them. They say they can carry them because it's private land. If we were to carry a weapon they'd bust us right away."

I tell Silvestre, "School is about to start soon and we should be able to get many more students to help in picketing Safeway."

"Well, that's good," he replies. "It's in the boycott where we can be more effective. We need the students' help in the cities to tell the people about our struggle."

Jesús Rivera, a striker from Lamont, joins the conversation. He clearly appreciates political discussion.

"Are you from the *New York Times*?" he asks.

"No. A smaller, weekly paper, *The Militant*."

"Well, they say the size of a man or a newspaper is not what matters. It's the ideas that count. We, the *campesinos*, are within our rights. What we need is justice. I've been with the UFW since 1965."

"I really don't need the movement," he continues. "I do it for my son and my grandson. I expect them to get just as involved."

I ask, "Your sons and your grandsons? Do you

expect the struggle to last very long?"

"Twenty or 30 years," he replies. "We've been struggling against this system for a long time. If I don't fight now, the movement will die and then my sons would have to start again, from the beginning."

"We want to leave the movement more advanced when they take over," he continues. "We want to leave them a base. If we don't start it, if we wait for our sons to start it, then when are we going to end it? We're planting the tree, and the young ones who follow will continue to water it."

I ask what he means when he speaks of "the system."

"We're living in a capitalist system," he responded, "and it's not convenient for the capitalists to let the poor progress. But we can't change it in four or five years. It will take longer."

"Do you think the system will fall?"

"Napoleon's fell. Many empires have fallen. So will this one."

"More people are becoming convinced it should fall," I comment.

"Well, look at the communes in China," Jesús says. "That's a beautiful way of life. That has



Militant/Peggy Bunn

Martyred farm worker Juan de la Cruz was one of many UFW pickets, like this one, who daily face police harassment and Teamster goon violence.

to be a better way of life. You know, I used to work irrigating the fields when pumps were used. I took care of 30 rows then. Then they dug the canals, paid for by the people's taxes, and they told us it would mean more work for everybody. It did. I had to work 60 rows for the same pay!

"I started irrigating in 1960-61. I worked 11 hours a day, five days a week for \$1.10 an hour. In spite of that low pay, the grower now has his fields irrigated for less money."

"You know, even today we find some poor people who say, 'He's giving us work.' But it's the other way around. The grower doesn't give us work. We're giving him our work, our labor."

"When the capitalist system falls," Jesús declared *"va a dar el porrazo"* (it will be a loud thud). Its fall is going to be louder than Rome's."

"*Santa Maria, madre de Dios . . .*" A rosary at 3:40 a.m. It's still dark out.

4:30 a.m.: The light is only beginning to clear as a *campesino* walks by with a flag of mourning. I begin talking to Rubén Sanchez, 23, who's been here only one year. I ask what he thinks of the union strategy of nonviolence.

"It's all right," he replies, "because otherwise we would be killing other Chicanos. Every time a Chicano dies, it's a triumph for the *gringo*. He'll just laugh at us for killing each other."

Refugio Galván joins in. "The *gringo* is laughing at us because a lot of the scabs are Chicanos. He sees some of us are striking, but he also sees Chicanos as scabs. Those have to be considered different Chicanos. There are also a lot of Filipinos scabbing, a lot of them."

"What about the Arab workers?"

"They are more united and with us. Most of the Arabs I've seen are young. That's why I feel the growers brought them here—to exploit them."

I ask what percentage of the farm workers are women.

About 50-50, Rubén and Refugio agree.

"And when one scab among married couples, so does the other," Rubén continues. "Married couples are either both scabs or both with us. They don't go different ways. The women who are with us will never change, they'll stay with us. Many times they have won over their husbands to our side."

5:25 a.m.: Cars begin to arrive for the mass to be held here in the park. I remember the sign that greeted me as I drove into town: "Welcome to Arvin—Garden in the Sun."

Boycott organizer explains what not to buy

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK Eloisa Amador is a young Chicana who has been active in the United Farm Workers Union for several years. She comes from a family of farm workers in Napa Valley, in Northern California, and was formerly head of the UFW office in Napa Valley.

Amador now lives in New York and is helping to organize the boycott here. Earlier this summer she spoke to more than 200 people at a Militant Forum about the strike.

In a recent interview, I asked her what people in New York should know about the boycott. "The UFW's main efforts in New York," she answered, "are aimed at getting all grocery stores and produce outlets such as fruit stands and schools to carry UFW grapes and lettuce and to boycott scab grapes, lettuce, and D'Arrigo products. These are products from fields that are either under Teamster contracts or not under any contracts."

"All union products have the union label—the black Aztec eagle on a flag. We are asking the public to buy and eat only UFW grapes and lettuce and also to boycott A&P stores. A&P is the largest chain in New York, with 700 stores and 14 percent of the grape outlet."

"The only lettuce involved in the strike is iceberg head lettuce. There is no dispute over other types, such as romaine, Boston or escarole. These are all right to buy."

I asked her about eating lettuce served in restaurants. She said, "Don't eat *any* lettuce unless you are sure it is not scab lettuce. Tell the manager that you object to having your food served with scab products. Restaurants are susceptible

to this type of public pressure."

"In the main outlets, the grocery stores, insist on UFW grapes and lettuce. If you do not see the UFW label, ask the manager if it is UFW produce, and ask to see the box it was shipped in. All UFW produce is shipped in boxes with the UFW emblem on them. All agreements worked out with the chain stores stipulate that union sup-



Militant/Alan Mercer

porters can check on the source of produce in the store. Without this type of check the agreements would have no teeth in them."

"If you have any doubts about the product, don't buy it, and tell the manager why. It is very important that the consumer let the store know that you *want* to support the farm workers in their struggle for better pay and working conditions, and that you object to not having their produce available. *Demand* that the store carry

UFW lettuce."

Union lettuce is marketed under the name "Interharvest," which appears on all boxes carrying UFW lettuce. Sometimes additional labels will appear, such as Blue Chip, Eagle, Favor, or Pebble Beach. These are all Interharvest labels, but the word "Interharvest" and the union emblem appear on all boxes.

Only two grape growers have renewed their contracts with the UFW: Lionel Steinberg and K.K. Larson, both in Coachella Valley. All these grapes have already been marketed, as Coachella is the first area harvested, and there are no union grapes on the market now. So far none of the growers in the other areas have signed contracts with the United Farm Workers.

The UFW has also called for a nationwide boycott of D'Arrigo products. "The D'Arrigo Brothers," Amador explained, "are large growers of vegetables around the Salinas area. Their produce includes broccoli, garlic, onions, celery, and lettuce. Most of it is sold under the label 'Andy Boy,' a well-known and widely distributed label. Their contract with the UFW expired in February and they have since signed with the Teamsters."

An effective boycott can make a real difference in the farm workers' struggle to defend their union. The boycott's effectiveness depends on the understanding and support of the public.

Amador said that help is needed to picket grocery stores and Hunts Point, to leaflet, and to check stores for scab produce. The UFW also needs financial support. If you can help, contact the United Farm Workers in New York City at 331 W. 84th St., near West End Avenue. Telephone: (212) 799-5800.

UFW spreads boycott, sends 500 organizers to 63 cities

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Five hundred striking grape workers will be fanning out to 63 principal cities to accelerate the United Farm Workers-promoted boycott of scab grapes.

Reverend John Bank, the union's director of information, reported from Delano Aug. 27 that the 500 workers had spent the weekend in workshops at the union center in La Paz before leaving for the various cities.

The striking workers will be provided housing and food by the union and by supporters in each city and

ing of two strikers.

One striker, Juan de la Cruz, was shot down by a sniper Aug. 16 while on a picket line. A suspect has been detained in the case.

The other martyr to the farm workers' organizing struggle, Naji Daifullah, died Aug. 15 of a compound skull fracture after being clubbed by a deputy sheriff.

In its fight against the reactionary alliance of growers and the Teamsters union officials, the UFW clearly faces continuing Teamster duplicity.

In open, unabashed collusion with the powerful agribusiness organization—the Farm Bureau—the Teamster bureaucrats have signed fake contracts with lettuce growers, the Gallo and Franzia wineries, and with grape growers in the Coachella, Arvin-Lamont, and Delano areas.

These "sweetheart" agreements have the sole function of thwarting farm workers in their efforts to gain legitimate contracts through the union of their choice, the UFW.

After private meetings between AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons, negotiations began in early August between the UFW and the Western Conference of Teamsters. The UFW negotiators, led by César Chávez, walked out when it was learned that, while the negotiating sessions were going on, the Teamsters had signed secret contracts with 25 of the 29 grape growers in the Delano area, where the UFW strike is now focused.

Fitzsimmons asserted that the contracts had been negotiated without authorization and that he repudiated them.

On Aug. 21, the day Juan de la Cruz was buried, it was widely reported in the press that Fitzsimmons had sent letters to the Delano growers declaring that the contracts had been unauthorized, and "we therefore disclaim and repudiate such purported agreements. . . ."

He added that the Teamsters "have no interest in organizing your employees in the vineyards in and around Delano."

César Chávez initially responded to this seeming "peace" move by branding it a fraud. He charged that it was designed to divert attention from the killing of the two strikers. He said that in view of the treacherous record of the Teamsters, nothing less than legal dissolution of the con-

tracts and withdrawal of the Teamsters from the fields would be meaningful.

However the next day, Aug. 23, Chávez told reporters there was "new evidence and new assurances" that the Teamster move was genuine. He said this opened the door to resumption of the negotiations.

But he also reiterated that the struggle with the Teamsters and growers was far from over. "The Delano growers have not agreed to open negotiations," Chávez noted. "All it [the repudiation] does is take the Team-



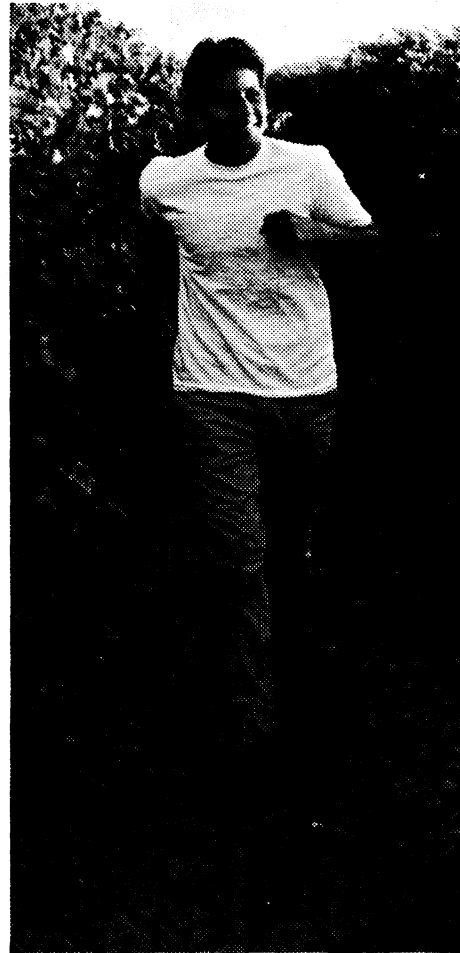
Militant/Michael Work

Picketing farm workers in Lamont, Calif. appeal to workers to join the strike . . .

will receive minimal subsistence benefits for other needs.

The strikers will seek to persuade wholesale distributors to stop handling scab produce. They will also participate in the picketing of the A&P and Safeway chains and other major markets selling scab grapes.

Meanwhile, the union is continuing to press for federal action in the slay-



Militant/Peggy Bunn

. . . and a grape picker runs from field to join the UFW picket line.

sters out of the picture and leave it between the growers and us."

The UFW leader added: "We can't change our view of the Teamsters unless they get out of agriculture."

The need for such an approach to the Teamsters was reconfirmed that very day. While the UFW was being offered "new assurances," a Teamster official announced that the union would undertake an organizing effort in San Diego county, focusing primarily on 5,000 tomato workers there.

The UFW has members in the area and for several years has sought to win contracts for them.

Meanwhile, in response to rumors that Meany and Fitzsimmons might seek an agreement dividing up various agricultural areas between the Teamsters and the UFW, a statement was made by Albert Zack, a spokesman for the AFL-CIO.

"Our position is one of complete support for the Farm Workers," Zack said. "The UFW ought to be the union that organizes the workers in the field—and no one else." Zack said George Meany had made this point "clear" to Fitzsimmons.

While stepping up the boycott campaign, the UFW is also moving ahead with preparations for a constitutional convention of the union to be held at the Convention Center in Fresno, Calif., the weekend of Sept. 21-23. In addition to electing a national executive board, the convention will focus on the grape strike and building of the boycott. Union supporters are invited to attend as observers.

Mine workers 'behind UFW 100%'

LA PAZ, Calif.—Arnold Miller, who was elected president of the United Mine Workers last year in a campaign to democratize and revitalize that union, addressed members of the United Farm Workers here Aug. 26.

Introduced by César Chávez, Miller pledged to the applauding, cheering strikers that they could count on support from the United Mine Workers.

Miller declared:

"It is indeed a privilege to come here and express our support for the farm workers. Your struggle is very much similar to the struggles of mine workers in the past.

"We've just come through a period of revitalizing the United Mine Workers. And we're rapidly getting in a position where we can help our brothers and sisters in the labor movement in an effort to get labor together wherever.

"I am aware of the problems you have here, and I'll be going back . . . to see if we can't do more than we have in the past. We will never be satisfied with our efforts to help the farm workers in your tremendous struggle.

"I said to your president earlier today that the farm workers' struggle in forming a labor organization was, in my opinion, more difficult than the task that we had in the last four years in revitalizing the United Mine Workers union. We already had a union. We had to reorganize. It's very difficult, under the economic stress that you people have worked under, to get together.

"While the membership of the United Mine Workers was aware of your problems individually, it's only now that we're beginning to create awareness collectively. And I want to place my support here today for the farm workers. And I speak with some authority. For every member of our union is behind you 100 percent, and we're going to see if we can't do everything we can to help."



MILLER: United Mine Workers president backs farm workers' struggle.

Students set nat'l Gallo boycott

By DAVE BROWN

MODESTO, Calif.—At a rally of 300 strikers from the fields of Ernest and Julio Gallo, student leaders recently announced a national student boycott of Gallo wines.

Michael Aguirre, student government co-president at the University of California, Berkeley, announced the full solidarity of students with the strike.

Among those who have already joined a national board to coordinate the boycott are the presidents of the student bodies of the Universities of Wisconsin, Michigan, Texas, and California at Los Angeles, Irvine, and Riverside. The presidents of Notre Dame and Stanford, and the editorial board of the *Harvard Crimson* have also become members of the national board.

Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and California Assemblyman Richard Alatorre have agreed

to participate in an advisory board to the student boycott.

"Gallo depends on young people to buy their wines. We intend to show them that we are not going to drink their wines until they cease their attempts at smashing the farm workers union," Aguirre declared.

The rally, which was held Aug. 11, was organized by the Modesto Friends of the Farm Workers. Mark Zwick and Dan Pollock, march organizers, stated that it was called to protest Gallo's refusal to grant free elections, their signing of a "sweetheart" contract with Teamster union bureaucrats, and their current attempts at evicting striking workers from company housing.

The first to walk out of the vineyards at Gallo's ranches were 80 year-round workers who live in company-owned housing. Gallo has gone to court in an attempt to shortcut the usual 60 to 80 days it takes to evict tenants.

Henry Kissinger & secret diplomacy

Henry Kissinger, Nixon's nominee for secretary of state, has declared that there will be a new openness and less secrecy about the aims and methods of U.S. foreign policy. In his recent news conference, he promised that he would live up to his "obligation to explain our philosophies, purposes and policies to the public."

Kissinger is, once again, lying.

No one has been more responsible than Kissinger himself for formulating the lies and cover-ups that flow in an endless stream from the imperialist war machine in Washington. The secret bombing campaigns in Indochina, CIA undercover "dirty tricks" directed at protecting U.S. property and profit in Chile, and, undoubtedly, other operations we have yet to learn about—these are the stock-in-trade of Kissinger.

He is the one who engineered the deals with the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking, behind closed doors, to impose a "settlement" on the Vietnamese. The detente between the United States and the Soviet Union and China is founded on secret pledges and agreements.

Kissinger's own involvement in Watergate-style tactics further exposes the fraud of his promises of "openness." He helped prepare the list of his subordinates and some newsmen who were subjected to illegal wiretaps in an attempt to "plug leaks" and enforce government secrecy.

It would be the height of absurdity to expect anything but more of the same from the Nixon administration in general and Kissinger in particular. The rulers in Washington must function on the basis of keeping their real aims and methods hidden from public view. They operate in the interests of the tiny minority of the super-rich who benefit from U.S. militarism and aggression.

Washington has announced that Kissinger will soon be meeting in San Clemente with various U.S. ambassadors. This list was released: Lewis Brown, ambassador to Jordan; David K.E. Bruce, head of the American liaison office in China; Philip Habib, ambassador to South Korea; Richard Helms, ambassador to Iran; Robert Ingersoll, ambassador to Japan; Daniel Moynihan, ambassador to India; and William Sullivan, ambassador to the Philippines.

Three of these men, Bruce, Sullivan and Habib, worked closely with Kissinger in formulating U.S. policy in the Vietnam war and at the Paris talks.

Let's look more closely at the list. The Jordanian regime's brutal repression of Palestinian insurgents is key to U.S. Middle East policy. Through Peking, the White House is pressing for a deal with Sihanouk to neutralize the revolution in Cambodia. South Korea is the seat of a dictatorship propped up by U.S. dollars and occupational forces numbering more than 40,000 men.

In Iran, Washington is arming and financing the shah in order to make that nation a bastion to protect oil interests. It is no coincidence that Helms, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency, was given this ambassadorship.

Japan is one of the chief rivals of U.S. imperialism. Policies aimed at cutting Japan out of U.S. markets and driving U.S. goods and capital into Japanese markets will be the central subject of that San Clemente meeting. And so forth.

Will the results of any of these meetings be made public? On the contrary. We can rest assured that the results of *none of them* will meet the public eye.

To the extent they can, the protectors of the worldwide interests of the American ruling class work in secret. Unfortunately, Moscow and Peking are playing along with this game of secret diplomacy. The bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union and China have their own reasons for keeping the world working class in the dark.

They have long since abandoned the revolutionary policy of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who refused to make any secret deals with the imperialist enemy and explained their foreign policy openly and frankly to the oppressed of the world. One of the first things the Bolsheviks did when they came to power in 1917 was to reveal all the secret agreements made by the czarist regime, no matter how embarrassing these were to New York, London, or Paris.

The demand for an end to secret diplomacy is as important in the fight against imperialism today as it was then.

Can't be independent and Democrat too

The Militant of Aug. 3 carried an article entitled "Why Democrats Can't Solve Problems Facing Cleveland's Black Community." At that time, the candidates running included Alfred Waller, the Black candidate of the 21st Congressional District Caucus.

Militant readers might be interested to know that Waller withdrew from the campaign shortly after that article appeared. The announcement surprised no one. His main backer was Congressman Louis Stokes, who is chairman of the 21st CDC and of the Congressional Black Caucus. Stokes saw the Waller campaign as a maneuver to gain concessions from the regular Democratic Party and, at the same time, to score some points on his political opponents within the Black community.

In essence, Stokes saw the Waller candidacy as a symbolic act, and never as a serious challenge to the racist Democratic Party and its capitalist backers. Stokes's maneuver has brought him full circle from an apparently independent position back to full support of the Democratic Party. He has now said that he would support "whomever the Democratic party endorses."

The phony Waller campaign simply emphasizes that you can't be independent and in the Democratic Party at the same time. The whole idea of "independent" action within the Democratic Party is a fraud. For all their rhetoric, Stokes, Waller, and the Caucus will end up supporting the white millionaire Carney, continuing to tie the Black electorate to a racist party.

Duncan Williams
Cleveland, Ohio

From an ex-hippy

I just want to let you know there is a large section of ex-hippies who are getting off their "enlightened asses" and starting to see the truth about capitalism and all its oppressive corruptness. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance should make an attempt to reach these once-upon-a-time "liberals." They will work seriously for the entire socialist cause.

S.A.D.
Laurel Canyon, Calif.

Sept. 13—Attica massacre

Sept. 13 will mark the day that our brothers were beaten and killed at Attica. The people on the streets are doing many deeds of solidarity to aid the survivors of the Attica massacre now on trial on frame-up charges.

In light of this solidarity, I propose an act of solidarity that all of the convicted class may participate in to show that Attica is not forgotten, that men did not die in vain, that men unknown are not on trial. Let us all, in racial unity and solidarity, throughout the U.S. prisons, women and men, decline to eat our meals on Sept. 13.

If they sacrificed their lives, let us at least remember them in a national fast and day of mourning. Remember Attica.

A prisoner
Springfield, Mo.

Haitian exiles

In recent weeks *The Militant* has been publicizing the plight of a group of Haitian exiles. I had understood from your newspaper that these exiles were victims of political persecution by the "Baby Doc" Duvalier regime. So I wrote a letter to the U.S. attorney general requesting that this group of exiles be given asylum in this country.

The attorney general wrote back to me and said that the exiles were denied asylum because according to their own statements, which I understand they signed, not one of them claimed to have been victims of political persecution, and none had ever engaged in any political activities.

Reasons given for the asylum request were economic (inability to obtain employment in Haiti). On June 8, 1973, they were ordered excluded. The case is now on appeal.

I have been a subscriber to *The Militant* for two months now, and it has helped to open my mind to the rotten capitalist system. Perhaps the Immigration Service has misrepresented the case. I would greatly like to have a reply on this from you.

Samuel Casimir Jr.
Chicago, Ill.

In reply—The case of Gerard Latortue, one of the Haitians seeking political asylum here, will give you an idea of the accuracy of the attorney general's reply to your letter.

Latortue had been jailed in Haiti for complaining because he couldn't find a job. While imprisoned, he suffered inhuman conditions of detention. When he was finally released, he was harassed by Haitian authorities until, in desperation, he fled the country in a small boat.

Latortue has been questioned twice by Immigration authorities since his arrival to the U.S.: once in Miami and once in New York for 15 minutes each time, but without a lawyer ever being present. Then he was notified that he would have to return to Haiti!

We would like to hear the attorney general's definition of political persecution, if it doesn't include situations like the one Latortue has faced.

Any statements signed after the kind of procedure Latortue went through suggest intimidation and denial of due process.

Finally, of course, there is the word of the Haitians themselves. They insist they will face jail and perhaps death if they are turned over to "Baby Doc" Duvalier's police.

Any questions you may have on the fate of Duvalier's political opponents can be answered by ordering the May-June-July issue of the *USLA Reporter*, newsletter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. This issue features Haiti and can be obtained by sending 25 cents to USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

From a Social Democrat

In a recent article by Dick Roberts, [*The Militant*, Aug. 3] "Behind the Expansion of Soviet-U.S. Trade," he states that the convergence theory is a popular social-democratic notion. On the contrary, the popularization of that concept has been the work of the "New Politics" wing of American liberalism. People such as John K. Galbraith, Senator Fulbright and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

Social Democrats have always held that the distinctive character of the Communist bloc has been its totalitarian, anti-Socialist character. The destruction of all working-class institutions and denial of those political freedoms that genuine Socialism needs in order to thrive is considered by Social Democrats to be far more important than the rigid state-controlled economies that exist in all Communist countries. According to René Dumont, in fact, the undemocratic character of those economies (Cuba specifically) has led to a failure to make economic progress.

It has been the Trotskyist movement that has, unfortunately, never understood the reactionary nature of Soviet Communism. The concepts of democratic centralism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, a cornerstone of Soviet ideology, have led directly to the triumph of Stalinism, the murder of Trotsky, and the crushing of his movement.

Social Democrats suffer under no such delusions. There can be no convergence between democratic societies and totalitarian Communist or Fascist states that threaten the peace and freedom of all of us.

George Curtin
Los Angeles, Calif.

More phony economic 'facts'

Herbert Stein, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, is in the habit of holding a regular monthly news conference to explain how the economy is improving and how the government is imposing the wage control program. On Aug. 23 he mentioned some recent statistics and went on to examine the "paradox" of rapidly rising food prices and the general feeling of most people that inflation robs them of some necessary items in the family budget.

Stein was most interested in publicizing a remarkable discovery of his research staff: real disposable personal income per capita has in fact *increased* by 5 percent from spring 1972 to spring 1973. He proudly announced that the total per capita after-tax income of all individuals from all sources, after allowing for inflation, was actually 5 percent higher than a year ago. An astonishing revelation!

What Stein didn't make clear is that the 5 percent rise is computed by including the earnings of such hard-working individuals as executives in the auto industry and other corporate heads. Richard Gerstenberg, the board chairman at General Motors, got a big personal income boost at the end of 1972, to bring his total spendable income to \$875,000 a year. GM President Edward Cole gets \$790,000. Sixty-eight other GM officials share \$19,843,428, an average of \$291,815 each.

The personal income of Henry Ford II for 1972 was 27 percent higher than the previous year. This more than offset the 21.5 percent increase in food prices for the first half of 1973.

When included as part of the per capita average, these huge incomes serve to bring the "disposable" income up to 5 percent over the increases in prices from spring 1972 to spring 1973.

But Stein's statistical sleight-of-hand about how well "average per capita personal income" is doing will not buy food at the supermarket for the working-class family. For example, the average weekly wage of factory workers in New York state was \$162.76 in May of this year—about \$4 an hour. This is an increase of \$11.05 a week over May of 1972, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. But price and tax increases *more than wiped out* these wage gains.

Stein readily admitted at his news conference that today "there are people worse off." He added philosophically, "There are always people who are worse off."

Among the "worse off" Stein included landlords (because rents, he said, have risen less than the cost of living). He also included coupon clippers and private pensioners (persons with fixed incomes other than Social Security, which—according to Stein—has kept pace with inflation), and families dependent on the income of an "older" worker (because the earnings of young workers tend to rise faster as they develop skills and gain seniority).

Stein conceded that for those with hourly rated jobs the weekly spendable income has *declined* during the first half of this year. He contended, however, that "a lot of families are better off because they're working more steadily, or because there is a second worker in the household, and that's not to be sneezed at."

From his profound statistical analysis, Stein then sought to penetrate the mysteries of mass psychology. He noted the peculiar fact that "all money income increases are commonly regarded as barely sufficient to keep pace with the recipient's just desserts, whereas price increases tend to be regarded as extortions which make a person worse off than he ought to be."

Economist Stein, who is paid \$42,500 a year by the government, must also include himself among the "worse off" because his wages have not gone up commensurate with the rise in prices this year. But he can still buy steaks while the \$4-an-hour workers can no longer afford hamburger. That is the difference. That is why some "worse off" people are happy and others are unhappy about rising prices and declining real wages.

Stein is a big, jolly man and looks well fed. He announced at his extraordinary news conference that he is leaving government service next March to teach economics at the University of Virginia. He is well advised to stick to economics and stay away from psychology because the students will walk out on him if he tries to psychologize to them the way he does to the workers.

Digs articles on UFW

All of us here dug your last articles concerning César Chávez and the UFW union fighting the scabs (Teamsters, etc.) and the Watergate bunch who are behind the scene. (But not covered up very well.) "Fat Frank" reminds us of the "old southern plantation owner." Fitzsimmons, that is.

I did some research on the Teamsters and they are running true to form in trying to take over from the UFWU. Ever since they were organized in 1899 or thereabouts, they have been taking over smaller unions by force. This time they are having more difficulty. The good fight is taking place daily near here, the Fresno area, and we are rooting for the UFW! Venceremos!

All of you at *The Militant* needed and deserved your vacation and we hope you enjoyed yourselves and rested up for the struggle to come in the next year.

Willie Wellman
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

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

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Racism in children's literature

Researchers John Williams and John Stabler report in the July issue of *Psychology Today* that more than 70 percent of the white schoolchildren they tested tended to associate everything that is Black with evil and worthlessness, and everything associated with white as pure, decent, and good. But much worse, they found that 65 percent of Black youngsters hold similar views. Thirty-five percent of Black children, however, take the opposite view, while 30 percent of white children have mixed feelings on the issue.

These findings reflect the depth of racial prejudice against Black people in American society. This prejudice affects even young schoolchildren and destroys the sense of self-worth of Black children.

The May-June issue of the *Black Scholar* contains several articles on Black children. One, by Bettye I. Latimer, shows how most common children's books implant racist conceptions into white children while fueling the psychological abuse of Black youngsters.

Latimer identifies some of the common trends that pop up in most children's school books and literature. "In essence," she states, "they reflect the segregated world in which we live and are a constant reminder of the inordinate value placed on whiteness in our society."

Most of these books, intentionally or not, create the image that Black people are inferior. They make Black children feel that they are inferior—white children, that they are superior.

All the famous characters of storybook land—Peter Pan, Alice in Wonderland, Little Red Riding Hood,

Mother Goose, and others—are white. "White symbolizes goodness and black symbolizes badness," point out Williams and Stabler. "Even Dr. Seuss's fantastic characters, who appear in a bright array of colors, are seldom shown as black," writes Latimer.

"Most biographies of great personalities," she continues, "have been written about men and women of white ancestry to the exclusion of equally great Americans with black, brown, or yellow skin."

Those Blacks who are squeezed into children's literature generally turn up as servants, maids, janitors, comedians, or villains. This aspect of racist exclusion further reinforces the impression that somehow a Black child's life and aspirations are trivial or less real compared to a white child's.

In general, according to Latimer, most children's books are reluctant to deal with bigotry or racial prejudice. But when white writers of children's literature attempt it, they usually fall victim to racist ideas. Thus in one popular book on Abe Lincoln, Blacks are referred to as "slaves" and everyone else as "people." Phyllis Wheatley, the poet and ex-slave, is referred to as once being owned by a "distinguished Boston gentleman."

The psychological damage heaped on Black children through exclusion and distortion in children's books is part and parcel of education under capitalism. But at least capitalism is an "equal opportunity exploiter"—the damage done to Black children is no worse than that done to children of the female sex.



How expert can you get?—"Consensus of Expert Opinion: Phase 4 Will Either Help or Hurt Stocks"—Headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

It finally hit the fan—On top of everything else, there's now an acute shortage of toilets that industry people say may last five years. With the scarcity causing construction delays, one group of builders is planning a Washington protest. If they decide to picket the White House, the variety of possible slogans is truly infinite.

Kremlin Rotarians next?—Because we received the Dept. of Commerce press release only secondhand, we're late in reporting that the secretary of commerce met with 24 U. S. business and financial leaders in July to discuss formation of a "U. S.-USSR Chamber

of Commerce." Desirability of such a formation was agreed on by Nixon and Brezhnev during their June talks, the Commerce Dept. said.

No-coffee pledge next?—Sec'y of Labor Peter Brennan says labor-management relations are so good these days that coffee breaks cost more than strikes. Maybe George Meany, who has boasted he never walked a picket line, will now reveal he never drank a cup of coffee on the job.

Esthetic note—A Cleveland monument firm is offering a "summer special" on "everlasting gray granite" cemetery markers. And with each reduced-price purchase, a choice of "a valuable all metal flower vase for the cemetery" or an Arthur Fiedler Boston Pops album. The latter, we presume, for a dry wake.

Sounds reasonable—Due to the absence of such, the Agriculture Dept. announced it had ceased publication of its monthly consumer guide, the *Plentiful Foods Bulletin*.

Family ties reestablished—"YAMAGATA, Japan (AP)—A routine blood test prompted an investigation revealing that two 11-year-old boys had

been mixed up by hospital officials just after birth and given to each other's parents. The boys are to rejoin their real parents after a period of family adjustment."

Thoughts of the Vice-Chairman—"Those of us in the executive branch of government must continue to serve the people."—Spiro Agnew.



Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Catholic Church vs. Girl Scouts

The Catholic Church hierarchy must be getting a little jumpy about the women's liberation movement. They have even sunk to meddling into the affairs of the Girl Scouts.

The Philadelphia Girl Scout Council recently tried to introduce a new merit badge called "To Be a Woman." Although I don't know firsthand—I didn't get past the Brownies—I imagine this proposed course would have been one of the more progressive aspects of the Girl Scouts.

To earn the badge, scouts between the ages of 12 and 14 were to learn about abortion and contraception, and about how their bodies function. They were even going to discuss sexual and moral double standards, job discrimination, and how to resist rape. Studying these topics would surely have been more relevant than selling cookies door-to-door.

But the Philadelphia Roman Catholic Archdiocese intervened. About one-third of the Girl Scout troops in Philadelphia are sponsored by Roman Catholic churches. Reverend Francis Schmidt, director of the archdiocese's youth activities, threatened to withdraw the Church's sponsorship if the new badge wasn't canceled.

"What the kids do on Wednesday nights at scout

meetings should be consistent with what we teach them on Sundays," he said. He condemned the "negative aspects" of teaching "such things"—especially to girls at "so impressionable" an age as 12 to 14.

So the new badge was withdrawn in favor of an "awareness" course.

The Catholic Church has cause to be worried. More and more Catholic women, especially young ones, are thinking for themselves and rejecting the ignorance and fear that shroud the teachings of the Church.

The 1970 National Fertility Study, for example, showed that 68 percent of married Catholic women between the ages of 18 and 39 were using birth-control methods other than rhythm, the only method approved by the Church. Three out of four married Catholic women under 30 use "prohibited" contraceptives. This represents an increase from 30 percent in 1955 and from 51 percent in 1965.

Catholic women have also been active in the fight against the reactionary "right-to-life" forces—spearheaded by their own church hierarchy. Sister Gloria Fitzgerald, a leader of Catholics for the Elimination of All Restrictive Abortion and Contraception Laws, recently explained, "The

Church is so anti-woman that it is unaware of its attitude. The male hierarchy has just taken women's servitude for granted."

The Catholic Church is also losing its grip in the area of divorce and remarriage. The divorce rate among Catholics in the U.S. approaches the national norm, which is more than 25 percent of all marriages.

To deal with this, the Church has been forced to establish "marriage tribunals" that have the authority to grant divorces for "psychological" reasons. Previously, the only grounds for annulment were sexual impotence or intent not to have children. Today, for \$100 worth of psychological testing, and willingness to concede that you are neurotic or schizophrenic, a marriage can be dissolved.

Recently 800 nuns held a convention in New Rochelle, N.Y., on the changing role of women in the church and society. Instead of the black habit, they wore brightly colored dresses. Among other issues, the conference adopted a plan of action in support of the United Farm Workers. Sister Catherine Pinkerton, the assembly's chairperson, said, "We don't want theorizing; we want action."

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



Gov't agents in the Chicano movement

Recently a number of newspapers reprinted a memo from H. R. Haldeman about plans for an upcoming anti-Nixon demonstration in Charlotte, N.C. It said, in part, the demonstrators "will be violent; they will have extremely obscene signs as has been indicated by their handbills." Haldeman had gleefully underlined the words "violent" and "obscene" and rushed the memo back to his intelligence man, marking it "High Priority."

Haldeman's joy at seeing that this type of demonstration was going to take place will be well understood by many Americans. The Watergate revelations have taught us all a lot about the government's attitude toward protests of this sort.

Individual acts of violence, wildly ultra-left slogans, obscenities, and other tactics that make it harder to mobilize mass support behind an issue or demand have often been shown to be the work of agents provocateurs, hired by the federal government to try to discredit protest movements.

Reading about Haldeman's memo reminded me of the infamous government agent in the Chicano movement, Eustacio (Frank) Martínez.

Martínez began his career by infiltrating the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) and the Brown Berets in Texas. In September

1969, he arranged an illegal gun sale to MAYO members in an attempt to set them up for a bust.

When suspicions arose concerning his activities, Martínez was told by his employer, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agency (ATF) of the U.S. Treasury Department, to move to Los Angeles and continue his dirty tricks there.

In Los Angeles, Martínez infiltrated the Brown Berets and the Chicano Moratorium, and tried to infiltrate La Casa de Carnalismo, an organization trying to stop the traffic of harmful drugs in the Chicano community.

He soon began provoking confrontations and acts of violence at Chicano demonstrations. A one-man "plumbers squad," he stole documents from the Chicano Moratorium office and turned them over to the government.

In October 1970, trying to enhance his image as a "militant" Chicano, Martínez led a disruption at a rally for Democrat John Tunney. The disrupters cut off the microphone and physically attacked Tunney and an aide as they left.

On Nov. 4, 1970, "militant" Martínez paraded in front of the Chicano Moratorium headquarters with a shotgun. Sure enough, the brutal L.A. cops wasted no time in using this as an excuse

to raid the place. A Moratorium activist, Roberto Flores, suffered a fractured skull in the raid.

Martínez succeeded in becoming a national leader of the Brown Berets. He was also able to displace Rosalio Muñoz as national chairman of the Chicano Moratorium by accusing him of being "too soft." When Martínez finally blew his cover, he was able to cite as evidence of his success that the Brown Berets had gone underground, and the Chicano Moratorium was totally inactive.

Martínez "surfaced" more than a year ago, but the Watergate revelations now give us an opportunity to underscore the lessons to be learned. For one thing, the movement can learn how to avoid getting set up for victimization by the work of provocateurs.

There are broader lessons as well. Watergate, and the role of the agents like Martínez, is further proof that this capitalist government has absolutely no concern for democratic rights. The rulers of this country, who profit from exploitation and racism, are a tiny minority that must rely on deception as well as force to stay in power. The Chicano movement should use the Watergate revelations to show people what this racist system is all about.

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 7, 1973

Interview with Alain Krivine

Defense campaign decisive to victory

[The following interview with Alain Krivine is reprinted from the Aug. 10 issue of *Rouge*, formerly the newspaper of the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *The Militant*.

[The Communist League was banned by the French government June 28 for its sponsorship of a demonstration protesting a meeting held June 21 in Paris by the fascist group Ordre Nouveau (New Order). The fascist meeting was aimed at whipping up racist opposition to immigrant workers in France.

[Alain Krivine, the Communist League's candidate against Pompidou in the 1969 elections, was arrested for supposedly instigating the anti-fascist demonstration, even though the night of the action he was speaking at a meeting in another city. He was charged under the infamous "anti-wrecker law," which enables the government to hold leaders of an organization responsible for any illegal acts that take place in a demonstration sponsored by that organization.

[Krivine was released from prison Aug. 2 as a result of a massive defense effort, but still faces trial this fall.

[Pierre Rousset, formerly a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist League, was arrested simply for being present in the Communist League headquarters when it was sacked by police, who found weapons there.

[The international defense campaign continues, demanding freedom for Pierre Rousset, lifting of the ban on the League, and dropping of all charges against Krivine and Rousset. A *Militant* reader from the Socialist Workers League of Australia writes that a broad united-front meeting of 150 people took place in Melbourne Aug. 16. This followed a similar meeting of 230 in Sydney Aug. 1.

[The Melbourne meeting was sponsored by a wide spectrum of left groups, as well as the Plumbers and Gasfitters Union, the Seaman's Union, and Bob Hawke, federal president of the Australian Labor Party and president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

[The French National Committee Against the Dissolution of the Communist League asks that letters and petitions of protest be sent to the Pompidou regime, with copies to the defense committee c/o M. F. Kahn, 15 rue Clerc, Paris 75007. Financial contributions to the defense campaign can be sent to Michel Foucault, C. C. P., Paris 26-15, France.]

Q: What are conditions like now in La Santé prison?

A: They have been improved slightly since the last [prisoners'] rebellions and the growth of public awareness they fostered. But the scattered reforms of 1972 have not fundamentally changed the depersonalizing and degrading set-up that the French penal system represents. Isolated in tiny cells, the prisoners spend months awaiting their trials. A large part of them are young people, and there are many immigrants, who are put together in a special section.

Pierre Rousset and I were given a



Krivine at League headquarters.

special status, what they call "political." Among other things, this allowed us to have a radio, daily and weekly papers, and one-hour visits each day. But we were kept totally isolated, with no possibility of seeing or meeting other prisoners.

Q: How did you get news from the outside?

A: You could get news through the visits from your family or friends, but also by mail, and that was very important. Pierre and I received dozens and dozens of letters from all over France—from former militants of the Communist League, from Maoist militants, from members of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the United Socialist Party. This is how we were able to get a sense of the breadth of the solidarity movement that developed despite the vacation period. These letters were all opened but they have not as yet been censored.

Q: What is there of importance in the prosecution's case?

A: Unfortunately for Marcellin [minister of the interior], nothing. There is a memorandum from the Political Bureau of the former Communist League explaining to the militants in two pages why it was necessary for them to come to the June 20 demonstration organized by the Communist Party and the United Socialist Party for the defense of civil liberties. The memorandum also explains in a few lines why—in the context of this action—it was necessary to prevent the June 21 meeting of the New Order.

That's the famous "secret directive" discovered by the minister of the interior. And the manuscript is written in my handwriting! As for the rest of the "directives," they are nothing more than press releases published by *Le Monde*, which is, as far as I know, neither secret nor confidential.

Finally, there is a call for a united meeting to organize the antifascist campaign, a call signed by Michel Recanti for the Communist League. More than 20 organizations received this "secret" letter. And the site of the meeting was the Parisian café best known for the left and far-left meetings that are held there. Another indication of how clandestine the "plot" was!

Q: What has the role of the defense been?

A: Decisive. Attorneys Jouffa and Compte have succeeded in bringing out the whole political character of the case without neglecting to utilize the bourgeois laws to the maximum, fighting step-by-step on all the procedural aspects. One of the goals is to show concretely what a scandal the "anti-wrecker" law is.

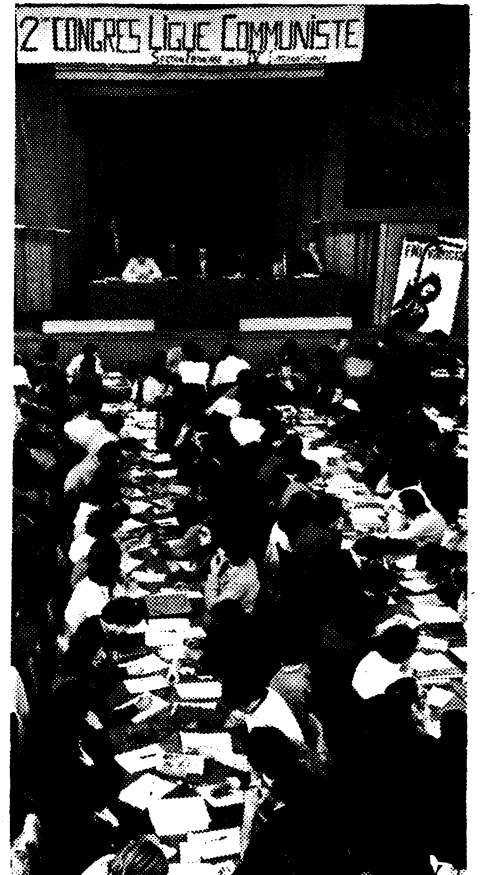
Q: What exactly is the situation of Pierre Rousset?

A: Pierre had the misfortune to be at 10 impasse Guéménée [then headquarters of the Communist League] with 22 other militants the day after the demonstration. It was the normal rotation of militants to guard the headquarters. Today they are accusing him of concealing Molotov cocktails and guns in the headquarters.

As far as the Molotov cocktails go, we have never denied that we have stocked them for our defense since the attack on us by a New Order commando squad.

As for the two army rifles, we have already explained their presence at some length. They were brought to the headquarters in broad daylight, poorly wrapped and bundled, by an unknown person who can only have been a provocateur or mentally ill.

What were we to do? The provo-



Elie Kagan

June 1971 convention of Communist League.

cation could have consisted of arresting this person in the act of leaving the Communist League headquarters with the weapons. We had no way to verify this hypothesis. We therefore kept the weapons, and the person in charge at the time gave instructions for getting rid of them rapidly.

This affair—a secondary matter—remained at this stage until the day of the brutal search by the police, which brought to light the fact that the instructions had not been carried out. No one knew this. Pierre Rousset did not know it.

Furthermore, there is no one who is not aware that the Communist League is not preparing for immediate armed struggle.

Moreover, a court-ordered test was carried out. The Molotov cocktails, such as they were presented to the judge by the police, were inoperative; thus they are not Molotov cocktails. And ammunition for one of the two rifles has not been available for years!

Pierre Rousset has appealed the judge's refusal to grant him provisional liberty, and a higher court must still rule on the appeal.

But Pierre had already been given an eight-month suspended sentence last year for an act of solidarity with Latin American revolutionaries. If he is sentenced to more than two months in prison this time, he will have to serve the other eight months as well.

The essential task today is to organize the campaign to free Pierre Rousset. The greatest danger would be to be lulled to sleep by what seems to be a spectacular victory (my release) but is really only a modest success.

By Leon Trotsky

[The following article by Leon Trotsky, published here in full for the first time in English, was written originally for the November 1911 issue of the Austrian socialist magazine *Der Kampf*. It first appeared in German.

[During the 1920s, when the Soviet State Publishing House (Gosizdat) printed a number of volumes of Trotsky's *Works* (*Sochineniya*), an authorized Russian version of the article was included in Volume 4 (1926), pp. 364-369. The present text is translated from that Russian edition, which, having been reviewed by Trotsky, clearly represented his mature thinking on this subject. After his

Leon Trotsky: Why Marxists oppose individual terrorism

expulsion from the Soviet Union by Stalin, Trotsky continued to refer to this 1911 article as expressing his views on "the futility of individual terrorism" (*My Life*, 1929).

[When charges of terrorism were brought by Stalin and his police and judicial apparatus against the Left Opposition (and against virtually the entire old revolutionary generation) in order to justify the use of official terror in the bloody purges of the middle and late 1930s, it was to this and several other articles against terrorism in his *Works*, Volume 4, that Trotsky pointed to expose the falsity of the charges.

[Speaking before members of the International Commission of Inquiry Into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, on April 17, 1937, Trotsky took up the political basis of Stalin's charges against the opposition. No opposition, he explained, could permit itself "such an insane squandering of forces" as a policy of terrorism requires, especially not the Left Oppositionists, educated against individual terrorism by "the enormous experience of the revolutionary movement."

[Trotsky recounted for the commission his own contributions, as part of that movement, to the historical and theoretical struggle against terrorist politics. In this account he described the background to his writing the present article as follows:

"In 1911 terrorist moods arose among certain groups of Austrian workers. Upon the request of Friedrich Adler, editor of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical monthly of the Austrian Social Democracy, I wrote in 1911 an article on terrorism for this publication." (*The Case of Leon Trotsky*, New York: Merit Publishers, now Pathfinder Press, 1968, p. 492.)

[The translation of the article is by Marilyn Vogt and George Saunders.]

Our class enemies are in the habit of complaining about our terrorism. What they mean by this is rather unclear. They would like to label all the activities of the proletariat directed against the class enemy's interests as terrorism. The strike, in their eyes, is the principal method of terrorism. The threat of a strike, the organization of strike pickets, an economic boycott of a slave-driving boss, a moral boycott of a traitor from our own ranks—all this and much more they call terrorism. If terrorism is understood in this way as any action inspiring fear in, or doing harm to, the enemy, then of course the entire class struggle is nothing but terrorism. And the only question remaining is whether the bourgeois politicians have the right to pour out their floods of moral indignation about proletarian terrorism when their entire state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!

However, it must be said that when they reproach us with terrorism, they are trying—although not always consciously—to give this word a narrower, less indirect meaning. The damaging of machines by workers, for example, is terrorism in this strict sense of the word. The killing of an employer, a threat to set fire to a factory or a death threat to its owner, an assassination attempt, with revolver in hand, against a government minister—all these are terrorist acts in the full and authentic sense. However, anyone who has an idea of the true nature of international Social Democracy ought to know that it has always opposed this kind of terrorism, and done so in the most irreconcilable way.

Why?

"Terrorizing" with the threat of a strike, or actually conducting a strike, is something only industrial or agricultural workers can do. The social significance of a strike depends directly upon first, the size of the enterprise or the branch of industry that it affects; and second, the degree to which the workers taking part in it are organized, disciplined, and ready for action. This is just as true of a political strike as it is of an economic one. It continues to be the method of struggle that flows directly from the productive role of the proletariat in modern society.

In order to develop, the capitalist system needs a parliamentary superstructure. But because it cannot confine the modern proletariat to a political ghetto, it must sooner or later allow the workers to participate in parliament. In elections, the mass character of the proletariat and its level of political development—qualities which, again, are determined by its social role, i.e., above all, its productive role—find their expression.

As in a strike, so in elections the method, aim, and result of the struggle always depend on the social role and strength of the proletariat as a class.

Only the workers can conduct a strike. Artisans ruined by the factory, peasants whose water the factory is poisoning, or lumpen proletarians, in search of plunder, can smash machines, set fire to a factory, or murder its owner.

Only the conscious and organized working class can send a strong representation into the halls of parliament to look out for proletarian interests. However, in order to murder a prominent official you need not have the organized masses behind you. The recipe for explosives is accessible to all, and a Browning can be obtained anywhere.

In the first case, there is a social struggle, whose methods and means flow necessarily from the nature of the prevailing social order; in the second, a purely mechanical reaction identical everywhere—in China as in France—very striking in its outward form (murder, explosions, and so forth) but absolutely harmless as far as the social system goes.

A strike, even of modest size, has social consequences: strengthening of the workers' self-confidence, growth of the trade union, and not infrequently, even an improvement in production technology. The murder of a factory owner produces effects of a police nature only, or a change of proprietors devoid of any social significance.

Whether a terrorist attempt, even a "successful" one, throws the ruling class into confusion depends on the concrete political circumstances. In any case the confusion can only be short-lived; the capitalist state does not base itself on government ministers and cannot be eliminated with them. The classes it serves will always find new people; the mechanism remains intact and continues to function.



LEON TROTSKY: The 'entire state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!'

But the disarray introduced into the ranks of the working masses themselves by a terrorist attempt is much deeper. If it is enough to arm oneself with a pistol in order to achieve one's goal, why the efforts of the class struggle? If a thimbleful of gunpowder and a little chunk of lead is enough to shoot the enemy through the neck, what need is there for a class organization? If it makes sense to terrify highly placed personages with the roar of explosions, where is the need for a party? Why meetings, mass agitation, and elections if one can so easily take aim at the ministerial bench from the gallery of parliament?

In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission.

The anarchist prophets of "the propaganda of the deed"



Meeting of railroad workers in Russia, 1917. Trotsky stressed that individual terrorism blocked the necessary self-organization and self-education of the masses.

can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses. Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more "effective" the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more the attention of the masses is focused on them—the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education.

But the smoke from the explosion clears away, the panic disappears, the successor of the murdered minister makes his appearance, life again settles into the old rut, the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before; only police repression grows more savage and brazen. And as a result, in place of the kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement come disillusion and apathy.

The efforts of reaction to put an end to strikes and to the mass workers movement in general have always, everywhere, ended in failure. Capitalist society needs an active, mobile, and intelligent proletariat; it cannot, therefore, bind the proletariat hand and foot for very long. On the other hand the anarchist "propaganda of the deed" has shown every time that the state is much richer in the means of physical destruction and mechanical repression than are the terrorist groups.

If that is so, where does it leave the revolution? Is it negated or rendered impossible by this state of affairs? Not at all. For the revolution is not a simple aggregate of mechanical means. The revolution can arise only out of the sharpening of the class struggle, and it can find a guarantee of victory only in the social functions of the proletariat. The mass political strike, the armed insurrection, the conquest of state power—all this is determined by the degree to which production has been developed, the alignment of class forces, the proletariat's social weight, and finally, by the social composition of the army, since the armed forces are the factor that in time of revolution determines the fate of state power.

Social Democracy is realistic enough not to try to avoid the revolution that is developing out of the existing historical conditions; on the contrary, it is moving to meet the revolution with eyes wide open. But—contrary to the anarchists and in direct struggle against them—Social Democracy rejects all methods and means that have as their goal to artificially force the development of society and to substitute chemical preparations for the insufficient revolutionary strength of the proletariat.

* * *

Before it is elevated to the level of a method of political struggle, terrorism makes its appearance in the form of individual acts of revenge. So it was in Russia, the classic land of terrorism. The flogging of political prisoners impelled Vera Zasulich* to give expression to the general feeling of indignation by an assassination attempt on General Trepov. Her example was imitated in the circles of the revolutionary intelligentsia, who lacked any

* On January 24, 1878, Vera Zasulich (1849-1919) shot the St. Petersburg chief of police, General Trepov, who had ordered the beating of a political prisoner who had not doffed his cap when passing the general. Zasulich was freed by a jury of ordinary people after a trial that attracted much attention.

A revolutionary Narodnik (populist) of the 1860s, Zasulich was affiliated to Georgy Plekhanov's group, which broke with populism and terrorism and established the first Russian Marxist organization, the Emancipation of Labor Group. In the early years of the twentieth century, she worked on the staff of *Iskra* with Lenin, but in 1903, when the Russian Social Democratic Labor party split, she went with the Mensheviks, with whom she remained to the end of her life. — Translators

mass support. What began as an act of unthinking revenge was developed into an entire system in 1879-81 [a reference to the People's Will terrorist organization, which succeeded in killing Tsar Alexander II in 1881—Tr.]. The outbreaks of anarchist assassination attempts in Western Europe and North America always come after some atrocity committed by the government—the shooting of strikers or executions of political opponents. The most important psychological source of terrorism is always the feeling of revenge in search of an outlet.

There is no need to belabor the point that Social Democracy has nothing in common with those bought-and-paid-for moralists who, in response to any terrorist act, make solemn declamations about the "absolute value" of human life. These are the same people who, on other occasions, in the name of other absolute values—for example, the nation's honor or the monarch's prestige—are ready to shove millions of people into the hell of war. Today their national hero is the minister who gives the orders for unarmed workers to be fired on—in the name of the most sacred right of private property; and tomorrow, when the desperate hand of the unemployed worker is clenched into a fist or picks up a weapon, they will start in with all sorts of nonsense about the inadmissibility of violence in any form.

Whatever the eunuchs and pharisees of morality may say, the feeling of revenge has its rights. It does the working class the greatest moral credit that it does not look with vacant indifference upon what is going on in this best of all possible worlds. Not to extinguish the proletariat's unfulfilled feeling of revenge, but on the contrary to stir it up again and again, to deepen it, and to direct it against the real causes of all injustice and human baseness—that is the task of Social Democracy.

If we oppose terrorist acts, it is only because *individual* revenge does not satisfy us. The account we have to settle with the capitalist system is too great to be presented to some functionary called a minister. To learn to see all the crimes against humanity, all the indignities to which the human body and spirit are subjected, as the twisted outgrowths and expressions of the existing social system, in order to direct all our energies into a collective struggle against this system—that is the direction in which the burning desire for revenge can find its highest moral satisfaction.

...convention

Continued from page WO4

answer to the present rise in living costs." But its rejection of wage controls was hedged ("across-the-board") and it called for "selective" price controls, while avoiding any proposal that would get at the source of escalating prices and rebut the lie that workers' wage levels cause inflation.

When the resolutions committee brought in a motion on Vietnam calling for release of Saigon's 200,000 political prisoners and Canadian diplomatic recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary government, Tony De Felici (York South) raised the question of Canada's complicity in the International Commission of Control and Supervision, denouncing the NDP caucus's support of the ICCS membership.

A resolution condemning the bombing of Cambodia and Laos was strengthened with an amendment by Maurice Flood (Vancouver-Centre) to read that the NDP "go on record as calling for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces and materiel from Cambodia, Laos and Southeast Asia." The resolutions committee incorporated this change into its motion without debate—a small but significant victory for the antiwar activists who have fought long and hard for years to commit the NDP to an "Out Now" position. Better late than never.

Left-wing slate

Almost all the delegates who spoke for the left-wing alternative to the leadership's proposals participated in a loosely organized but broad caucus formation, which contested the federal council elections under the title "Delegates for Socialist Policies." The caucus met several times during the convention. Its candidates received between 15 and 30 percent of the vote in the elections.

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Canadian New Democratic Party convention

Leadership confronted by socialists, feminists

[The following are excerpts from articles appearing in the August 6 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière in Canada.]

By Dick Fidler

Vancouver

The seventh biennial convention of the federal New Democratic Party (NDP), meeting here July 19-22, registered the further hardening of the liberal-reformist leadership's political and organizational control over the party since the forced exit last year of the party's left-wing Waffle caucus in Ontario. From the adoption of the agenda to federal leader David Lewis's closing speech, the brass were firmly in command.

But unexpectedly strong and determined rank-and-file dissent with the leadership's policies broke through at many points, spearheaded by a militant women's caucus which campaigned for the party to commit itself actively to the struggle for women's rights. And a new left-wing grouping was formed with cross-country connections, continuing the fight for socialist policies within the party.

This was the first federal convention since the left-wing "Waffle" grouping's exit from the party. The reduced forces of the left were reflected in the much smaller number of delegates who spoke for socialist positions at this convention—just over 10 percent of the 1,034 delegates—in contrast to the large number of left delegates at the 1971 convention where the "Waffle" had entered the leadership contest.

Leaders rebuffed

For the first time in the history of the federal New Democratic Party, the leader's report to the delegates was challenged at the convention.

The convention had barely opened when delegate Joyce Meissenheimer (Burnaby-Seymour), a member of the British Columbia provincial executive, moved during debate on adoption of the agenda that time be allocated for questions and debate on David Lewis's leadership report. Referring to the federal parliamentary caucus's vote with the government last year to break the B.C. longshoremen's strike, and the possibility they might do the same in the impending railway strike, Meissenheimer argued strongly that members must be given a way to hold the leadership accountable, short of seeking to replace it through election.

The tradition in the NDP, however, is for reports to be accepted by acclamation. This time not only Lewis, but each of the three NDP provincial premiers had been allowed a half hour to address the convention without provision for even questioning by the delegates. Thus it was with some surprise that chairman Donald Macdonald, the NDP federal president, reported—after two successive votes—that Meissenheimer's motion had passed!

When Lewis had finished his hour-long report the four floor microphones were lined ten-deep with delegates waiting to speak.

The Lewis leadership orchestrated this convention to demonstrate the party's "coming of age" as a "responsible" major party in Canadian politics. The agenda was dominated by two major speeches by Lewis and lengthy "reports" by each of the three NDP provincial premiers, underscoring the party's electoral advances in recent years. Less than 12 hours were allocated to policy debate in a four-day convention!

Delegates were constantly reminded that this was a "pre-election" convention. Much of Lewis's opening report to delegates was spent in arguing that the parliamentary caucus's alliance with the minority Liberal government had yielded significant concessions to working people. It was a slim balance-sheet, even by Lewis's own count—an increase in old-age and veterans' pensions, improved family allowances, a new housing bill, foreign investment and election expenses bills, and the stalemating of the government's proposed changes to the Unemployment Insurance Act.

Lewis criticized

In an unprecedented question and discussion period following this report, Lewis was harshly criticized by many delegates who noted that these modest gains hardly justified the party's virtual abandonment of an independent stance in opposition to the Liberals.

In the election of officers and the federal council, the leadership's slate of nominations was elected all down the line by large majorities over contending candidates.

Left-wing delegates were often stymied by restrictive procedures (three-minute limit on speakers, no direct amendment of resolutions from the floor, little advance notice of what resolutions were coming up for debate, etc.).

Despite these obstacles, opposition to the brass's liberal-reformist program was expressed on all major questions that came before the delegates.

Women's caucus

The highlight of the convention was the development of a powerful women's caucus which met several times and organized a floor fight that triumphed in adoption of resolutions committing the party to call a cross-country conference of NDP women, name a women's organizer, and schedule a half-day debate on women's rights at the next convention. The convention endorsed an appeal by MP Grace MacInnis to support Dr. Henry Morgentaler, who is currently facing charges of performing illegal abortions in his Montréal clinic.

The caucus also voted to establish a continuing cross-country structure with correspondents and activists in every major area.

The major policy confrontation between the left and the right wings of the party occurred on the energy issue. The total vacuousness of the NDP leadership's program, their inability to project the socialist alternative in areas of society where masses of people are developing anticapitalist conclusions, was indicated clearly in the resolution on the environment. It blamed

See potential for new left wing

The following is an excerpt from an editorial statement in the August 6 issue of *Labor Challenge*.

This convention met 40 years to the day after the founding of Canada's first social-democratic party, the NDP's predecessor, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Its [the NDP's] accession to office in three provinces over the last four years marks the first major breakthrough in almost 30 years, since the CCF victory in Saskatchewan in 1944. But as the party assumes the reins of government, it hardens its face against the radicalization and the workers' movement. Still far from power at the federal level, the Lewis leadership behaves as if it were responsible for administering the capitalist system rather than replacing it.

The party is a contradictory phenomenon, however. As this convention indicated anew, the NDP's profound roots in the organizations and

consciousness of the working class mean that it continues to be the arena for struggle between the reformist make-capitalism-work ideology of the labor bureaucracy, and class-struggle politics, whose most consistent expression is revolutionary socialism, advanced by the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action and Young Socialists.

The left in the NDP is presently small and largely disorganized. The desertion of the party by the Ontario Waffle leadership, who refused to stay and fight the purge launched by the NDP brass, and the virtual abandonment of the party by Waffle leaders in other parts of the country, dealt a severe blow to the party's left wing.

But the battles waged by feminists and left-wing delegates at this convention may well have reversed the dissipation of the last two years, and laid the basis for reconstituting an organized left wing in the NDP with cross-country connections in the coming period.

pollution on the "wastefulness of a consumer-oriented society" and called for a royal commission "to launch a thorough study of our resources and of the strategies we must evolve to conserve them."

This nonsense was attacked by several delegates. Ed Livingston (Vancouver Centre) argued that the "wastefulness" of this society results from the distorted socially-irresponsible priorities of a profit-motivated society, not the foibles of "consumers," most

of them working people.

Wage controls rejected

Two of the three NDP premiers, Schreyer of Manitoba and Blakeney of Saskatchewan, in their speeches to the convention, called for wage and price controls. The federal leadership's "cost-of-living" resolution rejected their views, asserting that "across-the-board wage and price controls are not the

Continued on page WO3

Women's caucus wages fight



Werner Steinmetz

Above, NDP member of parliament Grace MacInnis takes the floor to make powerful appeal in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, Montréal doctor now before courts for defying Canada's restrictive abortion laws. At right is Joyce Meissenheimer, British Columbia provincial executive member and chairwoman of convention's militant women's caucus.

A convention participant writes in *Labor Challenge*: "When the resolution calling for a cross-country conference of NDP women to be held within a year came on the con-

vention floor, women delegates were in line 10 deep behind all of the four floor microphones. The atmosphere in the convention hall was excited and expectant. This was the opening of the debate on women's rights—a debate which soon became the highlight of the four-day convention in spite of the attempts of convention planners to keep the topic off the floor. . . .

"The women's caucus was a well-organized militant feminist group which successfully challenged the leadership's well-oiled convention machine. It had three large meetings during the convention. At the first, a 'strategy committee' of 10 women was struck off to lead the intervention on the floor. After the caucus meetings, leaflets were produced reporting on the decisions of the meeting and urging delegates to support them.

"The determination shown by the women and the strong feeling of sisterhood gained through the struggle—reflected in the women's caucus meetings and the innumerable informal meetings and discussions throughout the convention—made it clear that the organized women's movement within the NDP is going to be a force to be reckoned with for the party's conservative and bureaucratic leadership."

A Militant interview

Ohio prisoners unite to demand rights

By ROBERTA SCHERR

In July I had a chance to meet with Eugene Zagar, a representative of what may be one of the largest groups of socialist campaign supporters in the state of Ohio. Our meeting took place at the Southern Ohio Correctional Facility, the brand-new \$32.5-million state prison in Lucasville, Ohio.

Lucasville is located in the backwoods of southern Ohio about 70 miles from Columbus, far from any population center. Most of the inmates are Black, and 40 percent come from the Cleveland area. To visit them, their families or friends must catch a 5 a.m. bus that costs \$24 and doesn't return until after midnight.

Eugene Zagar is a young prisoner serving a life sentence at Lucasville. He is an executive officer of the Ohio Prisoners Labor Union (OPLU), which was formed last January to struggle for prisoners' rights in Ohio. The OPLU has already grown to a membership of 7,000 inmates throughout the state.

Zagar and several other Lucasville supporters of my campaign for mayor of Cleveland have been corresponding with me since April. Prison authorities refused my right to meet with other campaign supporters at Lucasville, but I finally obtained permission to visit Zagar. He described the brutal and inhuman conditions the OPLU is fighting against.

Of the 1,000 prisoners at Lucasville, only 180 are enrolled in academic classes. Almost 400 more are on the waiting list. There is no vocational training—a \$110,000 federal grant for vocational training was used instead to buy new uniforms and raise salaries for prison guards. Less than 200 jobs are available to prisoners.

"That means that about 700 convicts have nothing to do all day long," Zagar said. "They just sit around. A lot of fights and stabbings started to occur just because the men were going stir crazy."

No medical care

In addition, Zagar explained, there is no full-time doctor at the prison and the medical facilities are completely inadequate. An exposé of conditions at Lucasville published earlier this year in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* described the prison hospital as "empty of equipment" and said the prison dentist "has nothing but hand tools with which to work."

The *Plain Dealer* reported that an inmate with a fractured hand had to

protest for five days before his hand was X-rayed. In another incident, an epileptic inmate was locked alone in a room, ignored by the staff, and suffered seven seizures in two days.

Instead of decent medical care, mind-controlling drugs like Thorazine were reportedly given to inmates. The *Plain Dealer* quoted one inmate who said, "A brother that thought he had appendicitis was given Thorazine and he was twisted up for three days." "Every day we see more guys walking around here like zombies," another said.

Because of these degrading conditions, Lucasville has been the scene of numerous protest actions and court cases since it opened in September 1972. What was built as an ideal "correctional facility" to be used as a model throughout the country has instead become a center for radical organizing and prisoners' struggles.

The first challenge came from Kelly Chapman, a longtime prisoner activist who, Zagar says, "has become somewhat of a legend in Ohio prisons." Last fall Chapman filed suit against the state prison authorities, calling for a halt to any further transfers into Lucasville until adequate medical facilities were provided and a full-time doctor hired. However, the case was never heard before the courts.

Zagar explained, "On the first day of the hearings, the man who was going to testify about the conditions in the prison hospital died. All they did was close the hospital for a while and drop the case. Nothing has been done since then to correct the so-called mistake."

Prisoners strike

On May 24, more than 700 Lucasville prisoners went on strike to protest the inhuman conditions. They demanded reforms in the parole board, review board, and furlough system. (Although Lucasville supposedly has a furlough system, no prisoner has ever been allowed furlough.)

Zagar described the tactics used to break the strike and the attempts to destroy the union. "First they physically separated the leadership to try to demoralize us. Then they began offering privileges to cell blocks that didn't support the union." Despite this, the OPLU has 600 to 700 members in Lucasville alone.

"They tried everything from sending in provocateurs to start riots, to pitting union members against nonunion members. But in the long run their divide-and-conquer strategy won't work. Everyone here knows that the prison administration is the enemy, not the other prisoners."

The strike lasted until June 6, when the authorities succeeded in breaking it. Then 25 OPLU members began a hunger strike. After a few days, prison officials turned up the heat in their cells to 130 to 135 degrees, causing the men to become dehydrated and forcing them to call off the hunger strike.

The OPLU has filed a class-action suit in federal court in Columbus demanding union recognition, \$20 a day compensation for prisoners harassed during the struggles last spring, and the restoration of all privileges.

Because of his radical activities, Eugene Zagar has been confined to a disciplinary block for two months. While I was visiting him, he received word the prison authorities were planning to transfer him to another prison



in order to further isolate him from his fellow inmates. Zagar says he is determined to stay in Lucasville and will fight the transfer in court if necessary.

'Jail the rich, free the poor'

I asked Zagar how he became a socialist. He explained that he had made several futile attempts to correspond with politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties. "I wrote a letter to Ted Kennedy, who referred it to Senator Saxbe (R-Ohio). He referred it to Governor Gilligan, and I've never heard from him." (On Aug. 14 Governor John Gilligan released a statement opposing recognition for the Ohio Prisoners Labor Union.)

Zagar said the prisoners are fed up with these phony politicians. "I guess most of us consider ourselves socialists. We're against capitalism.

My philosophy is jail the rich, free the poor. Under socialism I don't think we'll have any prisons."

Zagar said the Socialist Workers Party campaign has received much support among the Lucasville prisoners. "We hear you on the radio from Columbus a lot. We're behind you all the way. If there's anything we can do to help, let us know. It really inspires us to know that you support us, too."

On June 26 I received a letter notifying me that the executive board of the OPLU had unanimously voted to endorse my candidacy for mayor of Cleveland.

Many of the prisoners are regular readers of *The Militant*, which Zagar says has "not yet" been censored. Several prisoners say that when they are released they plan to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Lucasville prison a 'monstrosity'

Since this interview was obtained, further developments have called attention to the plight of inmates at the Lucasville, Ohio, prison.

Two guards were killed July 24. They were shot simultaneously, one by another guard and one by a prisoner who had been holding several guards hostage.

Prison officials have demagogically exploited the deaths to justify brutal mistreatment of hundreds of Lucasville prisoners. Seventy-eight inmates were stripped naked and held that way for as long as seven days. Four hundred more are still in solitary confinement as a result of last May's strike. Many have been beaten.

In August, a special task force appointed by Ohio Governor John Gilligan to investigate the prison released its report. The task force

called the Lucasville prison an "obsolete monstrosity" run by ineffectual administrators and grudge-bearing guards.

To conceal these conditions, guards threatened a strike if Gilligan didn't cancel a planned visit to Lucasville by former Teamster President James Hoffa. The guards, only one of whom is Black, insist that prisoners are treated too leniently.

One guard complained, "The prisoners call that place Lucasville-Hilton and we serve as bellhops to them. . . . You can't rehabilitate people who don't want to be." Gilligan caved in and Hoffa's visit was canceled.

The Ohio Prisoners Labor Union recently announced it is filing suit to demand an end to the wholesale harassment and abuse of prisoners.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

ROBERTA SCHERR: SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland has been endorsed by Ohio Prisoners Labor Union.

Peron hopes to stem political crisis

PST enters Argentine election

By CAROLINE LUND

AUG. 28—The presidential elections scheduled for Sept. 23 in Argentina come at a time of sharpening political crisis. The Argentine rulers are desperately trying to reach a strategic agreement among themselves, with the backing of U.S. imperialism, to contain the explosive workers' struggles and continuing radicalization that have swept the country.

This working class upsurge was expressed in scores of factory occupations and hundreds of takeovers of high schools and other institutions after Peronist President Hector Cámpora took office last May.

The return of Perón to Argentina, the July 13 resignation of Cámpora, and Perón's decision to run for president reflect the conclusion of the major sectors of the capitalist class that a Peronist regime would be the best hope for coopting or repressing the workers movement. Perón's concessions to rightist forces since his return, however, have already caused dissension among some of his left-wing followers.

The only working-class alternative in the elections will be the ticket of the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—PST). Four thousand people packed a meeting hall in Buenos Aires on Aug. 18 at the call of the PST and the Frente de los Trabajadores (Workers Front) to decide on a slate of working-class candidates to oppose Perón.

The only offices open in the special election are those of president and vice-president.

The meeting approved a slate of PST leader Juan Carlos Coral for president, and Jose Páez for vice-president. Páez, who recently joined the PST, was a leader of SITRAC-SITRAM, the rebel union of auto workers in Córdoba that has been in the forefront of the struggle against the military, the capitalists, and the Peronist trade union bureaucracy. He was one of the leaders of the semi-insurrections, called "Cordobazos," that occurred in that city in 1969 and 1971. Because of his role in these struggles, Páez was ousted from the union by the bureaucracy.

In addition to Perón (whose running mate will be his wife, Isabel Martínez), there are now two other pro-capitalist tickets in the race: Balbin and De la Rúa of the Radical Civic Union, Argentina's second-largest party after the Peronists; and the right-wing slate of Manrique and Raymonda. In the last elections, in March of this year, Manrique headed up an

alliance of right-wing parties, centered around the Progressive Democratic Party.

The importance of Perón's candidacy for preserving capitalist stability in Argentina has even been recognized by U.S. imperialism. Thus *New York Times* reporter David Binder wrote from Washington July 28: "In a reversal of attitudes, the United States Government has come to view Juan Domingo Perón not as a menace but as Argentina's best hope for political stability and economic progress."

Perón's usefulness to the capitalist class stems from the fact that masses of Argentine workers still believe he represents their interests and is anti-imperialist.

The PST is the only radical or work-

• For legal rights for all parties in the elections.

• For democracy in the trade unions and for a congress of rank-and-file delegates of the CGT (the Peronist-controlled trade-union federation) to elect a new union leadership.

• For an emergency wage raise and a sliding scale of wages.

• Against the persecution of political activists; rehire those fired for political reasons or activity in the trade unions.

• Against imperialist exploitation and for nationalization and workers control of Codex, Standard Electric, and the rest of the monopolies.

• For the expropriation of the rich land owners and an agrarian reform, including the utilization of uncultivat-



Argentine rulers hope election of Peron will dampen workers' struggles such as this one, which occurred at the Somisa steel plant in January.

ing-class party that is challenging Perón and the other capitalist candidates in the election. At a special convention July 29, the PST decided to make its ballot status available to all those in the workers movement who support working-class political action in opposition to all the capitalist parties, including Perón's.

The PST followed the same course in the March elections, when Cámpora ran as a stand-in candidate for Perón. At the initiative of the PST, a Workers Front was formed, involving militant workers and trade-union leaders from throughout Argentina. Using the PST's ballot status, the Workers Front fielded 2,200 worker candidates as well as supporting the presidential and vice-presidential ticket of PST leaders Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Ciapponi. During these elections, Jose Páez ran on the PST ticket for governor of Córdoba.

The PST and Workers Front were the only working-class alternative to the "Great National Agreement"—the alliance formed between the capitalists, the Peronists, and the military as a maneuver to dampen the workers struggles. Workers Front candidates and supporters helped lead important strikes and factory occupations throughout the election period.

The new elections called for September give the PST and Workers Front another opportunity to confront the anti-working-class policies of Perón before the eyes of the masses of Argentines.

The Workers Front and the PST issued a call to all worker militants to participate in the Aug. 18 meeting on the basis of agreement with the following program:

• Against the parties and candidates of the Great National Agreement; against Perón, Balbin, Manrique, and all other capitalist candidates; for an independent, class-struggle political line, party, and slate.

ed lands by allowing people to work them.

A special invitation was issued to Agustín Tosco to join the Workers Front and run on its presidential ticket. Tosco is the best-known militant trade-union leader in the country. He was released from prison in September 1972, after serving a year and a half for allegedly subversive activities.

Tosco is president of the Córdoba Light and Power Union, which was attacked by goons from the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy in July. Armed followers of Tosco successfully defended the union headquarters against the Peronist attackers, who used machine guns and explosives.

Tosco, however, declined the offer from the PST and Workers Front to run on an independent slate, apparently under pressure from the Peronist ranks in the Córdoba labor movement. He has not yet made clear what his position on the elections will be.

The Communist Party has declared its support for Perón. In the first round of the elections last March, the CP supported an alliance of capitalist parties headed up by Oscar Alende and Horacio Sueldo—politicians who even supported the law making the Communist Party illegal.

In the second round, the CP supported the Radical Civic Union in Buenos Aires and the Peronist candidates in the rest of the country.

The rising workers movement and the growing radicalization of the various sectors of the population are posing new problems for the ruling class. The factory occupations, mass rebellions, the student unrest, and continuing inflation are all factors creating further divisions within the capitalist class. Neither Perón nor other sectors of the ruling class can hold back this process for any extended period of time.

U.N. body hears case of Puerto Rico

By MIRTA VIDAL

UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK—A sense of excitement permeated an audience packed with supporters of independence for Puerto Rico when the United Nations Committee on Decolonization met last week.

Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), and Rubén Berrios, president of the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), spoke before the committee Aug. 23 and 24. This unprecedented event was the first time that leaders of the independence movement in Puerto Rico have been invited to address this body.

Puerto Rico has been a colony of the United States since the end of the Spanish-American War. In 1952, the U.S. tried to disguise this fact by formally granting Puerto Rico the status of "Commonwealth." In reality, however, the island continues to be a U.S. colony.

The United Nations Committee on Decolonization, also known as the Committee of 24, was formed in 1960. It is composed of 24 "nonaligned" nations.

As early as 1962, the Pro-Independence Movement (now the PSP) began demanding that the U.N. recognize Puerto Rico's colonial status. But efforts to have the Committee of 24 consider the question had, up to now, been unsuccessful.

When the Committee resumed its sessions in mid-August of this year, supporters of independence for Puerto Rico in the U.S. held daily pickets in front of the U.N., demanding that the question be placed on its agenda. The actions were organized by the recently formed United Committee for a Discussion of the Colonial Case of Puerto Rico in the United Nations. Spearheaded by the PSP, the United Committee includes a number of Puerto Rican organizations in the U.S.

Finally, the Committee of 24 adopted a motion to discuss the question, which had been placed before it by the Cuban delegation to the U.N., although Cuba is not among the 24 nations on the committee. The committee vote caused outrage in Washington.

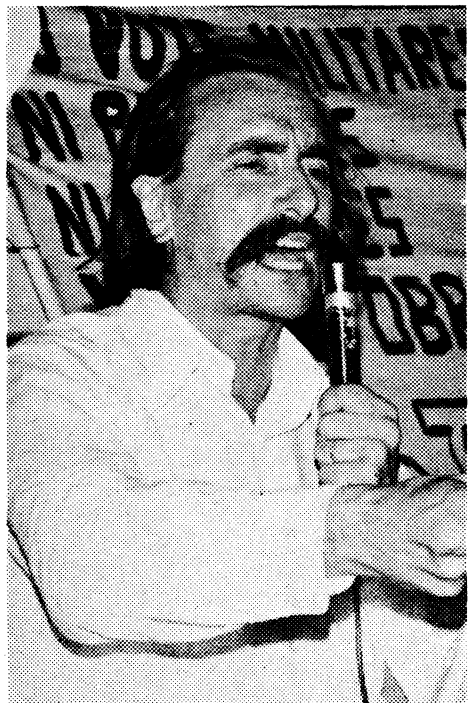
Both Mari Brás and Berrios denounced "the United States and its government for violating international law and the United Nations Charter by maintaining a colonial-type system in Puerto Rico . . . demonstrating absolute disdain for the right of self-determination of nations."

Mari Brás suggested that the Committee of 24 visit the island to examine the situation and hear what the Puerto Rican people themselves have to say. The committee, however, under pressure from the United States, has rejected the invitation.

Berrios attacked the United States for its colonial control over Puerto Rico, "which ranges from use of the Puerto Rican people in experiments like the one that sterilized one third of our women, to the compulsory draft which took Puerto Ricans to die in Vietnam. . . ."

Berrios also pointed to the growing support for independence as reflected in last year's elections, where the PIP received 95,000 votes. A little more than one million people voted. As Berrios ended his remarks, the crowd of spectators gave him a prolonged ovation.

Continued on page 22



PST leader Juan Carlos Coral will oppose Peron in the Sept. 23 presidential election.

Nine candidates on SWP ticket

New York socialists obtain ballot status

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — Nine Socialist Workers Party candidates have been certified for ballot status for the November municipal elections. Among them is Norman Oliver, the party's candidate for mayor.

The deadline for challenging petitions passed without a word of objection to the 26,128 signatures of registered voters the SWP filed on Aug. 21.

In 1969, at the time of the last city election, a representative for Mayor Lindsay successfully challenged the SWP's petitions for allegedly not

having enough valid signatures. This was a cynical move to help Lindsay get an extra spot in a good position on the ballot.

In addition to having a place on the ballot as the Liberal Party candidate, Lindsay filed independent nominating petitions for a second spot. By pushing the SWP and the Socialist Labor Party off the ballot, his extra line appeared in a more favorable position.

Many prominent individuals, including some of Lindsay's own supporters, condemned this undemocratic action. This seemed to expose and compro-

mise him in the eyes of many who had illusions about his sense of fair play.

This year, all four capitalist-party candidates sought extra places on the ballot by filing independent nominating petitions. Republican John Marchi, Liberal Albert Blumenthal, and Conservative Mario Biaggi each filed for one extra position. Abraham Beame, the Democratic contender, obtained two extra spots. These four candidates have hogged nine of 14 positions.

Other mayoral candidates who have filed are Rasheed Storey, Communist Party; Francine Youngstein, Free Libertarian Party; John Emanuel, Socialist Labor Party; and Tony Chaitkin, National Caucus of Labor Committees.

A few hours after filing his petitions, Norman Oliver appeared at a public hearing in city hall to protest a city council proposal for redrawing the council districts.

"I am opposed to the . . . proposed boundaries for new city council districts," Oliver argued, "because they are clearly designed to perpetuate the underrepresentation of Puerto Ricans on the city's principal elected body."

"For example, the gerrymandered triborough district composed of pieces of the South Bronx, East Manhattan,

and Queens is calculated to make it virtually impossible for a Puerto Rican to be elected. This policy can only be called by its real name—racial discrimination."

Oliver urged Lindsay to veto the proposal, and called on the city council to draw up "a fair and equitable proposal."

Among others who spoke against the city council plan was candidate Albert Blumenthal. The hearing was broadcast live on WNBC radio.

On the following day Lindsay vetoed the bill. It now goes back to the city council, where the veto will most likely be overridden.

This is the second redistricting bill Lindsay has vetoed. In January the city council overrode his first veto, but the New York court of appeals ruled the bill was invalid and ordered the council to draw up a new plan by Sept. 1.

Puerto Rican politicians and community leaders opposed both bills because they would not guarantee adequate representation for the city's Puerto Ricans, who make up about 10 percent of the population. At present, there are no Puerto Ricans on the city council, but the latest proposal would not guarantee more than two of the 43 city council seats to Puerto Ricans.



Militant/Doug Jenness

SWP mayoral candidate Norman Oliver protesting redistricting plan that would deny Puerto Ricans representation on city council.

City clerk says socialist is 'too young'

Dixon vows fight for spot on Detroit ballot

By LINDA NORDQUIST

DETROIT — Maceo Dixon, 24-year-old Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, has filed suit in federal district court here against the city clerk, who recently removed all "under-age" candidates, including Dixon, from the ballot.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which is handling Dixon's suit, have entered the battle. They hope to force Detroit to drop its age requirements, which restrict the right of young people to run for public office.

More than a year ago, ACLU attorney Richard Soble brought a suit against the city on behalf of Mark Manson, challenging the law requiring candidates for Common Council to be at least 25 years old. Federal District Judge Feikens ruled in favor

of the ACLU suit, stating that the city had no compelling interests in maintaining age requirements. The effect of this ruling was to drop age restrictions. The city then appealed to the federal court of appeals.

In mid-July, the appeals court reversed Judge Feikens's order, ruling that he had used the wrong legal test in coming to his conclusions, and sent the case back for retrial. Dixon's suit will now be consolidated with the ACLU suit.

Dixon blasted the city's action. "This is a blatant infringement on the rights of young people to run for office," he said. "In my case it is also an attack on the rights of Blacks and socialists to seek office. It is also totally arbitrary. One week they accept the filing fees of young people, and the next week they say we aren't 'serious and mature enough.'"

"I, along with other candidates, am

fighting this undemocratic decision to rule us off the ballot," Dixon continued. "I am going to campaign for mayor up to the November election. This ruling will not stop me from presenting my program to the people of Detroit. One of the main issues I will raise is the right of young people to seek office. I am asking people to help by endorsing my democratic right to run for office."

CoDEL attorney Ron Reosti explained some of the ramifications of the city's action: "The arguments used against the rights of young people are pure prejudice. The assumption that youths are somehow different, less developed, is a prejudice very similar to the prejudice against Blacks and women."

"We intend to call upon expert witnesses, anthropologists, historians, psychologists, and young people to

testify on behalf of our view, which is that young people are fully capable of running for public office and are being denied this right through reactionary laws."

Tim Craine, Michigan coordinator for CoDEL, explained the importance of this fight. "A favorable decision" he said, "will go far beyond the city of Detroit and these city elections. The suit has national implications. It will set a precedent affecting all offices throughout the country—including the age requirement for the office of the president."

Letters and telegrams supporting Dixon's right to be on the ballot should be sent to: George Edwards, City Clerk's Office, City County Building, Detroit, Mich. 48226. Contributions to defray the costs of the suit should be sent to: CoDEL, P.O. Box 10301, Detroit, Mich. 48210.

Women lead union organizing at Columbia

By RUTH CHENEY

NEW YORK — The 2,300 "supporting staff" workers of Columbia University have begun a union organizing campaign to become a local of District 65, Distributive Workers of America. Ninety percent of these workers are women, and feminist sentiments run high in the group of activists that make up the steering committee of the Ad Hoc Committee for Organizing—the group conducting the drive.

The working staff of Columbia includes secretaries, file clerks, typists, machinists, telephone operators, bookkeepers, receptionists, and administrative assistants. After struggling for more than a year to force the university to adopt an affirmative action plan that would upgrade job opportunities and salaries for women and for Blacks and Puerto Ricans, it is clear that the plan remains only on paper. Women's salaries remain the

lowest and men continue to be hired for the best jobs.

The main purpose of unionization is to guarantee the staff the right to collective bargaining in order to surmount the long-smoldering dissatisfaction with low-level salaries and job opportunities. At present, Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union has approximately 500 members at Columbia, whose salaries are \$20 to \$30 a week above the non-union staff. The Transport Workers Union has approximately 800 members; they also earn more than the unorganized workers.

Since April, the Ad Hoc Committee has been barred from using university facilities, and the union has rented a large headquarters off campus. In June, workers at Barnard College, across the street from Columbia, voted 2 to 1 to become members of District 65 and are currently negotiating a

contract with Barnard's administration. The success at Barnard has added impetus to the Columbia organizing effort.

Through the union, workers hope to force the university to grant increased salaries, six-month maternity and paternity leaves, payment for unmarried women to have abortions, completely free medical and dental care, a pension plan 50 percent better than the university's, child care for the staff as well as the students, and decent wages for student workers (the lowest paid). They also intend to see to it that Columbia implements the affirmative action plan—and hires Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women for the best jobs.

Several hundred pledge cards in support of the union have been signed so far, and the Ad Hoc Committee thinks it will be ready to file for an election this fall.



Militant/Julie Simon

Columbia University maids and their supporters demonstrating against sexist employment practices in January 1972.

Prospects dim for teacher unity

Shanker unchallenged at AFT convention

By JEFF MACKLER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The fifty-seventh annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was held here Aug. 20-24. Despite occasional flurries, the 2,014 assembled delegates, representing some 900 AFT locals across the U.S., were in no mood to challenge the conservative policies of AFT President David Selden and AFT Executive Vice-president Albert Shanker.

In keeping with the AFT's initial entry into electoral politics in 1972 with the formal endorsement of George McGovern, these officials sought to deepen the union's commitment to the election of Democratic Party candidates with the slogan "Elect a Veto-Proof Congress in 1974." This slogan appeared in giant letters across the front of the huge ballroom in the Sheraton Park Hotel.

To reinforce the idea Al Barkan, AFL-CIO COPE (Committee on Political Education) director, was chosen as a keynote speaker. Barkan insisted that the AFL-CIO heads hated Nixon, opposed wage controls, were repulsed

The main issue separating the organizations is the question of affiliation with the AFL-CIO. The NEA has firmly maintained that it will not enter into any merged organization requiring AFL-CIO affiliation. The AFT, on the other hand, insists on such affiliation, arguing that without the AFL-CIO a new organization would be outside the labor movement and closer to a company-union type of formation.

In fact, however, there is little truth to this argument. Several major unions are currently outside the AFL-CIO, including the Teamsters, the UAW, the West Coast longshoremen, and the United Electrical Workers. Furthermore, NEA locals have given every indication that they are committed to collective bargaining and militant trade-union activity. Of the 147 teachers strikes this year, for example, 122 were conducted by the NEA.

AFT top officials Shanker and Selden continue to insist on AFL-CIO affiliation, although differences between them on this issue were ru-

ers and will undoubtedly delay the process.

Most teachers desire a merged organization but are willing to wait for the outcome of talks between the national leaders of the AFT and the NEA. It has not yet become clear to the rank-and-file teacher that the top officials of both organizations are an obstacle to a new militant national teachers union.

Shanker-Selden fight

The public dispute and struggle for power between Selden and Shanker was not in evidence at this convention. The dispute came to the surface several months ago when the growth of the AFT entitled it to a seat on the AFL-CIO Executive Council. (The AFT is now the tenth largest AFL-CIO affiliate.)

George Meany preferred the right-wing, racist policies of Shanker, rather than the liberal, pro-McGovern stance of AFT President Selden. After a few rounds of internal squabbling, Shanker won. Pending an opening, the AFT Executive Council designated Shanker for the seat by a vote of 11 to 9.

Realizing that he lacked the forces to reverse this decision at the convention, Selden chose to submerge this dispute entirely. A constitutional amendment providing that the president of the AFT hold the seat on the AFL-CIO Executive Council was thus tabled without debate. Both the Shanker and Selden forces supported the motion to table it.

Whatever differences Shanker and Selden might have had on this question, and on other questions, including merger and AFL-CIO policy, were similarly swept under the rug. Thus, Shanker was able to stifle criticism of Meany's policies by claiming that such criticism lent ammunition to the anti-AFL-CIO stance of the NEA.

A resolution on local school board elections submitted by the Washington, D.C., local pointed to the fact that the AFT had frequently been involved in electing school boards that had proven hostile to the interests of teachers and public education. It concluded with a call for the AFT to "encourage teacher-initiated and teacher-sponsored candidates for local school boards."

While this resolution gave AFT militants the opportunity to explain the need for labor to move in the direction of developing its own political power in the form of a labor party, it was also endorsed by the union's right wing. The Shankerites viewed the resolution as an endorsement of their efforts to oppose candidates of the Black and Puerto Rican communities in New York school board elections, such as those in District 1.

Preferential hiring

A minor but important dispute broke out on a resolution from the colleges and university committee of the AFT. The resolution called for affirmative action hiring programs for women in higher education.

As soon as the resolution came to the floor, it was opposed by a large number of delegates from Shanker's Local 2 (the United Federation of Teachers in New York). These delegates got up one after another to argue that the AFT should oppose the resolution for preferential hiring since this was a form of "discrimination in reverse."

Despite this opposition from the 475-vote bloc of the UFT delegation, the motion passed by a vote of about 720 to 650. Later, however, another motion was passed with the support of Local 2. This one stated that although the AFT will support bilingual education programs, it will not support any form of preferential hiring. This was in keeping with Shanker's opposition to "quotas"—a position motivated by his desire to maintain the UFT as a white job trust.

Another example of Shanker's reactionary influence came when the small AFT Black Caucus sought to broaden a planned demonstration in support of striking workers at the Farah textile plant in Texas.

The Black Caucus resolution called for moving from the department store carrying Farah pants to the White House in order to protest inflation, government attacks on public education, and the veto of major education appropriation bills. Their proposal carried by a narrow margin over the opposition of the Shankerites.

Chavez speech a highlight

A highlight of the convention was an impassioned speech by United Farm Workers President César Chávez. Chávez, who received a five-minute standing ovation, detailed the brutality of police and Teamster goons in the California farm workers' struggle. After his speech, the delegates unanimously passed a motion supporting all United Farm Workers' boycotts, including lettuce, grapes, and the Safeway stores.

However, a motion recommending a \$10,000 contribution to the Farm Workers was defeated by a 3-to-2 margin. Opposition to the motion was led by Shanker's forces, who insisted that the recommendation implied criticism of the AFT and of the AFL-CIO for not adequately supporting the Farm Workers.

In other actions, the convention reaffirmed AFT support to the Equal Rights Amendment and called on the AFL-CIO to reverse its anti-ERA stand. A move to reverse the pro-abortion resolution passed at the last convention received almost no support. The union's stand against U.S. bombing in Cambodia and for the withdrawal of U.S. forces in Southeast Asia was also reaffirmed.



Shanker (left), Selden, and former New York Teachers Association head Thomas Hobart cementing the merger of the UFT and the New York affiliate of the NEA last year. Shanker and Selden again kept their rivalry under wraps at this year's AFT convention.

by Watergate, and were committed to social justice, but his speech rang hollow to most delegates. Many AFT locals had previously scored AFL-CIO President George Meany's backhanded support to Nixon in the 1972 elections, as well as his original support to wage controls.

The delegates were also aware that Meany's "support" for social justice included backing for Nixon's appointment of the racist Peter Brennan, former head of the New York building trades council, as secretary of labor.

Nevertheless, there was little resistance to closer alignment of the AFT with the policies and candidates of the Democratic Party.

One big union?

The major issue facing the convention was the need to unite teachers into one national union by merging the 1.4-million member National Education Association (NEA) and the 385,000-member AFT. An important step in this direction was taken when the recent NEA convention voted to open merger talks with the AFT on Sept. 1.

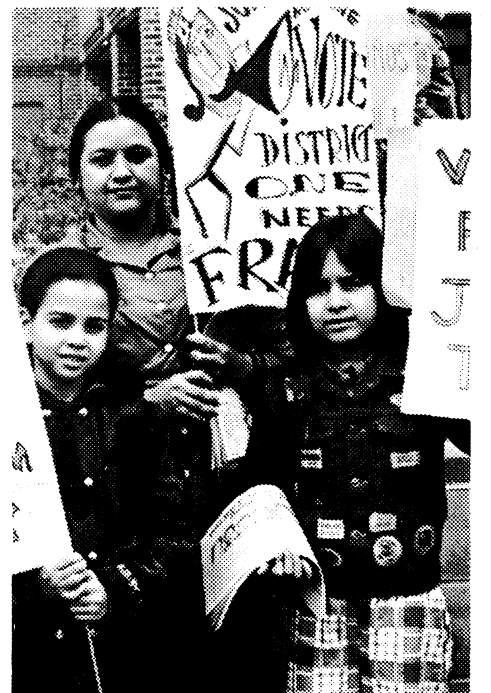
mored. But the real concern of both the NEA and AFT officials is that any merger agreement ensure in advance their privileged positions.

Merger unlikely

It appears unlikely that the current merger talks will bring about a new national teachers union. Shanker predicted in a recent press conference that a merger may take as long as five or 10 years. Although Selden is more optimistic in public, his real perspective is as limited as Shanker's.

Both Selden and Shanker see teacher unity coming about through splitting off sections of NEA. The formation of a pro-merger organization called the National Coalition of Teacher Unity through the association of the AFT with the Urban Educators' Association, a section of the NEA, is a case in point.

Although the Urban Educators' Association favors immediate merger, it is unlikely that it would split from the NEA. For the AFT to bank its merger strategy on splitting the NEA is harmful to the interests of all teach-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

UFT-supported candidates in New York were pitted against the rights of community residents to control their own schools.

Women march for ERA, abortion rights

In cities throughout the country women organized to commemorate the fifty-third anniversary of the winning of female suffrage on Aug. 26. Central themes of many of the actions this year were demands for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and implementation of the Supreme Court decision guaranteeing the right of women to abortion.

New York

More than 800 New York women and men rallied Aug. 25 at Battery Park at the tip of Manhattan, in sight of the Statue of Liberty. A mock funeral was staged in memory of the many women killed through illegal abortions and in protest against the constitutional amendment introduced by Senator James Buckley to make abortion again illegal.

Speaking at the rally were Wilma Scott Heide, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Brenda Feigan-Fasteau of the ACLU Women's Rights Project, and Susan LaMont of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONA-

AC). LaMont described women's movements in Europe, where she recently toured.

Margaret Sloan, an editor of *Ms.* magazine, hailed the formation of the National Black Feminist Organization. The best received of all the speakers, she said: "We are accused of dividing the Black movement. We are accused of dividing the women's movement. But we won't play priorities on our oppression. . . .

"We must establish ourselves as an independent movement, with social and economic importance, and thus we will add to the seriousness of the whole women's liberation movement and the Black liberation movement. No liberation for half the race!"

St. Louis

In the largest women's demonstration in St. Louis for decades, about 350 people marched downtown Aug. 25 in support of the ERA. Crowds many times the size of the demonstration stood on the sidelines quietly watching the unfamiliar event, reports

Militant correspondent Louise Halverson.

A coalition of 30 Missouri organizations sponsored the march and rally, including such groups as the YWCA, the Lesbian Alliance, NOW, St. Louis Women's Abortion Action Committee (WAAC), Teamsters Local 688, locals of the United Auto Workers and Communications Workers, St. Louis Teachers Union Local 420, ACLU of Eastern Missouri, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A special contingent, organized by WAAC, stressed the demand of the right of women to abortion. Abortions are available at only one clinic in St. Louis.

The rally proceeded despite a counterpicket by 140 anti-abortion people.

Among the speakers at the rally was Rose Roberts of Teamsters Local 688, representing the labor support for the action. She emphasized that women are still the lowest paid members of the work force and that all women, including organized and unorganized workers and housewives, must unite to win their rights.

Representative Martha Griffiths from Michigan, the main sponsor of the ERA in the House of Representatives, was the featured speaker.

Boston

A broad coalition of some 20 organizations sponsored an outdoor fair and rally Aug. 26 in Boston involving some 500 people throughout the day. Each of the sponsoring groups set up a table with literature displays, and had the opportunity to speak at the rally.

Rosalie Majka of the Boston Women's Abortion Action Coalition pointed to the threat to legal abortion in Massachusetts, where the legislature has passed a law allowing private hospitals to refuse to perform abortions or sterilizations.

Berkeley

Three hundred women met at the University of California at Berkeley

Aug. 25 to hear representatives of 18 women's organizations speak on a variety of issues facing the feminist movement today. Three panel discussions were organized, reports *Militant* correspondent Anne Chase. One was on affirmative action for job opportunities for women, another dealt with federal cutbacks, and the third concerned forced sterilization and abortion rights.

During the meeting, attorney Florynce Kennedy and Pat McGinnis announced the recent acquittal of McGinnis and two codefendants charged several years ago with circulating abortion information through the mail.

Cleveland

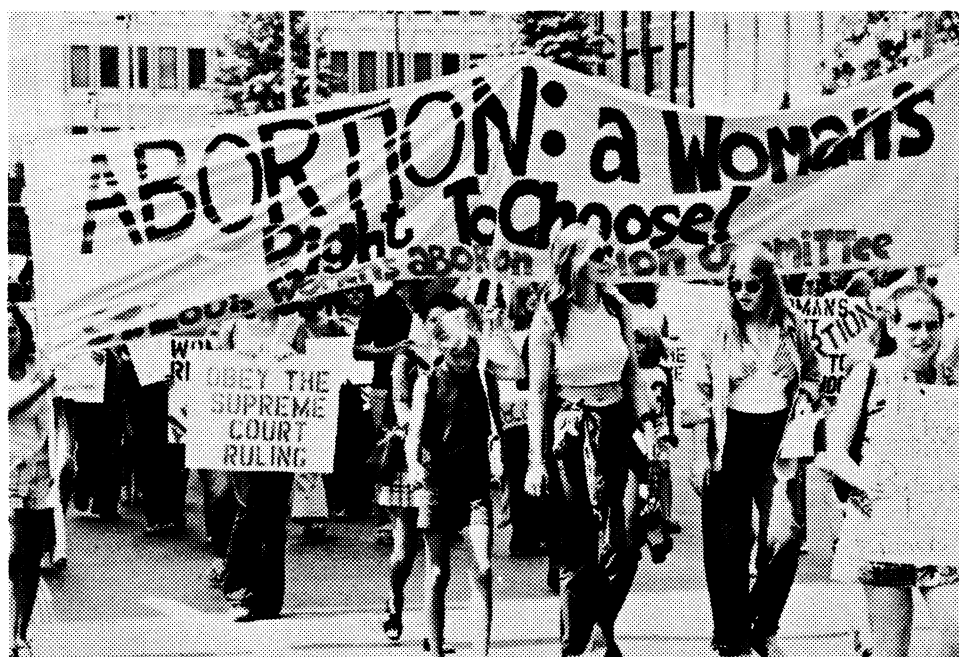
Keynote speaker at a conference of more than 200 Cleveland women to commemorate Aug. 26 was Josephine Preston Irwin. Irwin became well known in Cleveland in 1914, when she led a march of 7,000 women demanding the right to vote.

The conference also included workshops on the ERA, abortion, and trade-union women.

Atlanta

More than 100 people held a public meeting Aug. 25 at the Central Presbyterian Church in downtown Atlanta to press for ratification of the ERA. The meeting, sponsored by a coalition called Georgians for the ERA, received coverage on three TV stations. Speakers included Catherine East from the Washington, D.C.-based Advisory Council on the Status of Women; Barbara McCoy, an organizer for the Communications Workers of America; Martha Gaines, statewide coordinator of NOW; and Betsey Soares of Georgians for the ERA.

Actions of several hundred women were organized by NOW in several other cities, including Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.



St. Louis Aug. 25 march was largest women's demonstration held there in decades. Militant/Pat Hayes

Parents vow to fight budget slash

Dist. 1 board plans cut in school funds

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK — The community school board in District 1 has dropped plans to move its district office from Junior High School 71, which is located in a predominantly Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood. By a vote taken Aug. 14 in a closed session, the board voted 5 to 4 to rescind an earlier vote to move the office to a white neighborhood school on the fringes of the district.

Having retreated on the location of the office, the UFT-backed board members have moved to a new issue. They have voted to present a proposed budget for District 1 to a public school board meeting Sept. 6. The budget calls for expenditures of \$15.5-million, a cut of \$1.5-million from the present budget.

The proposed cut strikes directly at the ability to continue many programs supported by the community, such as bilingual education. Parent activists have pledged that they will oppose any cuts. They called for a \$42-million budget during the spring election campaign.

The proposed move of the office had become the principal issue in District 1 following the election on May 1, in which a slate backed by the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) won a majority on the board. Only three

of nine board members were elected from the pro-community-control slate backed by the Coalition for Education in District 1.

The election itself was marked by massive fraud and discrimination against Black, Puerto Rican, and Chi-



Black and Puerto Rican children and parents let school board members know their feelings. Militant/Michael Baumann

nese voters, and a court suit is being prepared to challenge the results. District 1's enrollment is 93% Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

According to one UFT-backed board member, the district office was to have been moved from its present location because "it was too easy for remaining members of the former board to raise a crowd of screaming people from the tenements surrounding the high school."

Community residents had mobilized support for keeping the office at JHS 71. Before the first open meeting of the newly elected board, held July 19, the Coalition for Education held a rally in front of JHS 71 and a march to the board meeting.

On Aug. 3, the Coalition for Education sponsored another rally in defense of community control, which was addressed by community activists opposed to the proposed move. Representatives of the United Farm Workers, United Bronx Parents, and other organizations were also present. Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) sent a supporting telegram to the rally.

The vote to move the district office was taken originally at the July 19 meeting, which was halted by the police after it was attacked by members of the Jewish Defense League. Before leaving the room, and in the midst

of helmeted police who had occupied the auditorium, the board majority met on one side of the stage and voted on all items of the agenda. In their view, this satisfied the requirement that all votes of community school boards be taken at public meetings.

The President's Council, which is composed of the presidents of all the parent associations of the district schools, formally protested this action to the city board of education. At a hearing into the legality of the July 19 meeting, held Aug. 24 at the city board of education offices, parents described the arrogance and racism of board chairman Adolph Roher exhibited at the July 19 meeting. They also protested the decision of the board to limit speakers from the audience to one minute apiece.

When asked why the board had voted to curtail speakers from the audience, UFT-backed board member Carolyn Koslowsky told the hearing officer that the board members felt that if they had remained in the room for the time required to hear all the speakers who were requesting to speak for the usual four minutes, they would have been "murdered" by the audience. The audience at that meeting was predominantly Black and Puerto Rican, and overwhelmingly in support of the three community-control board members.

Union paper reviews 'Teamster Power,' calls Dobbs book 'fascinating, instructive'

Although published just a few weeks ago, *Teamster Power* by Farrell Dobbs has already attracted attention in the labor press. Reprinted below is a review from Missouri Teamster, official publication of Teamsters Joint Council 13 in St. Louis. The review appeared in the Aug. 17 issue under the headline "Vital chapter of Teamster history."

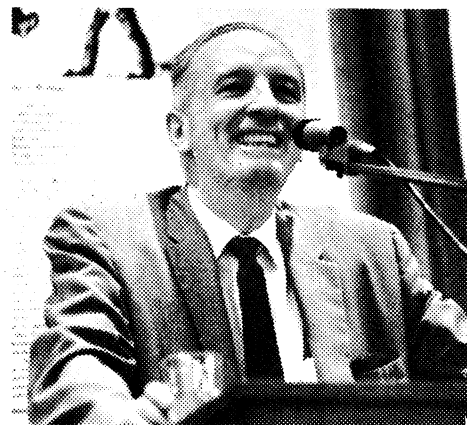
Teamster Power, Dobbs' personal account of the rise of the Teamsters union in the 1930s, has also been reviewed by the St. Paul (Minnesota) Union Advocate and Kirkus Reviews. The Militant ran a feature review on July 20. Published by Monad Press, it is distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Paper \$2.95. Cloth \$8.95.

Between 1933 and 1939 the International Brotherhood of Teamsters grew from about 80,000 members to nearly 500,000.

THAT SURGE sent the IBT on its way to becoming the largest labor organization in the country.

The historic campaign which brought about this phenomenal growth and which fundamentally changed the union is the subject of this book by the man who has been credited as its principal architect.

FARRELL DOBBS' account of the



Bill Schleicher

DOBBS: 'Missouri Teamster' hails his 'genius for organization and keen sense of union politics.'

imminently successful drive to organize the over-the-road drivers in the central states which led to the founding of the powerful Central Conference of Teamsters and the pattern of area-wide and national agreements makes most fascinating reading.

Teamster Power will be instructive and enjoyable reading for anyone in-

terested in labor history — especially Teamster history.

THE BOOK DEALS with exciting events of the relatively recent past of which, nevertheless, few people in the movement today have first-hand knowledge, let alone as extensive knowledge as Dobbs.

Teamster Power is the second in a projected series of three books in which Dobbs tells about his involvement in the Teamster movement. The first, *Teamster Rebellion*, (Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York, 192 pages, \$6.95, paperback \$2.45), deals with the struggles in 1934 of Dobbs' home local, General Drivers Union, Teamster Local 574 in Minneapolis.

IN 1934, LOCAL 574 was engaged in a struggle against trucking bosses in Minneapolis which gained national attention. That struggle, along with simultaneous strikes of auto workers against Auto Lite in Toledo, maritime workers on the West Coast under Harry Bridges, and textile workers in the East, signaled the beginning of a period of great advances for American workers.

The series of the Minneapolis Teamsters' strikes in 1934 and the evolution of Local 574 into the leading force among organized labor in Minneapolis is the subject of Dobbs' first book.

Teamster Power takes up where *Teamster Rebellion* leaves off. It tells how the powerful Local 574 was used as a base for the drive to bring union protection and union benefits to the over-the-road drivers. Over-the-road truck drivers then constituted one of the most neglected and most criminally exploited segments of the work force.

DOBBS' WRITING IS about the courage of workers and their determination to extract from the bosses justice and decent conditions. It is about workers' solidarity and it is about militancy.

Dobbs describes in fascinating details the leadership processes and the tactical and strategic considerations along the road.

THE FORCES LINED up against Local 574 and its members were indeed powerful and numerous. They included the press, the commercial establishment and, to a large extent, the power of the state itself, most notably the police and the courts.

In addition, the leaders of Local 574 initially had to contend with re-



Minneapolis cops fire on Teamster pickets during historic 1934 strike.

sistance to their program by the International. Their approach to meet changed conditions was away from the traditional emphasis on organization by crafts to organization along industry lines. It was fiercely resisted by the International.

THE CONFLICT LED to the revocation of Local 574's charter in April of 1935. When the local union and its leaders won reacceptance by the International in July of 1936, the union was in fact re-chartered as Local 544. (The matter of the local number is of more than passing interest to Joint Council 13 Teamsters, especially to Teamsters in the Cape Girardeau (Mo.) area who inherited the famous "574" when their local union was chartered in November of 1941.)

THE STEP-BY-STEP development of the area-wide structure to maximize the union's strength and the process by which the employers were forced to the bargaining table to negotiate the first area contract and the heroic struggle of Teamsters in the Omaha-Council Bluffs area to whip recalcitrant employers of that area into line make very exciting reading.

Some readers are likely to be put off by the socialist rhetoric of Dobbs and his inferences that class-consciousness on the part of the workers was their prime motivation for courageous and militant participation in the struggles.

IT IS UNDISPUTABLY true that Dobbs and his close associates in the movement — especially the Dunne brothers, Grant, Miles, and Ray, and Carl Skoglund — were Trotskyists and were motivated by their understandings of the realities of class conflict.

Their revolutionary convictions can be regarded as the prime reason for their temporary conflicts with the International although they were nominally drummed out of the International for their local union's delinquency in per capita taxes.

REGARDLESS of their politics, however, Dobbs and his associates were outstanding trade unionists with a genius for organization and a keen sense of union politics and the "art of the possible" which enabled them to pull together many diverse elements in the Teamster movement and put them all together for the magnificent effort that was the initial 11-state campaign to organize over-the-road drivers.

Former General President James R. Hoffa, who as an organizer participated in the campaign, said in his book *The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa*, "I wouldn't agree with Farrell Dobbs' political philosophy or economic ideology, but that man had a vision that was enormously beneficial to the labor movement."

Readers of *Teamster Power* are sure to concur with that assessment.

Reviewed by Gus Lumpe

UAW, Chavez back Ohio newspaper strikers

By BRUCE KIMBALL

PAINESVILLE, Ohio — The strike by workers at the *Telegraph*, a medium-sized daily newspaper here, is now into its seventh week. Its objective is to gain a living wage for the employees, who earn an average of only \$95 a week. A unique feature of the union — Typographical Union No. 53 — is that it is organized on an industrial basis. Strikers are from all parts of the newspaper, including the composing room, circulation, editorial, and layout departments.

A visit to the newspaper plant, where pickets are maintained 24 hours a day, and to the strike headquarters across the street from the plant, shows that the strikers are as determined and as enthusiastic as they were when the strike first began. They know that newspaper circulation has been cut drastically, and that management and scabs are growing increasingly weary and tense.

And, most important, the strikers know they have support from labor organizations throughout northeast Ohio, and from the majority of Painesville's residents.

It is widely recognized that public support has played a key role in advancing the strike to its present level. On Aug. 4, in Painesville's central square, a "Support the *Telegraph* Strike" rally was held. The crowd of more than 200 heard speeches from representatives of the United Auto Workers, the Lake County AFL-CIO, the Cleveland Central Labor Council, the Council of Union Women, and many others. Two rock groups donated their time, and strikers and supporters performed skits illustrating what they thought of the bosses. Some strikers were dressed as peasants, to dramatize the company's attitude toward the employees. Other supporters sold buttons and distributed leaflets, posters, and bumper stickers.

More than \$300 was collected

in donations. But no price can be put on the boost in morale that the strikers received. In a few short days they had organized a successful labor rally and received a display of support that showed clearly which side of the picket line the public favored.

But the labor rally isn't the only indicator of public support. Since the first day of the picket line, members of the community have hit the bricks alongside strikers. On a typical day, one is apt to find everyone from small children in the neighborhood to members of other unions showing their support by helping relieve picketers, or contributing food, materials, and talent to the strike headquarters.

Undoubtedly the most important area of public support has been the massive "Boycott the *Telegraph*" drive. Initiated as a central strategy by the strikers, the boycott quickly spread. It is making deep inroads into circulation of the Rowley newspaper chain,

which owns the *Telegraph*. Thousands of boycott leaflets have been distributed downtown, door-to-door, at factory gates, and in all major union halls. Several unions have sent boycott messages to all of their members' homes.

All this effort has paid off. The circulation has been reduced from 20,000 to about 8,000.

The strike has won national attention and support. Such journalists as I. F. Stone and Nicholas Van Hoffman have indicated personal interest and support for the strike. César Chávez has publicly expressed solidarity with the Painesville strikers.

Any reader who belongs to a union or other organization is urged to submit resolutions of support for the *Telegraph* strike. In Painesville, the striking workers have a motto: "Stick together, win together." They, and the community around them, are rapidly learning that this slogan applies to all working people everywhere.

Another blow to April Coalition

Bailey defeated in Berkeley recall vote

By JOHN VOTAVA

BERKELEY, Calif. — Black City Councilman D'Army Bailey was removed from office by a 3-to-2 margin in a recall election held here Aug. 21. The vote was the latest in a series of major defeats suffered by the April Coalition, a grouping of radicals, community activists, and "left wing" Democratic Party forces.

The April Coalition's high point was its success in electing three candidates — Ira Simmons, Ilona Hancock, and Bailey — to the Berkeley city council



BAILEY: Black voters didn't turn out to support him.

in April 1971. It's been downhill ever since. As the elected council members shed their "radicalism," their Black and student supporters became disillusioned and divided, and the Republicans and moderate Democrats opposed to the coalition have united.

Bailey was replaced by Byron Rumford, also a Black Democrat, who received 17,102 votes to 11,548 supporting Bailey. Another contender, Allen Wilson, got 6,344 votes. The ballot included both a yes-or-no vote on the recall and the list of candidates to replace Bailey if he were recalled. Thus a vote of "no" on the recall was a vote of political support to Bailey.

Few voted

An important factor in Bailey's defeat was the low turnout; only 40 percent of those registered voted. The highest turnout was in the traditionally conservative hills area, where the anti-Bailey forces won an overwhelming majority. The turnout was lower in the Black community and exceptionally low in the student areas, largely because of the summer vacation. Moreover, Bailey won only slightly more than 50 percent of the vote even in the Black and student areas.

The recall was organized by an alliance of Republicans and "regular" Democrats ranging from conservatives to liberals, and backed by the right-wing *Berkeley Gazette*. Wilmont Sweeney, a Black city councilman and vice-mayor, led the effort.

For the last two years these forces have been working to overturn the April Coalition's initial victory. As early as March 1972, Sweeney outlined the idea of recalling one or all of the coalition candidates in a speech before the Rotary Club.

In last January's election for rent control commissioners, the "Community" slate, composed of the same forces as the April Coalition, was resoundingly defeated. A slate backed

by the Republicans and moderate Democrats swept all five seats.

The January defeat previewed the coalition's dismal showing in the April city council elections. The April Coalition won only one of the four seats open, while the "Civic Unity" candidates took the other three.

These events put wind in the sails of the effort to throw at least one April Coalition member off the city council through a recall vote. Bailey, considered the most vulnerable, was chosen as the target, and 18,000 signatures were gathered on recall petitions. The election date was deliberately set for August, when the minimum number of students would be in town to vote.

April Coalition on the spot

The recall put the April Coalition on the spot, as intended. On the one hand, many coalition supporters had rapidly become disillusioned with Bailey. Immediately after the April 1971 election, both he and Simmons set out on their own path, refusing to collaborate with the coalition, the Black Caucus (which had initially nominated them), or anyone else. In fact, just four months after the election, their former campaign manager, Eric Morton, held a news conference to denounce them for betraying the Black community and to urge their recall.

But on the other hand, the attempt to recall Bailey was clearly meant as an attack on the whole April Coalition. *Grassroots*, the newspaper of the coalition, had to run articles explaining that it was important to defend Bailey, even if you did not agree with him on many issues, because the life of the coalition was at stake.

The editorial in their August issue pleaded: "The reactionaries behind the recall aren't moving against Bailey alone, but against all of us. . . . The recall is just one more step in the Berkeley Five's [the five non-coalition council members] crusade to destroy progressivism in this city. . . . It's time they were stopped."

These appeals obviously failed to mobilize the vote for Bailey even in the traditional coalition strongholds. Even prominent coalition figures were less than enthusiastic. Council member Ilona Hancock, for example, while formally on record supporting Bailey, declined to speak publicly for him — she went on vacation in the middle of the campaign.

Bailey himself poured extensive financial resources into the fight and organized significant national support. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, the Chicago civil rights group, and the Edwin Hawkins Singers from Harlem came here for a rally to kick off his anti-recall campaign.

He won the endorsement of former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and of such prominent Black Democrats as Ron Dellums, Julian Bond, Richard Hatcher, Charles Evers, and Percy Sutton. Bond served as cochairman of a national support committee. Bailey's recall was also opposed by the National Bar Association, a national organization of Black lawyers.

'Coalition politics'

The Communist Party was also out beating the drums for Bailey as "progressive, outspoken and determined." The CP has been a consistent support-

er of the strategy of "coalition politics." By this they mean not a coalition of the oppressed and exploited for common action in their own interests, but a coalition to get liberal Democrats elected.

An article in the Aug. 18 *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the CP, said this about the Bailey recall: "The life of coalition politics is at stake in Berkeley, we must first save it, then strengthen it and extend it." In other articles the CP took to task those



April Coalition supporters cheer victory in 1971. To their surprise, election of Democrats failed to bring socialism to Berkeley.

liberals and radicals who felt uneasy about backing Bailey in light of his political record, charging that they were capitulating to racism.

There is no question that the recall effort included racist attacks on Bailey and that it was aimed at least in part at intimidating the Black community. Bailey's occasional militant rhetoric and statements about the need to put Black interests first were attacked as engendering racial hatred. This phony "racism-in-reverse" argument is the same one the real racists use to oppose measures like preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks.

But Bailey was incapable of defending the Black community against such slurs for the same reason he had failed to fight for its interests during his two years in office: as a Democrat his perspective has always been to subordinate the needs of the Black community to the Democratic Party.

Thus Bailey's actions in the city council — actions that flowed from his support to the Democratic Party — led to a steady erosion of support for him in the Black community and facilitated the recall.

For example, during the sanitation workers' strike in July 1972, Bailey stood with the city council against the demands of the workers, most of whom were Black. He has been silent about the recent halt of federal funding for Black House, an all-Black wing of Berkeley High School.

Black party needed

To defend themselves against pervasive racism and worsening social conditions, Black people don't need self-styled "power-brokers" like Bailey. Real power for Black liberation could be mobilized by breaking with the racist Democratic and Republican parties and building an independent

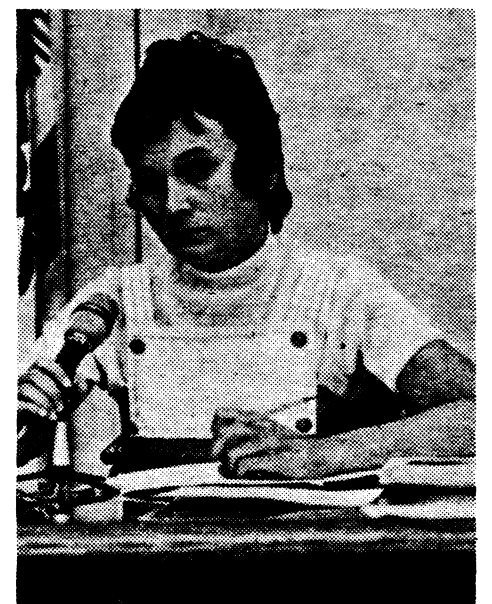
Black party that would not only run candidates in elections but also lead struggles of the Black community all year round. Such a move would also be a great impetus toward independent political action by white workers.

The April Coalition "radicals" rationalized their support to the Democratic Party, which many of them would admit is a capitalist party, with the argument that they could be more "effective" that way. Experience has proven otherwise. At every point and



on every issue the coalition has retreated from its previous political positions in order to hold the vote-catching bloc together in the hope of winning future elections. Not only have these surrenders accomplished nothing to further coalition supporters' goals of social change, but they haven't even succeeded in winning elections. Now the coalition, plagued by personal backbiting and clique infighting, is suffering blow after blow. Its woes parallel the national process of the more right-wing elements of the Democratic Party unceremoniously booting aside the McGovern activists.

The truth is that the Democratic Party is "effective" only for the capitalist ruling class. It helps them divert the energies of those who want to change society. But for Blacks and other working people, the only "effective" political action is outside the capitalist parties.



HANCOCK: April Coalition leader, refusing to actively oppose recall, went vacationing in middle of campaign.

Soviet writers on trial

The Trial of the Four. Compiled by Pavel Litvinov. Edited by Peter Reddaway. Viking Press. New York, 1972. 406 pp. \$10.

The Trial of the Four contains invaluable information on the movement for socialist democracy that has emerged among Soviet students and intellectuals in the past few years.

The book documents the infamous arrest and trial of Alexander Ginzburg, Yury Galanskov, Vera Lashkova, and Aleksei Dobrovolsky in 1967 and 1968. It first circulated in *samizdat* form in the Soviet Union in 1968, about the same time as the underground *Chronicle of Current Events* first began to appear. A large section of the first issue of the *Chronicle* was devoted to this trial, including a near-complete transcript of the trial itself, articles printed in the Soviet press, and letters of protest from Soviet dissidents.

Books

Since the book was compiled, Galanskov has died, after being "operated on" by another inmate at the Mordavian prison camp.

Galanskov and Ginzburg were the two principal defendants in the 1968 trial. Both were charged with compiling "anti-Soviet" works and circulating them among members of the democratic opposition movement. Ginzburg was arrested for his *Collection of Materials on the Sinyavsky and Daniel Trial*, also called the *White Book*. (Sinyavsky and Daniel are two writers who were tried and sentenced in 1966 for allegedly writing and circulating "anti-Soviet" writings abroad.)

Galanskov was arrested for his editing of *Phoenix 1966*, a collection of literary, political, and religious writings that had been refused publication by the official publishing houses.

To give some credibility to their charges of "conspiracy," the bureaucrats and the secret police dragged in fabricated incidents and well-rehearsed witnesses who testified that Ginzburg and Galanskov had "ties" with foreign journalists and "agents."

One of the defendants, Dobrovolsky, testified against the other dissidents at the trial, bolstering the bureaucrats' phony case.

In contrast to the rehearsed testimonies of Dobrovolsky and others, the defiance and dedication of Ginzburg, Galanskov, and their supporters emerge very clearly through the lines of the transcript.

The Stalinists hoped to use this trial as an example to other writers and dissidents of what they might expect if they continued with their activities. But just as the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial had done previously, the trial and convictions of Ginzburg and Galanskov only served to further activate the Soviet oppositionists. Demonstrations and protests took place outside the courtroom. Letters and petitions exposing the frame-up nature of the trial were sent to Soviet officials and were circulated in *samizdat*, and the *Chronicle of Current Events* began to appear regularly.

—ERNEST HARSCH



'Waiting for Lefty'

Waiting for Lefty. By Clifford Odets. Presented by the Ensemble Theatre Company, directed by Sheldon Patinkin, at the Manhattan Theatre Club, 321 E. 73rd St., New York, N.Y. (212) 288-2500. Tickets \$2.50.

"We're stormbirds of the working class!" With this cry of defiance, the ranks of a taxi drivers union declare their intention to strike, shaking free of the threats and lies of company spies, union bureaucrats, hired thugs, and New Deal "friends." It is the final scene of Clifford Odets's 1935 play depicting the labor militancy of the Depression era.

The Ensemble Theatre Company's revival is no mere journey into nostalgia; everything possible is done to involve the audience. The theater is decked out like a union meeting hall, with the theatergoers treated as if they were fellow-drivers coming to the boisterous meeting. Both cast and audience join in singing '30s favorites like "Buddy, Can You Spare a Dime?," "Solidarity Forever," "Union Maid," and "Ten Cents a Dance," while waiting for the leader of the militant wing of the union, Lefty Costello, to show up so the meeting can begin.

A certain price is paid for this intimacy. The 1935 production included flashbacks that revealed incidents in the cabbies' lives that sparked their hatred of capitalism. Somewhat unrealistically, the

Theater

Ensemble Company incorporates these into the meeting itself as amateur skits performed by the union members.

But the skits themselves are terrifying glimpses of America in the grip of Depression and at the brink of war. A young Jewish intern is laid off by the anti-Semitic hospital directors, who have also shut down a charity ward; a chemist is fired for refusing to do war research; one young cabbie cannot earn enough to marry, while another watches his family reduced to starvation. In each case, holding the power of life and death over the drivers is some rich man who cares nothing for human health, human dignity, or human life. Their answer: "Strike!"

Opposing the militants is Harry Fatt, secretary of the Cab Drivers Union, Local 752. A labor statesman in the modern style, Fatt red-baits the strike committee, puts down striking as out of step with "the trend of the times," and calls on the workers to "stand behind that man in the White House [Roosevelt]." But even with his goons to rough up the militants, dissent breaks through.

Suddenly a messenger rushes up with the news that "they just found Lefty, behind the car barns with a bullet in his head." The act of terror backfires as the union members, fists raised, vote resoundingly to strike.

It is an electrifying finish to a rousing performance. Martin Freidberg as one of the cabbies, J.J. Barry as the union misleader, and Carole Shelyne as his secretary stand out. But the whole cast is thoroughly professional and excels at the improvisation, which is essential to the production. The Ensemble Theatre Group is seeking bookings before interested audiences, including unions. Those who can arrange bookings or offer other material help to this new troupe should call Sheldon Patinkin at (212) 873-9849.

Some reviewers will no doubt pass over this production as an irrelevant artifact of "the red thirties," seeing present-day capitalism as reformed or American workers as immune to radicalism. Yet as recently as a few weeks ago, two members of the United Farm Workers Union were murdered in cold blood.

As the ravages of soaring prices and cuts in public services intensify, American workers will revive their rich traditions of militancy. As one character in the play puts it, "You don't believe in theories until they happen to you."

Waiting for Lefty is part of that tradition, a burst of fire from the past and a glimmering of the future as well. —STEVE BECK

Issues facing labor

Issues Facing the Labor Movement in the 1970s. Edited by Paul Davidson. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 31 pp. 60 cents.

The New Left of the 1960s either dismissed the working class as a force for social change, or it tended to adapt its ideas to suit an Archie Bunker image of the U.S. worker.

Issues Facing the Labor Movement in the 1970s presents a very different view of the American worker. Paul Davidson, a railroad worker and the editor of this collection of articles, explains that this pamphlet is designed to "describe the ferment within the labor movement, explaining what is happening on the job and in the unions; the new pride and power of Black and Latino workers; the effects of the women's liberation movement; the audacity of young workers and their determination to change the conditions of work and life in this country."

Caroline Lund's article, "Young

Pamphlets

Workers Offer Hint of Labor's Future," describes the alienation of the contemporary workplace: "Everybody likes money," as 30-year-old auto assembler Tony Navarete said, "but who has the time to enjoy it? By the time you get off an assembly line, you're like a dunce."

Many of the articles point out the significance of struggle by workers for democratic rights. This is the dynamic that mobilized miners against the entrenched union bureaucracy led by Tony Boyle, for example, as described by Calvin Goddard and Frank Lovell.

Marvel Scholl has a sketch on "The Making of a Union Bureaucrat," and a second article, "Death Is a Constant Companion."

An article by William Branson describes the situation facing rail workers, whose efforts to win the right to vote on contracts have been blocked thus far by the union leadership. Rail union activists have formed the Right to Vote Committee to fight for this demand.

The pamphlet is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. —DAVID SALNER



Militant sets plans for fall sales campaign

Sales of this issue of *The Militant* begin the fall campaign for weekly street sales of 9,500. This goal, along with our subscription goal of 15,000 new readers (to be sold during two national blitz weekends and by 14 traveling teams), represents an ambitious circulation-building effort. We hope our readers and supporters will join in.

At the recent convention of the Socialist Workers Party, workshops were held so that the experiences of the past circulation campaigns could be shared and put into use this fall. For example, Carl Finamore from the Oakland/Berkeley area reported that a large, experienced sales committee is essential for successful sales. (Their weekly sales goal last spring was 500 and they came close to maintaining that throughout the summer.)

"For every category we thought was important to take advantage of," he said, "plant sales, campus sales, regional sales, day teams, evening teams, Saturday mobilizations, Thursday night sales—one member of the sales committee was assigned to do just that."

From Chicago, another area that maintained sales of 500 during the summer, Lenore Sheridan reported that with new sales locations their Saturday sales teams always have back-up locations. If the first place proves unproductive, they immediately move on to their second location. They've also developed a campaign spirit among their Saturday salespeople—they decide beforehand

Militant Gets Around

what a realistic sale for each team would be and then stay out until they've sold it.

John Staggs from Cleveland explained that of their weekly campus sales of 150, about 75 are sold by members of the Young Socialist Alliance who attend college, and the other 75 are sold by night teams of other supporters on commuter campuses. These teams sell primarily in the classroom buildings, where in addition to selling *The Militant*, they can take the time to talk about other activities such as the local SWP election campaign.

Not all the workshop discussion was on organizing large numbers of people to sell large numbers of *Militants*. One Chicagoan related his experiences as a cab driver. With many passengers he found the response to *The Militant* somewhat less than rewarding, but from the other drivers he found a tremendous response.

"All day long they sit in lines at the airport and at hotels," he said. "Many of them are young, many are Black, and they're interested in what *The Militant* has to say."

● Beginning with the issue dated Sept. 21 we will print sales scoreboards reporting the number sold by each area that has accepted a sales quota. The sales campaign ends in mid-November, and by then we hope to have established weekly street sales of at least 9,500.

If you want to join in this effort, fill out the coupon below. The cost of each bundle copy is 17 cents, and we bill you at the end of each month. Sales kits containing posters, stickers, brochures, and subscription blanks are available. There are also "read *The Militant*" buttons for 25 cents each and canvas *Militant* sales bags available for \$4.

—NANCY COLE

I want to take a sales quota of _____.

Send me a weekly bundle of _____.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Book tells of Kutcher fight against gov't

One of the bestsellers at the recent SWP convention was *The Case of the Legless Veteran* by James Kutcher. This book has just been reissued by Monad Press, and will be distributed exclusively by Pathfinder.

In 1948, James Kutcher, a legless World War II veteran, held a clerical job in a Veterans Administration hospital, lived in public housing, and collected a disability allowance. Then the full force of the United States government was turned against him.

Because the Socialist Workers Party, to which he belongs, was put on the attorney general's "subversive list," the attorney general branded him "disloyal." A "loyalty board" took his job away. The government then cut off his disability allowance just before Christmas, leaving him destitute. And the state of New Jersey moved to evict him and his aged and sick parents from public housing.

With the aid of more than 800 organizations and many prominent individuals (professors, unionists, journalists, religious figures, Chicanos,

News from Pathfinder

Blacks) Kutcher fought back—and continued fighting through the courts for eight years. He finally won, and became the only member of an organization listed as subversive to be restored to a U. S. government job.

I. F. Stone wrote, "Basic political liberties and basic procedural safeguards are threatened by the standards of judgment and procedure applied in *The Case of the Legless Veteran*."

This is a book of great human interest and drama about a modest man who found himself to be the rallying point around which upholders of civil liberties could gather to fight the McCarthyite witch-hunt. It is a book of political value, dis-



The government's blatantly undemocratic attempt in 1956 to take away James Kutcher's pension got headline coverage in many newspapers. This Herblock cartoon appeared in the Washington Post shortly after that hearing.

cussing the state of civil liberties then and now and offering insights into how to defend and extend the democratic rights of Americans.

This is the first U. S. edition of this book, expanded and updated. A limited printing was issued in 1953 in Great Britain, after 36 American publishers rejected the book because of the political climate in the U. S.

Kutcher retired from his VA job in 1972 and now lives in Manhattan. He was an active participant in the movement to end the war in Vietnam and continues his socialist activities.

His book is available from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014. It sells for \$8.95 in cloth, \$2.95 in paper.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

UAW spurns Chrysler offer of 3 percent

By FRANK LOVELL

With hardly more than two weeks remaining before the Sept. 14 strike deadline in the auto industry, Chrysler Corporation came forward Aug. 28 with its first wage offer. The United Auto Workers has designated Chrysler as the "strike target" this year.

Chrysler's negotiators offered an increase of about 3 percent a year. This comes to no more than 65 cents over three years, far below the 6.2 percent guideline under Phase 4 of the government's wage-control machinery. William O'Brien, Chrysler's chief negotiator, said the offer is "the basis for getting off the ground and getting into hard bargaining."

UAW President Leonard Woodcock charged that Chrysler had intended only "to fill the legal necessities" of good-faith collective bargaining. Douglas Fraser, director of the union's Chrysler department, said O'Brien "got confused between 2.6 and 6.2 percent," the second figure being what union negotiators had expected.

The UAW is demanding an annual wage re-opener clause, an improvement in the present cost-of-living formula for wage increases pegged to consumer price rises, early retirement after 30 years employment, no compulsory overtime, health and safety reforms in the auto plants, and free dental care.

The minimal offer by Chrysler reflects the new and tougher bargaining position of General Motors, which dictates wage and price policy in the auto industry.

No policy position is taken without GM approval. The Justice Department charged last January that top executives of Ford, GM, and Chrysler had held a series of secret meetings at which confidential cost information was exchanged, and that they conspired to fix prices in the sale of cars to fleet users. The government's bill of particulars also charged that the conspirators met to work out mutual assistance pacts in the event of strikes during the 1970 auto negotiations. This practice has not changed in 1973.

The present miserly wage offer coincided with demands for price boosts in 1974 model cars and trucks amounting to \$1.25-billion. On Aug. 28, while Chrysler was telling the UAW that wages should be extended with little change, representatives of the four auto manufacturers were in Washington demanding permission from the Cost of Living Council to raise prices despite soaring profits. Higher prices are justified, they claimed, because new cars must meet stiffer general safety standards.

Average increases per car are: GM, \$102; Ford, \$106; Chrysler, \$70; and American Motors, \$61. All announced that they will be back for further price hikes after they settle with the UAW on wages.

Profits of the auto industry at present prices were \$2.5-billion in the first half of this year. A GM vice-president, Henry Welch, claimed that a price increase at this time "includes no profit for GM."

The auto industry expects declining sales in 1974 with the predicted downturn in the economy and declining purchasing power of consumers. The giant corporations are hoping to maintain their present record-breaking profits.

One of the reasons Chrysler is indicated to take the brunt of strike action by the UAW this year is because the plants of this corporation, largely centered in Detroit, are outmoded and need to be renewed or relocated.

In the coming year of declining production, the demand for cars can easily be supplied by GM and Ford while Chrysler diversifies and modernizes its plant and equipment.

A series of spontaneous strike actions by workers in Chrysler's Detroit plants has signaled the UAW leadership and plant management that health and safety on the job is an urgent demand that must be met, requiring structural changes in antiquated installations and methods of operation.

Just as the corporations are looking ahead to ways to safeguard their profits, the workers in many UAW locals are also looking ahead to protect their wages and their jobs. They are demanding an improvement in the escalator clause in their present contract to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices. They are also calling for a reduction in the hours of work to ease the workload and put more workers on the job in the coming period of cutbacks.

Calendar

LOS ANGELES

THE WELFARE SCANDAL. Speakers: Rachel Miller, president California Welfare Rights Organization; Walter Lippmann, delegate to California state executive board from Social Services Union Local 535 (AFL-CIO), member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 7, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

FORT WORTH 5: Irish Political Prisoners in the U.S. Speaker: Kenneth Tierney, one of the Fort Worth 5. Fri., Sept. 7, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

...Ervin

Continued from page 4

this. Both parties are committed to the defense of capitalist minority rule.

To end government Wategating this capitalist system, based on minority rule, must be replaced by a system of majority rule. And such a social transformation will require a massive struggle by working people for a socialist government, coupled with the struggle of Black people for self-determination.

Black people cannot rely on racists like Senator Ervin to fight for them. They need a Black political party of their own, a party independent of the Democrats and Republicans, to fight against the racist oppression that goes hand in hand with capitalist rule. And working people as a whole need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of war, unemployment, inflation, and strike-breaking, and organize a labor party based on the unions to advance their fight.

...VVAW

Continued from page 5

of chemicals that the defendants had been accused of preparing as "dangerous weapons."

Stellman's experiment showed that in 50 percent of the tests absolutely nothing happened. In the other 50 percent, the lid of the container popped

off, shooting the container approximately six inches in the air.

Stellman testified that the "weapon" was certainly not an explosive, nor a bomb, and was no more incendiary than a match or a lighted cigarette.

The defense then rested its case.

Today the defense is arguing a motion for dismissal of the case. Defense attorney Morton Stavis is arguing that there was a "calculated and deliberate failure" on the part of the government to comply with provisions of the Jencks rule. Under this rule, 44 pages of material on informer William Lemmer should have been turned over to the defense in order for them to cross-examine him. The material was only provided to them today, after both sides had rested their case.

The defense maintains that if the case is not dismissed, "at least the testimony of Lemmer must be stricken from the record."

Closing arguments are expected to be presented late this afternoon or tomorrow.

...U.N.

Continued from page 14

On Aug. 28, the committee took steps to put off for another year further discussion on the case of Puerto Rico.

Supporters of independence for Puerto Rico have undertaken a campaign to publicize and gain support for the issue. An additional focus of this campaign involves opposing U. S. plans to build a giant petroleum port on the Puerto Rican coast.

There is a direct relationship between the two issues. The planned "superport" not only symbolizes the colonial exploitation of the island by American business interests, but once it is built American companies with huge investments in the project would intensify the pressure against changing the status of Puerto Rico.

A student Front for the Inclusion of the Colonial Case of Puerto Rico in the United Nations has also recently been formed. Its aim is to involve a broad layer of students in the campaign.

The United Committee for a Discussion of the Colonial Case of Puerto

Rico in the U.N. is coordinating a week of activities in the U. S. in solidarity with the independence struggle. The solidarity campaign will culminate with a demonstration in front of the U. N. Sept. 24.

The activities coincide with the anniversary of the Grito de Lares on Sept. 23, commemorating the historic rebellion against the Spaniards in Puerto Rico in 1868.

...UFW

Continued from page 24

major store owners. In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Nick Jones, New England organizer of the UFW, said that 75 percent of the supermarket chain stores in eastern Massachusetts had agreed to sell only UFW lettuce and grapes. Jones asserted that none of the chain stores had given up without a fight and that picket lines, mass pressure, and loss of business were necessary before any agreements were made.

According to Jones, the success of the Boston boycott has the West Coast Teamster bureaucrats worried. On July 31, a number of them flew to Boston for a meeting with major chain

store owners and managers, in an effort to appease them. Jones said that among other things discussed at that meeting were "plans by Teamster officials to purchase television time."

In contrast, 120 drivers from Teamsters Local 496 in Boston have signed a petition denouncing the Fitzsimmons gang and in support of the Farm Workers Union. The petition was presented at an Aug. 2 press conference.

On Aug. 7, César Chávez met with 150 labor officials from the Boston AFL-CIO. The meeting led to promises of strike support and material aid.

Emphasizing the importance of the pickets at selected food chains, Jones pointed out, "We can cost the stores thousands of dollars in a single day."

In most areas, farm workers' supporters are looking toward the reopening of schools and making plans for boycott support activities on the campuses.

"Students have formed a major part of the boycotts' backbone in the past," Jones told *The Militant*, summarizing the sentiment of UFW supporters throughout the country. "We think we can count on them in the future. First, to make certain that cafeterias sell only UFW lettuce and grapes, and then to take on the food chains."

Socialists say: 'Viva la huelga!'

Throughout the country, members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party have been actively supporting the United Farm Workers struggle.

SWP candidates in a number of cities are making use of their campaigns to publicize and help build support for the UFW strike and boycott, and are urging their campaign supporters to join in these efforts. They have also joined the picket lines and issued statements of support, challenging their Democrat and Republican opponents to do the same.

The recent SWP convention sent the following telegram to the United Farm Workers:

"The 25th National Convention of

the Socialist Workers Party, attended by 1,400 socialist activists, pledges to the United Farm Workers Union its solidarity and continuing support. We hail your valiant and inspiring struggle!

"The top leadership of the Teamsters Union, the big growers, and the government have combined to try to destroy your union. They have great resources. But they will not succeed. For the UFWU represents the needs and desires of millions of workers. You are setting an example for other unions to follow.

"All those who want economic and social equality and justice must join hands to assure your victory!

"VIVA LA HUELGA!

"VIVA LA CAUSA!"

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Jiri Pelikan on

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THE MILITANT

Support actions multiply for farm workers boycott

By MIRTA VIDAL

"This is going to be a long fight, and the picket lines are just the beginning." This statement from United Farm Workers organizer Barbara Cigainero in Houston, Texas, captured the mood of farm workers' supporters as the focus shifted this week from the fields of California to activities in support of the UFW-called boycotts in cities

For additional on-the-spot coverage of the United Farm Workers struggle, turn to pages 8-9.

throughout the country.

Marches, rallies, as well as memorial meetings for Naji Daifullah and Juan de la Cruz, the two striking farm workers killed recently in California, demonstrated the growing support for the farm workers' struggle from trade unionists, religious groups, and community organizations. Many of these activities have served to publicize and build boycott activities and further organize support for the UFW.

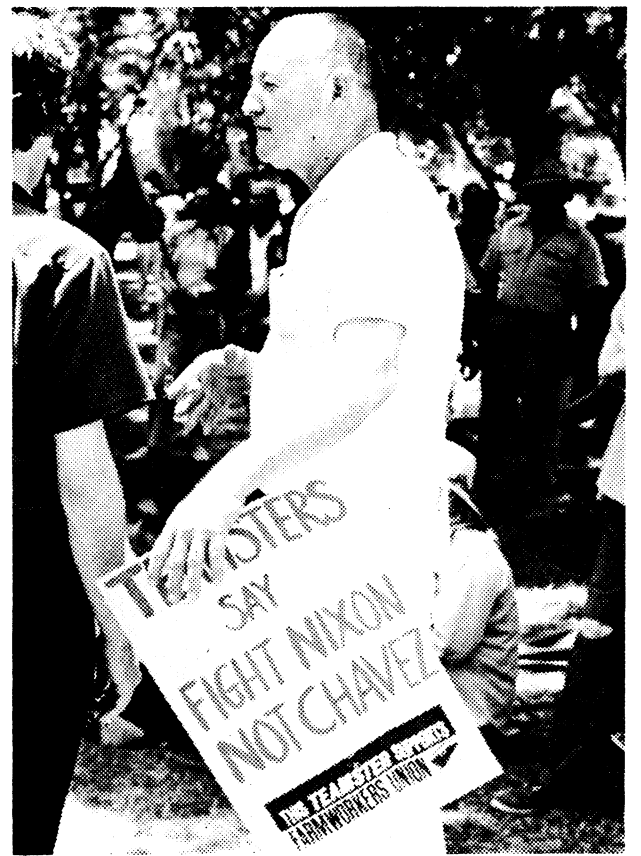
Meetings for slain strikers

In San Francisco, more than 100 supporters of the UFW from the Mission District attended a dawn memorial service and then joined a caravan to Delano Aug. 25. The caravan, sponsored by several Mission District organizations and spearheaded by the Nicaraguan Relief Fund and the UFW Boycott Support Committee, delivered a truckload of non-perishable foods, clothing, and supplies to the striking farm workers.

On the same day, UFW supporters joined rank-and-file Teamsters in a militant picket line of 300 trade unionists, which launched a strike against San Francisco's Sears stores. The strike encompasses two union locals — Department Store Local 1100 and Teamsters Local 853. DSE Local 1100 has been actively supporting the United



Militant/Mike Henaghan



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Throughout the country, picket lines have convinced thousands to turn away from stores carrying scab produce.

Farm Workers.

In New York, about 300 people attended a memorial servicesponsored by the Farm Workers Boycott Support Committee at St. Paul the Apostle Church on Aug. 20. Speakers included Al Worspan of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Lucius Walker of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization; a representative of Cardinal Cooke; and Moe Foner, executive secretary of the Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199. The meeting also received a message from Coretta King.

Nearly 100 people joined a candlelight march in Cleveland Aug. 22,

in memory of Daifullah and de la Cruz. The procession then marched to the home of Samuel Costa, president of Fisher Facio Foods. Facio, the city's major chain selling nonunion lettuce, has been the main target of boycott activities in Cleveland.

In Pittsburgh, a mass for Daifullah and de la Cruz Aug. 22 was followed by a march of 30 farm workers' supporters to a nearby A&P.

A memorial service in Chicago was attended by 200 people. And another protest memorial service was held in Washington, D.C., this week, addressed by UFW organizer Gilbert Padilla and local religious leaders.

Two hundred people also participated in a protest of the killing of Daifullah and de la Cruz in Dearborn, Mich., Aug. 26, organized by the Arab-Yemeni-American Society of Dearborn.

Between 200 and 300 people joined a day-long picket in front of the John F. Kennedy memorial building Aug. 20 in Boston. And in Houston, 100 people picketed a major Safeway store on Aug. 18 to protest the killings.

At the initiative of the UFW, supporters are being urged to send letters of protest to Attorney General Elliot Richardson, demanding that the government intervene to put an end to the conspiracy between the growers, Teamster goons, and California police to use violence against striking farm workers.

Boycott stepped up

Throughout the country, boycott activities are moving into high gear. UFW supporters in Philadelphia report that momentum for the boycott has been picking up there. The Philadelphia Black Panther Party recently announced that it would begin regular picketing of A&P stores in north Philadelphia and urged others to do

the same.

In Minneapolis, the UFW Support Committee has just been given a free office at District 77 Machinists Labor Temple. It also received the endorsement of such figures as Lieutenant Governor Rudy Perpich, state senate leader Nick Coleman, and the Catholic Bishops Council.

The launching of the fall campaign of boycott activities in Minneapolis comes on the heels of a successful boycott against Guild wines. Thirty major stores, including the largest volume liquor store in the area, have now removed all scab wines from their stock.

Picketing of Safeway, A&P, and other major food chains that continue to carry non-UFW lettuce and grapes has already showed significant results. UFW organizers in Pittsburgh, for example, report that 40 to 50 cars are turned away every day at each of the three stores being picketed.

During the last two months, farm workers' supporters in Chicago have been picketing 40 Jewel food stores simultaneously and report that 18,000 people have been turned away. Jewel, the largest food chain in Chicago, was also the main target of the grape boycott several years ago.

Union support grows

Significant trade-union support for the farm workers has been obtained in Chicago. On July 20, 200 people attended a meeting to organize the Jewel boycott. Sponsors of that meeting included AFSCME Council 19, the Chicago Peace Council, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Concerned Postal Workers of America, the Illinois Union of Social Service Employees, and the Independent Precinct Organization.

In Boston, farm workers support activity has made a big impact on the

Continued on page 22

Chicanos back lettuce strikers

By AL BALDIVIA
and SKIP BALL

DENVER — A five-day, 65-mile march by striking farm workers from Center, Colo., and supporters from Greeley, Colo., grew to 200 as it reached Denver Aug. 26.

The march came on the heels of a lettuce strike in Center against the giant Finnerman growers. Finnerman signed with the Teamsters after a UFW strike took out 75 percent of the original work force in early summer. As the harvest came to a close, the UFW won a court ruling permitting its organizers to enter the Finnerman fields.

The march ended with a spirited rally on the steps of the state capitol, where striking lettuce workers and their supporters addressed the crowd.

José Calderón, recently elected statewide chairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, was among those who marched from Greeley. Speaking as an individual, Cal-

derón told the rally, "When we express solidarity it is with the workers and against our common enemy.

"What we need is a basic understanding between groups of different political philosophies of the necessity for solidarity in all struggles," he said.

Len Avila, organizer of the march and the main UFW organizer in the San Luis Valley, urged support for "the boycott against Coors beer, Farah pants, and the Black boycott against Gulf." Workers striking the racist, union-busting Coors empire were among the many trade unionists at the rally.

Other speakers included Richard Longoria of the Denver Boycott Office and Ernesto Vigil of the Crusade for Justice, the Denver Chicano civil and human rights organization. Vigil is one of the defendants charged following the March 16, police attack on the Crusade.