

The larger meaning of the Pentagon Papers

The end of an imperialist

by SAM MARCY

It is the end of an epoch for the U.S. ruling class. That phase of American history which began with the termination of the Second World War and saw aggressive American finance-capital reach the pinnacle of its power on the world arena, has forever vanished.

That is the real significance of the publication of the Vietnam Pentagon study. It is equally true of the Supreme Court decision upholding the validity of the publication, of the Congressional struggle over the Mansfield Amendment, of the lapsing of the draft law (even if it turns out to be only for a short period) and of a whole series of other events. All of this flows from the catastrophic defeat handed to U.S. imperialism by the Vietnamese people, and by the ever deeper and wider opposition to the war here at home.

It has at last become an inescapable fact of life, even for a considerable section of the American bourgeoisie, that U.S. monopoly capital can not prevail against the Vietnamese people.

Decline of U.S. as a world power

How else can one explain the fact that such flagrantly bellicose warmongers, so-called hawks like Senators Symington, Talmadge, Jordan and so many, many others, are now talking like doves.

It took the Tet offensive of 1968 and even more so the recent disastrous defeat of the U.S.-South Vietnamese invasion of Laos to make them realize that the might of U.S. imperialism is no longer what they presumed it to be a couple of decades ago. The Vietnam defeat for the U.S. is only the most dramatic and striking manifestation of the general and rapid decline of American capitalism as a world power.

It does not necessarily follow, however, that the Nixon Administration will reconcile itself to unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam. The forces of ruthless violence and mass murder which were set in motion by the militarist machine of monopoly capitalism cannot easily be reversed. The ruling class is always torn by a thousand inner contradictions, and it would be a rare phenomenon to find unanimity in its ranks on a fundamental issue such as Vietnam.

Return of 1964?

While it is true that an ever-larger section of the ruling class currently leans toward a withdrawal from Vietnam, the probability of "just one more try," that is, of a replay of the year 1964, is entirely probable, if not inevitable. The so-called contingency plans may already be set just as they were in 1964 during the Johnson Administration. And just as the Johnson Administration rejected discussions for withdrawal made by the National Liberation Front and the DRV, instead laying plans for a much wider war, so the Nixon Administration may be planning to do the same.

In this connection, it is important to remember a remark made by President Kennedy in a rare moment of candor after the Cuban missile crisis. "The military is mad," he said. This was quoted in Schlesinger's book, "One Thousand Days." The political weight of the military in the imperialist establishment has by no means diminished since then.

It is true, of course, that Nixon is withdrawing American troops from Vietnam. But it is equally true that he "retains confidence" in U.S. air power to crush the Vietnamese, as evidenced by the continuation of widespread bombing throughout Indochina.

Temptation to renew bombing

The temptation to overpower the Vietnamese people by sheer saturation bombing on an even wider scale than in 1965 is unquestionably still present in the minds of the Pentagon planners. But this alone, as the preceding history of the struggle in Vietnam has shown, cannot obviate the fundamental fact of the objective limitations of U.S. capitalism. Nor can it obscure the tremendous

revolutionary capability of the heroic Vietnamese people, their socialist allies, and the support and sympathy of the oppressed all over the world, not to mention the struggle right here in the U.S.

When we leave aside the objective factors entering into the calculations of the war strategy of the U.S. military planners and examine the subjective factors, the prospects for the imperialist establishment seem even dimmer. This was illustrated in a most striking manner by two extraordinary statements made by high officials in both the Johnson and the Kennedy Administrations, and held in high regard by the Nixon Administration.

Confessions of Dean Rusk

and Gen. Taylor

The statements constitute the best and most reliable testimony regarding the fundamental reasons from the point of view of the subjective factors in history why U.S. imperialism is in a hopeless situation in Vietnam.

The first statement is that of Dean Rusk. It has particular significance because he was the Secretary of State in the Kennedy and the Johnson Administrations. (Incidentally, his statement is not part of the Pentagon Papers and was made after their publication.) It was released on all nationwide networks on July 2 of this year.

In response to a question by the television interviewer on why the U.S. has lost out, he replied:

"We underestimated the tenacity of the North Vietnamese and overestimated the patience of the American people."

This confession speaks volumes! It is positively a gem. Furthermore it is not a slip of the tongue. Nor did Rusk make any effort to qualify this basic assessment under further questioning.

What does his confession signify? It signifies that the revolutionary determination of the Vietnamese people, in the face of monumental odds, proved to be the key factor in the struggle.

"We never thought the Vietnamese could take so many casualties and keep coming," said Rusk.

Classic error of ruling class

Here again we have the classic error made time and time again by an oppressing class in prosecuting a reactionary war against an oppressed nation. They always underestimate the oppressed nation's revolutionary capacity for relentless struggle, for supreme sacrifice, for boundless dedication to a revolutionary cause, for unity of purpose and will.

Lest anyone think that Rusk's assessment is accidental or peculiar to him alone—a mere civilian official, not a military man himself—we now have the same startling admission by none other than General Maxwell Taylor, made on July 3 of this year, the day after Rusk was questioned.

The interviewer specifically questioned him in regard to Rusk's assessment and asked if he agreed with it. He answered:

"Yes. It was not a war, not a contest of materials and flesh, but one of the will"

Role of consciousness

He, too, thus acknowledged in his own way that the revolutionary determination and will power of an oppressed people are superior and will be victorious in the struggle against the reactionary, decadent U.S. ruling class whose will can be blunted and broken by revolutionary determination.

Why is this so? Is this not descending to an idealist rather than a materialist interpretation



Nguyen Thi Binh, PRG delegate to Paris talks.

of history, i.e., interpreting social development by the will of a people, a subjective factor of history, instead of material conditions.

No! Marxism teaches that the collective consciousness of an oppressed people fighting for a revolutionary cause, for their emancipation, becomes a material factor in history when consciousness really takes hold of the masses, when the masses are infused with the consciousness of their goal. This does not negate the significance of technology and of the productive forces generally in relation to ideas and consciousness. It merely shows that no matter how developed the productive forces may be in a given social system, such as the imperialist social system of the U.S., as long as these productive forces are in the hands of a reactionary ruling class in the struggle against a revolutionary people, the revolutionary people will prevail.

U.S. gamble on Sino-Soviet split

Moreover, the Vietnamese people have not been without technology and are not lacking in arms to defend themselves. Both China and the Soviet Union, as well as other socialist countries, have helped the Vietnamese people with all kinds of material assistance.

The great gamble of U.S. diplomats, statesmen and militarists alike—of hawks and doves as well—was that the split between China and the Soviet Union would so weaken both of them and their nearby socialist allies that Vietnam would be an easy prey for U.S. imperialism. They began to have their misgivings early but never really believed that in spite of fundamental ideological differences, both the Soviet Union and China, each in its own way, would continue to support the Vietnamese people.

The Czar in his time also thought that the split between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks would strengthen the rotting social order on which his regime was based. Although this analogy to the U.S. and Vietnam may not entirely apply, it nevertheless has a large degree of relevance.

Imperialism unable to bring back old order

Though revisionism may be rife in a good many Communist Parties throughout the world, not the smallest of which is in the Soviet Union, it is nevertheless an incontestable fact that of the 13 countries where capitalism and the old ruling class were destroyed, there has not been

era

a single full-scale counter-revolution which has brought back to power the old ruling class. True, there has been a good deal of regression, but thus far, imperialism has been unable to bring back the old order in any of the countries where the workers and peasants took power.

On the other hand, the imperialist powers, above all the U.S., are everywhere being thrown back by the force, vigor and vitality of national liberation movements. Not a day passes when one or another of the countries oppressed by imperialism does not strike a blow against it.

Even so small a country as Malta, long regarded as nothing but a base for imperialist aggression in the Mediterranean, has only recently dismissed the NATO general stationed in Malta and well-nigh declared, at least in a formal sense, its independence from open imperialist rule. If tiny Malta can do that, what a great future lies ahead for all of Latin America, for Asia and for Africa.

U.S. opens trade war on imperialist allies

Moreover, the imperialists are never united. At this moment they are more divided than ever. Because American monopoly capital has made such deep inroads into the economies of Western Europe and Japan, it has incurred not only the hostility of the workers and the mass of the people generally of those countries, but also of a large section of the ruling class. Widespread sympathy and support by the working class of Western Europe and Japan for the Vietnamese people have made it doubly difficult for American imperialism to get any but the most clandestine support of the most reactionary elements from the other imperialist countries. The publication of the Pentagon Papers is not likely to increase their support.

Finally, the Nixon Administration, even more than the Johnson Administration, is seeking to unload the economic burden of the mad adventure in Vietnam, not only on the backs of the American working class and poor people generally, but also on its "free world" allies.

Thus, the June 18 issue of the Wall Street Journal proclaims in a significant front-page story:

"The U.S. government is getting ready for a new cold war against the rest of the free world." "The U.S.," the Journal said, "is taking an increasingly tough stand in international economic organizations... is acting more vigorously against allegedly unfair imports.... The new American posture threatens to shatter the tenuous constraints against anything-goes, competitive practices and protectionism abroad and American planners concede that their

trade aims could strain diplomatic and military relationships."

There could be no more eloquent testimony to the plight of American capitalism than the launching of an aggressive economic trade war against its imperialist allies at a time when, in its own words, it needs every help it can get to aid in its mad adventure against the Vietnamese people.

Appraisal by radical tendencies

How have some of the radical tendencies in this country analyzed the publication of the Pentagon Papers? It would be strange if they didn't recognize the contribution made by the anti-war movement in this connection. But what do they have to say about the contribution of the DRV and the NLF? Not a word!!!

Thus the July 2 issue of the Daily World says:

organ of the SWP, devotes almost three pages to the Pentagon revelations, and here again, not one single reference to the heroic struggle of the NLF and the DRV. It is as though the Vietnam liberation forces aren't there!

It is to be remembered that McNamara ordered the Pentagon study only after the Tet offensive, which forced Johnson to quit.

It is one thing for the Vietnamese to give the American anti-war movement credit for its contribution to the struggle against the war as a means of encouraging it. It is something else again for the CP-SWP not to point out the significance of the heroic revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people who are responsible for the defeat of U.S. imperialism.

Bourgeois liberalism and revolutionary internationalism

Thus, here are two political tendencies which presumably stand on the principle of internationalism. In reality their political position is only



Nixon and Rusk shake hands on Vietnam aggression.

"The lesson of the Supreme Court decision (on the publication of the Pentagon Papers—S.M.) is that the anti-war movement inspired these revelations and brought about this decision."

No reference whatever to the DRV and the NLF.

Similarly the July 2 issue of The Militant,

an echo of the bourgeois liberal position which seeks to explain the Pentagon Papers as they explain all other social phenomena from the viewpoint of the class interests of the liberal bourgeoisie. Their viewpoint is national in character whereas the class interests of the proletariat are international and arise out of the urgent need of revolutionary international class solidarity of which the Vietnam struggle is the supreme example.



Ruchell Magee chained in court.

Notes on Black liberation

ANGELA DAVIS, on trial for "conspiracy" in the heroic shoot-out at the San Marin Courthouse, has stated that she will not proceed with her trial until her co-defendant, RUCHELL MAGEE, is granted his right to a full hearing of his charge that he has been illegally imprisoned in California for the past eight years. "We are bound together," Angela stated to the court, "because we have both refused to acquiesce to racism."

HUEY NEWTON's retrial is under way in California. On July 2, a motion to dismiss manslaughter charges against him was denied by Alameda County Judge Harold Hove. Newton is now out on bail of \$50,000 after having spent 35 months in jail on frameup charges growing out of a police assault in September of 1968.

DAVID HILLIARD, Chief of Staff of the Black Panther Party, was recently sentenced to ten years in prison by an Alameda County Court. Although 38 per cent of the Oakland Community is Black, Hilliard was tried before an all-white jury, which promptly returned a guilty verdict for police frameup charges.

THE DETROIT 12 of the Black Panther Party were acquitted of charges of murdering police and conspiracy to murder. The charges stemmed from an armed attack by police on the Detroit headquarters

of the Black Panther Party, during which two policemen were killed by unknown assailants in the area.

CLEVELAND 3 GET THREE TO SIXTY YEARS. Curtis Johnson, Fred Clark and Mike Dowell were convicted of shooting at three cops during an armed raid on the Cleveland office of the NCCF by police and FBI. Even though the office was barraged with bullets from almost all sides, the three Panthers inside were charged with shooting at police! No evidence was presented that the Panthers' weapons had even been fired! But playing on racism and anti-communism, and putting the Black Panther Party on trial, the government gets its convictions.

Money is desperately needed to cover legal fees for appealing this case. All supporters should send donations to the Cleveland Political Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2576, East Cleveland, Ohio 44112. For more details see article in next issue of WW.

editorial

Let the draft die; free the draft resisters!

For the first time since the inception of the U.S. "peacetime" draft, the induction law has expired. Since June 30, no new legislation has been passed in Congress to renew the power of the U.S. government to force young men into slave labor as the soldiers of the U.S. imperialist army. Although this lapse in the draft law is only temporary, the demand from the people who have to see their sons, brothers and husbands victimized by the illegal, slave-labor law should be to end the draft permanently.

The U.S. military is run in the interest of bankers and monopolists to safeguard their system of exploitation at home and abroad; it should have no power to force our youth into wars of aggression and plunder like the one in Vietnam.

At this moment, when the draft law lies in limbo, it is also essential to raise the demand for freedom for all those courageous young men who have resisted the draft and have chosen jail or exile over slaughtering the people of Indochina on orders from the Pentagon brass.

The Paris talks and the Pentagon Papers

After over a week's delay, the U.S. delegate to the Paris peace talks, David K.E. Bruce, finally responded to the seven-point peace plan offered by Mme. Binh of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam on July 1. Under pressure to respond to the generous offer of the Vietnamese to release prisoners of war simultaneously with U.S. troop withdrawal, Bruce replied with a statement that cannot but be regarded as an arrogant affront to the people of both Vietnam and the U.S.

"If (your remarks) mean," he began, "that you wish at last to enter into serious negotiations, we would welcome such an attitude on your part." This, from a representative of the government that is committing war crimes against an entire nation!

"On the question of political settlement in South Vietnam," he stated

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later, "you continue to insist that the present Government of the Republic of Vietnam must be replaced by one which fulfills your own criteria. Our policy on this point has always been perfectly clear and remains so. We will not impose any government on the people of South Vietnam, who must be allowed to determine for themselves their own future."

In the light of the recent revelations in the Pentagon Papers, this last statement can only be characterized as a blatant lie. The Pentagon Papers clearly show (as this newspaper pointed out years ago) that the U.S. government has literally pulled all the strings in placing in power or overthrowing, when they deemed necessary, a whole succession of puppet regimes in South Vietnam that it hoped would serve its purpose of subjugating the Vietnamese people to U.S. imperialist rule. For Bruce to now pretend that the U.S. government is upholding the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people is the most cynical kind of "logic."

In addition, it has just been reported that President Nixon's special adviser on national security, Henry Kissinger, while on a trip to France recently, failed to meet the Vietnamese representatives in Paris although the heads of the PRG and DRV delegations stated that they would be willing to speak with him. This obvious diplomatic cold-shoulder is another indication of the Administration's attempt to stall the Paris talks while desperately seeking a military way out in Vietnam.

Today Vietnam, Tomorrow Korea?

an interview

with Kim Il Sung \$.35

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Letters

June 14, 1971

Dear Friends of the Workers World:

We were delighted to receive your letter of April 1971 and a sample of your paper. Your support of the Greek struggle for liberation is well known to us from our friends in NYC, and is greatly appreciated. We definitely wish to exchange publication materials with you—enclosed find two issues of ACFG's Information Bulletin and ACFG's Program.

It is in the common interest of all organizations that come from the people and work for the people to coordinate their activity, thus promoting people's unity. ACFG seeks cooperation on particular issues with any progressive organization — without exception — on the basis of equality and mutual respect for the ideological identity of the cooperating parties.

It goes without saying that we would like to develop cooperation with the Youth Against War & Fascism, too. We are centered at the Philadelphia area, but we also have a chapter at Berkeley, Calif., along with friends and supporters throughout the country. May we propose that you bring us in contact with your people, individuals or chapters, in those areas.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Fraternally,

Academic Community for a Free
Greece (ACFG)
P.O. Box 8477
Philadelphia, Pa. 19101

Sirs,

On Aug. 27, 1969 I was drafted into the army; being a man too poor to buy my way out through courts or deferments, I had to go or face jail.

Now that I'm back from Vietnam I find that employment is so low that a man has to take what he can get, in my case it was a job at a sweat factory called Columbus Coated Fabric, owned by Borden, and I was "lucky" to get that job.

I can hardly believe the horrible conditions that we are forced to work under. The union is trying to improve this situation but it is a weak company oriented union. I intend to change that, the men are sick of getting the stick.

Reading of the struggle others have fought, though, is the inspiration we Workers need. I want to subscribe now, please find check enclosed.

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ASU Chairman addresses Korean youth conference



Vice President Spiro Agnew visited South Korea recently to give the U.S. government's stamp of approval to the fascist regime of Pak Chung Hee. But almost at the same moment that Agnew was expressing his "solidarity" with the brutal U.S.-sponsored dictator, hundreds of representatives of people's organizations—liberation movements and workers' organizations—were gathering in Pyongyang in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to strengthen their ties and resolve to further the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The occasion was the Sixth Congress of the League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea (LSWYK) which opened in Pyongyang on June 21. In addition to the LSWYK delegates who came

from all over the DPRK, hundreds of foreign guests attended the conference. Members of liberation movements and workers' organizations from all over the world were there, including representatives of the South Korean Revolutionary Youth Organization, representatives from Vietnam, People's China, members of the Palestine Liberation movement, and liberation fighters from Africa to Latin America.

Among those invited from the United States was Andy Stapp, Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union (ASU). The ASU, a union of rank-and-file GIs organizing in the U.S. military against the Vietnam war and against the oppression of GIs by the brass, has also been engaged in struggles against the U.S. military occupation of South Korea. The continued presence of over 50,000 U.S. troops in the South, as well as the ever-present threat of the U.S. government launching an attack on the People's Republic in the North, made it particularly significant that Stapp was able to express the opposition of American GIs to U.S. imperialist aggression in Asia.

Stapp received a ten-minute standing ovation when he addressed the Congress and long excerpts from his speech were printed in the Korean Daily News Service release of June 26. The ASU chairman expressed his solidarity with the Korean youth who fought so heroically against U.S. aggression in 1950 and highly praised the leadership of Kim Il Sung, who organized the Korean People's Army and guided the Korean revolution forward to victory.

"We actively support and give solidarity," Stapp said, "to the Korean youth in their struggle to chase U.S. imperialism out and unify their country. We, the American Servicemen's Union and the revolutionary American youth, strongly

declare that we support unconditionally the policy of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for unifying the divided country without foreign interference, independently on democratic principles, and will exert all possible efforts to support your struggle for its realization."

The ASU leader told the hundreds of delegates there that the class struggle is in fact alive in the U.S. and "the struggle of the progressive people and soldiers against racism and Wall Street's war policy is gaining momentum daily."

"The U.S. imperialist murderers," Stapp continued, "imprisoned Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, Angela Davis, Joel Meyers (of Youth Against War & Fascism—ed.), who refused to serve in the imperialist U.S. army and many other comrades and have made them undergo unbearable sufferings behind prison bars."

Stapp wound up his talk by wishing fresh successes to the League of Socialist Working Youth in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and for the unification of the country. His last words were spoken in Korean: "Widaehan suryong Kim Il Sung, wonsumin manse!" (Long live Kim Il Sung, the great leader!) and "Mizerul tadohaza! (Down with U.S. imperialism!)."

Demonstrate

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The lesson of New York's slave labor law...

Labor must fight for union pay for welfare recipients

by JERRY ZILG

As of July 1, tens of thousands of New Yorkers have been reduced to the level of slavery. Approximately 60,000 recipients of welfare must now report for menial labor for the State and City governments. For their work, they will be paid nothing, not even minimum wage. If they refuse, they will be denied their right to welfare relief, often their families' only means of survival.

This atrocity is the result of a new welfare law demanded by New York's billionaire governor, Nelson Rockefeller. Of 1,195,000 welfare recipients, only 60,000 are classified as "employable," although Rockefeller's government admits that up to one-third of those classifications are being contested and may be unfair. Rockefeller's new law requires these people to "accept any kind of job in which they are able to engage." Recipients found that "any kind of job" usually meant the hardest, dirtiest kind of jobs—mopping the floors or cleaning the toilets—jobs that the City admitted it was previously unable or unwilling to pay for.

In addition to legalizing slavery, the new law is also a direct attack on the oppressed Black and Puerto Rican communities of New York. Many Black and Puerto Rican people find themselves forced to go on welfare because of discrimination against them in hiring and lack of daycare facilities for mothers. These poor, who are the last hired

and first fired, are now being victimized by the same system that refuses to give them work at decent wages in the first place.

Under the new law, failure to accept any job removes a recipient and family from the rolls, even if he or she agrees to report at the unemployment center for other jobs in the future. This effectively restricts them from enlisting in training programs for better jobs.

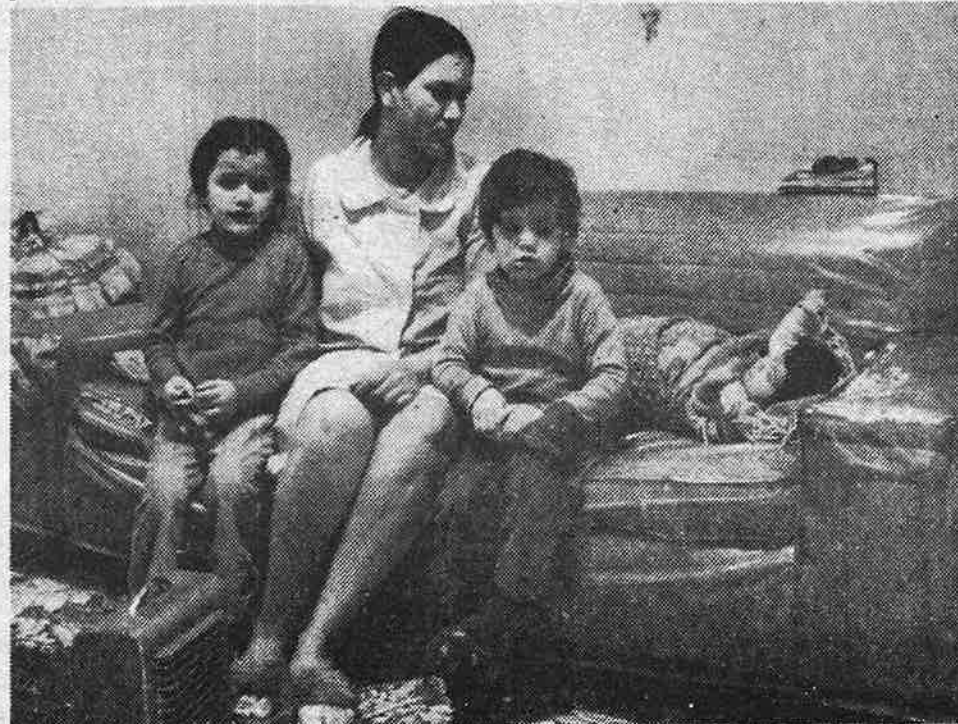
Meanwhile, the bureaucratic atrocities go on. Some people who have been forced to accept the menial work offered find that their welfare checks have been lost in the shuffle to the unemployment office, while others have spent money for carfare, lunches and clothing to meet a required job assignment only to find that it was mis-scheduled by the bureaucracy. Welfare mothers who have been assigned daycare centers must continue to pay for these services out of their meager welfare allotments, which also suffered from Rockefeller's budget cuts, leaving little for food, clothing and decent shelter.

On June 30, the Welfare Rights Organization held a sit-down demonstration at the State Unemployment Center at 247 West 54th Street, condemning the new law for requiring "slave jobs." It is "basically slavery," said National Director George Wiley, "if you work and don't get money because you spend it all on daycare and transportation." Rockefeller's law is an attack on the entire working class,

because slave labor depresses the value of all wage labor; that is, when the bosses can force people to work for them for nothing, it hurts the demand for better wages of all workers.

There is another criminal motive behind Rockefeller's new law. State and municipal labor unions are raising their demands and militancy with strikes which have shaken the very foundations of the Empire State. The State government is clearly intent on using this new slave labor pool of welfare recipients to fill

municipal jobs that they no longer want to pay for. As such, the law is a threat to the whole union movement—union workers will be laid off and replaced by oppressed people forced to work for welfare. It is therefore essential for the labor movement to come to the defense of welfare recipients, to demand that they get union pay and benefits, and to protest this vicious attack on all poor people—both those who work and those who have been excluded by racist discrimination from earning a living wage.



How will she feed her children on slave wages?

Turkish student reveals...

Struggle behind fascist terror in Turkey

The following article was written for WORKERS WORLD by a Turkish student presently in the United States. It gives the background to the repression going on in Turkey today and reveals, perhaps for the first time in this country, that the Revolutionary Youth (RY) kidnapped an Israeli consul in Turkey recently because he was going to hand over to the fascist regime a list of 300 names of Turkish youths who had been trained in guerrilla warfare by the Palestinian liberation movement.

The recent developments in Turkey are worth mention, especially when the news from the country is restricted as definitely distorted. With her two neighbors, Greece and Persia (Iran) under fascist rule installed by USA Middle-East policy, it was only a matter of time until Turkey also passed to a state of open fascism.

The struggle for independence from Western imperialism and toward socialism, allied with the oppressed peoples of the Middle-East, was moving towards success in Turkey. The imperialist camp, led by the U.S., couldn't possibly afford such an outcome. With its agent provocateurs and financial

resources, it planned and managed to organize a fascist armed command group under the protection of MIT (the Turkish replica and dependent of the CIA). Any organization which was identified as being leftist was steadily harassed and provoked. These included the Labor Party of Turkey, the Revolutionary Youth (RY) and the Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions. Members of all three were frequently arrested, interrogated or harassed in one way or another.

RY beginning in 1970 started bank holdups (in line with their platform: nationalized banking) and political kidnappings to achieve the freedom of those arrested. It was becoming apparent that the rightwing provocation backfired, and the existing political set-up was incapable of protecting the status quo.

At this stage (March 1971), the army intervened. It threatened the government with a takeover if they failed to repress the leftwing activities (they called it "anarchism"). The government resigned, giving way to a new civilian government completely endorsed and controlled by the army. Large-scale arrests of individuals, censorship of the press, closing down of non-aligned organizations followed.

It was during this full-swing of terrorism that RY came to be informed that the chief Israeli consul in Turkey was going to hand over to the Turkish government a list of Turkish youths containing some 300 names, who had their basic guerrilla training in Palestine with the liberation movement, and were active in Turkey. RY kidnapped and held him hostage in return for the freedom of previously arrested political prisoners; otherwise, RY said, he would be executed.

The government answered by arresting the 300 youths and started a second and greater wave of terrorism. This one included: shooting to kill the people who refused to surrender, search of property with warrants, arrest and murder of additional people, etc. The Israeli consul was shot as declared. The world public was informed of just parts of this story, i.e., the kidnapping and killing of the Israeli, but not the true reasons and events behind the kidnapping.

The story is not over; hundreds are in prisons awaiting trials, in some cases facing a possible death sentence; the Turkish press remains censored; the main socialist organizations are closed and a very long list of books banned. It is with this perspective that the following letter has been received.

Ahmet Kocak

The following letter was smuggled out of Turkey. It represents the views of the Labour Party of Turkey, one of the organizations suppressed by the fascist government. Ten of the 13 Central Executive Committee members of the LPT are under arrest and may go to trial soon.

June 6, 1971

It may have come to your notice, recently, that Chairman Mrs. Behice Boran, Secretary Generals Sait Ciltas and Saban Erik, and 10 out of 13 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Socialist Labour Party of Turkey have been placed under arrest. According to information received, the prosecutor's indictment is to be based

on the application of Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code on the Resolutions of the Fourth Congress of the Labour Party of Turkey. Attached are the English translations of the said articles and resolutions.

The Labour Party of Turkey, founded in 1961 by 12 trade-union leaders, has based its strategy, from the very beginning, on the analysis and requirements of the struggle for democracy, independence and socialism in Turkey. The L.P.T. participated in its first General Elections in 1965, placing 15 deputies in the National Assembly and 1 Senator in the Upper House. Following amendments in the electoral law, the L.P.T., although receiving the same number of votes as in 1965, placed 2 deputies in Parliament.

In the course of its struggle for democracy, independence and socialism, against fascism, imperialism and capitalism, the L.P.T. has waged an incessant ideological and political struggle against all forms of anarchist-gauchist and chauvin-nationalist activity and thought. The L.P.T. has repeatedly declared its opposition to all attempts at identifying the social struggle with acts of individual terrorism. The arrest of L.P.T. leaders, however, gives rise to the impression that anarchist-gauchist activities and chauvin-racist activities are being used as an excuse to prosecute Turkey's sole socialist party, the L.P.T.

Possessing the belief that the presence of a socialist party is the sole safeguard of the proper functioning of democracy, we have decided to apply to a group of prominent intellectuals, who are internationally hailed for their devotion to the cause of democracy, to draft expertise reports on the applicability of the mentioned Penal Code articles to the Fourth Congress Resolutions. Time is of the utmost importance, as the trials of the L.P.T. leaders may get under way any time. Awaiting your reply at your earliest possible convenience, I am,

Yours Sincerely,

Saban Yildiz

Acting Chairman
Labour Party of Turkey



by EMILY HANLON

In a speech before the American Bar Association (ABA) last week, Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger underscored the rightward movement of the Court during the past two years. In what can be considered no less than an outright threat to political prisoners and the lawyers who defend them, Burger said that the legal profession must impose "more stringent discipline on unruly or dishonest lawyers or outside forces will take over the job of policing lawyers' ethics."

The "unruly" lawyers to whom Burger is referring are those such as William Kunstler who have been militantly defending Black and Third World political prisoners and anti-war activists. But, as the cases of the Chicago 7, the New York Panther 21 and Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in Connecticut have proven, it has not been the defendants or their lawyers who have been "unruly," but rather the judges.

Working hand-in-glove with the government in its frameups, these black-robed tyrants have tried to erode the most basic constitutional rights of the defendants by trying to intimidate their lawyers.

The conservative ABA, which is made up largely of private lawyers from small towns, recommended guidelines for judges, such as contempt citations and removal of the "disorderly" persons from the court that would only rubber-stamp the fascist tactics

already used by judges.

Burger himself has indicated that he would like to see judges have the option of holding trials in complete secrecy by barring the public and the press from the courtroom. In fact, he has said that the whole system of trial by jury is too cumbersome. The reason why he finds it cumbersome is that some of the political frameups are backfiring and exposing the reactionary nature of the government. He would prefer to hold frameup trials behind closed doors where it would be impossible for the people to see the legal lynchings and rally to support the defendants.

The publicity from the conspiracy cases and the frameups of Black militants have also brought to light the daily railroading of poor and oppressed people by the "legal" system of this country. In addition to racist judges and lily-white juries, the court-appointed lawyers for the poor are, in general, completely lacking in any dedication to the defendant. This has led many young people to "flock" to the law schools with the intention of aiding the oppressed. In a recent interview with the New York Times, Burger warned that "some disappointment" may be in store for young people who are being attracted to legal careers "on the theory that they can change the world by litigation in the courts."

Burger is right on this point, but for the wrong reasons. No political prisoner, no oppressed person

(Continued on page 15)

Chief
"Justice"
wants even
less of it

Workers hit bricks nationwide

Steel barons attack workers

with layoffs as strike nears

The profit-hungry steel corporations led by the Big 3—U.S. Steel, Bethlehem and Republic—have launched an ominous attack on the 450,000 members in Basic Steel (United Steelworkers Union) less than three weeks before the contract expires on July 31.

In an attempt to take the fight out of the angry steelworkers, the steel barons have hit 8,000 of them with pink layoff slips marked "Reason for layoff—no work."

Hardest hit by these layoffs are Black workers, young white workers, and Vietnam vets who live in the industrial centers of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and New York, already plagued by heavy unemployment. In Buffalo, New York, Republic Steel shut down the entire plant until further notice, affecting more than 2,500 workers.

What is even more ominous about this 2 per cent industry-wide cut in the work force is that it foreshadows the kind of aggressive policy the steel bosses will use against the union. Whatever (if any) offer the companies make will surely be tied to demands that will rip the guts out of the present contract.

Casey Robinson, President of the U.S.W. local at Bethlehem's Spar-

rows Point, Maryland plant (with 11,500 members and the largest steel plant in the world) put it this way in describing the negotiations: he said that management came into the local talks with a set of its own demands for the "first time in memory." They wanted to eliminate two types of jobs in the mill and demanded changes in the seniority, scheduling and labor pool procedure that would make it easier for the company to keep down the size of the work crews.

To the militants in steel who have fought in many of the half dozen post-W.W.II strikes, this present attack brings back memories of the 1959 strike, the longest in the history of steel.

Then the rank and file fought back successfully for 116 days against the bosses' attempt to house-break the union and wipe out the gains that steelworkers had won in decades of struggle. Then, as now, they had on the bargaining table such proposals as would give them more power to control the crucial issues of seniority, incentives, work schedules, crew sizes, vacations, pensions, etc. Then, as now, the steel barons cried that they needed this "relief" to compete with steel imports and to avoid a steel buying slump.

Then, as now, they stockpiled long in advance with their prime customers in preparations for a strike or a capitulation to their demands. And then, as now, they had an anti-labor administration that was only too anxious to assist the steel bosses in rolling back steelworker gains in the name of fighting inflation. Then it was Eisenhower-Nixon who saved the steel corporations with a Taft-Hartley injunction when it became clear after 116 days that the rank and file would not capitulate.

Now, more than a decade later, Nixon faces a crisis more serious than the one his mentor Eisenhower faced. The New York Times, July 4, reported that the Administration believes that economic conditions are so precarious that "they can't live with a (steel) strike of more than six weeks duration" (stockpiles will then be used up) or "a settlement similar to the 31 per cent wage settlement reached earlier in other metal industries." In a word, Nixon wants the union to capitulate. With this in mind, he has called a White House meeting with steel labor and management



Nixon, intervening for steel bosses, calls I. W. Abel, head of union, to White House.

for July 6. No matter what Tricky Dick says at this conference about inflation and holding the line against wages and prices (steel has had two fat price hikes this year) one fact will be covered up—the fact that Nixon will use the executive power of the government to bail out the steel bosses.

It is vital that the rank and file steelworkers resist this offensive against their union and their working conditions; it is also vital that they close ranks in unity and awaken the entire labor movement to this attack which inevitably will affect the entire working class.

the workers know that inflation is going to get worse. The bosses' desire to put a ceiling in the cost-of-living escalator would mean a pay cut for the workers by the end of the contract. The copper workers are determined to fight inflation-caused loss of wages.

The copper workers want a contract at least equal to the aluminum settlement of \$1.11/hour over three years. They are represented by the United Steel Workers (USW), which merged with the Mine, Mill, and Smelters Union. According to union estimates, the copper corporations offered at least 30 cents below the aluminum raise.

The current strike, a militant response to the company's offensive, coincided with Nixon's call to the White House of USW leadership and steel company management. The USW is expecting a strike in steel in August. The hard line of the copper companies is right in line with Nixon and the steel companies against a contract equal to the aluminum settlement.

In 1967-68 the copper industry was crippled by a strike that lasted 8-1/2 months. It ended when the federal government stepped in to break the strike. At the time, the key demand was for industry-wide and company-wide bargaining. The corporations got the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to rule against the demand. The union leadership has not reopened the fight for this unity demand this year, but the strike may last a long time.

A union spokesman said that in all probability the strike will be for "not less than 60 days." The union leaders do not expect a settlement until there is a settlement in steel. The copper corporations claim they have a more than 4-month stockpile and the four major companies, Anaconda, Kennecott, Phelps Dodge and American Smelting and Refining, all have plants overseas to draw on. But the rank-and-file showed in 1967-68 that they have the will to strike hard and long.

Copper workers strike at bosses' inflation

Strengthening the wave of growing labor militancy, more than 36,000 copper workers struck eight companies on July 1. This affects 60 to 80 per cent of the industry. The central demand that the companies are resisting is a cost-of-living escalator with no top limit. In addition, the companies are demanding a job-cutting productivity agreement — speedup. Both the companies and



"Ah! Now we can talk!"

Longshoremen demand rights on West Coast

On July 1, 15,000 West Coast longshoremen went out on strike, idling all West Coast ports in the U.S. for the first time since 1948. The longshoremen are represented by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in their fight against the attacks on jobs, wages and working conditions brought in with "containerization" of cargoes.

Contract demands include a guaranteed 40-hour work week for regular longshoremen, an hourly pay increase of \$1.60 over two years, increased pension benefits, and a change in container loading and handling jurisdiction. A five-year contract with the Pacific Maritime Association, representing all West Coast shipping lines, stevedore and terminal companies, expired June 30. An association spokesman said that they are offering "about half" of the total cost package of ILWU demands.

Military cargoes, perishable goods and passenger ships have been exempted from the strike by the union leaders, presumably in order to avoid an injunction. To rank-and-file militants, however, the exemption of military cargoes shows clearly that the union leaders are still captives of the war policy of the bosses.

The militant mood of the workers is the real force behind the contract demands; it is this power that can fight injunctions and other strikebreaking methods, not attempts at conciliating with the company! The rank and file is solidly behind the strike. They will fight to win!

A scab's life at Western Union

NEW YORK, July 6—As the Western Union strike goes into its sixth week, the company is still using scab foremen and supervisors to try to do what work there is. It also funnels work to the Telephone Company and to RCA—and to the U.S. Post Office (now supposedly a "private" company).

In the face of this and of company-government finagling to eliminate a large number of branch offices and thus eliminate jobs, the union is holding strong.

Actually two unions are on strike—the CWA in New York City and the United Telegraph Workers

in the rest of the country.

The CWA, well known for its sellout national leadership and its honeymoon contracts, is nevertheless, like other unions, a workers' organization whose basic reason for existence is to fight the company.

The following excerpts from CWA Local 1177 (NYC) Strike Bulletin No. 8 are eloquent proof that the workers still find ways to express their feelings and defend their interests during a strike.

"Several days ago a fire broke out on Thomas Street at the Receiving & Delivery dock. After apologizing for crossing our picket lines, the firemen proceeded to pump what appeared to be half the water in the Hudson into the building. Thick clouds of black smoke rose into the building causing the management scabs some breathing problems. (Compare this with the loads of fresh air we are getting on the picket line.)

"Now, days later, the water is still in the building—so are the tons of wet tape and paper—and the thousands of flies that now inhabit 60 Hudson Street.

"Management is about to choke on its own garbage. Refuse is piling up all over the building—adding to the delight of the flies.

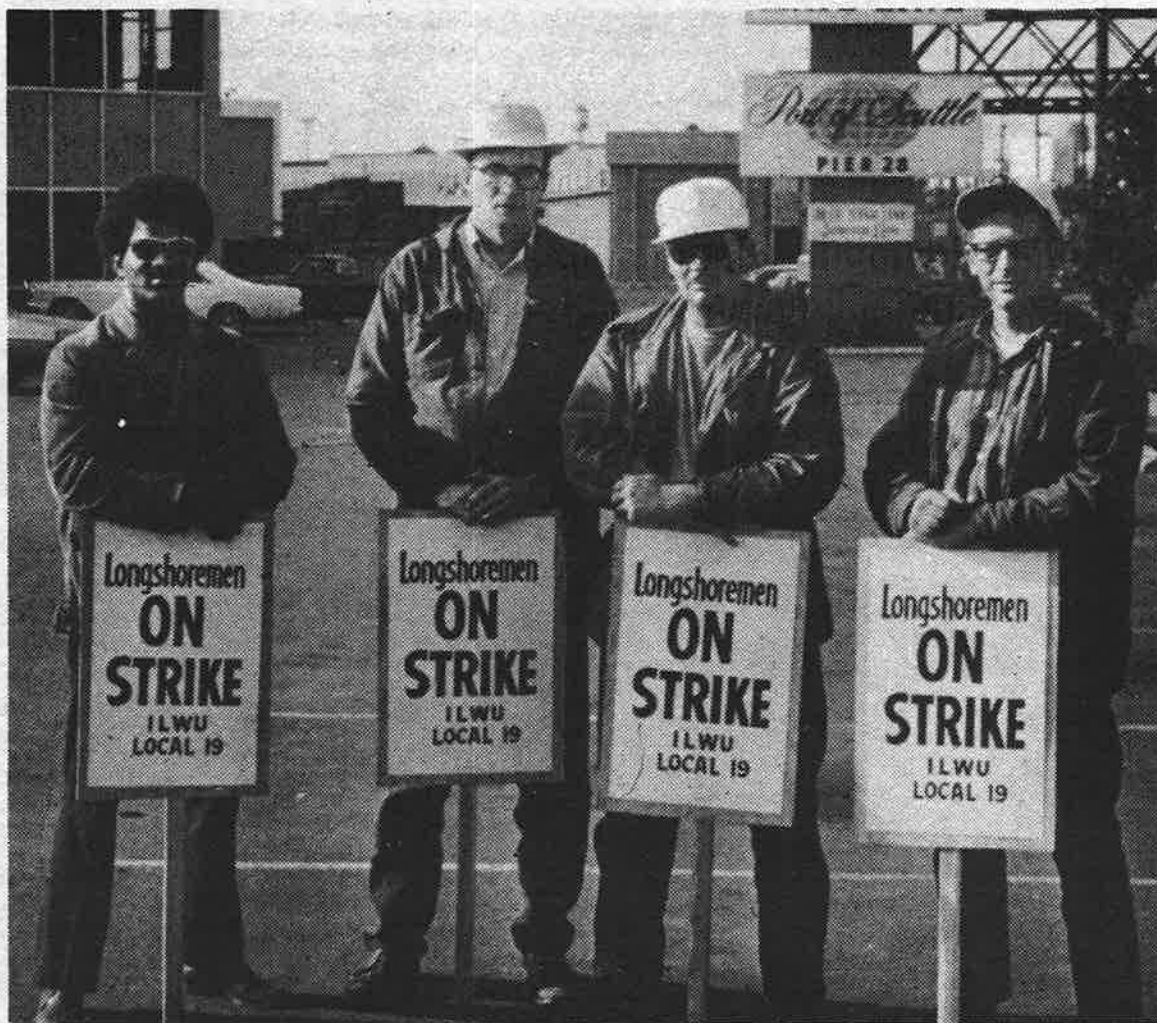
"Adding to the discomfort of those management doing our work is the continued breakdown of air conditioning units. This causes the piled-up garbage to add a distinctive scent to the already foul air.

"Compared to the physical and mental problems suffered by the management scabs—the lot of the striker is uncomplicated. We know what we want—a fair and decent contract that will meet our needs. We have the individual and collective spirit to win. The Union has marshalled the resources of the community. With the utilization of the Federal Food Stamp Program, Social Services and CWA Defense Fund, we can hold out until justice is won....

"Stay United—Keep up the spirit—Victory will be ours.

Fraternally,

The Bargaining Committee"



West Coast longshoremen on strike.

Postal workers brace for battle with gov't bosses

"Postal service Inauguration 1971" proclaimed the block-long banner that stretched from 32nd to 33rd St. along 8th Ave. in front of the General Post Office in New York City. Beneath it, on a platform, stood the N.Y. Regional Director, flanked by lesser dignitaries. As he droned on about the glories of the reorganization of the postal service to the crowd of postal workers and spectators, praising the greater efficiency that will mean speedups, layoffs, and cuts in pay, his speech was dramatically drowned out by a dozen determined postal workers. They stormed the platform with bull horns shouting "Vote Strike," "Strike: Go to Manhattan Center and vote strike."

At Manhattan Center one day earlier, 3,000 postal workers had rocked the auditorium with shouts of "Strike, Strike." They cheered and applauded as Moe Biller, President of the Manhattan-Bronx Postal Union, buoyed up by their spirit, stated, "Whether we go to jail is not important; what is important is that we stay out until the bosses meet our demands." Other speakers from Branch 36, National Association Letter Carriers, and

from across the country and Puerto Rico echoed the strong sentiment for a strike if the government rejected their demands for a decent contract.

The last contract ran out in January. Since then the postal bosses with the aid of the U.S. Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service has been trying to force a settlement on the workers that would endanger their job security. So suspicious are the rank and file of their new bosses and their so-called reorganization that they voted 35 to 1 to authorize the local leaders to call a strike after July 25.

On the board of directors of the new Postal Service sits Postmaster General Winston Blount, an Alabama racist and ex-president of the racist Alabama anti-labor Chamber of Commerce, and the ex-heads of Standard Oil, Bell Telephone, several major banks, and top executives from Delta Steamship Lines, Sylvania, and Westinghouse. Westinghouse Electric had been awarded a huge "job survey contract" at a cost of \$3.5 million to "evaluate" the 700,000 postal jobs to determine how many they can lay off.

This coterie of racist, big business, anti-labor executives along with political hacks like Blount who are paid off with patronage for "services rendered" are readying these layoffs, firings, speedups and hiring of new workers at pay levels lower than now established on the jobs. Black workers who in recent years have flocked to post office jobs will be hit hardest by this attack.

James Rademacher, President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, who sold out the postal strike last year, has once again come to the aid of these racist bosses. He has bent to all their proposals and even went to court to block the overwhelming strike vote taken by Local 36 NALC at the Manhattan Center meeting.

Postal workers in New York and across the country are preparing for the strike and their militant solidarity will thwart the plans of the Postal Service Corporation and their lackeys to streamline the post office at the expense of the workers.

Buffalo, N.Y. — Land of layoffs

Buffalo is basically a working class community located on Lake Erie in Western New York State. The city is plagued with the normal ills of large cities: high taxes, corrupt politicians (two county legislators were recently convicted of taking bribes and sentenced to three years in jail), racial tensions and high unemployment. The waterfront area of Buffalo and neighboring Lackawanna is almost entirely industrial. Plants and factories such as Allied Chemical, Socony-Mobil, Republic Steel, Pillsbury Flour Mills and the Ford Stamping Plant are all located in this vicinity. The biggest and most important plant in Western N.Y. is also there: Bethlehem Steel Co.—the second largest producer of steel in the country.

Bethlehem Steel is situated almost entirely in Lackawanna and stretches for miles along the waterfront. At peak capacity Bethlehem employs 20,000 people which is most of the workers in the community. But recently, startling events have created almost chaotic condi-

tions at the huge complex. In December of last year Bethlehem officials stated that they were going to make an all-out effort to improve profits and reduce costs. And the way they are planning on doing this is to phase out certain jobs unless they were "profitable." With a present work force of 14,000, some people saw the layoffs soaring as high as 10,000 and maybe even the entire plant. When the officials were asked if these rumors could be true, the answer was, "If the plant cannot be made profitable, then it would be (closed)."

But a few facts on why Bethlehem is not making some of the huge profits it used to can be brought out. The plant is only working at approximately 67 per cent capacity and even that is going down rapidly. Every day in the papers there is an article on a certain job being eliminated and "X" number of workers being laid off. These layoffs in the most cases are permanent. Bethlehem is also the major polluter of air and water in Western N.Y. When charges were filed and reforms demanded Bethlehem said the anti-pollution devices were too expensive, and it couldn't afford them because of rising labor costs.

Layoffs at Bethlehem make national headlines, but they aren't the only layoffs in the Buffalo area recently. In 1963 the entire work force of Wickwire Steel Plant was laid off with no advance warning. A small steel factory in North Buffalo, Pratt and Letchworth closes down each summer for two weeks to "fix up the place." But the workers only get one week's pay. In an unprecedented move, Republic Steel Company, the third largest steel company in the U.S., shut down major operations for one week and idled 2,500 steelworkers, even though it is one of the most modern plants in the country today. And steel strikes in smaller plants have begun. Late last year Roblin Steel in nearby Dunkirk struck for ten weeks, and a lengthy strike at Acme Steel continues.

Layoffs are not just hitting the steel industry in Buffalo, even though

they are the hardest hit; other workers are also feeling the bricks of the unemployment office's steps under their feet. After a 15-week strike at Allied Chemical and the UAW strike at the Ford plant, the work forces that returned were not at full capacity.

The working people are tired of being blamed for inflation and rising costs. It's about time to put the blame where it is due, and make the statement "the workers are the victims of inflation, not the cause of it" mean something.

Interview

Steelworkers expose company tactics

Recent layoffs by the top three steel companies mean that at least 8,000 steelworkers are without jobs and adequate means of support in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and New York. The following interviews with laid-off steelworkers at Bethlehem—Ken Bellet, a chief steward, and Bob, a young Black worker who helped organize Black Caucuses there—tell what they think is behind the companies' latest moves against the workers.

Q. What do you think the layoffs will do to the morale of the workers in anticipation of an up-coming strike in August?

Ken: Well, I think that the layoff is a hell of a psychological deterrent, because many of the men and women

who are laid off figure that a strike is only effective at a time when business is booming. When they're laying off, it apparently means business isn't booming and that they don't really need us. And if we walk out, the strike would really have no effect.

Bob: I think it cuts the workers' will to resist. But in some ways it's like a two-sided contradiction—in some ways it will cut their will to resist, but in some ways it's preparing them to resist, showing them where things are at, what we can expect and that it's not going to be an easy battle.

Q. Do you think this is a tactic of the company to try and split the rank and file and disillusion them, to possibly not want to strike?

Ken: Yes, I do. I think that's their whole object. I mean they may have hoards of orders, but it just makes it appear that there are none, that there's no work for us. Telling us, go ahead and strike, we couldn't care less.

Bob: Yes, I think it's very likely. ...Before the strike is even here, we're going through economic problems, trying to find work where there is no work, trying to support the family and put food on the table. By the time the strike comes around, you're hoping it won't. It makes you have doubts, but the strike is necessary to get our demands.

Q. What are your benefits now that you've been laid off?

Ken: The amount that a person is entitled to in state unemployment compensation and supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB) from the company is based on his earnings. The more he earns, the more he gets. The first week a person applies for the check is a waiting week, the second week is a signing week, and after that a check will come 10 days or two weeks later. We are not entitled to our first SUB check until we can produce the first state unemployment check.

When we're about qualified for SUB, what the company does is offer us a job, like shoveling coal in the coke ovens, a job that would give him less pay than his two checks together. Naturally, we would want to refuse. But if we do, we would lose the SUB pay, according to the agreement. And the unemployment checks stop as the state must investigate that refusal. If we take the job, we'll be subject to be laid off in a week or two. And once that happens, we now have worked for a lower rate of pay. Hence, the unemployment is less, because we worked for less.

Q. Are there any organized caucuses inside the plant today?

Bob: At this moment in the Lackawanna plants efforts are being made to begin an independent caucus of Black workers. We're pulling together some demands to put to the company and the union that relate directly to Black workers, demands that necessarily combine economic and political issues, since that's what's being placed on us. Other demands relate to speed-up, bad conditions, etc., that affect all workers.

Q. In the press a couple of weeks ago we saw that Bethlehem had been accused of racism and reprimanded by the federal courts. Is racism still as blatant as it was two years ago after they were reprimanded for it?

Bob: Yes. It seems like it's just a repetition, one reprimand after another. But we know that Bethlehem is not going to do anything about racism until consequences are placed on it. And they haven't been yet. We can't expect a reprimand from Judge Henderson or anyone like that to end racism. We know where it's going to come from and that's the workers.

Half million telephone workers set to strike

Half a million telephone workers plan to launch the first national strike against the Bell system in 28 years on July 14, and "Ma" Bell is running scared. The workers are demanding an improved pension

plan, not hard to understand since the present plan only allows one-half salary after fifty years of work! They're also calling for a 25 per cent increase in pay during the first year, with a second-year wage re-

opener with right to strike—also not hard to understand since the present contract has a binding no-strike clause!

To fight the rising prices set by monopolies like Bell, the striking workers are also calling for a cost-of-living escalator clause in the new contract, as well as a union shop, improved grievance procedures, and, of course, an abolition of the 19th century no-strike clause.

The strike will involve all organized workers (mostly members of the Communications Workers of America) in the Bell System, including Western Electric. In fact, it will technically be a strike by Western Electric installers with other workers honoring their picket lines. In New York, for example, the 15,000 members of the CWA Local 1101 will officially not be on strike until July 29, but plan to respect the picket lines of Local 1190, Western Electric installers.

Many operators in New York City also plan to wildcat in support of the upcoming strike. These women, now in a company union, are scheduled to vote for membership in either the TTU (company union), District 65 or the CWA soon. A majority of the women are Black and Puerto Rican and desperately need union representation.



Operators picketed May 1970 in wildcat strike.

Companies move South to super-exploit workers

Appalachian women strike back after 10 years

by the Virginia Weekly and members of IUE Local 174

SHENANDOAH, Va.—At the western edge of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, in the Shenandoah Valley, is the tiny town of Shenandoah, which for the past ten years has been the site of a branch plant of the Alliance Manufacturing Company, an Ohio-based subsidiary of the North American Philips conglomerate. Alliance makes 85 per cent of the small electric motors that can be found in nearly every make of typewriters, record players, or tape recorders.

A decade ago the residents of Shenandoah collected \$57,000 in door-to-door donations, which was presented to the Alliance Co. as an encouragement to locate a plant in their town. At that time, the people of Shenandoah thought that bringing industry to their community would solve their problems with chronic unemployment and poverty, which are characteristic of the entire Appalachian region.

Well, Alliance came. Now one of those same citizens, a man who had donated \$100 to help attract the plant, says that he only hopes someone will blow the Alliance Co. off the face of the earth.

Shenandoah is now the scene of a three-week-old strike by 300 employees against the Alliance Manufacturing Co. All but two or three of the strikers are women, since women do virtually all of the plant's production work.

Move South for cheap labor

The strike began on June 2 as a result of the Alliance Company's refusal to make a contract agreement acceptable to the newly recognized Local 174 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE). The issues involved in the dispute provide one of the most graphic examples of how corporations exploit southern and female workers in the name of "industrialization" and "progress."

In Ohio the average wage for Alliance workers is \$3.10 an hour. In Shenandoah the starting wage is \$1.60, and the top wage, the wage that 85 per cent of the workers earn, is \$1.76. "We take home \$55 a week. That's what it boils down to. In Ohio they get almost twice as much," said one worker.

The company has offered the workers 21¢ over a three-year period. The workers are demanding a 35¢ raise the first year. The workers' main complaints aren't about wages, though, but about working conditions, seniority and grievance procedures. Like workers across the country, the Alliance employees have been hard-hit in recent years by speed-up, harsh regulations and dangerous working conditions.

The company refuses to recognize seniority at all. Women who had worked for eight and nine years were replaced by workers there only a few weeks. The grievance procedure offered by the company is absurd. "On this grievance procedure," a worker pointed out, "they wanted the final step left up to the plant manager, and then if you don't like his decision, strike. But who wants to strike every other week? They give you this attitude, if you don't like what we're doing, there's the door."

Showing the spirit of fight-back of the women workers, one said, "The company came here because they knew they could get cheap labor here. And then they turn around and call us dogs. Now we're showing them how we can bite."

Women challenge bosses and cops

As women, as poor people, and as Appalachian "hillbillies," the Alliance workers had never experienced anything but condescension and arrogance from the company. Among the most condescending and arrogant was the company lawyer, George Gardner. But on June 2, the workers showed Gardner and Alliance Manufacturing that their ten years of unchallenged exploitation are coming to an end.

"This Gardner is a sly feller," a worker related, "and he gets this real sassy grin on his face. 'Course it got wiped off the first day of the strike. He said he was going to serve us lemonade on the picket line, but I don't know

what happened to it. The first day he drives up with the window rolled down and a great big smile on his face, and he gets an egg in his face. And he rolls that window up real fast, you know, and his car is plastered with eggs and rotten tomatoes, and he found that it wasn't the pleasant picket line that he thought he was going to drive up and meet."

"They told us when we came out that it was not going to be a picnic. They had the town police there the first day, that morning. That evening there were at least 25 state troopers for about 80 girls. They was afraid. They know we're a bunch of women, but they better watch us. We believe in what we're doing and we're gonna fight it."

Within the first few days of the strike, the notorious, reactionary Byrd (the racist Senator of Virginia—Ed.) machine went into motion to try to defeat the workers. The company easily obtained a court injunction forbidding more than three pickets within 100 feet of the plant. The state police, always one of the bosses' most useful tools in busting up strikes, declared that no one would be allowed to picket on the street leading to the plant. Any workers who set foot on the pavement were immediately arrested. The picket line was reduced to a row of people standing alongside the road, far from the plant.

The company quickly began recruiting scabs, most of whom were high school girls looking for summer jobs. Several of the scabs are below the legal working age, but the police have refused to take any action against the company. The strikers were not discouraged by the courts, the police, or the scabs, however. They greeted scabs' cars at the plant gate with rocks, eggs, tomatoes and nails. Several of the strikers were arrested.

The Alliance workers strengthened the strike by reaching out to workers at other plants for support. Gate collections were made at plants up and down the Shenandoah Valley. A carload of strikers traveled to Ohio and put informational pickets around the Alliance plant there, shutting

it down when the Ohio workers refused to cross the line.

According to one striker, "There was a picket line at the Ohio plant for one day, and out of 700 employees I think it was ten or eleven that went through it. So you can see what kind of support we had there. As a matter of fact, I was told that one man had went in at 5:00, and when he found out that the girls was out there and had formed a picket at 6:00, he clocked out and came back out of the plant."

A lesson for all workers

The workers from Alliance haven't backed down. They have taken on the company, the courts, the police and the press head-on, and they are winning. Their fight has become a lot of other peoples' fight, as well, people all over the Valley who are sick and tired of sacrificing their lives and their dignity so that the Alliance executives can make more profits. The strike has strong community support, and more and more of the scabs are being persuaded, one way or another, that they can't make their living by stealing other folks' jobs.

So far, more than 25 strikers have been arrested on charges ranging from assault and battery to destruction of property to "illegal picketing." The struggle has extended into the community, as well, where acts of sabotage and fist fights stemming from the strike have become regular nightly occurrences.

The importance of the Alliance strike extends far beyond Shenandoah, Virginia, though. What Alliance has been doing there for ten years is typical of the way that big corporations have used, perpetuated and created poverty in the South. Behind promises of great benefits from industrial development, the corporations continue to build new plants in the South, plants that destroy the land and the workers' lives, producing huge profits for the few, but near-starvation wages under unbearable conditions for the many working people. They promote divisions between Black and white, men and women, young and old, skilled and unskilled, northerners and southerners in order to keep working people from fighting together, and in the end everyone comes out behind.

And more and more you find that the same companies are carrying out the same practices overseas, only to a greater extent. They build new plants in Taiwan, South Korea, South Vietnam, Latin America and Africa for the same reasons that they exploit the workers at Shenandoah, but they make even greater profits and pay even less wages overseas.

Just as workers are rising up in Appalachia, however, they are rising up in Africa, Asia and Latin America, demanding their human rights and control over their land and resources. They are fighting and winning against overwhelming odds, facing bombs, imprisonment and torture with the same determination that the Alliance workers face the police. And, like the strikers at Alliance, they are not going to give up.

It may take the rest of the summer before the Alliance Company realizes that its workers will not give up, but the strikers are prepared to stay out as long as necessary, and they're not about to be intimidated by Charlie Hammer or the state troopers.

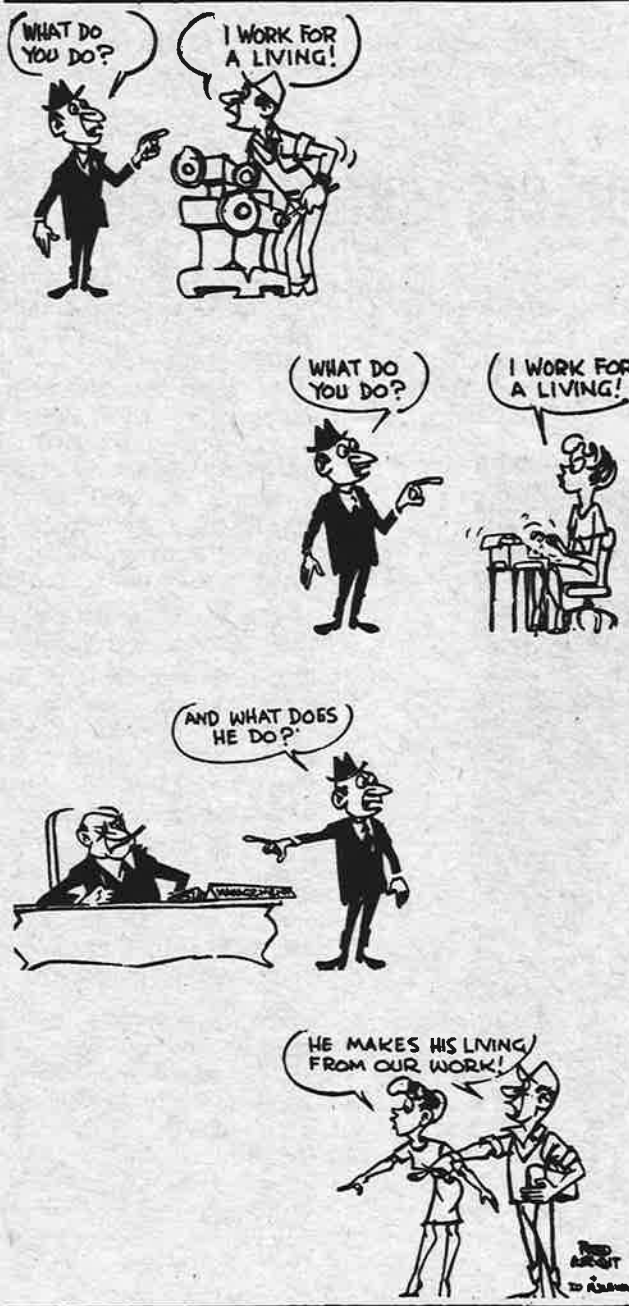
A striker put it this way: "I don't know. It took us ten years to really find out that they were using us. And you know nobody likes to be used. And it's awful that we didn't start this long ago, really."

"I mean, we feel that we need something to fight this. I mean, we're fighting for our liberty, really, for some rights. We're entitled to those rights just like everybody else is entitled to them."

"And we'll continue fighting for it till we win it. We're gonna fight this thing to the last, that's what our last words are."

THE ALLIANCE STRIKERS NEED YOUR HELP. You may send messages of support and contributions to the following address:

IUE Local 174
905 Bank Street
Shenandoah, Va. 22849



U.S. contingency plan for NATO flank

Fascism reviving in Italy

by P. MEISNER

The rise of a neo-fascist movement in Italy is now a reality. In the recent elections, the Italian Social Movement (MSI), an avowed fascist political party, polled 13.9 per cent of the vote in regional elections throughout Italy. This compares with a mere 5.2 per cent of the vote in regional elections held last year—an alarming electoral jump for what was considered to be an insignificant ultra-rightwing movement.

The largest gain for the MSI was in Sicily where it obtained an increase from 7.2 per cent of the vote in 1970 to 16.3 per cent of the vote in 1971. In the province of Rome, the MSI received 15.6 per cent of the vote, compared to 10.7 per cent in 1970. And in the southern province of Bari, the MSI's vote went from 11.2 per cent to 13.7 per cent in one year. The revisionist Communist Party's vote dropped from 20.6 per cent to 15.9 per cent in the same region. Nationally, the Communist Party's total vote dropped from 31.1 per cent in 1970 to 25.3 per cent in 1971, a highly significant statistic in light of the fascist resurgence.

The growth of the MSI, although its basic political strength is in the underdeveloped South rather than in the industrial North, is to a large degree the result of the deteriorating economic conditions of the Italian masses, namely, the soaring rise in the cost of living. The high cost of living, coupled with new working class militancy within the large industrial plants, has revived a fascist-leaning petty bourgeoisie which seems frustrated economically and caught in the middle of a major class struggle between the Italian big bourgeoisie and the Italian workers.

Petty bourgeoisie blaming workers

Not only is the petty bourgeoisie in the South—that is, the shopkeepers, merchants, police, small factory owners and small landlords—blaming the workers in the industrial North for all that is economically wrong in Italy, but a segment of the petty bourgeoisie in the North has also defected from the ruling Christian Democrats to the MSI. For example, in the highly industrial city of Genoa, the MSI increased its vote from 4.5 per cent to 5.5 per cent over the last year.

The MSI is an open admirer of Mussolini, and in fact, its leader, Giorgio Almirante, was a junior minister in Mussolini's last-ditch North Italian Republic. Another leading MSI figure is retired General Giovanni Di Lorenzo, recruited from the fading Monarchist Party. Di Lorenzo was recently quoted as saying:

"Italy's armed forces, especially the non-commissioned officers, favor our party. In the event of a legal takeover, like in Chile, the armed forces would have their duty to support national institutions."

Covert U.S. support to fascists

What is also equally alarming about the rise of the neo-fascist movement in Italy is its covert ties with U.S. imperialism. It is well known throughout Europe, however, that Washington is holding in reserve a similar contingency plan for Italy as was used in Greece, that is, a pre-emptive fascist coup to suppress a popular uprising. In Italy, U.S. imperialism would have not only the Italian military as an ally but the MSI as well. The Chicago Daily News correspondent in Rome, George Weller, said on May 26:

"Italy's two top rightist leaders (Almirante and Di Lorenzo) say they plan to halt the nation's drift toward communism. They rely on the armed forces and American support."

MSI's relations with Washington were even made more clear with this recent startling quote from MSI leader Almirante:

"We would hope that the U.S. would be more alert about Italy than it was in China and in Chile. When the Greek colonels took over, it was the presence of American warships off Athens that made possible a take-over by pro-Western rather than pro-Soviet Greek officers."

Capitalists cannot solve crisis

The resurgence of fascism in Italy is a re-

action to the highly organized and powerful Italian working class along with a deteriorating economy, which has split the Italian bourgeoisie into various factions in its attempt to solve the tremendous economic crisis in Italy. And what has enraged the Italian petty bourgeoisie is the inability of their capitalist rulers to put down the new working class militancy which has forced some concessions from the Italian bosses.

It is this militancy which has forced the revisionist leadership within Italy's trade union confederations to even begin to recognize the serious neo-fascist threat. Historically, the Italian Communist Party leadership has virtually taken a pacifist policy towards the numerous violent attacks against the left by organized fascist gangs. In response to the recent election results, however, metal workers called a general strike on June 22 as a first action against the neo-fascist movement.

While Italy's working class leadership is still dominated by reformists and revisionists, the Italian workers are more powerful and highly organized than ever. Rank-and-file trade union revolutionaries must struggle to take over the leadership in the trade unions and the Communist movement. Only by waging a merciless struggle against the capitalist system itself will the Italian workers be able to smash the neo-fascist threat and pave the way for the proletarian revolution.



1968 Italian general strike: fear of workers' power prompts bosses to revitalize fascism.

Italian rights must be linked to worker unity

Whatever the motives behind the attempted assassination of Joe Colombo, Sr., and the ensuing murder of a young Black photographer at the Italian-American Unity Day Rally in New York City last month, the event has raised several serious questions about the Italian-American Civil Rights League that Colombo founded and the struggle against anti-Italian chauvinism. The shootings that preceded the rally, however, gave the establishment press the chance to completely bury the just grievances of the Italian-

American community under a flood of sensational stories of "gangland war."

Having raised the issue of rights for Italian-Americans, however, the rightwing leadership of the Civil Rights League has allied itself with the very imperialist system that creates chauvinism in the first place. There is no hope for fighting one variety of national oppression while allying with the forces that are responsible for all national oppression. Yet this is just what the IACRL leaders have done.

Their hostile attitude to the strug-

gles of Black people was reaffirmed recently when the League struck up an alliance with the Jewish Defense League. (The JDL first made its name by organizing assaults on Black people, and continues to follow an openly racist policy under the guise of fighting for Jewish peoples' rights.) Unfortunately, no progressive leaders have come forward to fight against anti-Italian chauvinism on a principled basis, that is, by linking it up with the oppression of all other minorities.

It became painfully clear after the shooting that because a Black man was implicated, every Black person in the crowd was mercilessly set upon and beaten with a lynchmob ferocity. Mario Biaggi, Democratic-Conservative congressman from the Bronx, told the rally, "Your founder was shot by the same type of revolutionary that executed those two police officers" in Harlem last May.

Anthony Imperiale, an arch-racist and leader of a Klan-type organization in Newark, spoke at the rally,

as did a whole host of lying, rightwing politicians. The leadership of the League enlisted their aid in steering the rally away from fighting national oppression and into the arms of racism.

Any meaningful discussion of anti-Italian discrimination must first of all recognize that the imperialist system breeds national chauvinism of all types. The vicious racism that is taught against Black, Puerto Rican and other non-white people is complemented to a lesser degree by chauvinism against many different white minority groups as well.

Only by unity of the working class can a struggle against racism and chauvinism of all types be waged. Italian-Americans will achieve their goals of ending discrimination and bias only when they get out from under the racist, flag-waving leadership that organized the rally, and see their struggle as linked to the struggles of other oppressed people and the working class as a whole.

On the organizing

Baltimore

Collective busted on phony drug rap

by ALICE ROBINSON

On June 25 at 2:00 a.m., the Baltimore Tactical Police and Vice Squad raided the Mother Jones Community Information Center. Armed with shotguns, the police broke down the door with sledge hammers, axes and crow bars, damaged and stole parts of the collective's press and many reams of paper. They then arrested five members of the collective and charged them with possession, sale and manufacture of narcotics, and larceny (the police claimed the reams of paper were stolen). Bail for the one woman and four men was set at a total of \$23,000.

The arrests and frameup on the phony drug charges came on the heels of the collective's participation just three days earlier in an anti-KKK demonstration in Rising Sun, Maryland (see WORKERS WORLD of June 25), and after long participation and support by the

collective of the various working-class and anti-racist struggles that have taken place in Baltimore. The anti-Klan demonstration was probably the straw that broke the camel's back. The racist local establishment decided to manufacture a charge against the group.

That the collective's members were arrested for their political work and not for the phony drug charges can be seen by the work the collective has done in its anti-drug program and propaganda in the community. Their paper The Voice of Mother Jones, has consistently advised against the use of drugs. In addition to their anti-drug work, the collective has been active in support of workers' struggles in Baltimore.

Last year, the Mother Jones Collective supported striking workers from the Schmidts Bakery who were demanding higher wages and better working conditions. They partici-

pated in the workers' picket lines and printed strike literature for the workers. Their support of the workers was so appreciated that when some members of the collective were arrested in a confrontation with the police over the strike, several workers put up money to help bail them out.

The collective has demonstrated in support of the Panthers and in their paper have supported the anti-racist struggles of oppressed peoples. In the community, they have organized a free lunch program for children, a liberation school and a food co-op.

In response to the repression against them and to publicize the frameup, the collective called a press conference on Monday, June 28, and a demonstration the next day.

The press conference was covered in the Baltimore press and on one station in an editorial even went so far as to accuse the police of a frameup in order to destroy freedom of the press. (The collective often prints literature for other movement groups.)

The demonstration was held Tuesday, June 29, in downtown Baltimore to bring the truth about the frameup to the people. Delegations from the Mother Jones Collective, the Mother Bloor Collective (located outside of Washington, D.C.), Delaware and New York Youth Against War & Fascism, and friends and supporters of the collective participated. About 30 people demonstrated for two hours during lunch time right in front of the courthouse. They chanted, "Cops—bosses' tool for fascist rule!" and "Stop the police frameup! Support the Mother Jones!"

After the demonstration, the group met at the Mother Jones Information Center to discuss further activities in support of the collective and to fight the repression.

Detroit

Fascist Youth Alliance challenged by YAWF

by DEB DUNFIELD, Detroit YAWF

DETROIT, July 3—The National Youth Alliance (NYA)—an alliance of openly Nazi organizations—got a sense today of the total opposition they face from YAWF and the working people of Detroit.

The NYA called a national convention to be held at the Congress Inn in Dearborn, a suburb well known for its racism and rightwing government. (Last year the Ku Klux Klan held a convention in a Dearborn youth center adjoining the police station lot.)

Detroit YAWF heard of these plans and acted quickly to call a demonstration in opposition to these fascists. It wasn't long before we began to receive calls—including a threat from Mr. Cleary, the regional president of the KKK, warning us not to come out or they would be ready. Our response was to call a press conference in downtown Detroit and proclaim they had better be ready as we were going to be there prepared for them.

We proclaimed that YAWF could not be intimidated and would never allow the Klan, Statecraft, Sons of Liberty or any other racist, rightwing group to operate freely in or around Detroit without opposition. The conference received coverage by the Detroit News, the Detroit Free Press and WKNR from Dearborn.

Then, a day before the convention, Congress Inn, feeling the pressure of the people who are opposed to such racist, anti-worker organizations, cancelled their reservations. The fascists were forced to scrounge around for a place to meet. They got

a small auditorium in the Eastland shopping center basement for one afternoon.

YAWF, the Concerned Unionists and many independents formed a picket line at about 4 p.m. at the head of the escalators that led to the auditorium. The line came together quickly and smoothly and the chanting "Hey, hey, ho, ho, racist Nazis gotta go" echoed down the mall. The cops made one brief attempt to get rid of the leafleters, but we ignored them and they went away.

A large and very sympathetic crowd gathered to watch the picketers and several even joined the line. Most people were shocked at first that the fascists and the Klan operate legally, but when we pointed out the collaboration between the government and the rightwing around Calley, the rightwing support of the war, the racist attacks on Black people, and the strike-breaking the Nazis do, etc., many quickly saw the connections and made such statements as "Money will get you anywhere in this country...what about us working people?" "What can we do?"

The demonstration ended quietly when we discovered that the remaining 50 fascists had sneaked out a back door and had never come above ground to face the large, unfriendly crowd and the militant picket line. It was a clear victory for the people; the rightwingers were forced to realize the strength of the opposition of the working people and had to back down.

BE IN THE STRUGGLE WITH YAWF



YOUTH AGAINST WAR & FASCISM is an anti-imperialist organization of militant youth, active since 1962 in every aspect of the struggle in the United States—from protesting against the war in Vietnam, to demonstrating in support of Black liberation, to walking picket lines in solidarity with striking workers.

MANY OF the activities YAWF is involved in are reflected on these *Organizing Front* pages. If you are interested in learning more about YAWF fill in this coupon and send it to YAWF, 58 W. 25 St., New York, N.Y.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY STATE

Chicago

Police assault Indian camp site

CHICAGO—A vicious police attack recently ended the occupation of an abandoned Nike missile site on Lake Michigan by 150 Native Americans. The Indians had held the site since June 16 to dramatize the inhuman housing conditions of 16,000 Indian people living in Chicago's ghettos.

Carol Warrington, a Menominee Indian, spokeswoman for the group, commented that she felt good, living in front of Lake Shore Drive where luxury high-rise apartments abound. Apparently, her people's high spirits over the occupation were recognized as a threat to the private property foundations of capitalism. Chicago newspapers owned by the rich quickly buried their hollow cries for justice and grabbed the hatchet of class violence, condoning the police attack.

The attack in Illinois followed the

recent Coast Guard assault on Indians occupying Alcatraz Island in California. Both are only part of a long campaign of brutalities against the Indian people. For four hundred years, Indian people have suffered murder, rape, and the armed theft of their land. The history of the United States is marked by a long line of broken treaties and graves of entire Indian nations. Now Indians are being forced into the slums of large cities where a lack of jobs and decent housing threaten to destroy them entirely.

But the Indian people are still fighting back. The spirit of the Indians during the Illinois occupation was extremely high, and towards the end of one week a delegation from Youth Against War & Fascism delivered two bags of groceries in solidarity with their struggle. Victory to the Indian People!!

front

Cleveland

Israeli minister confronted on imperialist policy

CLEVELAND, June 27 — Chanting "Long live the Arab commandos," and "Arab land, Arab oil, for the Arab people," over 50 people held a very militant demonstration in downtown Cleveland today to protest the presence of Yigal Allon, deputy prime minister of Israel, who was speaking at an Israeli Bond dinner.

The demonstration was organized by Cleveland YAWF and was supported by Buffalo YAWF, the Cleveland branch of the Young Lords Party, as well as many Palestinians.

YAWF's leaflet explained that in 1948 Yigal Allon, as commander of the Palmach, elite fighting force of the underground Haganah, requested permission to seize Gaza. Even though David Ben-Gurion refused permission, that mission has now been accomplished. Some of YAWF's banners pointed to the situation that exists today in Gaza: "Gaza strip, Warsaw Ghetto in the Mideast," and "Israeli Bonds finance Gaza

Concentration Camps," the banners read.

While the picket line continued on the outside, George Karch, a Cleveland banker, was receiving the Roosevelt "Humanities (?) Award. In his honor, several Cleveland bankers purchased close to \$1 million of Israeli Bonds, clearly illustrating how much the bourgeoisie is interested in the existence of Israel, Wall Street's garrison state in the Mideast.

Part way through the demonstration, a racist man and woman drove up to the picket line and unfurled a Confederate flag. Enraged by this, a member of Cleveland YAWF challenged these racists and anti-semites. While the rest of the demonstrators closed in, chanting, "Down with racists." The reactionaries in no time put their flag away and drove off.

The Palestinians who participated in the protest passed out petitions

demanding the safety and release of Taizer Al-Zabri, a leading member of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, who was arrested by King Hussein. The petition read in part, "In September 1970, King Hussein colluded with the fascist Israeli authorities and American imperialism to try to crush the Palestinian movement.... Since that time, thousands of others have been killed and wounded in the systematic daily raids and shelling by the Jordanian Army against the refugee camps and the bases of the resistance movement, and thousands more have been jailed and tortured. The latest escalation has been the arrest of brother Taizer Al-Zabri."

Even though there were few people in downtown Cleveland during the demonstration, thousands of working people were able to view it and learn more about the situation in the Mideast as the demonstration received wide coverage on all television stations, radio, and newspapers.

— Alan Roth - Cleveland YAWF

(Allon, who is on a tour of the U.S., was also confronted by a group of demonstrators when he appeared in Milwaukee on June 23. Milwaukee YAWF and the Committee to Support Middle East Liberation organized an action against the Israeli official there, too.)



Chicago

YAWF leader exposes bosses' fascist tool

CHICAGO, July 3 — Ken Sertic of Chicago Youth Against War & Fascism appeared on "Common Ground," a local television talk show here today, and expressed his organization's solidarity with the struggles of working and oppressed people.

The needs and interests of the working class receive scant attention from the corporation-controlled TV networks, and one can be sure that if a revolutionary receives air time, great efforts will be made to sabotage his message. Sure enough, Sertic found himself surrounded by the national leadership of the racist and reactionary Young Americans for Freedom.

These lackeys of the bosses were visibly upset as Sertic lashed into their union-busting and racist politics.

While the rightwingers were singing the praises of spiritual individualism, a message welcome to no one but the bosses, Sertic focused on the concrete problems of poor people in Chicago, where decent housing, education and jobs are the

privilege of a handful of rich exploiters. He analyzed the major elements and contradictions in capitalism which make it necessarily an oppressive system for the vast majority of those who live under it.

He pointed to the ongoing struggles of Black people, farm workers, Native Americans and other exploited groups as evidence of the fact that the power of oppressed people is being successfully mobilized to fight their capitalist enemies. Sertic then contrasted the deplorable conditions under which most people in this country have to live with the great gains the masses have made in the socialist countries.

The major impact of this broadcast lay in the full and militant support given working and oppressed people by the representative from YAWF, underlined by his equally militant belligerence toward the ruling class and its rightwing mouthpieces.

— Chicago YAWF

New York

5,000 join in gay march

NEW YORK, June 22 — Over 5,000 homosexual men and women marched here today from Greenwich Village to Central Park in the largest gay demonstration in the nation's history. The paraders, flying hundreds of yellow and lavender balloons, celebrated the second anniversary of the Gay Liberation Movement, which was founded on June 27, 1969, after gays fought off a police attack on Stonewall Inn, a gay bar on Christopher Street.

"We are united today through the strength of our love for each other," stated a release by the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee, the march's organizers, "in affirming our pride in ourselves and in our life-style. As individuals, we may have political and social differences; as members of the gay community, we are here today, united as sisters and brothers."

The march marked the end of Gay Pride week during which work-

shops, forums, gatherings and lectures were held. Contingents from Canada, Texas, Connecticut, Massachusetts, upstate New York, Washington D.C., and various universities and colleges made the parade twice as large as last year's, chanting, "Out of the closets, into the streets," and "I'm honest, kind, and human — Why not equal?"

The Gay Liberation Movement is planning to hold next year's march in Washington D.C. to emphasize its goals of stopping harassment and discrimination in jobs and housing. As Richard Amato, 24-year-old member of the Gay Activists Alliance, explained to the press, "I'd like to see just a situation where gays can simply live their lives." The large crowd that turned out today was clearly an indication of the growing strength of the Gay Liberation Movement in its fight against vicious discrimination and harassment of gay men and women.

How ranks can use Teamsters' anti-war resolution

Last Thursday, the national convention of the Teamsters Union passed a resolution to get U.S. troops out of Vietnam. The exact wording—"as soon as possible"—was carefully calculated to cover the front, rear and both flanks of the bureaucracy against any flak by the rightwing and was in fact a demagogic rather than a completely candid opposition to the war.

But the unanimous passage of the resolution by an almost hand-picked assemblage of union organizers and presidents was a great departure from past policies and has considerable symptomatic importance.

Most important for the genuine

opponents of war among the rank-and-file Teamsters, however, is the fact that it was passed at all. It can be utilized again and again to justify a genuine anti-imperialist and really anti-war position.

It does not matter that the bureaucrats themselves haven't the least intention of really fighting for their own resolution. The militants are now provided with a legal cover that can be stretched to the utmost. In every local the anti-war fighters can rise up and demand real action to implement the resolution.

The art of doing this is not so difficult, but one of the things it demands is for the revolutionary

worker not to concentrate on exposing the demagoguery of the bureaucracy on this point, but to grab hold of the opportunity the bureaucrats have been compelled to provide.

Not only at union meetings, but among the truck drivers and hundreds of thousands of other workers now in the Teamsters Union, it will be possible to organize against the war in a more and more open and militant way.

Individuals or groups who take bold actions—such as refusing to transport napalm gas, for instance—can be defended and supported in the light of the resolution. The question of Calley's butchery at My

Lai and the responsibility of the officer caste and the big bosses that employ the Teamsters can be brought up more forcibly also in the light of the resolution.

A caucus of militants in a single local can mount a vigorous campaign for new struggles and actions against the war, which were not even remotely contemplated by the bureaucrats who drew up the resolution last week.

All this can be done—and done fast and furiously—by determined rank-and-file opponents of the war. The idea is to seize the opportunity and seize the time.

PLP bankrupt politics lead to attack on YAWF

by KEN SERTIC

CHICAGO, June 29—With only four days' preparation for a demonstration here against the number one war criminal Richard Nixon, Youth Against War & Fascism and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee distributed 5,000 leaflets announcing a demonstration against him. The response to the leaflet, which was headed, "Nixon is the enemy of ALL poor people," was a very receptive and friendly one.

When the YAWF-UFW contingent arrived at the site of the demonstration on June 25, however, an attack was almost immediately launched against the YAWF members by the Progressive Labor Party. (One YAWF member was tackled to the ground by five PLers and kicked repeatedly in the head.) In this rabid,



YAWF banner indicts Nixon outside Chicago's Pick-Congress Hotel.

sectarian attack, the totally bankrupt politics of PLP were exposed. Rather than fight the ruling class enemy and engage in ideological struggle to win over the masses, PLP has made it a policy to attack other movement groups.

The one YAWF placard which seemed to most enrage the National Secretary of PL/SDS was the one which read: "Stop the War Against Black America." It is well known that PLP has totally abandoned any support to the Black liberation struggle, consistent with their similar denunciations of the Vietnamese and Palestinian liberation movements. In fact, one PL/SDS member

actually told a person from YAWF that he objected to the chant, "Palestine will win, Vietnam will win." PLP has labelled these liberation movements as "reactionary." In work with YAWF on the issue of the Middle East, as a past member of the Anti-Imperialist Committee (together with Arab, Iranian and Ethiopian students) PL/SDS was consistently uncooperative, refusing to do work or contribute money to the coalition.

Youth Against War & Fascism has earned a reputation for militant street struggles over a long period of time. But these have always been

directed at the enemy—the capitalist state and its political tools. In a statement issued today, Chicago YAWF declared, "To demonstrate against Nixon is the fundamental right and, in fact, the duty of all progressive groups and individuals. Progressive Labor Party does not have the right to be self-appointed policemen." This tactic adopted by PLP can only mean that they have lost their ideological moorings; instead of trying to win people over to their position (of bankrupt denunciation of all liberation struggles, Cuba, China, Korea, Vietnam, etc.) they have turned to obscuring political issues with strongarm tactics.

Indian Six call for support

NEW YORK, June 18—We, the six American Indians who were arrested in New York for allegedly pouring paint over "Teddy" Roose-

velt's head and painting slogans such as "Return Alcatraz," are releasing the following statement to the various media.

It is completely understandable to us why someone would want to protest the statue of "Teddy" Roosevelt and ideas for which it stands, the most obvious being that it communicates "white supremacy." Along with this goes the theories of "manifest destiny" and "progress"; these ideas exude racism and colonization.

We oppose these ideas and the values which reinforce them. We are ready and willing to work with other groups and organizations to challenge these ideas and values.

This country has failed miserably to deal with us, the American Indians. Rather, it has "benignly" neglected us. This ignorance of Indians contributes to our exploitation. We feel that if the public

was properly educated regarding Indians and other minorities, statues such as "Teddy" would not exist.

Letters of support and inquiry about any Indian action can be sent to Ray Spang, 113 Sullivan St., Apt. 1-A, New York, N.Y. 10012.

We, the six Indians, are encouraged by the support we have received thus far. This encouragement gives us added impetus in our striving for recognition of Indian human and legal rights.

* * *

The following letter was sent, at the request of the Indian Six, to Gardner P. Stout, President of the American Museum of Natural History:

Dear Mr. Stout:

We strongly protest the arrogance of the American Museum of

Natural History in prosecuting six American Indians for allegedly "defacing" the white supremacist statue of Theodore Roosevelt that stands at Central Park West.

By maintaining this blatantly racist monument to a man whose hands dripped with the blood of non-white people from the Oklahoma Territory to the Philippines, the museum is doing no less than giving its approval to the U.S. government's criminal genocide against the Native-American peoples.

We of Youth Against War and Fascism stand in complete solidarity with the struggle of the American Indian people for liberation. We demand that you unconditionally drop all charges against the six activists and that you remove this insulting statue.

Bill Doares
Sharon Chin
Susan Higa
Youth Against War & Fascism

Garrison arrest: was it for exposure of Kennedy assassination?

by SHIRLEY JOLLS

Was the June 30 arrest of New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison really an attack on graft—or is there something behind it which is more significant to the ruling class than the alleged pinball pay-offs?

Garrison stated that his arrest was another effort to suppress the facts of the Kennedy assassination.

"When I went into this," he said, "and found out that the Federal Government itself—and I refer to the warfare sector—had killed John Kennedy in order to open the way into Vietnam, I decided then I would never quit pushing to bring out the truth, no matter whether they killed me or put me in prison. I knew sooner or later they would try one or the other."

Considering the toll of killings, "suicides" and intimidation of persons known to be involved in the Dallas events of November 1963, Garrison's claim of personal danger is by no means unfounded.

It was Garrison who a couple of years ago turned up additional traces of the conspiracy to assassinate J.F. Kennedy. As state prosecutor, he brought charges against New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw, claiming that Shaw was an accomplice of Lee Harvey Oswald, who allegedly shot Kennedy. Garrison lost his case last year, and was soon

after ordered by the Federal District Court to stop further prosecution of Shaw on perjury charges.

Garrison's particular conclusions on the Shaw-Oswald connection may or may not be accurate. But it is evident from the investigations of the Citizens Committee of Inquiry (which worked in 1963-1964 to expose the existence of the rightwing conspiracy) and the work of Attorney Mark Lane that the New Orleans official has uncovered additional information which would help to fully bare the assassination plot and the official whitewash through the Warren Report.

Many forces turned on Garrison after his first revelations, which implicated the CIA. The Louisiana Bar Association tried to have Garrison disbarred and various groupings have demanded his resignation. There is considerable public support for Garrison, though—proof of the fact that more and more people know that the ruling class rules by assassination and frameup when other methods can't accomplish their ends.

The question is not so much whether Garrison actually took a \$1,000 bribe (admittedly funnelled to him by a former aide turned government agent) to allow illegal gambling to go on. The more important question is—what else is involved in Garrison's arrest?

— Burger's "Justice"

(Continued from page 6)

can get justice from a court run by the rich in the interests of their own class. Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, Ericka Huggins and the Panther 21 were not freed because of some infallible virtue of the U.S. legal system. They were freed because of the pressure and the power of the people—the people who brought their cases into the streets and into the communities. Without a militant struggle waged outside the courtroom, the struggle on the inside, no matter how militant, can be muffled and the railroading will go on, unchallenged.

The whole thrust of Burger's recent threats is calculated to intimidate defendants and their lawyers from taking an aggressive defense of political prisoners. His remarks are even more meaningful in the light of the upcoming trials of Angela Davis, Ruchell Magee, Huey Newton, and the Berrigan Brothers. Burger is clearly trying to stifle their defense before it even begins. Only the continued support of masses of people in the courtrooms, outside the courthouses and across the country will provide any semblance of justice for political prisoners.

Calendar of events

DEMONSTRATION

Prisons are concentration camps for the poor!

Las Carceles son Campos de Concentracion para los Pobres!

Mon., July 26, 5 p.m.
Rockefeller Center, NYC



DEMONSTRACIÓN

26 de Julio 5 P.M.

ROCKEFELLER CENTER

Sponsored by: Prisoners Solidarity Committee, Black Workers Council, Committee to Free the Harlem 6 (Blood Brothers), El Comité, Iranian Students Association, Movimiento Obrero Latino, Movimiento Pro-Independencia, N.Y. 21, Progressive Arab Students, Proletarian Voice, Puerto Rican Student Union, Women's Bail Fund, Young Lords Party, Youth Against War & Fascism, American Servicemen's Union.
(For information, call: 255-0352)

Free all political prisoners!
Tear down the concentration camps!

FIESTA—to strengthen unity between Farm Workers and the Latin People of NYC

Sat., July 17, 8 p.m.
National Maritime Union Hall
7th Ave. & 13th St., NYC

Tix: 2 for \$5—call 679-1522

Sponsored by: United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, 1155 Broadway, NYC

BENEFIT—Proceeds to the defense of the Indian 6

Sat., July 17, 9-1 a.m.
N.Y. Ethical Culture Society
2 W. 64th St., NYC

Donation: \$3

Sponsored by: D.R.U.M. and the Indians of NYC

Return Alcatraz!



NEA union wins battle

Black-white unity key to success

by ELIZABETH ROSS

The men and women who do the hard and unglamorous work for the National Education Association have won an historic battle. They have proved that a company union can be transformed into a real, fighting union when the time is ripe and the workers are resolute.

They staff the mailrooms, the printing offices and the maintenance department of the NEA in Washington, D.C.—and the majority of them are Black and Puerto Rican.

Nearly 100 of these workers were trying to get along on wages that put them well under the D.C. poverty level of \$5,500 a year. They were making as little as \$85 a week. They demanded a minimum of \$6,000 a year. And they won it along with most of their other demands.

The NEA was organized to serve the interests of school superintendents, principals and teachers. It has close to one million members. For 20 years it has ignored the needs of the people who do the basic work that makes the organization possible.

On June 1, the men and women who sorted the mail, removed the garbage and swept the floors in the NEA's impressive blue-stone building went on strike. The well-paid school hierarchy, many of whom earn enough to take long summer vacations in Europe (for "cultural" reasons), were flabbergasted and a polarization took place within the NEA itself with a number of teachers across the country sympathizing with the strikers.

Their picket line started at 7 a.m. every morning, and ended when every scab-professional drove out of the building at night to the sound of boos and catcalls. The strikers stuck it out for two solid weeks and were finally victorious.

Jim Williams, a strike leader, writes, "Just about everyone agrees it was the best strike they'd ever seen. Certainly it was the most militant ever in D.C. Black-white unity was key to the success of the strike, with demands keyed to the lower-paid workers."

by LARRY LEVY, M.D.

Part I.**Malnutrition****in the U.S.A.**

Diseases of the poor

First in a series of articles about diseases of the poor under capitalism. These will include not only those conditions which have been directly and indirectly caused by capitalism, but also those which this system has had the potential to eradicate but has done little or nothing to improve.

Children with swollen bellies, swollen legs, cracked skin and lifeless eyes suffer from a severe protein deficiency known as kwashiorkor. Their mothers, having heard the unanswerable cries of hunger so often, know of only one thing: the battle to survive. Sometimes living 8 to 10 or more in a single room, destitute families eat tar or dirt or anything else they can chew. Death by starvation or disease is not uncommon to these wretched people. It is not the poor of India nor Africa of whom I write, it is of the starving poor in the United States of America.

In this land with a gross national product in excess of 1,000 billion dollars, where millions own T.V. sets and cars, where rockets go to the moon, and where food surpluses are stored, sold, or even burned, there exists poverty and hunger that in some ways equals and even exceeds that in the most destitute of developing nations.

Cracking the myth

The myth that all Americans are well fed, housed, and clothed was dispelled in 1969 when the cries of suffering people finally crashed through the sound barrier. Liberal politicians suddenly picked up the gauntlet in the fight against hunger and a Senate investigating committee was appointed. Nixon called a White House Conference, and the New York Times ran a series of articles on "Hunger in America." But the Times and politicians who made public these appalling conditions were well aware of their existence for a very long time. The problem had become so big that it could no longer be hidden.

In 1968 government figures indicated that more than 25 million people lived below the "poverty level,"

meaning, for a family of four less than \$3,500 per year. These "hard core poor" and the many millions more in income brackets only slightly better are not able to live without, to one degree or another, experiencing hunger. It is further estimated by the government that 6 to 9 million of these people are actually starving.

Diseases thought to only exist in the poorest of countries were found prevalent in some areas of the U.S. Marasmus and kwashiorkor, diseases of severe caloric and protein deficiency, were found. Medical students trained in the U.S. were told they would have to go to Africa to find them. Deficiencies in Vitamins A, Niacin, Thiamine, C, and D were discovered, some so bad that advanced cases of scurvy, rickets, beriberi and pellegra were frequently identified. Anemia, to one degree or another, was found in almost all of these people. Rotten teeth and infected gums were also the usual. In some areas three out of every four Black children examined had worm infestation. This incidence can only be compared to the "worst Central American countries."

The infant mortality in some locales was reported as high as 72.2 per 1,000. India, a land known by all to have rampant starvation and disease, in 1966 had an infant mortality of 72.8 per 1,000. The Times series described the suffering of poor Blacks, Mexican-Americans, Indians, migrant farmers and poor whites. Nowhere on earth is it any worse.

Poverty for these millions of Americans is a way of life. It seeps into every pore of their existence. It is omnipresent, crushing, dehumanizing, and often fatal. Not only does it destroy those in a particular family or community; it is also self-perpetuating. The possibilities of escaping this oppressive existence are very few. For the child who has sustained permanent brain damage because of malnutrition, what hope is there for escape? None!

The agony of the ghetto

These conditions are not limited to the rural, backwater areas. They exist in the cities as well. In a recent study of New York City poor, one-fourth were found to be anemic to a degree that they required immediate attention. How many more there were with low blood counts but not in need of "immediate attention" was not disclosed. In addition to anemia, vitamin deficiencies, dental problems, worms, and general malnutrition were also commonly found.

In 1969 Nixon promised to eradicate hunger in America. New programs were begun, others such as food stamps and school lunch subsidies were expanded. In December of 1969 Nixon said that "all needy" school children would be fed in government supported programs by the "next Thanksgiving." But in November of 1970 a Senate report revealed that only 3 percent additional children were being fed.

Although much money has been budgeted for food stamp and other Federal subsistence programs, and the administration boasts that there are now 13.6 million people in these programs, a White House study shows otherwise. Nixon made every effort to suppress this report but it was leaked anyway. Two investigators stated that only a "minimal impact" has been made to help the hungry. Only 1.5 percent to 10 percent of those eligible for stamps, they reported, actually got any. Nixon's "war on hunger," like Johnson's "war on poverty," turned out to be nothing more than tokenism: a lot of words and a little food.

Why does this disgusting condition continue to exist? The answer is simple. From the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), which works for the food industry, to demagogic politicians, who make hunger a political issue but never really try to eradicate it, the essence is the same: maintain profits, rob the people.



The cost of Tricia Nixon's wedding cake would feed this family for two years.

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