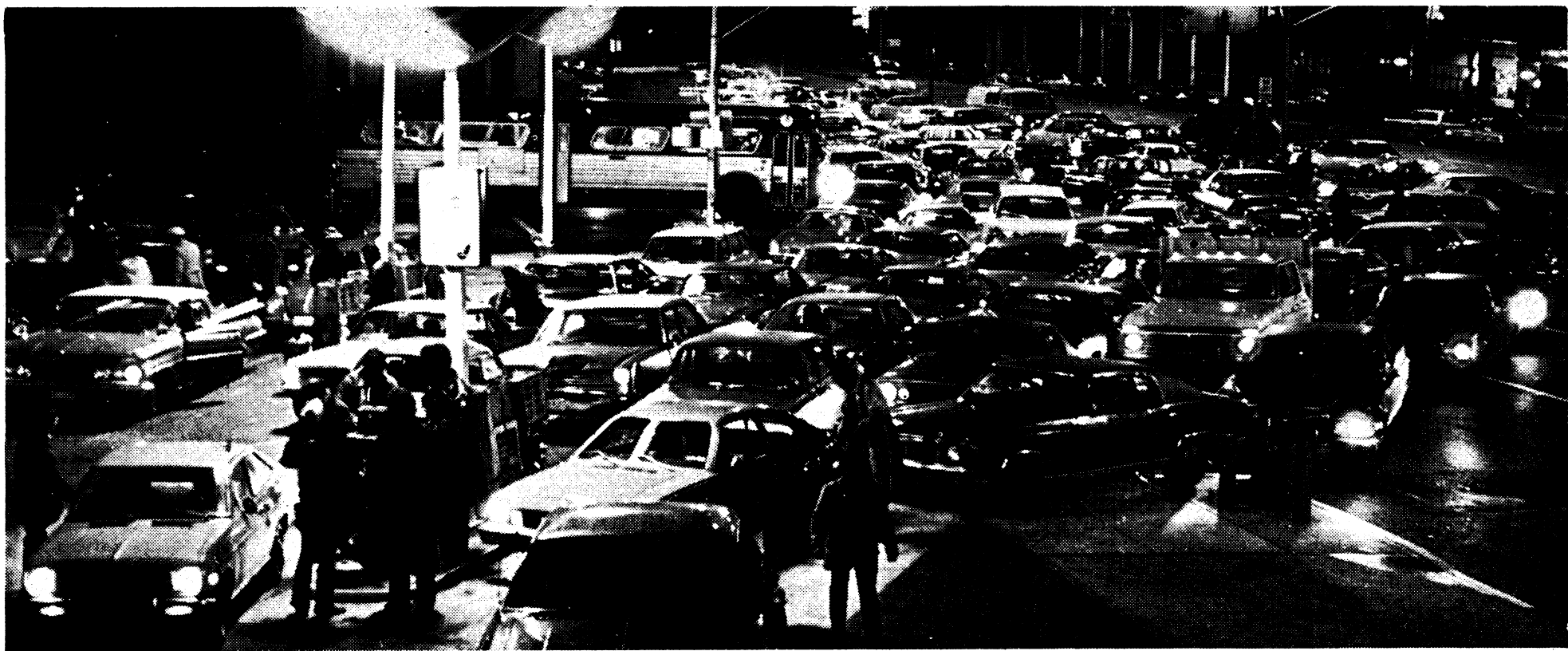


# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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**PLAINFIELD, N.J., BLACKS FRAMED UP FOR MURDER OF COP:** George Merritt and Gail Madden, both Black, were convicted Feb. 15 of the murder of a white cop during the ghetto uprising in Plainfield, N.J., in July 1967. An earlier conviction in 1968 had been overturned by the New Jersey Supreme Court, which ordered the second trial.

Plainfield cops have attempted to terrorize and intimidate anyone who has come to the defense of Merritt and Madden. According to the Plainfield Joint Defense Committee, which is organizing the defense of Merritt and Madden, armed members of the New Jersey Police Benevolent Association forced cancellation of meeting halls, broke up defense meetings, and threatened the lives of Merritt and members of the committee.

The Plainfield Joint Defense Committee is planning to appeal the conviction and has launched a campaign to raise bail for Merritt and Madden so they may speak on their case.

**VICTORY IN MUHAMMAD AHMAD CASE:** Judge Tom Agreste at a Feb. 13 New York court hearing dismissed charges of criminal anarchy and assault against Black activist Muhammad Ahmad (formerly Max Stanford). On a fourth charge, however, bail jumping, Ahmad was found guilty and was sentenced to three years probation.

The original charge of criminal anarchy stems from 1967 when Ahmad was indicted for conspiring to kidnap civil rights leaders Whitney Young and Roy Wilkins.

The defense charged that the indictment grew out of a conspiracy by public officials, including J. Edgar Hoover and Watergater Jack Caulfield, to deprive Ahmad of his rights.

In a phone interview with *The Militant*, Ahmad stated that publicity around the case forced the dropping of some charges. "They did not want us to have any kind of hearing on the political conspiracy aspect of the case, because we had enough evidence to upset a whole lot of people," he said.

**CHICAGO SOCIAL WORKERS WIN FIGHT TO MAINTAIN JOBS:** The Illinois Department of Public Aid has backed off from a decision to fire 72 case aides. These employees, mostly Blacks, had objected to the department's policy of indiscriminate cancellation of welfare grants. Democratic Governor Daniel Walker claims 20,000 welfare recipients are guilty of "welfare fraud."

The public aid department is currently on a massive campaign to eliminate these people from the welfare rolls. Case aides reviewing the cases are expected to automatically cancel assistance to anyone who doesn't respond to a mailed appointment note. The department has also been holding back the checks of 31,000 recipients throughout the state, who it claimed didn't furnish requested information about their incomes.

A great deal of opposition to Walker's drive against welfare recipients has developed in the Black community. Operation PUSH, an organization headed by Jesse Jackson, devoted a meeting to the welfare situation and opened its offices to recipients seeking help in completing the income forms and getting back on aid.

With the prospects of even more opposition developing, the state backed down on Feb. 18 and agreed to reverse all the firings in an attempt to save face.

**CONFERENCE ON 'ILLEGAL ALIENS':** The National Coalition For Fair Immigration Laws and Practices is sponsoring a conference the weekend of Mar. 8 to discuss how to fight the racist practices of the Immigration Service in regard to Raza workers without documents—the so-called illegal aliens.

A news release from the coalition states, "It is of prime importance to all the population of this country, whether they are citizens, residents with or without papers to be concerned with the problems of the police and immigration."

The conference will be held at East Los Angeles Community College, 5337 E. Brooklyn Ave., East Los Angeles, Calif. Organizers expect participants to come from all over the country.

Among those supporting the gathering are the National Committee To Free Los Tres; La Raza Unida Party representatives from California, Colorado, Texas and several Midwest states; Chicano student organizations; and the American Civil Liberties Union. The coordinating center to be contacted for further information is CASA-Hernandez, 2673 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. Telephone: (213) 487-4171 or Jacobo Rodriguez (213) 627-6547.

**PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM PROTESTED:** Sixty people demonstrated Feb. 23 against Portuguese colonialism in Africa at a picket line at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The picket was sponsored by an ad hoc committee of African students and was held at International House, which had invited Portugal to host

its annual ball. Last week, however, Portuguese officials announced they would not participate in the ball.

The Portuguese consul stated that threats of "disruption and unpleasant incidents" were the reason for their withdrawing.

Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, spoke at the rally. He pointed out, "It is Portugal that is the cause of real violence and disruption in Africa today. Those of us that protested the ball are fighting to end foreign rule over millions of Africans."

Austin urged those present to join in building other African liberation support activities, especially the May 25 march on Washington, D. C.

Other speakers included the president of the Southern Africa Students Committee; a representative of the Ethiopian Students Union; James Cassell, writer for the *Philadelphia Tribune*; Father Paul Washington, pastor of the Church of the Advocate; and Harvey McArthur, from the University of Pennsylvania Young Socialists for Scherr and Adachi.

**SAXBE RECORDS 1973 ACHIEVEMENTS OF JUSTICE DEPARTMENT:** In its recently released report summarizing the "significant achievements" of 1973, the Justice Department, now headed by William Saxbe, claimed credit for some major breakthroughs in law enforcement.

In a statement to the press accompanying the report, Saxbe noted: "The former vice-president, two former Cabinet members, three congressmen, a former senator, and a federal judge were indicted, convicted, or sentenced." The department also toted up indictments of more than 50 state and local officials.

In addition, 45 distributors of obscene material were convicted, and 287 people were arrested at Wounded Knee.

Other important items reported by the Top Cops include the fact that there were no skyjackings of U. S. commercial flights in 1973 (compared with 29 the year before); the department approved a new policy concerning indictment and questioning of newsmen; and two women were sworn in as deputy marshals—a Justice Department first.

**WEEK-LONG PROTEST OF IRAN'S AGGRESSION IN DHOFAR:** In response to a call by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and Arabian Gulf (PFLOAG), the Confederation of Iranian Student Associations (ISA) in New York sponsored a week of activities Feb. 15-22 to explain the development of the movement in the Arabian Gulf.

The week's activities also protested the shah's aggression in Dhofar, where Iranian troops have launched an offensive against liberated zones held by the PFLOAG.

Highlighting the week was a Feb. 21 meeting of 250 at Columbia University. The meeting, attended mostly by Arab and Iranian students, condemned the shah's attack on Dhofar and supported the Arab revolution.

Speakers at the rally included representatives from Arab student groups, the Young Socialist Alliance, Ethiopian Student Union, Revolutionary Union, and Youth Against War and Fascism.

Ike Nahem explained why the YSA supports the liberation struggle in Dhofar and pointed out that "the reactionary foreign policy of the shah is an extension of the bloody regime inside Iran."

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Nixon & Watergate

## Congress stalls, revelations mount

By DAVE FRANKEL

"I do not expect to be impeached," asserted Richard Nixon Feb. 25 at his first news conference in four months.

Nixon struck this arrogant pose in the face of a minor avalanche of new developments in the Watergate scandal and after nine months of polls have consistently shown that some 70 percent of the American people believe that he either planned or covered up the illegal spy operation.

*New York Times* reporter John Herbers went so far as to say that Nixon's answers to the press, "pointed up his determination to oppose, should he consider it necessary, Congress, the courts and the people."

Nixon revealed in his news conference that special prosecutor Leon Jaworski—the man appointed by Nixon himself—"transmitted a request that I testify before the grand jury, and on constitutional grounds I respectfully declined to do so."

Eleven days earlier, on Feb. 14, Jaworski revealed that Nixon, despite his earlier promise that no restrictions would be placed on Jaworski's pursuit of evidence, was refusing to turn over any more tape recordings. Jaworski also noted that "we have reason to believe that there are additional documents somewhere in the White House files"—documents that Nixon's attorneys claim are nonexistent.

Then, on Feb. 17, the *Washington Post* revealed that two of the originally subpoenaed White House tape recordings are suspected of being copies rather than original recordings by the panel of experts appointed by Judge John Sirica to examine the tapes. This was followed Feb. 21 by a report that the FBI is investigating deletions made



"I warn you, Richard—you're trying my patience!"

Some indication of how the Nixon administration is viewed by the American people came Feb. 19 in the special election held to fill Vice-president Gerald Ford's former congressional seat. Ford's seat in Michigan's 5th Congressional District had been held by Republicans since 1910, but this time it fell to a Democrat who campaigned on the demand that Nixon resign.

One of the ads of Richard VanderVeen, the victorious Democrat, carried his opponents' name with the slogan "Richard Nixon's Choice for Congress."

"The plague of Watergate has struck the heartland of America," said Michigan Republican Governor William Milliken.

In a less bombastic vein, Republican state chairman William McLaughlin said, "Watergate killed us. . . . People don't like what's going on in Washington."

Democratic Party spokesmen were jubilant. But what was expressed in the election was rejection of Nixon, not any great affection for the Democratic Party. As polls have shown, the credibility of both parties has suffered as a result of Watergate.

Nixon has been reduced to seeking friendly crowds in company with the racist Governor George Wallace of Alabama. "God bless you, Mr. President, and I submit to you that you are among friends," Wallace told him Feb. 18, as he introduced Nixon to a flag-waving crowd at an "Honor America Day" rally in Huntsville, Ala.

Writing from Huntsville in the Feb. 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, Godfrey Sperling Jr. said, "Mr. Nixon is expressing a cloudless certainty that there are not enough votes in the House to impeach him and far from enough votes in the Senate to convict."

There is certainly no evidence that the politicians on Capitol Hill are yet ready to take the plunge and vote to remove Nixon from office. Joseph Alsop wrote Feb. 18, "Without another bombshell, there is not the remotest possibility of the needed 67 Senate votes to impeach Richard M. Nixon. So much is common knowledge."

The inability of Congress to act decisively is having an impact on public confidence in Congress as an institution. A Harris poll released Feb. 11 showed that only 21 percent of the voters give Congress a positive rating, while 69 percent give it a negative rating. This contrasted with 38 percent positive and 45 percent negative a year ago. The positive rating was the lowest since Harris started asking this question in 1963.

Seven months have passed since the end of the main hearings held by the

Senate Watergate committee. Nixon has been directly accused by his former personal attorney of initiating and covering up the Watergate crimes. Crucial evidence has been declared "non-existent," tapes have been erased, a special prosecutor and an attorney general axed for wanting to investigate too much, and Congress has done nothing.

On Feb. 19 the Senate Watergate committee announced that it would not hold further public hearings. Its chairman, segregationist Senator Sam Ervin Jr. (D-N.C.), is going to be campaigning instead for an end to "this senseless, forced busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial balance."

Despite all this, a bill of impeachment has yet to be voted out of the House Judiciary Committee, let alone discussed in the House of Representa-

tives as a whole.

Of course, things may yet reach the point where Congress does vote to impeach Nixon. But it has already become clear that if Congress does act, it will be as a last resort to try to preserve its own credibility and that of the capitalist government as a whole, not because it wants to expose the use of illegal surveillance and political sabotage by the government.

The vulnerability of capitalist politicians to Nixon's kind of political pressure was underscored once again Feb. 25 when the *New York Times* printed a report by John Crewdson describing how the FBI drew members of Congress into what it called "our stable."

Crewdson wrote that under J. Edgar Hoover the FBI provided friendly congressmen with "background" data on political challengers, and also made senators and House members "aware of 'derogatory' material about themselves that bureau agents had come across in the course of other investigations."

Crewdson's "source" explained, "We would advise them 'as a matter of courtesy.' Nobody could ever say we were trying to extract our pound of flesh. We were too sophisticated for that. We'd say, 'We've come by this information and we want you to know it's safe in our hands.' We never bent a man's arm. We would never be so crass or so crude."

Crewdson's article appeared two days after Nixon announced the establishment of a "top priority committee" headed by Gerald Ford to assure a "personal shield for every American" against invasions of privacy.



Nixon in Huntsville. Trying to find a friendly crowd.

in some of the Watergate documents given to Jaworski by the White House.

On top of all this, Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, pleaded guilty Feb. 25 to charges that he had helped run an illegal congressional campaign committee in 1970 and that he promised an ambassador's post in Europe in return for a \$100,000 campaign contribution. Jaworski indicated that other possible charges against Kalmbach have been dropped in return for his cooperation with the prosecution. Despite Kalmbach's admission, Nixon claimed at his news conference that "ambassadorships cannot be purchased."

He did admit, however, that "the paperwork" required for a tax deduction worth \$300,000, "apparently was not concluded" until after the legal deadline.

## Doing time for Nixon

George Jackson spent 10 years in San Quentin before he was gunned down by prison guards at the age of 29. His crime?

He stole \$70.

Angela Davis spent 16 months in a jail cell before she was released on bail and then acquitted of the frame-up charges against her.

Martin Sostre has been in prison serving a 30-to-41-year sentence since 1968 despite the fact that he was convicted on admittedly perjured testimony.

But this is the Black side of American justice. Others get better treatment, as *Newsweek* explains in its Feb. 25 issue.

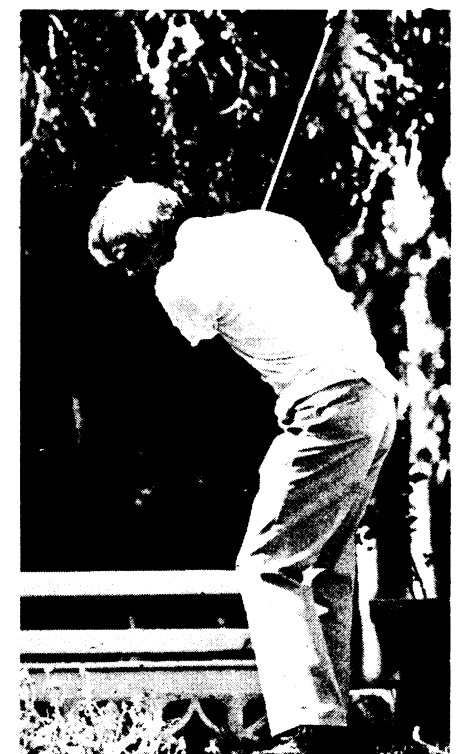
"In the clear, bracing air of the central California coast . . . young lawyers, accountants and stockbrokers play a nine-hole golf course, roll bocchia balls or plant seedlings in their own self-built park. At other times they may jog comfortably around a quarter-mile track or even take their visiting wives and girl-friends for a picnic lunch on a pleasant lawn, under gently rippling juniper, oak and eucalyptus trees.

"So pass the more pleasant moments for inmates in the wall-less Federal prison camp near Lompoc, Calif., the current residence of Watergater 'dirty trickster' Donald Segretti. . . . At a similar camp called Allenwood in the hills of central Pennsylvania, Egil Krogh, former chief of the White House 'plumbers,' is now serving a six-month sentence. And at Eglin Air Force Base in sunny Florida—a camp prisoners call the 'Federal Hilton'—four of the original Watergate burglars,

Bernard Barker, Frank Sturgis, Eugenio Martinez and Virgilio Gonzalez, were recently released on bond after two months of commodious incarceration."

Eglin superintendent James Rhodes told *Newsweek*, "We once could have formed our own government here. We had an ex-governor, two ex-state attorneys general, and ex-senator and Lord knows how many lawyers."

If justice in America really is blind, it's to make it easier for those in power to put a thumb on the scale.



Golfer at Lompoc. Space is reserved for lawyers, stockbrokers, and Watergaters.



# SF central labor council calls membership meeting to mount defense of Sears strike

By ALEX HARTE

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco Central Labor Council has called an unprecedented combined general membership meeting of all San Francisco unions to defend the embattled strikers of Retail Clerks Union Local 1100.

The move came in response to a letter sent Feb. 22 by Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Local 1100, to Jack Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the labor council.

The letter read:

"The Sears strike continues to plague the labor movement. Now more than ever we need to unite Labor. We are fighting the world's largest retailer, an adversary with unlimited resources. How best can we fight the battle? The answer is easily determined: a united labor effort designed to put all of our resources together in a totally unified action pointing toward one goal, to win the Sears strike.

"Sears is using 'get even' union busting tactics. Our union, Local 1100, has continued to carry on despite many obstacles in our path.

"We suggest that the entire San Francisco labor movement be called to a combined meeting in order that the issues of the Sears strike may be discussed in detail, and to formulate a plan (involving all unions) that will

provide the motivation and support that we need to conclude this strike on satisfactory terms."

The call to mobilize the full force of San Francisco labor was approved at the biweekly meeting of the council Feb. 25. The delegates present represented all AFL-CIO affiliated unions in the city of San Francisco.

Implementation of the motion to call the combined membership meeting, included the setting of a date, was placed in the hands of Crowley.

This action follows a series of activities initiated by Local 1100 and geared to bringing the real power of the labor movement onto the field of action in defense of its militant strike.

Local 1100's request for support and the labor council's response are clear reminders to the entire labor movement that no single union can match the combined forces of employers, the government, and the courts.

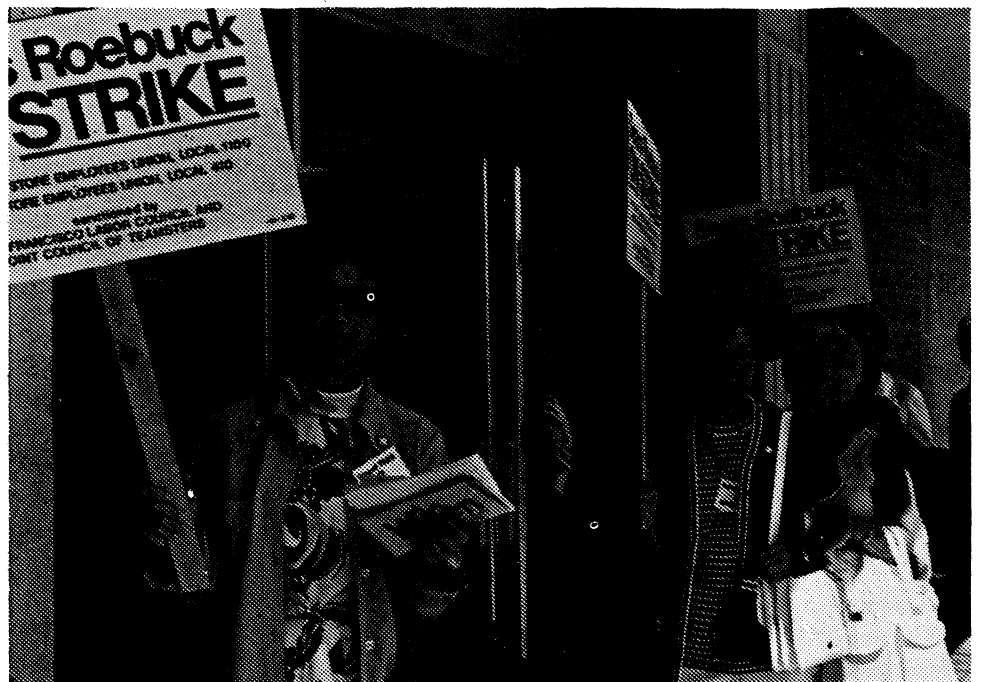
Recent defeats suffered by powerful Bay Area unions such as the Longshoremen, Teamsters, and Carpenters unfortunately confirm this fact. Facing the corporation with the fourth largest sales volume in the United States, a series of court injunctions, and a hostile National Labor Relations Board, Local 1100's strike, now in its sixth month, has been working to involve organized labor in the struggle.

Local 1100's representatives and supporters have repeatedly gone to other unions and explained the issues of the Sears strike in terms of its consequences for all labor.

The sit-in demonstration and labor rally of past weeks, along with the powerful and regular picket lines organized by Local 1100 in defiance of court injunctions, have involved the best militants in many unions.

These actions have also pressed many complacent officials, including Crowley, to back down from their initial hostility to the strike.

The reluctance of these officials to rely on the mobilization of the ranks



Militant/Howard Petrick

of labor stems from their fear that an aroused and active membership will begin to question the conservative policies they have enforced for so many years.

Local 1100's example of struggle has inspired and educated many working people about the need for united labor action. At the same time, it has enabled an important number of militants to see that the readiness of the ranks to take action has been opposed by the do-nothing policies of the labor officials. In the past, these officials were able to place the responsibility for defeats of the labor movement on the apathy of the rank and file.

At a Feb. 16 meeting of the United Labor-Community Sears Strike Support Coalition, Walter Johnson discussed the meaning of the granting of strike sanction by a labor council. He pointed out that when such sanction is given, as in the case of Local 1100, it is the responsibility of the labor council to do everything in its power to make the strike a success.

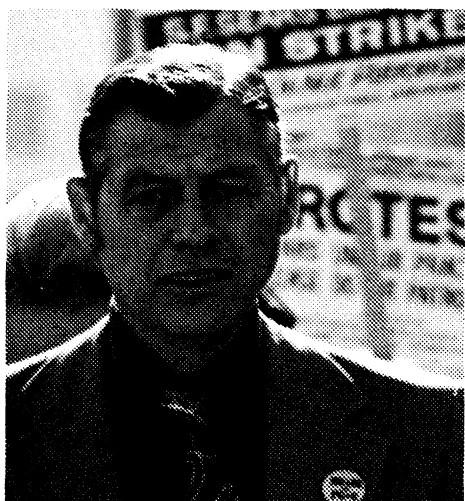
Local 1100's letter to the San Francisco Labor Council posed this ques-

tion in the sharpest form, for it is well known that prior to its Feb. 25 meeting, the labor council did little or nothing to aid the strike.

Unfortunately, the granting of strike sanction has almost come to lose its meaning in the labor movement today. More often than not it has been followed up by efforts at mediation and compromise rather than by the mobilization of the power of the ranks.

A delegation of 30 Sears strikers, headed by Johnson, attended the meeting of the labor council that discussed their request. They were cheered by the delegates, who have come to know and respect Local 1100's courage and determination. Perhaps now the strike sanction of San Francisco labor will take on real meaning.

The calling of a combined membership meeting of all San Francisco and other Bay Area unions provides union militants with an opportunity to begin to mobilize the full power of organized labor, and in the process continue to teach the lesson recalled by Local 1100: "An injury to one is an injury to all."



Militant/Howard Petrick

WALTER JOHNSON: 'Now more than ever we need to unite Labor.'

## Sears strikers defy new injunction on picketing

Superior Court Judge Ira Brown hit Retail Clerks International Union Local 1100 with a strikebreaking injunction Feb. 22. The injunction prohibits sit-in demonstrations, picketing in the store, and the use of more than six pickets at each store entrance and parking lot. All these tactics have been employed in the six-month Sears strike.

One day later, 300 militant unionists and their supporters joined a picket line at the Sears Geary Street store in defiance of the injunction.

Militant rank-and-file teamsters, carpenters, longshoremen, teachers, office workers, painters, and many others were joined by supporters of Local 1100 in a powerful line that all but closed down the store.

Rather than six pickets to a parking lot entrance, there were 60 and in some cases more.

The injunction was seen by many as a direct response to the successful sit-in demonstration at the Geary Street store Feb. 9. There is no doubt that the Reagan-appointed judge used this sit-in as a pretext to interfere with the right of the labor movement to

picket and otherwise defend itself. Such injunctions are regularly used by the government and its courts on the side of the bosses. They are a constant reminder that these institutions are not neutral in labor disputes.

Neither the government, through the National Labor Relations Board, nor the courts chose to rule that the multi-billion-dollars Sears Corporation had

**On Feb. 25, San Francisco Painters Local 4, with 2,000 members, voted to assess each member 25 cents per week for the duration of the strike of Retail Clerks International Union Local 1100. This action will provide \$2,000 per month to the militant Sears strikers.**

forced the strike in the first place by its refusal to bargain in good faith with Local 1100. Sears has virtually destroyed all union efforts at its 850 stores in the U.S. Two struck stores are currently functioning with scab labor.

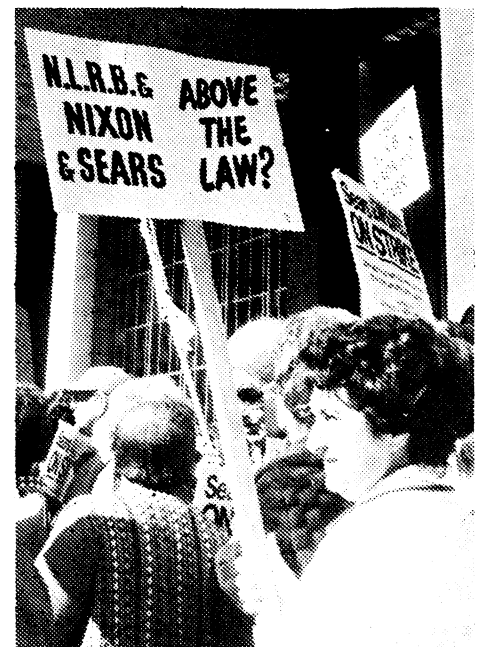
Sears is now seeking to destroy Local 1100 entirely. It has thus refused for 18 months to alter its original negotiating position.

This position calls for the elimination of key contract provisions currently held by department store employees throughout San Francisco. Of the 6,000 retail clerks who are members of Local 1100, only the 300 employed at Sears are denied a health plan that meets Bay Area standards.

The recent injunction was granted on Feb. 22, but it was not served directly on Local 1100 by the time of the large picket the next day. The daily newspapers, however, carried stories prominently featuring the injunction almost immediately after it was granted.

Perhaps the courts wanted to avoid the embarrassment of having their injunction immediately greeted by a picket of hundreds of militants on a demonstration called in anticipation of the judge's ruling. To again make clear that the labor movement will not be denied its rights to picket,

another demonstration has been called at the Geary Street store for Saturday, March 2. As before, all trade unionists will be called on for support. — A. H.



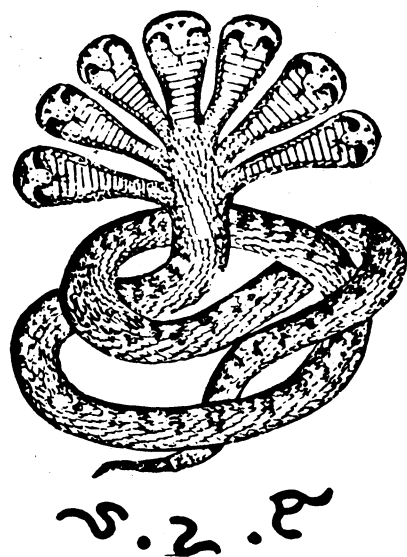
Militant/Chris Hildebrand

Injunction is reminder that courts and gov't 'arbitration' boards are not neutral in labor disputes.



# The Hearst kidnapping

# Why revolutionary Marxists oppose strategy of terrorism



By GENE ANDERSON

The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army has been opposed by virtually all radical political groups.

Many agree with the position stated by Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement: "We see the reasons behind it, but we disagree with the tactics—kidnapping, various terrorist actions to bring about social change."

Of particular interest is a recent letter to the *Oakland Tribune* from a group of people claiming to be former members of the Symbionese Federation, apparently a forerunner of the SLA.

The authors of the statement said they left the Symbionese Federation after the November 1973 murder of Marcus Foster, a liberal Black educator in Oakland, Calif. The SLA took credit for the killing.

"By resorting to abstract violence," the letter said, "the SLA not only separated itself from the rest of the revolutionary movement, but became the example to avoid, the stereotype of the 'mad terrorist' so indispensable to our oppressors who put us down even more with new laws and restrictions."

The authors of the letter said, "We are no friend of Randolph Hearst or the class to which he belongs." They correctly added, "The brothers and sisters of the SLA are on the wrong road, a road that leads to sacrifice and defeat. Political power does not come primarily out of the barrel of a gun, but out of control over the means of production and out of new social relationships."

## Cops & right-wingers?

A number of radical groups have expressed suspicions that police or right-wing agents provocateurs have a hand in the SLA's terrorist acts.

Recent exposures of the role govern-



Political groups in prisons will be among first to suffer in 'antiterrorist' crackdown.

ment agents played in encouraging and actually initiating illegal acts by such groups as the Weatherpeople lend credence to these suspicions.

The clandestinity in which a terrorist band like the SLA must necessarily function—with its consequent secrecy, isolation, and lack of discussion—provides fertile ground for provocateurs.

The former Symbionese Federation members also came to this conclusion. After joining, they found that all decisions were made in secret and "the members were expected to obey orders without question, just as in a capitalist army."

They further wrote, "We began to suspect that the war council was manipulated by some local right-wing organization or the CIA itself. The secret decision to kill Marcus Foster, and its execution, confirmed our suspicions."

Even if cops or right-wingers were not involved in the SLA, revolutionists must conclude that assassinations, kidnappings, and other terrorist acts objectively play into the hands of the government and do nothing but harm the fight against oppression and exploitation.

The utter lack of political content of the SLA kidnapping was clearly shown when Reginald Murphy, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, was abducted three weeks later.

Murphy's captors told him they were ultraright guerrillas of the "American Revolutionary Army." It now seems likely they were primarily or even solely interested in picking up a few hundred thousand dollars in ransom money.

The press immediately seized upon the Murphy kidnapping, regardless of its motivation, as more ammunition for an antiradical scare campaign about a "frightening new pattern of political intimidation." And to the masses of American people, the two kidnappings were politically indistinguishable.

## Hypocritical uproar

The opposition of Marxists to kidnapping as a political tactic has nothing in common with the hypocritical uproar of government officials and the capitalist media against "violence."

Those weeping and wailing over the "ordeal" of the reactionary millionaire Hearst are the same figures who condoned the terror bombing of the Vietnamese, the slaughter of workers in Chile, the torture of political prisoners around the world, and all the day-to-day violence and suffering that capitalism inflicts upon the masses of workers and oppressed people.

The tender concern of such reactionaries for Patricia Hearst is nothing but a cynical maneuver to divert attention from their own crimes and facilitate a witch-hunt against all opponents of the status quo.

Revolutionaries reject individual terrorism not for pacifist or moral reasons but because it is *politically counterproductive*. The fundamental error of terrorism is the attempt to substitute the action of a handful of self-appointed liberators for the organization and mobilization of the oppressed masses themselves.

## SLA's goals

The SLA proclaims as its goals: "To assure the rights of all people to self-determination and the rights to build their own nation and government. . . .

"To destroy all forms and institutions



SLA's FAHIZAH: 'Revolutionary violence is the only means left to the people.'

of Racism, Sexism, Ageism, Capitalism, Fascism, Individualism, Possessiveness, Competitiveness, and all other such institutions that have made and sustained capitalism."

Such far-reaching aims can never be accomplished by a tiny armed band—even one that styles itself an "army"—pitting itself against individual capitalists or officials. Even if the SLA forces Hearst to give \$70 worth of food to every poor person in California, would that be any lasting step toward ending hunger? Can the unequal distribution of wealth be changed by ripping off one capitalist family at a time? Obviously not.

Poverty, exploitation, and racist and sexist oppression are deeply rooted in the capitalist system. To change these conditions will require the strength of masses of people—conscious of their own interests and mobilized to fight for them.

## Marxism vs. terrorism

Marxists work toward their revolutionary goals by patient and persistent education, agitation, and organization among the masses. Our tradition dates back to the *Communist Manifesto*, which declared, "The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

Individual terrorism, on the other

hand, regardless of the revolutionary intentions and personal courage of the terrorist, leads only to disorientation and demoralization. It diverts the attention of the masses from their own power and reinforces their passivity.

Groups like the SLA regard the masses as too ignorant or helpless to carry out their own struggles. So the SLA sets itself up as a benevolent, all-powerful Robin Hood that robs from the rich and gives to the poor. Such elitist and patronizing attitudes originate with the ruling class, not the workers movement.

It is ironic indeed that the SLA denounces "individualism," for terrorism is based precisely upon the exaltation of personal heroism and individual self-sacrifice. It is the opposite of the collective discussion and discipline that are involved in building a mass revolutionary party.

## Letter from 'Fahizah'

The infantile ultraleftism and romanticism of the SLA are illustrated by a letter sent to San Francisco papers in January by "Fahizah," who identifies herself as "formerly Nancy Ling Perry" and a member of the SLA.

Fahizah explains that a "military coup" took place in 1963 when John Kennedy was assassinated, leading to the current "police state dictatorship."

She writes that "politics have no meaning without armed combat and information units" because "revolutionary violence" is "the only means left to the people to achieve their liberation."

Fahizah states that "we, right here in Amerikka are in a state of war" and that "people . . . are in an immediate danger of being thrown into concentration camps themselves, tortured, or shot down in the streets for expressing their beliefs."

This is out of touch with political reality. Far from being able to sweep away democratic rights at will, the ruling class is having an increasingly difficult time trying to stifle dissent, because of the spread of radical ideas, the discrediting of the government, and the mass support for democratic rights.

Revolutionists make the greatest possible use of these rights to reach and organize people. Engaging in isolated acts of "revolutionary violence" under the dangerous delusion that a "state of war" exists at this time makes any such work among the masses impossible.

Continued from page 22

## Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism

by George Novack. 25 cents. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

# Stevenson bill no substitute for nationalization of oil companies

By CAROLINE LUND

As the economic dislocations and hardships caused by the energy crisis continue to mount, more and more people are looking for radical solutions. Why should this vitally important industry be left in the hands of a handful of super-rich monopolists who have proved their inability to run it in such a way as to provide for the basic needs of society as a whole?

The idea of nationalization of the oil industry has been increasingly raised, including within the labor movement. According to press reports, the AFL-CIO Executive Council is considering adopting a position in favor of nationalization of the industry.

Faced with the widespread anger at the oil monopolies and the beginning of demands for nationalization, some capitalist politicians are attempting to give the appearance of taking action against the oil barons. Senator Adlai Stevenson III (D-Ill.) has introduced a bill to create a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation, which would get first choice on leases to explore for and produce oil and natural gas from federally owned lands.

The Stevenson bill is supported by Democratic senators Edward Kennedy and George McGovern, as well as consumer advocate Ralph Nader and United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock.

It has been hailed in some quarters as a major step toward nationalization of the oil industry. Social democrat Michael Harrington has called the bill "a good first step" toward "a vast expansion of the public sector" in the oil industry. The Communist Party's newspaper the *Daily World* has also praised the bill, describing it as including "measures for reform of the oil industry and public disclosure of oil company information."

This is false. In fact, the Stevenson bill would do nothing to curb the power of the giant oil monopolies or to force them to open their books to public scrutiny. It would leave the oil monopolies untouched and set up a new corporation that would supposedly compete with the monopolies.

According to Stevenson, the goal of this public corporation would be to restore competition in the oil industry; to hold down oil prices; to

lessen the current fuel shortage by quickly making new sources of oil and gas available; and to provide accurate information on the real costs and other statistics of oil production—information that is kept secret by the private oil monopolies.

Rather than the beginning of a move toward nationalizing the oil trusts, the Stevenson bill is designed to head off the demand for nationalization.

In an article on his bill in the Jan. 19 issue of *Environmental Action*, Stevenson explains: "Far from providing a forerunner for nationalizing the American petroleum industry, this corporation could create a free enterprise system in the oil and gas industry worth preserving. It would help to keep the major oil companies honest."

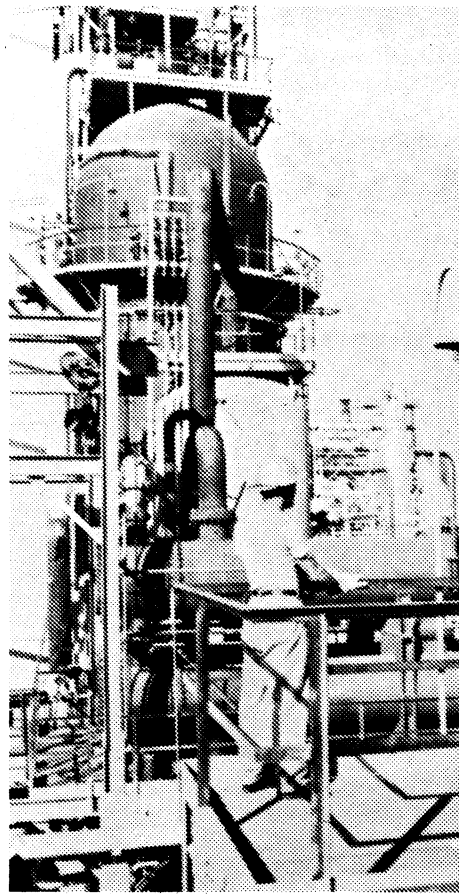
Similar to the debates over the many "end the war" bills in Congress during the Vietnam war, the actual purpose of the Stevenson bill is to give the appearance of effective action, while essentially preserving the status quo.

First of all, such a public oil corporation would be in no position to compete with the monopolistic giants of the oil industry. It would affect only a tiny portion of the industry, in which 20 interconnected monopolies control 70 percent of the country's oil production, 86 percent of its refinery capacity, 93 percent of its pipelines, and 75 percent of its retail gas outlets.

At best, this corporation would be in the same position as those "independent" private oil companies that own only oil sources. It would have to sell its oil and gas to the refineries and retailers dominated by the same monopolies that have created the current crisis.

The control of the monopolies over refining and retailing would continue unchallenged, enabling them to continue their policies of price-fixing and manipulation of artificial shortages.

Increasing competition is no answer to the oil shortage. It is precisely the capitalist process of competition that leads to the biggest companies getting even bigger. Rather than the utopian notion of "restoring competition," the answer lies in *eliminating* competition, as well as production for profit, by taking over these monopolies and running them according to a rational plan that would utilize this great wealth for the benefit of the majority



Senator Stevenson would leave oil monopolies' power and profits untouched.

of people.

How about "keeping the major oil companies honest"? A public corporation would not reveal information on the oil monopolies' production, costs, and oil reserves. But this information is a precondition for any solution to the energy crisis.

The Stevenson bill would have us guess at these figures on the basis of the operations of the new public corporation. But why guess, when we need the real figures? Why not simply force the oil barons to open their books and records to the public?

Actually, the Stevenson bill does not even assure that the books of this public corporation would be open to the public. Many other supposedly publicly run utilities—such as the New York Transit Authority—refuse to open their books to public scrutiny.

The Democratic and Republican politicians will do anything to avoid challenging the right of the monopolies to their business secrets. The Stevenson bill is a smoke screen to let the oil barons off the hook with their secret manipulation of shortages, cheating on taxes, price-fixing, financing the overthrow of unfriendly governments, and other crimes hidden in their files and books.

The oil executives have opposed the Stevenson bill. Not so much because of the relatively innocuous content of the bill itself but because of what they see behind the bill—the increasing sentiment for effective action against the oil industry.

But working people cannot depend upon the capitalist government, or the capitalist politicians in the Democratic or Republican parties, to curb the power and profits of the oil profiteers. These capitalist politicians are not about to bite the hands that feed them.

The rising anger of millions of working people must be organized and mobilized to fight independently for government take-over of the existing oil monopolies. This struggle will require that working people form their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions, that can counterpose itself to the current government that serves the corporations.

## Meeting debates issues in energy crisis

By STEVE BECK

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Twelve hundred activists from diverse social action groups came together at the Citizens' Energy Conference held here Feb. 15-18. The purpose of the conference was "to share ideas and information about the so-called energy crisis and to work out strategies for citizen participation in energy policy decisions."

Participants came from all parts of the country—strip mining opponents from Tennessee, consumer activists from Harlem, tenant organizers from Wisconsin, scientists from Boston.

Sponsors of the event included the United Mine Workers, United Farm Workers, Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, Common Cause, National Council of Churches, National Organization for Women, National Welfare Rights Organization, numerous trade-union officials, and many other organizations.

In the opening panel discussion, Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union, stated that "to the more than 25 million people living below the poverty level," the energy crisis was "an intensification of the hardship and sacrifice they've already been called upon to make."

"We can feel the energy crisis . . . in our aching bones and bodies," said Gray Panther leader Maggie Kuhn, speaking for the elderly. "Nobody knows worse than the residents of retirement communities and nursing homes what it means in terms of human suffering to turn down that thermostat."

Ecologist Barry Commoner explained how the burden of higher priced gas, or no gas at all, falls more heavily on working people and the poor. "Do you know that poor Blacks drive further between work and their homes than whites?" he asked. "Because they're more affluent? No. Because it's harder for them to find a place to live and a place to work, and naturally the distance is longer."

Commoner blamed the energy crisis not only on the giant oil trusts but on the profit system as a whole. "The way in which we use our resources in this country has been governed by private profit, not by the needs of the people," he said.

A lively debate developed over just how the energy profiteers could be brought to heel. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader expressed his support for the creation of a Federal Oil and Gas Corporation, a plan backed by liberal members of Congress. He saw such a corporation as a "competitive spur" to private oil companies, and not a move toward public ownership of the oil industry.

Another proposal was for antitrust action—to "bust up the bastards," as antitrust lawyer Martin Lobel put it. Former Oregon congressman Charles Porter called for "taking over the bastards—we haven't been able to bust them up."

The conference reflected a growing interest across the country in nationalization of the energy industry. Charles Hayes noted that Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, has called for "the nationalization of the oil industry in order to protect the interest of the public."



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Union movement needs to take independent action like truckers did—including on political plane—to carry out real fight for nationalization of oil trusts.



## Oil 'price rollback' bill a fraud

# Anger deepens over gas lines & gov't lies

By JEAN WALKER

At his Feb. 25 news conference President Nixon announced that the energy crisis was over. This topped off a whole string of lies and double-talk from government sources about the energy situation.

A front-page story in the *New York Times* cited government officials—who declined to be identified—as predicting "a gasoline drought" this spring if the Arab oil embargo isn't lifted. But the previous week Nixon's director of management and budget, Roy Ash, had told reporters that the energy crisis would be over in a matter of months. "Energy czar" William Simon, on the other hand, contended the crisis will be with us for years.

In the midst of these contradictory forecasts, the shah of Iran came out with the charge that U. S. oil imports have not been reduced at all by the Arab boycott. Simon immediately responded by calling the shah "irresponsible," but admitted there had been mysterious "leaks" in the boycott that he refused to elaborate on.

This was followed by reports that some of the oil monopolies were deliberately reducing their imports of crude oil so as not to have to comply with government allocations and price regulations.

### Hardships

Meanwhile, the hardships and indignities forced on American working people mounted to new heights.

The lines at gas stations are growing longer in major cities across the country. Those forced to rely on cars for transportation—that is, most of us—must sit long hours waiting for gas, often lining up before dawn. This enormous waste of human time and energy has infuriated millions.

In some states service station owners have begun protest shutdowns in emulation of the truckers' strikes.

On top of the fuel situation, each week the prices climb steadily in the supermarkets. Month after month the newspaper headlines confirm new record jumps in food prices.

With its eyes on the growing indignation of the American people, the Senate approved Feb. 19 the Emergency Energy Bill, which has been discussed in Congress since last December.

In the Senate debate Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), chief sponsor of the bill, pointed to the recent Harris poll showing that only 21 percent of the American people have a favorable

opinion of Congress—"its lowest level in history so far as its standing with the American people is concerned," complained Jackson.

### 'Riots in streets'?

Jackson said that if Congress didn't pass the energy bill, "I know what the American people are going to say. They are going to say that Congress cannot deal with a national emergency. . . ." He concluded: "We are having fist fights in gas stations and we will soon have riots in the streets unless we pass this emergency legislation."

According to the *Congressional Record*, it is clear that the minds of other senators were running in similar channels. Senator Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) also expressed his apprehension about public reaction to "the ineffectiveness" Congress has displayed "in such an hour of great national need." And Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia added, "and, of course, we all are concerned about that low rating."

As the *Wall Street Journal* described it, the vote in favor of the bill "climaxed weeks of Senate twitching over ways to show alarm about 'windfall' oil-industry profits. . . ." This "twitching" expressed their fear that the American people were beginning to see through the role of Congress as a servant of the oil monopolies.

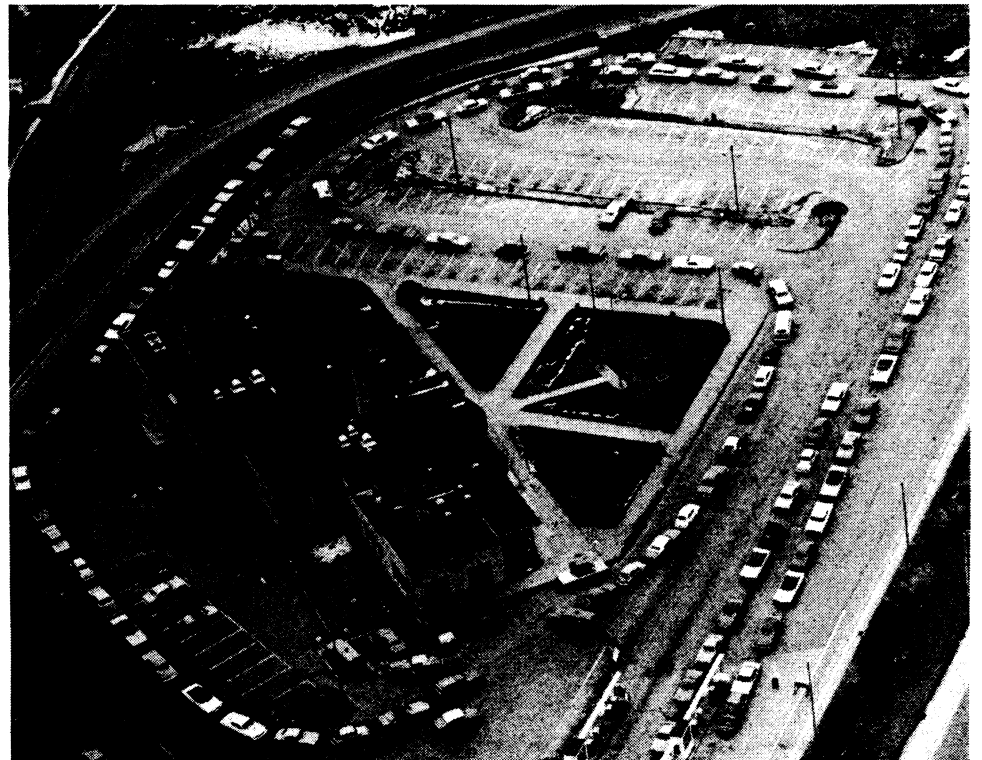
For all the congressional fanfare, however, this bill is little more than window dressing for the energy crisis robbery of the American people. First of all, chances are it will never become law. Nixon has promised to veto it because of the "price rollback" provision he calls "unworkable." And it is unlikely Congress will override his veto.

This "separation of powers" arrangement is a convenient dodge for the capitalist politicians. The Democrats can point to this bill and say, "Look, we tried," then blame the crisis on the Republican administration, even though the Democrats control both houses of Congress.

But what would this Emergency Energy Bill actually do?

The most controversial provision is the so-called price rollback on domestic crude oil. This provision was substituted for an "excess profits" curb in the original version of the bill.

Senator Jackson claims the "rollback" would result in the lowering of gasoline prices by four or five cents a gallon. Other senators, and "experts" who testified before congressional committees, said it would lower gas prices



Long waits in gas lines are one more way living conditions of Americans are being driven down.

by only one or two cents. Senator James Abourezk (D-S. D.) made a convincing argument in the Senate that the "rollback" would actually not roll back prices at all. Here is his reasoning:

The bill would eliminate the present two-tiered pricing system, limiting all domestic crude oil prices to \$5.25 a barrel. But it would also give President Nixon the option of raising the price ceiling to \$7.09 a barrel.

### 'Old' & 'new' oil

Currently, two-thirds of domestic oil is already controlled at \$5.25 a barrel. This is the "old oil" produced at pre-1972 output rates. One-third of domestic oil is now uncontrolled, and is selling for around \$10.50 a barrel. This is the "new oil" from wells put into production since 1972 or output above 1972 levels in old wells.

Abourezk points out that if, as can be expected, Nixon takes advantage of his option to raise the ceiling for both "old" and "new" oil to \$7.09, the price tag for total domestic oil production will be the same as it is today!

"In short," he concludes, "the Senate would make legitimate a \$10-billion transfer of earnings from the pockets of consumers into the bank accounts of the major oil companies. This is the \$10-billion that the Nixon administration has allowed the major oil com-

panies since it began increasing prices on May 15 [1973]." At that time the price of domestic crude oil was roughly \$3.62 a barrel.

The Treasury Department has already predicted that even with no controls, the price of domestic crude oil is likely to settle over the next few years at around \$7 a barrel.

This demagogic "price rollback" provision is only another example of the fact that the capitalist government will never deny the capitalists the prices they need for their profits.

Here are some of the other provisions of this bill:

- It would extend unemployment compensation from six months to a year, but only for workers laid off directly because of the energy crisis. Are workers better off who are unemployed for other reasons? The bill would not create any jobs for the jobless.

- It would require the oil companies to file reports on their production data every two months. But it would trust whatever figures the oil monopolists chose to give. Moreover, the Federal Energy Administration would be authorized to keep the figures secret.

- It would authorize a further delay in the enforcement of provisions of the Clean Air Act, including polluting auto emissions. Clean air requirements would be delayed for an additional five years to enable power plants to switch over to burning coal.

A study by the American Public Health Association predicts that this switchover to burning coal without antipollution measures would cause a 20 percent rise in sickness and death from respiratory and cardiovascular diseases.

Although Nixon vows to veto this bill, his program for the energy crisis is no less bankrupt. He outlined his proposals at his Feb. 25 news conference: "deregulation" of natural gas—that is, giving the green light to price rises; "amendment of some of our environmental actions"—that is, giving the green light to the polluting monopolies; and deep water ports—a potential ecological disaster.

The Emergency Energy Bill demonstrates that working people must look elsewhere than the Democratic and Republican parties for a program to answer the energy crisis.

## Shell caught creating 'shortage'

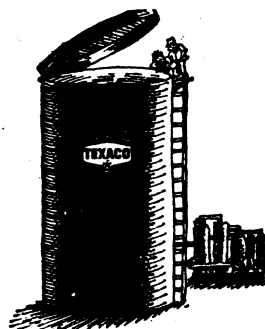
Was the fuel shortage contrived by the oil monopolies for their own profit-seeking ends? The example of what one Shell subsidiary did in New York is an indication of the secret manipulations the oil monopolies have been carrying out.

The New York attorney general filed a complaint against Shell for "diverting and holding secretly in storage home heating oil meant for New York homeowners," according to the Feb. 7 *New York Times*.

At the same time, the complaint charged, Shell "was telling its New York customers that it could not meet their requirements, because it did not have enough oil."

Four Shell subsidiaries also made

a secret arrangement to keep one million barrels of heating oil under customs bond in New Jersey, not "officially" importing it until last November, when they could claim exorbitant prices by blaming the Arab oil embargo.



We're not holding back anything.

Oil companies' ads like this one are lies, as shown by exposure of contrived oil shortage in New York.

One Shell subsidiary was found to be charging customers three times what it paid for imported heating oil.

The complaint also revealed that the fuel oil involved in the Shell manipulations was never reported by the company to the American Petroleum Institute. The API is the oil monopoly front that the government depends on for its information on the energy situation.

In reply to the complaint, Shell did not deny it had contrived the shortage. It merely claimed it had done nothing illegal under the capitalist laws.



# Union women plan for national

## Women unionists in Ohio 'organize for action'

By EILEEN BERLOW

CLEVELAND—Sixty women gathered in Cleveland for the Ohio Conference of Union Women under the theme "Union Women Organize for Action."

The Feb. 24 meeting was sponsored by the Cleveland Council of Union Women and had the endorsement of the Cleveland Central Labor Council—AFL-CIO, the United Auto Workers Community Action Program, and at least a dozen local unions. These included Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Newspaper Guild, International Association of Machinists, International Ladies Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Cleveland Teachers Union, and several locals of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

Participants came from all over the state, braving snow storms and empty gas pumps. Women were present from Toledo, Columbus, Cincinnati, Kent, Akron, and several other cities. Fifteen different unions were represented, with the largest contingent from the United Auto Workers.

Frank King, president of the Ohio AFL-CIO; Frank Valenta, president of the Cleveland Federation of Labor; and Mary Miller, chairperson of the Ohio Coalition to Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), all brought greetings from their respective organizations.

Speakers congratulated the women for their role in securing ratification of the ERA in Ohio by bringing together the labor movement and the women's liberation movement.

One of the main purposes of the conference was to organize women to go to the first national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women

our concerns, communicate with other union women and show solidarity with union women fighting for their rights. This is why we need a national coalition."

Sonstein emphasized the importance of bringing the power of organized labor into the struggle for such demands as child care and maternity leave. She also called on the union movement to take action against the layoffs caused by the energy crisis. "Unless union women and the entire union movement fight all layoffs," Sonstein said, "we will be forced to sit back and watch women being laid off in every industry we have won entrance to in the last 20 years."

Workshops were held on organizing the unorganized, equal opportunity in employment, equal opportunity in the unions, and equal opportunity in society.

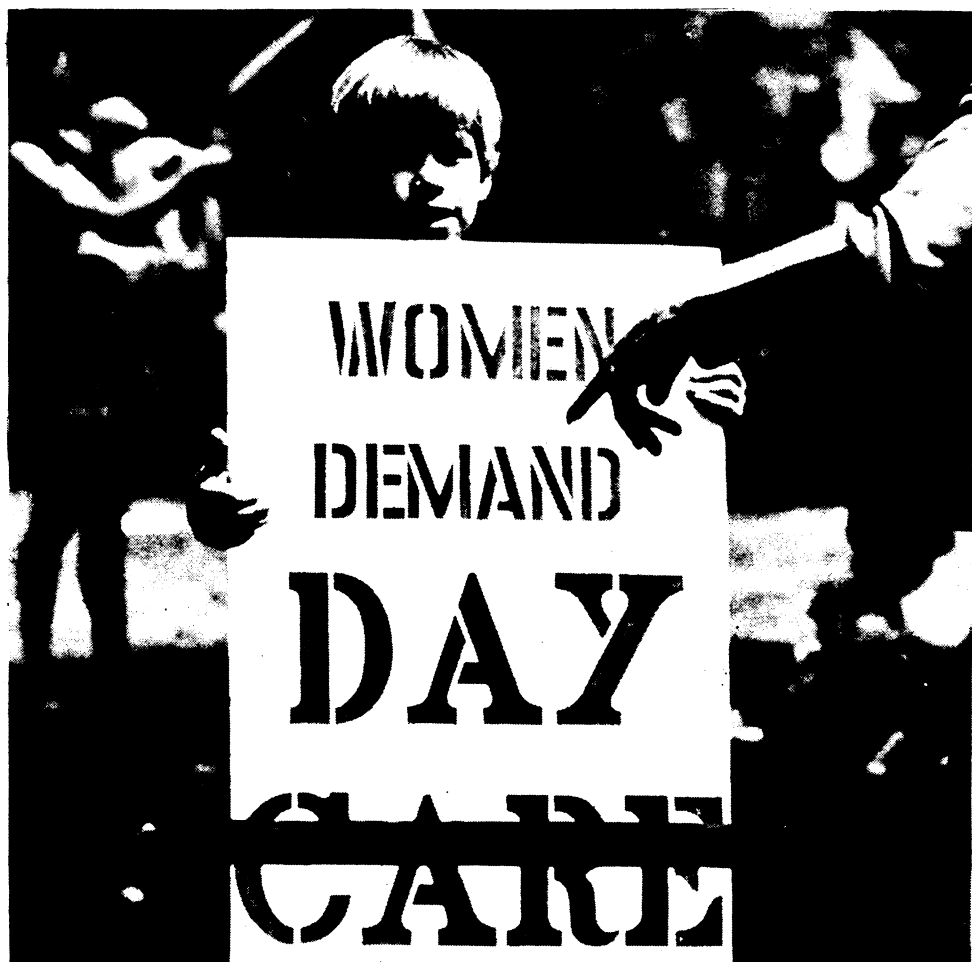
A resolution calling on the entire labor movement to campaign for ratification of the ERA in those states where it has not yet been ratified was endorsed unanimously by the Ohio conference. This resolution will be submitted to the Resolutions Committee of CLUW for consideration at the national conference.

Citing the example of labor support for the ERA in Ohio, the resolution urged all state AFL-CIO councils to actively campaign for ratification in the remaining states. Specifically it urged the labor councils to publicize labor support and to join with women's liberation groups in demonstrations and other support activities.

Other resolutions that will be submitted to the national conference deal with race discrimination and the problems of layoffs.

A committee was established to organize transportation to Chicago for the national conference. The women took extra copies of the conference literature back to their offices and factories to organize other women and build a strong coalition of union women.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Fifty women met at the Metropolitan AME Church on Feb. 19 to map plans to involve D.C. women in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and to discuss the upcoming national confer-



ence of CLUW, spoke about the need for a group such as CLUW.

She pointed out that CLUW is an integral part of the trade-union movement and that the entire labor movement will benefit from it. The March conference will just be the beginning, she said, and can provide the basis for trade-union women to begin to fight for child-care facilities, passage of the ERA, pension benefits, and can help put women in leadership positions within the unions. She said that CLUW could also help organize unorganized women.

## ERA, day care, equal pay, discussed in Boston

By LINDA MALANCHUK

BOSTON—"There's no end to their spirit," said Virginia Rodriguez Jones, Boston organizer for the United Farm Workers. She was referring to the UFW women who have struggled for so long to make the boycott stick and their union strong.

Speaking to more than 50 Massachusetts union women who met on Feb. 24 to discuss ideas and resolu-

tions for the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) to be held in Chicago March 23-24, Jones described the change in the lives of UFW women. In the past, she said, many of these women had stayed at home, taken orders, and not thought for themselves. Now they organize; they picket; they are respected; and the UFW depends on their determination.

In a show of support for the struggle of their UFW sisters, many women at the meeting volunteered to help picket at an A&P store.

Barbara Fifeld from the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers spoke of the need to change contracts so they reflect the specific needs of women. She urged women to join CLUW and said it was "a sign of the enthusiasm of working women who want to get together" that 2,000 women had already responded to the national conference call.

The speakers' list was topped off triumphantly by the announcement from Robert Wiseman, public relations director for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that Willie Farah had had enough, and that the Farah pants strike was victorious. Most of the strikers were Chicanas.

Black unionist Edna Murrell of the Laundry and Dry Cleaners International reported on the activities of the Massachusetts CLUW. Her report emphasized the need to involve more women and some of the possibilities for doing so.

Issues the women discussed ranged



Conference of union women in Cleveland passed resolutions on ERA, layoffs, and racial discrimination.

(CLUW), which will be held March 23-24 in Chicago.

The keynote speaker was Shelli Sonstein of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, a member of the national planning committee of CLUW. "The importance of conferences like this one is that union women are finally coming together to discuss our needs and act on these needs," said Sonstein.

"We have been isolated for a long time," Sonstein said. "Up until now we've had no way to rally support for

ence of CLUW.

The unions represented included the American Federation of Teachers, American Federation of Government Employees, the George Washington University Hospital Workers Local 1199, Carpenter apprentices, Teamsters, National Education Association, and others.

Gloria Johnson from the Women's Affairs Committee of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and a member of the national planning committee of

## Union women's conference

The first national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women will be held at the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago on March 23-24.

The call for the conference states that its purpose is "to bring together women union members and retirees of bonafide Collective Bargaining organizations to deal with our special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force. . . . In an inter-union framework, the Conference will consider positive action in the areas of equal pay, equal rights and equal opportunity. . . ."

Resolutions may be sent to CLUW Resolutions Committee no later than March 10, 1974, at the address below.

Registration fee is \$12 and includes Saturday lunch.

To register for the conference, and receive hotel reservation forms, mail \$12 plus name, address, phone, and union affiliation to Addie Wyatt, Chairwoman of CLUW Conference Arrangements Committee, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers International Union, 4859 South Wabash, Chicago, Ill. 60615.

# conference

from support to the ERA to organizing unorganized women and included child care paid for by the employer, maternity benefits for single as well as married women, layoffs caused by the energy crisis, preferential hiring for minority women, and leadership training programs for union women.

## Detroit meeting maps plans for buses to Chicago

By SHEILA OSTROW

DETROIT—Some 50 women attended the first Michigan planning meeting for the national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) to be held March 23-24 in Chicago. The Feb. 23 meeting was cosponsored by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1880

organizing the unorganized, upgrading of jobs, and women becoming part of the decision-making in their unions.

Last June, there was a meeting in Chicago for union women attended by more than 200 women representing the Midwestern states. There was a similar conference on the East Coast in December.

Now, Van Horn explained, more than 40 unions are represented on the national planning committee.

Van Horn paid tribute to the women's liberation movement. "Our consciousness was raised by the women's movement. Although within our unions we have made great strides, we can't expect the male leadership to do it for us."

Pattie Proctor from the United Farm Workers spoke about organizing the unorganized and the special problems faced by the UFW.

"Our union is about liberation," Proctor said. "We are fighting for decent wages and living conditions so that women have a choice about working and working with dignity."

Pete Gold from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers spoke of the struggle of the Farah workers in Texas, which involves more than 3,000 people, primarily Chicanas. The Farah workers recently won their 22-month-long strike.



Militant/Terry Hillman

Members of planning committee for union women's conference: Shelli Sonstein, Joyce Miller, Addie Wyatt, Edith Van Horn.

and the Women's Rights Commission of the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT).

Women were present from Detroit, Flint, Ann Arbor, and Ypsilanti. The women represented 27 locals from 13 international unions. Unions represented included the United Auto Workers (UAW), Teamsters, American Federation of Teachers (AFT), American Postal Workers Union, AFSCME, National Association of Letter Carriers, and the Communications Workers of America.

Paula Reimers, chairwoman of the Women's Rights Commission of the MFT and vice-president of AFT Local 2000, chaired the meeting. She outlined the purpose of the meeting: publicizing the conference and arranging for as many women as possible to attend. She also emphasized the importance of discussing the issues women unionists face so that these ideas could be taken to Chicago.

Several speakers brought greetings. Edith Van Horn, who is on the national staff of the UAW and one of the founders of CLUW, spoke. She outlined how CLUW had come about.

About a year ago several women in the union movement met in Chicago to explore the possibility of an inter-union framework in which labor union women could organize around women's needs. They focused on three important areas of concern to women:

Reimers explained that CLUW's purpose is to bring together women unionists and retirees to deal with their special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force. "We can turn the unions into instruments for meeting our needs," she said. "We will add our strength, brains, and muscles to the labor movement and build a society that meets the needs of women."

There was much discussion about the problems women face in gaining leadership positions within the unions, the effect of the energy crisis on women, the need for child care and maternity benefits, and organizing the unorganized.

The importance of a closer alliance among unions for support in different strikes was also discussed.

There was a determined, militant tone set in the meeting. Barbara Hartwell, a Teamster, said: "We're like yeast in bread. We're just beginning to rise. I may be too old to see the results, but my daughter, my granddaughter, they will see the results. We're just beginning."

Edith Van Horn said the Chicago conference will consist of workshops and several plenary sessions. She invited everyone, both individuals and union locals, to submit resolutions.

Buses are being organized in the Detroit area to go to the Chicago conference.

## 10,000 on strike

# Puerto Rican teachers want union recognition

BY DOUG JENNESS

Striking teachers in Puerto Rico are engaged in a tough battle for union recognition. Their work stoppage was called Jan. 31 by the Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers (PRFT), which is affiliated to the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), AFL-CIO. In addition to collective bargaining rights, they are fighting for higher salaries and increased classroom materials for the island's 26,000 teachers.

The National Education Association (NEA)-affiliated Puerto Rico Teachers Association is not supporting the strike. However, according to an article in the Feb. 17 *New York Teacher*, weekly organ of the New York State United Teachers, Inc., some association members have joined the striking teachers, including the Cataño local of the association.

A rally of 2,000 workers on Feb. 12 under the auspices of the San Juan Central Labor Council is an example of the wide support for the strike from the organized labor movement. Both AFT President David Selden and Albert Shanker, head of the New York City AFT affiliate, have expressed full support for the strike, and Selden toured the strike locations on the island.

According to a report in *El Mundo*, one of San Juan's major dailies, PRFT President Félix Rodríguez was planning to fly to Miami Feb. 22 to talk to AFL-CIO President George Meany about providing some assistance for the strike.

This is the first time Puerto Rico's teachers have engaged in strike action, and they are meeting stubborn resistance from the colonial government headed by liberal governor Rafael Hernández Colón. Police have violently attacked strikers in an attempt to break up picket lines and demoralize the strikers.

The *New York Teacher* reports, "Rodríguez was arrested along with about a dozen other strikers for violating a police order against the use

of sound equipment. The strike leader and the others arrested were released in short order but reports of excessive police force against the strikers continue to grow."

A temporary restraining order against the striking teachers was issued by Superior Judge Salvador Acevedo Colón. *El Mundo* reports that the PRFT took legal action against this injunction on the basis that it was in violation of Law 50 adopted in 1947 (generally known as the little Norris-LaGuardia law), which prohibits injunctions against strikes, and on the basis that it violated the Puerto Rican constitution.

On Feb. 21 Judge Acevedo ruled that this law did not apply to strikes of public employees. He cited as precedent interpretations of the federal Norris-LaGuardia law by state courts in the United States. The judge also extended the provisional injunction for another 10 days.

On the same day motions were filed by the Justice Department to bring contempt-of-court proceedings against the teachers. In spite of physical intimidation and court injunctions, the strike continues, and according to Department of Public Education figures, it includes more than 10,000, or about 40 percent of the island's teachers.

Since the teachers went on strike there have been a number of other strikes. The Brotherhood of Professional and Office Employees are on strike against the Department of Transportation and Public Works, and the Association of United Truckers and the Cooperative of Ferré Bacallao Transport Services have closed down key parts of the construction industry.

These strikes are part of the growing militancy and class consciousness among Puerto Rico's workers that was dramatically expressed last July during the strikes by firemen and water and electrical workers. Governor Hernández called out the National Guard at that time to suppress the strikes.



Demonstration of 2,000 on Feb. 12 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in support of teachers' demands.

## Latin America

The theme of Secretary of State Kissinger's address at the recent Mexico City conference of Latin American nations was the idea of a "Western Hemisphere community." "We meet here as equals," Kissinger told the Latin Americans, as he promised the U. S. "will not intervene in the domestic affairs of others."

But what kind of a "community" does Kissinger have in mind? The Cuban people are not part of this "community." Cuba was excluded from the conference.

Nor are the thousands of political refugees from the military regime in Chile part of Kissinger's "community." Persecuted for their opposition to the junta, they have been turned away by U. S. authorities.

Also excluded from Kissinger's "community" are the refugees from the vicious Duvalier regime in Haiti. The Nixon administration is now trying to deport 400 Haitian refugees.

Kissinger's promises of "nonintervention" are equally empty.

Wherever the workers and peasants in Latin America have risen up to fight for a better life, the U. S. imperialists have moved in, either overtly or covertly, to defend the status quo.

Washington organized the Bay of Pigs invasion against Cuba and instituted an economic blockade against the first socialist revolution in the hemisphere.

When the Dominican people took to the streets to demand a democratic constitution and social justice in 1965, U. S. marines invaded.

Just last year, Washington backed the rightist generals in Chile in overthrowing Allende and repressing the workers movement.

Kissinger's "nonintervention" includes continued U. S. occupation of the Panama Canal Zone—with only *promises* about the *possible* future reversion of the Canal Zone to Panama.

Kissinger's "nonintervention" includes maintenance of the U. S. military schools that train and equip "counterinsurgency" experts, torturers, and police to protect the Latin American capitalist regimes.

Kissinger's sugary rhetoric about a "hemispheric community" is designed to mask the reality of ruthless exploitation of the Latin American continent by U. S. imperialism.

In answer to Kissinger's lies, the American people should demand: End the blockade and recognize Cuba! Open the U. S. borders to refugees from Chile and Haiti! U. S. out of Panama!

## Debate over quotas

The establishment of preferential hiring and school admissions programs to help overcome discrimination against oppressed nationalities and women was one of the great gains of the last 10 years. Now, however, an attempt is being made to roll back the advances—still minimal—that have been made in this area.

A suit initiated by a white who was denied admission to the University of Washington Law School is being considered by the U. S. Supreme Court. If successful, the suit would outlaw the school's preferential admissions policy for Blacks and Chicanos. If upheld it might well result in all preferential hiring and admissions programs being struck down.

Backers of the challenge include the National Association of Manufacturers, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and the AFL-CIO bureaucracy led by George Meany. All say they are concerned with equal treatment for everybody and advancement by "merit." But this is a lie. They have joined hands in defense of privilege.

There is no equal treatment in this society. Blacks, Chicanos, and women are discriminated against in housing, health care, education, wages, and jobs. For example, law schools in the U. S. are 93 percent white, and the largest law firms hire virtually no nonwhite lawyers.

As long as this is the case, talk about treating everybody "equally" simply serves as a cover for maintaining the existing inequality.

The argument raised by some Jewish groups over quotas is an example of this. They say that since quotas have been used in the past to discriminate against Jews, they must be opposed. They equate a device used by the oppressor to perpetuate oppression in the past with one demanded by the oppressed in order to fight against their oppression today.

Socialists stand for a guaranteed education for all and guaranteed jobs for all. Until this is attained, oppressed nationalities and women should receive preferential treatment to help compensate for past and present oppression and to move toward true equality.

### SLA kidnapping

Your editorial on the Symbionese Liberation Army kidnapping in the Feb. 22 issue was excellent. I too believe that the SLA or any other terrorist group "can do nothing but harm to the revolution movement." I think that this article shows insight on your part toward long-range goals. It was great—along with the rest of the paper.

B.C.

Davenport, Iowa

### Truck strike (I)

I think the Feb. 22 issue of the *Militant*, featuring on-the-scene interviews with militant truckers and the interview with Farrell Dobbs, was one of the most inspiring that I can recall in some 13 years as a reader.

Enclosed is a \$5 check for a gift sub to introduce someone else to the paper—hopefully for as long a time.

Ed Bromberg

New York, N.Y.

### Truck strike (II)

When Joan Buchanan and I went to the Beaver Valley, Pa., truckstop to interview striking truckers, we brought along a bundle of old *Militants* ("Oil barons on profit rampage" issue) to introduce ourselves with. We were suspiciously eyed by the picketers as we approached the trailer serving as their headquarters. They had seen nothing but anti-trucker bias in the press and TV since the beginning of the strike and weren't eager to relive the experience of having their statements mangled and quoted out of context.

A frowning trucker passed by us and took one of the *Militants* into the trailer. Before long he appeared at the door with a much different expression and asked us to come in. Inside, we were swamped on all sides by the men, who wanted to tell their side of the events to a newspaper that "talked straight."

Brett Merkey

Pittsburgh, Pa.

### START stopped

START has stopped! The officials have informed us that Project START [behavioral modification program] is officially closed and will be phased out within 30 days.

The reasons for terminating the program were not made clear to us. Nevertheless, on behalf of the other brothers and myself I want to express our deep appreciation for all the people who were concerned enough to aid us in our struggle.

A prisoner

Missouri

### From the horse's mouth

Regarding your Feb. 15 editorial concerning the "Right to Privacy": has it been established that the president has done all the things you claim he has done? It's not right to judge a person on assumptions, not even obvious ones.

Duane Rupp

Bowling Green, Ohio

In reply—The proof behind *The Militant's* charge that the government has long used wiretaps, mail covers,

and a "disruption program" against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance comes from what you might call an "unimpeachable" source—the Nixon administration itself. Copies of secret FBI documents the government has been forced to make public by the SWP and YSA suit against government Watergating can be obtained from the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

### 'Nationalize oil trusts'

With the task of getting gas taking hours of extra planning and early morning discomfort, with only partially heated homes, and with staple food prices doubling, Portland senior citizens see capitalism literally falling apart before their eyes.

Today an old man in his 70s passed me when I was selling *The Militant* with the headline "Truckers say 'No' to Nixon, oil trusts." Although it was cruelly cold and raining, he took the time to stop and express the fruit of his experience as a logger in the Northwest. "We should nationalize those corporations," he told me. "It's too bad we didn't do it in 1918."

Betsy McDonald

Portland, Ore.

### Labor party

There's starting to be a lot of discussion about starting a new labor party or taking over the Democratic Party (December *Liberation*, February *Ramparts*), I'd like to see more coverage in *The Militant* on this very important issue.

Also, I think that when you criticize other left groups the main focus should be the *lessons* we can draw from their successes and failures (like Chile).

D.D.

Duluth, Minn.

### Czar Simon

Before energy czar William Simon uses the expression "Keep your cotton-picken' hands off. . . !" again, he'd better do some serious thinking about the blatantly racist origin of "cotton pickin' hands." It's high time manicured whites stop insulting their Black neighbors, intentionally or thoughtlessly.

K.L.

Seattle, Wash.

### Women's studies

A demonstration of 300 was held last month on the University of Wisconsin's Madison campus in support of Professor Joan Roberts's right to receive tenure. Roberts was the first faculty member to offer women's studies courses and has been an innovator throughout the university system in organizing faculty women's associations.

After the demonstration, the crowd marched to an open hearing that had the authority to reverse the previous decision recommending that Roberts not be given tenure. However, the 13-man panel that judged her denied the request for tenure once again, even though they were not sure of what criteria to base





## International Women's Day

the judgment on, were not aware of all of Roberts's publications, and had no understanding of women's studies as a valid academic pursuit.

The university has been reluctant to recognize women's studies for some time. However, students here are unwilling to see Professor Roberts and women's studies tossed aside, and a committee of students and faculty members has been formed to gather support for both of them. Letters of protest can be sent to the Committee to Defend Joan Roberts, 321 W. Mifflin #3, Madison, Wis. 53703.

Carole Lesnick  
Madison, Wis.

### Nixonomics

It's bad enough to see what the jump in food prices does to my paycheck, but I don't think I understood the full scope of it until I saw the figures economist Sylvia Porter, a nationally syndicated columnist, put together recently.

What she did was take last year's rate of increase in the price of certain food items and figure out how much the same items would cost in 1979 if the price continues to rise at the same rate it did last year. Here's what she found:

Flour, which went up 36 cents for a five-pound sack last year, would be selling for \$9.86 a sack five years from now.

Sausage, which went up 38 cents a pound last year, should level off at \$7.51 a pound.

Turkey would retail at \$8.04 a pound, or \$160.80 for a Thanksgiving 20-pounder.

Eggs would still be a relative bargain, fetching about \$5.40 a dozen or perhaps \$5 on special.

M.B.  
New York, N.Y.

### Guardian

I am presently a sustainer of the *Guardian*. However, recent articles condemning Trotsky have made me question my sustainership to their newspaper. I am interested in obtaining your reply to the *Guardian* on this issue.

S.M.  
Santa Barbara, Calif.

In reply—The *Militant's* reply to the *Guardian* appeared in a five-part series (July 13, July 27, Aug. 31, Sept. 14, Sept. 28). The *Guardian* series was also taken up in the *International Socialist Review* (September, November 1973). Single copies of these issues may be ordered from the business office (25 cents each for *The Militant*, 75 cents each for the *ISR*) at 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Much of this material will be incorporated into a forthcoming Pathfinder Press pamphlet (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

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

On March 8 many women will celebrate International Women's Day with meetings, rallies, and teach-ins. This revolutionary holiday was first declared by an international conference of socialist women held in 1910. The date March 8 was chosen in commemoration of the courageous struggle of women garment workers who marched through New York's Lower East Side on that day in 1908. They were demanding better working conditions and the right to vote.

This day has been brought back to life by the new feminist movement and it is a day of particular relevance to Chicanas. It is an appropriate time to recall the role that the women of *la raza* have played in important social struggles.

*Las Adelitas* was the name given to a detachment of women that fought in the Mexican revolution. One of the most popular dances done by the Ballet Chicano de Aztlán from the Escuela Tlatelolco in Denver is about *las Adelitas*. The sight of these women hoisting rifles instead of sweeping floors is inspiring to women and men alike.

Many people see, through the example of the *adelitas*, that by breaking out of the passivity imposed upon them and becoming involved in the struggle, Chicanas will provide a tremendous impetus to the whole movement.

In many cases, women in the Indian civilizations of the Americas had a higher status before the Spanish conquest. The reactionary ideology that



today would keep women "barefoot, pregnant, and in the kitchen" is in large measure traceable to the influence of the Catholic Church brought over by the Spaniards. The Church fosters, among other things, a double standard of morality, with men having more freedom and fewer restrictions than women.

But the Vatican does not restrict its sexism to the realm of ideology. The Church is a prime mover in the well-financed "right-to-life" campaign aimed at keeping women from having the right to abortion. The pope doesn't want women to be able to decide for themselves if, when, or how often to have babies.

Today capitalism oppresses Chicanas both as members of a national minority and as women. For this reason their right to have their own meetings and organizations within the *movimiento* to deal with the special problems of women must be respected.

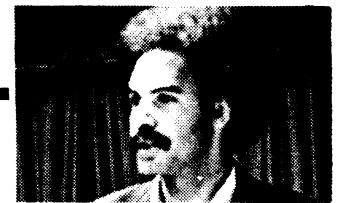
Perhaps the heaviest burden of all falls on the many women of *la raza* who are also oppressed as wage-earners, especially those without documents—the "illegal aliens." Working Chicanas not only have to hold down a job all day, but when they get home, they are expected to look after the children, fix dinner, and all the rest.

The women who first inspired International Women's Day were among the most oppressed of the working class in the United States in their day. Today they find their parallel in the women in the sweatshops of Willie Farah in El Paso and San Antonio and in the thousands of *mexicanas* in the garment industry of Los Angeles. And it is *puertorriqueñas* and other *latinas* who fill the sweatshops in the East.

Nothing short of a complete overturn in social relations is needed to break the triple chains that bind Chicanas. They have the most to gain from a revolution that will toss the racist and sexist capitalist system into the garbage can of history. It is in the interest of the whole Chicano movement for Chicanas to take their rightful place in the struggle—in the front lines.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## Socialist raps Chicago cops

The following is a guest column by Willie Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. representative, 1st Congressional District of Illinois.

Last week *The Militant* ran an article on a Chicago rally against the appointment of a new police superintendent, James Rochford.

Rochford claims: "I abhor dishonesty among policemen," and says he intends to clean up the department. But the incredible record of corruption and brutality of Chicago cops is reason for abolishing it altogether.

Eighty-six cops in the last three years have been indicted for crimes. Two extortion rings plagued the city for a while, netting more than half a million dollars—and organized by cops. Then, after six bodies were found floating in rivers, speculation arose that the cops had bumped off heroin dealers who failed to offer significant bribes. Two cops were indicted and sentenced.

But worse than this is the brutality of Chicago cops.

Last November the *Chicago Tribune* ran a series on police brutality here. Of the 37 cases reported in the eight-part series, 41 people were brutalized, with 57 percent being Black and Latino males. Women were beaten just as severely as men with Black women the victim more often than white women. The reporters found that in every age group there were cop victims and all were working people.

Among the victims were a woman who gave birth to a deformed child after she was bashed in the stomach by a club-swinging cop; a youngster who was pounded in the face until an eye was put out; a housewife who was punched, knocked over a railing, and thrown face-first down concrete steps; a

tenant who was beaten and shot by his landlord, a cop, after he left bags of garbage in his old apartment; and a man who was assaulted, impaled on a chain link fence, clubbed about the head, and had his leg crunched in a cop car's door when he was suspected of being a prowler on his own property.

Needless to say, all of the victims were innocent of any "crime." This story from the *Tribune* is typical: "Jose Maldonado's problem started last Dec. 18 when his baby was hungry and his wife discovered there was no milk in the house." She "told him to get in the car and go to the store at North and California Avenues for the milk."

"Before he got home the next morning, Maldonado had been pistol-whipped by police in front of his house, kicked in the groin in a hospital, and had his head sewn together in three places."

"He also had been charged with assaulting and attempting to elude two policemen and with drunk driving, for which he was eventually convicted and is now serving two years' probation."

"At best, Maldonado claims, he is guilty of one thing—double parking. He has witnesses and a police polygraph test to back up his story."

My opponent in this election, Ralph Metcalfe, has offered no viable solution to this state of affairs. His private negotiations with Mayor Daley, behind the backs of the broad masses of the community, are no solution. In addition, this Democrat, while opposing some cop tactics, still insists on their presence in the Black and Latino communities.

In contrast, I support their removal and their replacement by a force drawn from the ranks of the Black and Latino communities and placed under their democratic control.

# How workers can fight inflation squeeze

By ANDY ROSE

How can working people protect their standard of living against the ravages of inflation? This has become one of the most urgent questions of the day.

With prices leaping upward at the highest rates on record, the government has confessed its inability to control inflation and announced it will abolish virtually all "price controls" when Phase 5 goes into effect this spring.

The Labor Department's Consumer Price Index jumped a full 1 percent in January, for an annual rate of 12 percent.

In the same month, real take-home pay for production workers (after deducting taxes and inflation) declined by 2 percent.

Compared to one year ago, the January figures showed prices up 9.4 percent and real wages down 4 percent.

## Why prices keep rising

When Nixon imposed mandatory wage controls, beginning with the wage freeze of Aug. 15, 1971, his main rationale was that wage increases were the driving force behind inflation.

In light of the obvious fact that wages have not nearly kept up with prices, that argument is rarely stated

Take one example from the 1975 budget. More than \$2-billion will be spent for work on the Trident nuclear missile submarine, providing vast profits for the giant war contractors such as Lockheed, which is building the missile. Some of the money will be paid out as wages for workers who build the Trident.

But since the Trident will not be put up for sale on the market, and if the \$2-billion is not taken back out of the economy in taxes, the expenditure will create "surplus" purchasing power.

With purchasing power expanding more rapidly than real production for the market, the monopolies jack up their prices and reap spectacular profits.

## Government policy

Such artificial expansion of purchasing power through deficit spending is consciously practiced by the government to try to soften the effects of the business cycle and to avoid another depression like that of the 1930s.

The consequent perpetual inflation that erodes real wages is a means of making the working class bear the burden of the contradictions and crises of the outmoded capitalist system.

Nixon—despite his alleged "conservative philosophy" that calls for balanced budgets—has racked up the greatest budget deficits in U.S. history. The third largest expenditure in his 1975 budget is a staggering \$29-billion for interest payments on this national debt. This money goes straight from our tax payments to the big banks and other financial institutions.

Nixon as much as admits that these deficits are the underlying cause of inflation when he argues for cutting back on already inadequate social programs on the grounds that high government spending is inflationary. The main culprit—the bloated military budget—of course goes untouched.

Such policies mean that inflation is inevitable. Any government promises to hold down prices are a fake and a fraud.

A strategy for fighting inflation that relies on the government to control or roll back prices is doomed from the start. The fight should instead be based on mobilizing the strength of the trade unions to counteract the effects of inflation.

## Escalator clause

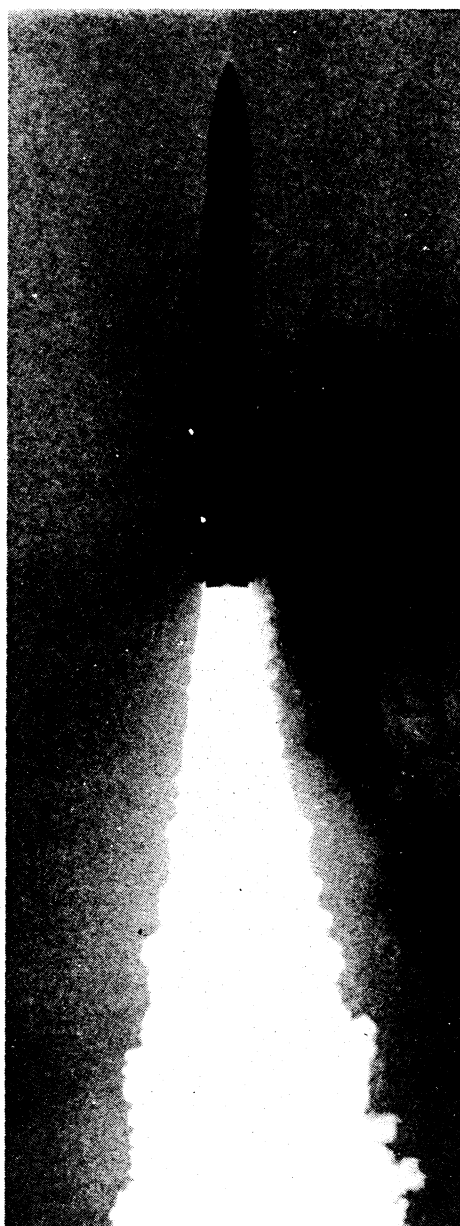
The key demand for protection against inflation is the *sliding scale of wages*—that is, the provision that wages rise automatically to fully match each increase in the cost of living.

The sliding scale of wages is partially embodied in the wage escalator clauses won by a number of unions. Auto workers, for example, gained a total of 35 cents an hour from their escalator clause in the three-year con-

tain authority to limit any wage increases won in this way.

Other workers, like the carpenters in Northern California, won wage settlements in collective bargaining that were later cut by the Cost of Living Council. The new legislation would give Nixon authority to stop any such previously-cut wage increases from taking effect now.

These measures are out-and-out robbery of working people. While prices skyrocket, workers covered by these controls will be limited to wage increases that are generally 4 or 5 percent or even less.



U.S. Minuteman missile. Prices rise mainly because of government deficit spending for war machine.

to make up losses from past inflation.

The struggle for full escalator-clause protection against inflation should also be linked to the demand for shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay to make jobs available for all.

Some voices of big business have noted with alarm the rising popularity of escalator clauses and are beginning to argue against them.

In a Feb. 7 editorial, the *New York Times* warned: "This [inflationary] squeeze is sure to heighten rank-and-file demands this year for bigger immediate wage boosts or for universal adoption of the escalator clauses that now insure one-quarter of the unionized work force against the impact of inflation."

The *Times* editors went on to make the following transparently false claim: "The trouble with all such cushions is that they quickly become engines of inflation in their own right, worsening the malady they are intended to cure."

## Where Meany stands

The unions should not give the slightest credibility to such lies. An effective strategy for fighting inflation should include education on the real cause of inflation that vigorously exposes the myth that wages are responsible. It should also include opposition to any government attempts to limit the unions' freedom to bargain and to strike for wage gains.

But the AFL-CIO hierarchy, headed by George Meany, maintains a discreet silence on the reason for rising prices.

One reason is that these proimperialist labor bureaucrats give wholehearted support to Washington's efforts to police the world—like the Vietnam war—and the consequent massive military expenditures. From this stance they are neither willing nor able to explain the inflationary role of war spending and rally the unions to oppose it.

Instead Meany has exhorted the government to "fairly" control prices and wages. He accepts the bosses' argument that workers must sacrifice for the "fight against inflation," and asks only that there be an "equality of sacrifice" by workers and the corporation owners. Such statements miseducate the working class and lend credence to Nixon's vicious wage-cutting schemes.

tract that expired last September.

More than four million workers are now covered by escalator clauses, twice the number covered in the mid-1960s. This increase testifies to the widespread rank-and-file recognition of the value of this demand, and pressure for its adoption by their unions.

But the vast majority of workers have no cost-of-living protection at all, and the existing escalator clauses have many inadequacies.

For example, the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the wages of three million workers are scheduled for cost-of-living reviews during 1974. Of these, nearly one million are reviewed only annually, 93,000 are reviewed semiannually, and 1.9 million are reviewed quarterly.

Thus all these workers will *already* have been paying higher prices for at least several months—for many, more than a year—before receiving any cost-of-living wage increase.

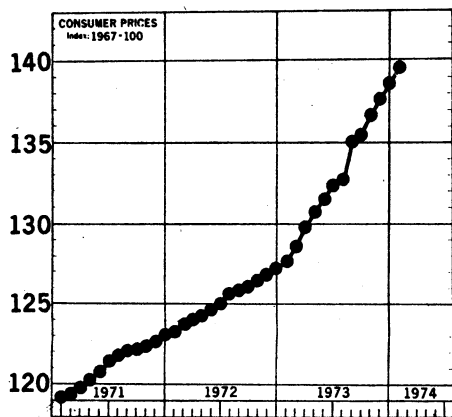
## Price-watch committees

Another weakness of existing escalator clauses is that they are tied to the government's Consumer Price Index, which significantly understates the real extent of inflation.

Unions in each city, together with consumer groups, could organize price-watch committees and develop their own reliable price index based on what workers are really paying for goods and services.

Wages should then be raised frequently to fully compensate for any price hikes. A fight to strengthen escalator clauses along these lines and extend them to *all* wages, pensions, Social Security, and unemployment benefits is the best way to fight inflation.

Then the unions would be free to focus their collective bargaining demands on *real* wage increases instead of always facing an uphill battle just



Consumer Price Index jumped another 1 percent in January while real wages declined.

openly these days.

Instead we are told that a variety of mysterious and unforeseen circumstances—bad weather, the Soviet wheat deal, inflation in other countries, and even the price controls themselves—are responsible.

The truth is that inflation in the U.S. today is primarily caused by the government's deficit spending, most notably war spending.

In fiscal 1975, for example, war spending will total more than \$100-billion, and the federal deficit may easily reach \$20-billion.

The government borrows money to make up the difference between what it spends and what it collects in taxes. This money is pumped into the economy *without a corresponding production of goods for sale on the market.*

## New wage controls revealed

The Nixon administration's legislative proposals for Phase 5 have revealed continuing wage controls not previously announced.

These controls will have the effect of denying millions of workers any relief from the inflation that is steadily eroding the buying power of their paychecks.

Many union contracts negotiated under wage controls included provisions for reopening negotiations on wages if the controls were ended. Under Nixon's proposed legislation, the federal government would main-

## The government's 'anti-inflation' program

'You might try something I've tried recently: eat a little less'—John McLane, deputy director, Cost of Living Council

## And the socialist alternative:

INFLATION: WHAT CAUSES IT, HOW TO FIGHT IT by Linda Jenness, Dick Roberts, 24 pp., \$.25

ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s edited by Paul Davidson, 32 pp., \$.60

THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE SWINDLE by Les Evans, Linda Jenness, 24 pp., \$.35.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, Inc. 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

# N.Y. meeting will launch tour by Swedish ambassador against repression in Chile

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—A rally is scheduled here March 6 to kick off the U.S. tour of Harald Edelstam, former Swedish ambassador to Chile, who will be speaking in this country in defense of Chilean political prisoners. Edelstam's tour, which is being sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and other groups, has already provoked an attack from the

**The March 6 rally in New York to launch the tour of Harald Edelstam will begin at 8 p.m. at the Community Church, 40 E. 35th St. For more information on the meeting, contact USLA at 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.**

Chilean embassy in Washington, D.C.

The Chilean embassy issued a statement Feb. 19 denouncing the visit of the former ambassador because of his role in aiding refugees from the junta's terror following the September coup. Edelstam's actions, said the statement, "were not in any way compatible with the world diplomatic tradition."

The former ambassador won recognition in the aftermath of the coup for sheltering victims of the repression in the Swedish embassy. In particular, he aided foreigners, such as Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco, whom he helped escape from the country. The government threw Edelstam out of Chile in December because of these activities.

After he was expelled, the junta's statement charges, "Edelstam began a world tour to attack the new Chilean government. . . ."

"Has he any authority to give an opinion on the ending of the Marxist government of Salvador Allende?" asked the statement. "Is he duly prepared and is he impartial enough to take up this matter?"

USLA staff member Frank Grinnon told *The Militant* that the junta's attack on Edelstam "simply shows how afraid they are of Americans learning the true story of the executions, torturing, censorship, and other violations of human rights committed by their bloody regime."

Edelstam's tour for USLA will begin with the March 6 rally in New York and continue for two months. He will be addressing unions, students, political groups, religious organizations, and others, seeking to build support for Chilean political prisoners.

At the March 6 USLA rally in New York, Edelstam will be the main speaker.

Sponsors of the meeting, in addition to USLA, are the Chile Solidarity Committee, Amnesty International, Chileans for Democracy, Emergency Committee to Save the Chilean Health Workers, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, will also speak. Feinglass has just returned from Chile, where he was part of the Commission of Inquiry, a group of Americans investigating the violations



Harald Edelstam was expelled from Chile because his actions were 'not compatible with world diplomatic tradition,' according to military regime there.

of democratic rights by the Chilean government.

In addition to organizing the Edelstam tour, USLA has been campaigning for the release of seven political prisoners in Chile whose lives are in grave danger. They are Luis Corvalán Lepe, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Luis Vitale, Marxist historian and professor; Juan

Flandes, Chilean student; Jaime Barrios, economic adviser to Allende; Hector Gutiérrez, professor; Guillermo Cahn, film director; and Marcelo Romo, actor.

Congressman Donald Fraser (D-Minn.) protested the treatment of Luis Vitale in a Feb. 21 letter sent to Walter Heitmann, the Chilean ambassador to the U.S. "I am concerned about his welfare," wrote Fraser. "I understand Vitale is an older man and that he was in poor health when he was arrested in September."

USLA has also issued an emergency appeal for two other political prisoners, Bautista Van Schowen and Alejandro Romero. Both are leaders of the MIR, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left.

Telegrams and letters demanding the release of all these victims should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Copies should be sent to the USLA office in New York.

On Feb. 24, more than 800 people attended a rally in New York where Hortensia Allende, widow of Salvador Allende, was scheduled to speak. The meeting was organized by the Chile Solidarity Committee and supported by other organizations, including USLA, which brought messages of solidarity.

Ossie Davis, rally chairman, reported that the U.S. State Department has tried to prevent Allende from speaking on Chile, by issuing her a visa that allows her to travel only 15 miles outside New York and forbids speeches before "political" meetings.

## Philippine city razed in war against rebels

From Intercontinental Press

[The following article was distributed by New Asia News, headquartered in Tokyo.]

Zamboanga City, Philippines

February 14—Using napalm and shelling indiscriminately from jet planes and boats, the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) completely destroyed Jolo, the capital city of the Sulu Archipelago, in a 35-hour onslaught that began at daybreak on February 7.

The entire population of the city—70,000 men, women, and children, 90 percent of them Muslim—fled as the Vietnam-style bombardment turned the city into an inferno. Several hundred citizens are dead, and many more hundreds wounded.

Although news of the massacre was withheld in the censored domestic press, Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile proudly announced to foreign newsmen on February 12 that "Muslim insurgents have been routed from Jolo!" The announcement came from the presidential yacht, on which the secretary was cruising Manila Bay with President Ferdinand Marcos and visiting Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam.

Nearly 35,000 refugees have entered this city, 100 miles north of Jolo, in the five days since Marcos's mercenary troops, with behind-the-scenes assistance from U.S. "civil advisers," ended their insane onslaught. An equal number of refugees face starvation in the hills of Jolo Island.

"Why does the martial-law regime

persist in taking not only our lives but our means of livelihood?" a Muslim refugee asked. "Because for 400 years the Moro people have resisted colonialism and imperialism, against the Spanish, the Americans, and the Japanese; and because, today, we refuse the humiliation, and the loss of independence and cultural identity, that constitute membership in the 'Philippine nation.'"

"We will prevail against Manila's exploiters and mercenaries just as our ancestors protected their natural and human resources from foreign exploiters and their armies," he told New Asia News.

Jolo, a seaport located nearly 600 miles south of Manila, was the island's capital. While Defense Secretary Enrile has claimed eradication of the Muslim rebel movement, the Provisional Revolutionary Committee of Sulu continues to control 90 percent of the area.

Marcos and the AFP had hoped that Aminkadra Barli Abubakar, mayor of Jolo and member of the former Liberal party opposition to Marcos, would quickly turn over the keys to the city as the bombing began.

However, the mayor, scion of a prominent family and brother of the ambassador to Cairo, fled to the hills with the resistance forces, taking the entire police force with him. The embarrassed AFP has launched a massive man-hunt for him and has installed a military administrator in the ruined city.

Enrile told foreign correspondents: "We are now in full control of the town. There is no more activity in Jolo." Since the city is devastated, there

is no doubt about the "no activity." How much longer the military will be able to claim "full control" is another question.

The defense secretary refuses to admit that five of the eight cities on Jolo Island are still controlled by the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). He has, however, promised "full-scale operations outside the capital where rebel insurgents have been active."

The severity of the government's attack on Jolo comes in response to successive victories by the Moro People's Army (MPA), the military arm of the MNLF, during January. On January 10 in Bilaan, a city of 10,000 located 10 miles east of Jolo, the MPA won a bloodless victory over the AFP. Using "Trojan Horse" tactics, the MPA made off with all of one army division's mortars, cannons, machine guns, rifles, and ammunition.

That same night in Parang City, 15 miles southwest of Jolo, 1,200 Moro resistance fighters overran the constabulary headquarters and routed both the Marcos troops and local turncoats who had sold out to one of Marcos's "new society" organizations on the island.

A further disappointment to the Marcos regime has been the failure of its so-called pacification program to enlist Muslims in government programs and even in the AFP. While the government claims hundreds of Muslim turncoats in the AFP, the actual number of persons co-opted by the power structure in Manila is much smaller, and their loyalties are at best uncertain.



Government tank patrolling Jolo a month before attack.



# Socialist Workers Party ca

## Dixon tour opens with high school meeting in D.C.

By FRANK BOEHM

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, has begun a national speaking tour with a number of successful meetings in Washington, D.C.

On Feb. 22 Dixon spoke to 120 students at predominantly Black Woodrow Wilson High School on "The Energy Crisis and Watergate: How to Fight Back."

His talk was sponsored by the school's Afro-American literature and history classes, with other classes joining in.

Afterward three Black students expressed an interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance, and teachers enthusiastically invited Dixon to return.

That afternoon Dixon was interviewed by the *Washington Afro-American*, the most widely read Black newspaper in the city. The wide-ranging three-hour interview covered the energy crisis, Watergate, and the 1974 SWP election campaigns.

The newspaper was particularly interested in the SWP and YSA's lawsuit against Nixon and 18 other present and former government officials. The suit is aimed at halting government assaults on the constitutional rights of the SWP and YSA and their members.

That evening Dixon spoke to 60 people at a Washington Militant Forum commemorating the assassination of Malcolm X.

On Feb. 23 Dixon addressed an educational rally on the energy crisis sponsored by the African Liberation Support Committee. More than 100 Blacks were present and heard Dixon's analysis of the fraud contrived by the oil trusts.

Since then he has spoken on four campuses, been interviewed by a Black campus newspaper at Federal City College, and appeared on WWDC radio for a two-hour debate with the program's right-wing announcer.

Dixon is scheduled to speak at several more high schools and five college campuses in the D.C. area, including Howard University, where he was invited by the junior class. A



Maceo Dixon, cochairman of SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, begins national speaking tour.

news conference for the campus and radical press is also planned.

In coming weeks Dixon's tour will take him to the Upper Midwest, South, the Rocky Mountains, and the West Coast.

Debby Bustin, cochairing the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee with Dixon, will begin a tour of the

Southeast, Northeast, and Midwest with a whirlwind tour of Georgia.

Dixon and Bustin are crossing the country to win support for the SWP candidates in the 1974 state, congressional, and local elections. Their tours are aimed at publicizing the socialist offensive against the Democratic and Republican Watergaters and building support for the SWP and YSA's suit.

Both Dixon and Bustin have been victims of the government's Watergate-style harassment of its opponents, and both are plaintiffs in the SWP suit.

Bustin was singled out as one of Nixon's "enemies" when she was national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War. In that capacity she spoke at the April 24, 1971, march on Washington of half a million people.

Dixon was recently convicted on a frame-up charge of "deviating from a parade route" for his role in leading a Detroit demonstration against STRESS ("Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") was a plainclothes police unit that was terrorizing the Black community.

The demonstration was part of a successful campaign against the terror squad by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, of which Dixon was a leader. His arrest was part of a pattern of harassment against leaders of the struggle to abolish the hated police unit.

## Only capitalist parties need apply Election funding 'reform': the dollar rip-off law

By ANDY ROSE

If only we had "public" financing of election campaigns, politicians wouldn't have to rely on payoffs from the dairy trust, ITT, Howard Hughes, and other corporation heads and millionaires, right?

And then all candidates would have an equal chance and elections would be fair, right?

And elected officials would be responsive to the needs of the people instead of the fat cats who bankroll them, right?

Wrong.

But some Democratic and Republican party figures, sensitive about their reputation as the best politicians money can buy, are using such arguments to advocate "public"—i.e., tax-supported—campaign financing schemes as the answer to the sordid network of secret funds and special interest deals uncovered by Watergate.

We can get a good idea of the effectiveness of such "reforms" of capitalist politics by examining the trial model of "public" financing.

This is the famous "dollar checkoff" law, which was passed in 1971 and will be in effect in the 1976 elections. It specifies that taxpayers can check off one dollar of their taxes for a special fund to pay the expenses of presidential campaigns.

The law also supposedly limits each candidate's spending to 15 cents times the voting age population, or about \$21-million. (Whether, after Watergate, anybody believes that even such a generous limit would actually be enforced is another question.)

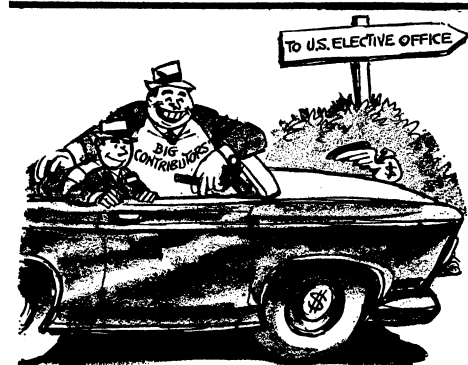
In February the federal government issued an "explanatory summary" of how this law will work, "in response to many phone and written in-

quiries. . . . as to how the money is to be distributed."

The summary states: "Based on 1972 election returns for President, the Democratic and Republican candidates are the *only* ones that can receive public funding during the pre-election campaign period in 1976." (Emphasis in original)

What happened to equality and a fair hearing for all ideas? This campaign "reform" law got around such bothersome democratic concepts by setting up three categories of political parties:

"Major parties" are those that got at least 25 percent of the vote in the last election—that is, only the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.



"IT'S A FREE COUNTRY. ANYONE CAN ENTER THE RACE."

Dollar checkoff law only perpetuates discrimination against independent candidates.

"Minor parties" are those that got 5 to 25 percent of the vote. No party in the country today qualifies as a "minor party."

All others are classified as "new parties." No "new party" is entitled to public campaign financing.

This rules out the Socialist Workers Party, which, in a fight against blatantly discriminatory election laws, won a place on the ballot for its 1972 presidential ticket in 24 states and got more than 96,000 votes.

La Raza Unida party will also be refused public financing, since it did not run a presidential candidate in 1972. This, despite the strong state campaigns run by the independent Chicano party in Colorado and Texas. In Texas the RUP got 220,000 votes for governor in 1972, winning an automatic place on this year's ballot.

The tremendous costs of television and radio time, newspaper space, full time staff workers, literature, and travel make it impossible for parties like the SWP and the RUP, which challenge the Democrats and Republicans, to get a fair hearing.

But to be entitled to any public financing, these parties must first win 5 percent of the vote.

Even then, the money would not be granted until *after* the election!

Catch 22? No, just "democracy"—capitalist style.

To add insult to injury, the government's "explanatory summary" also reviewed the make-up of the board that "counsels and assists" the Comptroller General in regard to the dollar checkoff. This board includes:

- "4 Congressional leaders"—Democrats and Republicans.

- "4 Members representing the two major political parties"—Democrats

and Republicans.

- "3 Members representing the general public."

And who are we, the "general public," represented by? "Henry Ford II, chairman of the Board of Ford Motor Co.; Eugene Rossides, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; and Lew Wasserman, Chairman of the Board of Music Corporation of America!"

The two capitalist parties maintain their monopoly on political life through the millions of dollars at their disposal, through unfair election laws they have enacted, and by failing to enforce the few flimsy "equal time" laws that exist.

It is obvious that handing over millions of tax dollars to the Democrats and Republicans—and them only!—will do nothing to alter the fact that these are parties owned and controlled by the capitalist class and responsive to its interests alone.

But the dollar checkoff law is more than just a phony attempt to give the impression that the capitalist-rigged elections are "fair." It takes a further step in strengthening the political stranglehold of the Democrats and Republicans by establishing legal categories of parties that portray them as the only legitimate parties.

This view that independent parties are not legitimate political parties is used to justify illegal harassment and intimidation of their members and supporters.

Such practices are being exposed and challenged by the SWP's suit against Nixon and other Watergate figures. In opposition to discrimination like that embodied in the dollar checkoff law, the suit will help establish that the SWP is a legal party entitled to full political rights.

# Campaigns win wide hearing

## Salm Kolis announces race for Congress

By SARAH JAMES

SAN DIEGO—Undaunted by the government's attempts to silence socialists in San Diego, Salm Kolis has announced that she will campaign as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress here.

"The fact that I am running for office again in San Diego proves that the city administration has been unsuccessful in silencing me and my party," Kolis said at a news conference Feb. 20.

"My campaign will provide the only alternative to the Democrats and Republicans for the people of the 41st congressional district."

News of Kolis's campaign was carried on all San Diego television channels as well as in the two major daily newspapers.

When Kolis ran for city council here last fall she was arrested three weeks before the primary election and charged with perjury. In an obvious attempt to prevent a socialist from presenting her views, the district attorney alleged that Kolis did not live in the district from which she ran.

Although the charge was false, the DA succeeded in getting a conviction through the use of Watergate tactics such as an FBI informer, a telephone wiretap, coercion of witnesses, selective prosecution, and courtroom maneuvers that prevented the jury from hearing all the facts.

An appeal to overturn Kolis's conviction and sentence of five days in jail, three years probation, and a \$500 fine is being prepared by attorney Peter Young. Support for Kolis's democratic right to voice her beliefs is being organized by the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK).

Last week CDSK sponsored meetings at the University of San Diego, Mesa College, and San Diego State College, where Kolis cited the long history of civil liberties fights in this city.

"My case is a continuation of the fight for free speech begun 63 years ago by the Industrial Workers of the

World and the California Free Speech League," she said.

"In 1911 the San Diego administration outlawed street rallies and arrested hundreds of Wobblies simply for getting up on a soap box and exercising their right to free speech. People were tarred and feathered, beaten and tortured, and ridden out of town on a rail by businessmen and politicians who wanted to prevent the Wobblies from organizing."

Kolis said, "This attack on civil liberties continues today with my frame-up. Instead of tar and feathers, the modern-day city fathers have used trumped-up charges and illegal surveillance. But they are mistaken if they think this frame-up will succeed. My defense committee will continue to fight for free speech and political rights until we win."

Many people have added their names to the list of supporters of the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis. A letter from Larry Beavers, chairman of Local Council 65 of the Airline Employees Association International, said:

"Allow me to endorse your efforts and to pledge my support for your work. . . . In reference to Judge Woodworth's assertion that 'Lying by a politician is intolerable,' and citing 'the gravity of the crime,' his honor has delivered the best indictment of this country's two-party political system today. Why is he persecuting an innocent victim? It must be because his brand of justice is a farce."

Other recent CDSK endorsers include the Fellowship for Social Justice of the Los Angeles Unitarian Church and Adela Serrano, San Diego organizer of the United Farm Workers.

A statewide speaking tour by Salm Kolis has begun with engagements in Los Angeles. Tour information is available through the CDSK, Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

## Rally launches Ohio SWP campaign

By DAVE PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND—A rally of 75 people was held here Feb. 23 to launch the Ohio Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaign. The SWP ticket is headed by Nancy Brown, candidate for governor.

Mary Zins, coordinator of the Young Socialists for Nancy Brown, opened the rally by announcing an ambitious drive to win 700 endorsers of the SWP slate in the next three months.

The next speaker was Eliseo Medina, coordinator of the Ohio United Farm Workers and a member of the International Executive Board of the UFW.

"When the Farm Workers have won and the history is recorded," Medina said, "it should be noted that among the groups that started with us, that stuck with us, and that saw us through to the finish were the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance."

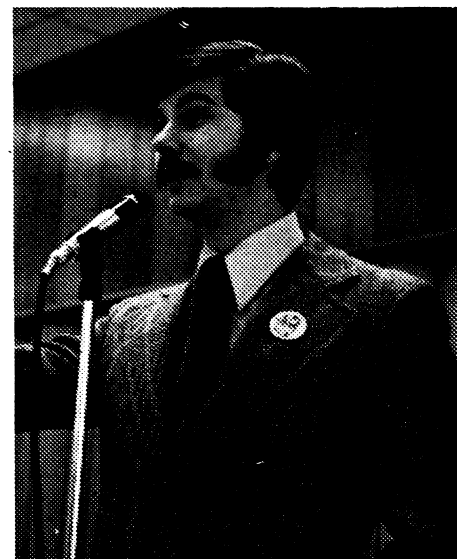
Omar Kenyatta, a former member of the Republic of New Africa who recently joined the Cleveland YSA, spoke on the role the SWP election campaigns played in convincing him

to join the revolutionary socialist youth group.

He stated, "Of all the radical organizations that I have come in contact with in my experience, such as Students for a Democratic Society, Youth International Party, Young Workers Liberation League, the Communist Party, and others, the SWP and YSA in my considered opinion have the overall best program."

"I urge any other young revolutionaries who want to be truly effective in the fight for freedom to give the YSA and the SWP deep consideration," Kenyatta said.

Charles Mitts, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st District, described the struggle of the Cincinnati YSA



Charles Mitts, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress from Ohio's 1st District.

for recognition at Walnut Hills High School. The school principal had insisted that the YSA could not be a recognized student group because of its revolutionary political views.

"The YSA launched a petition drive urging students to support the right of the YSA to form an organization," Mitts explained. "Six hundred students signed our petitions. Many students who were not members of the YSA helped petition."

He continued, "We organized two news conferences to publicize this attack on democratic rights. Eventually the case became so hot that the principal turned it over to the city solicitor."

Mitts said the civil liberties fight ended in victory when the city administration, under pressure of mounting student support for the YSA, was forced to concede that the YSA had the right to be recognized.

The final speaker at the rally was SWP gubernatorial candidate Nancy Brown. She blasted both the Democrats and Republicans in Ohio for their role in the recent truckers' shutdown.

"What was the response of Governor Gilligan, who claims to be a friend of labor? Instead of voicing support for the truckers, Gilligan called out the National Guard to break the strike," Brown said.

"Police and National Guard were used to escort scab trucks. In Akron a truckers' headquarters was broken into and burned by the sheriff's department."

Bernie Senter, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 23rd District, described the campaign's financial needs and appealed for support. A total of \$3,350 was donated or pledged from the rally.

Among those attending the rally were reporters from the Associated Press and WABQ radio.

## Successful endorser drive for Pa. SWP

By DELBERT MAXWELL

PHILADELPHIA—Nearly 250 people have already endorsed the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party ticket of Roberta Scherr for governor and Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate.

Young Socialists for Scherr and Adachi (YSSA) in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh have launched a drive to sign up a total of 550 endorsers in a 12-week period, along with organizing speaking engagements for the candidates and publishing a newsletter.

A good example of the enthusiastic response to the SWP campaign was the Feb. 16 Campaign Day organized by the YSSA, during which literature tables were set up throughout Philadelphia. Despite cold weather 440 copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* were sold and 35 new endorsers were signed up.

At a bake sale at the University of Pittsburgh, campaigners got 15 endorsers in one hour.

According to Susie Berman, YSSA coordinator in Philadelphia, the work has been easy. "It seems almost everyone we talk to is opposed to the Democrats and Republicans," she said, "so when we make it clear we're an alternative, they're often willing to endorse."

Roberta Scherr recently addressed a meeting of 50 people at LaSalle College. Seven of those present, including the chairman of the sociology department, decided to support her campaign. Since then, four students have asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance as a result of the meeting.

YSSA chapters at LaSalle, Temple University, and the University of Pittsburgh have run campaigns for student government, linking the socialist program for the campus to the Scherr and Adachi campaign.

The *LaSalle Collegian* ran a front-page article on Dom Salvatori, YSSA candidate for student body president. At Temple University, Tony Austin was elected to the student senate. Austin is also the SWP candidate for Congress in the 2nd District.

Roberta Scherr, also a Temple student, was featured in an article in the *Temple News*. Scherr has also been campaigning in Philadelphia area high schools, including speaking to four classes at Upper Darby High School.

Christina Adachi spoke at a Women's Cultural Festival at the University of Pittsburgh and helped build support for striking campus maintenance workers in January.

The YSSA has also begun publishing a monthly newsletter to inform supporters of campaign activities. One important upcoming event is the Philadelphia SWP campaign banquet on March 23.

The Newsletter also urges supporters to participate in the socialist petitioning drive that will begin March 30. More than 44,000 signatures will be necessary to place the socialist candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot.

A YOUNG SOCIALIST PAMPHLET

# What Socialists Stand For

By Stephanie Coontz

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# FBI agents bungle testimony on Wounded Knee

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Two undercover agents for the FBI testified for the government last week in the Wounded Knee trial.

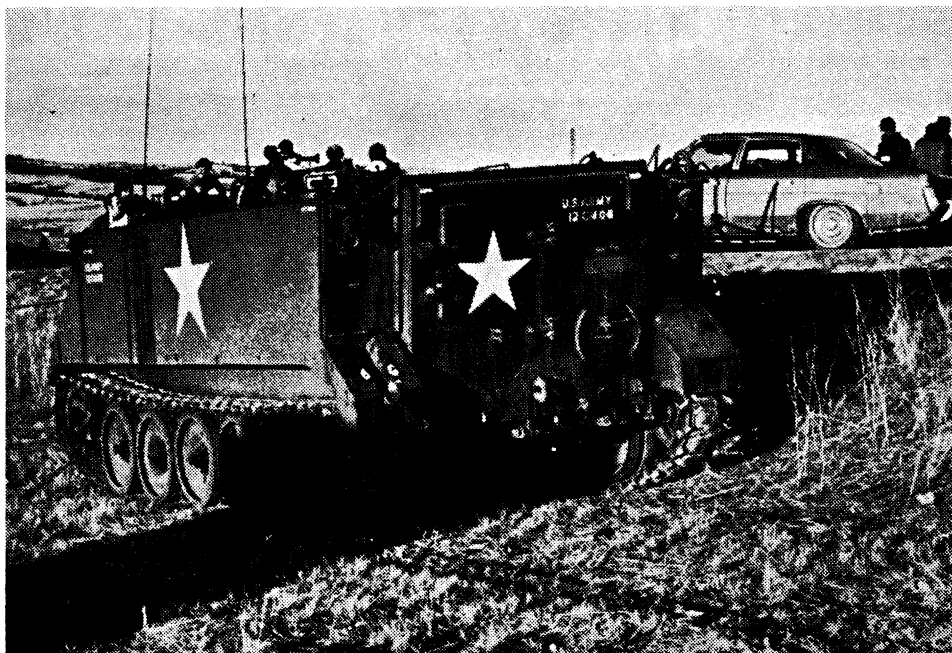
The agents did little to improve the FBI's credibility. They contradicted themselves and admitted to errors in their FBI reports written earlier. By the end of their testimony, it was difficult to tell how much of the agents' story was fact or fabrication. "I think they're liars or incompetents," defense attorney William Kunstler told *The Militant*.

On trial in St. Paul are Russell Means and Dennis Banks, leaders of last year's 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D. They each face a 10-count federal frame-up indictment.

One of the FBI agents, Stanley Keel, a 32-year-old, part Indian, testified that he was sent to Rapid City, S.D., by the FBI shortly before the Wounded Knee occupation in late February 1973.

His job was to infiltrate meetings of the American Indian Movement (AIM), Keel said, and win the leaders' confidence. He said he wore his hair long, dressed in old clothes, and carried false identification.

Keel quoted an Indian named Red Blanket as having told him of a plan to carry guns and fire bombs by caravan to Wounded Knee. Keel's testimony appeared to collapse under care-



Armored personnel carrier at Wounded Knee last spring. Now government is trying to blame Indian leaders for violence during occupation.

ful, skillful cross-examination by Douglas Hall.

Hall brought out that special agent Keel had elicited the "plan" while sharing some beer with Red Blanket. Red Blanket, says the defense, was an alcoholic who has been in and out of mental institutions.

Also Keel said that he was in error when he wrote last year in an FBI report that Clyde Bellecourt had told him of a planned violent take-over of the Pine Ridge Reservation. On the

witness stand Keel now says he had not talked to Clyde, but to Vernon Bellecourt, Clyde's brother.

The little "errors" continue to add up. Keel had written in an FBI report last year that he had seen a case of rifles in the AIM headquarters in Rapid City. But on the stand he admitted that he only saw a case and no rifles, and only assumed there were rifles in it.

To infiltrate AIM, Keel said he had told Indian leaders in Rapid City that

he supported their cause and gave Dennis Banks \$20. Kunstler, in cross-examination, forced Keel to repeatedly admit that he had lied to win AIM's confidence. "Matter of fact, it's your business to lie as an undercover agent," said Kunstler.

A government attorney started to object—then paused—apparently unsure whether it was a valid question. His indecision drew roars of laughter from the spectators. The government attorney then made his objection, and U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol sustained it.

FBI agent Charles Stephenson, Keel's undercover partner, also took the stand. Mark Lane, a defense attorney, told *The Militant* that Stephenson had offered Russell Means explosives. Means immediately turned Stephenson down, said Lane, and thereafter regarded him with suspicion.

Stephenson also appeared to be suffering from credibility problems. He quoted both Red Blanket and Bill Means, Russell's brother. But he was unable to identify a photo of Red Blanket, and could not spot Bill Means, who was sitting in the spectators' section.

The government says it intends to call 150 witnesses in the trial. Observed Kunstler: "Out of the first eight government witnesses, not a single criminal action has been described." With the defense planning to call as many as 100 witnesses or more, the trial could easily run six months.

## Defense rallies set for Denver Crusade, AIM

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—Support activities here continue to build the March 17 demonstration and rally in solidarity with the Crusade for Justice, a Denver Chicano nationalist organization.

March 17 marks the first anniversary of the brutal police assault on the Crusade's school, resulting in the killing of Luis "Junior" Martínez, a Crusade activist, and frame-up charges being leveled against other Chicano militants.

A permit has been secured for four feeder marches that will lead into the 1 p.m. rally at the state capitol. The feeder marches will start at 12 noon from Mestizo (Curtis) Park at 31st and Curtis; La Raza (Columbus) Park at 38th and Navajo; La Alma

(Lincoln) Park at 13th and Mariposa; and Cheesman Park at 8th and Franklin. The Crusade has designated Cheesman Park as an assembly point for non-Chicanos who wish to express solidarity.

Scheduled speakers include Wounded Knee defendant Dennis Banks; Los Tres del Barrio, the three Chicanos facing frame-up charges in Los Angeles; Hortensia Allende; Juan Mari Brás, leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Angela Davis; Bert Corona, head of CASA, a Los Angeles antideportation group; Mario Cantú, director of CASA in San Antonio; and Crusade leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez.

For more information about the rally, contact the Denver Chicano Lib-

eration Defense Committee, P.O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218, or call (303) 222-0825.

A meeting will be held in Denver the week before, on March 8, to build for the March 17 protest and to support the Wounded Knee defendants. Dennis Banks and Russell Means will speak, along with Crusade leaders Ernesto Vigil and Ricardo Romero.

Sponsors of the event are the Denver American Indian Movement (AIM), the Oiate Club of Indian students at Colorado University in Boulder, the Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, and the Militant Forum. Proceeds will go to the AIM Legal Defense Fund.

The March 8 meeting will begin at 8 p.m. at the Indian Center, 16th and Gaylord.



Dennis Banks (left) and Russell Means will speak at March 8 rally in Denver.

## Baltimore teachers' strike wins labor support

By MARK UGOLINI

BALTIMORE—Efforts by the city's school administration to break the three-week-old strike by Baltimore public school teachers have escalated in recent days. Harassment and provocation of picketers by police and security guards resulted in the arrests of 25 striking teachers last week.

However, the Baltimore teachers' strike remains highly effective. Teacher and student attendance remain at a mere 10 percent and 8 percent respectively.

At a rally of more than 4,000 held Feb. 19, striking teachers rejected by a 5-to-1 margin the latest city offer. The proposal fell far short of the teachers' major demands, which include a 3 percent across-the-board wage increase retroactive to September and a package of wage and fringe benefits totaling 11 percent for the next fiscal year.

Immediately after the rally, Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaefer ordered city lawyers to move immediately to impose daily fines against the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA) and its leadership. In addition, special police units have been assembled to clear the way for scabs attempting to gain access to the schools.

Karl Boone, PSTA president, has made repeated statements lately of the need for broadening labor support for the strike in order to "close down every school in Baltimore. . . ." Boone has pointed to the need for active support, especially from other municipal employees unions, to help win teacher demands.

Ernest Crofoot, director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) locals in Maryland, said recently that a coalition of AFSCME locals, fire fighters, and police unions has been

formed to back the teachers' strike. Firemen and other municipal employees have contracts coming up soon and are expected to demand sizable pay increases.

"The idea of a general strike has been tossed around," Crofoot said. "It's not just a matter of fraternalism. We know that we might as well be sitting at the bargaining table, too, and if we get the same kind of offers from the city the teachers have, we may all be in the same bucket, real quick."

AFSCME represents 3,000 janitors, cafeteria workers, and engineers in the city school system, and 11,500 city employees in all.

At a general membership meeting of AFSCME Local 44, 800 city employees voted unanimously to aid striking Baltimore teachers. Composed overwhelmingly of Black workers, the gathering enthusiastically approved a proposal from the union's executive

board to:

- Honor striking teachers' picket lines.
- Refuse orders to perform jobs other than those assigned them by contract.
- Grant \$1,000 to the teachers' strike fund.
- Respond to the union leadership's call to any rallies or meetings "at any time."

Unlike some teachers' strikes in recent years, the Baltimore teachers have actively sought and received support from the Black community. Baltimore is more than 50 percent Black. PSTA officials estimate that 60 percent of Baltimore school teachers are Black.

Active support for the strike in the Black community has been largely expressed through the PTAs and other organized parent groups. Many Black parents and students have joined teachers on the picket lines and at rallies.



# Farah strike victorious after 22-month battle

By DAVID RUSSELL

The strike of Chicano clothing workers against the Farah Manufacturing Company ended Feb. 24 with a resounding victory.

Farah, based in El Paso, Tex., with other plants in San Antonio and Victoria, Tex., and Las Cruces, N.M., is one of the largest producers of men's slacks in the country. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers union began organizing there in 1969, and after repeated firings of union activists 3,000 workers, mostly women, walked out in May 1972.

The intimidation and victimization of Farah workers by the company was so blatant that last month a National Labor Relations Board judge ruled that Farah was "trampling on the rights of its employees as if there were . . . no Ten Commandments."

Instrumental in the success of the strike was a nationwide boycott of Farah pants that forced the closing of four of the nine Farah factories and reduced sales from \$164-million in 1971 to \$132-million in 1973. The price of Farah stock fell from \$30 a share to as low as \$3.25. The boycott received widespread support from the trade-union movement, church groups, and the Chicano movement.

The strike settlement came after mounting public pressure forced Fa-

rah to allow a company-wide poll of its workers, including those laid off and those on strike. Sixty-three percent signed union pledge cards.

The settlement provides for the rehiring of the 3,000 strikers and full recognition of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union as the bargaining agent for Farah workers. Striking workers will be paid \$30 a week by Farah—the amount they were receiving in strike benefits from the union—until they are rehired.

Negotiations are to begin on a contract between the union and Farah. Average pay for Farah workers at the time the strike began was \$69 a week.

In addition to the problem of low wages, job security and a seniority system will also be issues in the contract negotiations. One of the biggest grievances of Farah workers who spoke to Harry Ring, head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, during a visit to El Paso in November, was the arbitrary firing of workers.

Another complaint was the fact that almost all supervisors were Anglos, while almost all the workers were Chicanos. One striker told Ring, "They'd pass over people with years of experience and bring in inexperienced whites for the jobs."

# Seattle UFW backers hit Fitzsimmons' policy

By WESLEY WEINHOLD

SEATTLE—More than 500 demonstrators circled the Olympic Hotel in downtown Seattle Feb. 23 to protest the policies of Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons and other labor officials meeting inside. The lively demonstration was organized by the United Farm Workers Boycott Committee.

Fitzsimmons had been invited by the Washington Labor Management Association to present its public service award to Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan.

The protesters outside were mostly in their twenties, but included many older workers and "hardhats," with signs identifying their unions. There were pickets from a rank-and-file Teamsters group, the Steelworkers, and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1488.

The demonstrators chanted, "Farm Workers sí, Fitzsimmons no. Labor traitors got to go!" and "Don't buy lettuce, don't buy grapes, don't buy wine that Gallo makes!"

The action also protested the deaths of 19 farm workers a month ago in the crash of a labor contractor's unsafe bus. The Teamsters had allowed the bus to be overcrowded and had not checked it for safety violations. In the crash, the seats on the bus

broke loose, and when the bus came to rest upside down in an irrigation ditch, many workers were trapped underneath.

A rally held after the picketing was addressed by Dale Van Pelt, from the UFW; a rank-and-file Steelworker; Rosa Gonzales, a rank-and-file Teamster; and Del Castle, a member of the executive board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 19.

CITY OF COMMERCE, Calif. — More than 300 members of the United Farm Workers and supporters demonstrated here at the Southern California warehouse and office of the Gallo wine company Feb. 20.

Gallo grape pickers, on strike since the company signed a sweetheart agreement with the Teamsters last spring, are actively promoting the UFW boycott of Gallo wine.

The demonstration had encouraging union and community support. Among the unions represented were the United Steelworkers, United Auto Workers, American Federation of Teachers, Motion Picture Projectionists, and United Rubber Workers.

The night before the demonstration, the City of Commerce city council voted to support the Gallo boycott.

# Meetings discuss the teachings of Malcolm X

By MARSHALL TUCKER

More than a decade ago, Malcolm X began putting forward the idea that Black people have to break with the Democratic and Republican parties to effectively fight racist oppression. His views on independent Black political action were the focus of meetings held across the country commemorating the ninth anniversary of his assassination, Feb. 21.

In Washington, 300 people came to meetings during a statewide speaking tour on Malcolm X by Paul Boutelle. Boutelle, a former member of Malcolm

X's Organization of Afro-American Unity, was the 1968 Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president.

On Feb. 22, Namosha Smith, chairwoman of the Black Action Society (BAS) at the University of Pittsburgh, and Norman Oliver, staff writer for *The Militant*, spoke at the Pittsburgh Militant Forum on "The Revolutionary Legacy of Malcolm X." The BAS also sponsored a statewide Black student conference that weekend, and a number of participants in the conference attended the forum.

In Chicago, 65 people came to hear Jan Carew, head of the African-American Studies Department at Northwestern University; Francis Ward, Chicago correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*; and Willie Reid, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 1st Congressional District, at the Militant Forum.

In New York City, the Young Socialist Alliance organized campus and high school meetings on Malcolm X. One hundred students came to a talk at Brooklyn College by Robb Wright, SWP candidate for Congress in the 16th C.D.

Sixty people turned out for the YSA-sponsored meetings at New York University and Hunter College, which were addressed by Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for New York state controller. The NYU YSA also sold \$60 of literature that week at a campus table devoted to Black history.

The Brooklyn Militant Forum heard Mburumba Kerina, a Namibian and a personal acquaintance of Malcolm X, and Pat Wright of the YSA.

Malcolm X forums were also held in Cleveland, Boston, Washington, D.C., and New York's Lower Manhattan.

The Ohio Young Socialist Alliance organized meetings on several campuses in the state.



Militant/Harry Ring

United Farm Workers demonstration Feb. 20 at Gallo's Southern California offices.

# Colorado students plan UFW boycott campaign

DENVER — How to organize support for the United Farm Workers at high schools and colleges throughout the state of Colorado?

That was the question discussed by 120 students who met here Feb. 23. The conference was built by a coalition of UFW support organizations from schools across the state.

Participants voted unanimously to launch a massive educational campaign to win students to the boycott of Gallo wines.

Richard Longoria, Rocky Mountain Regional UFW boycott director, opened the conference with a report on a recent meeting of West Coast UFW directors, who decided to organize the boycott of Gallo. He said the boycott is aimed at any wine showing Modesto, Calif., on its label, including Gallo, Boone's Farm, Thunderbird, and Andre Cold Duck.

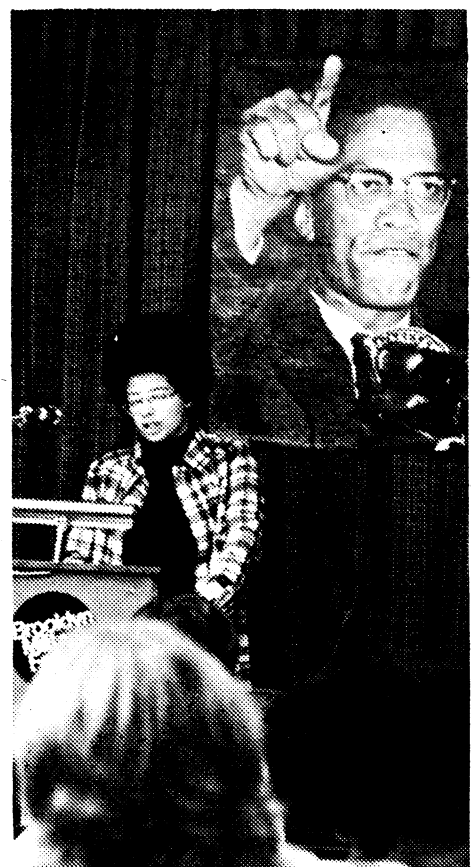
Frank Lord, acting chairman of the steering committee of the student support organizations, spoke on using the resources of the campuses to help the UFW win.

Students at the University of Northern Colorado at Greeley have formed a broad-based UFW support committee, according to a report by Jean McAllister. She said the committee is undertaking a campaign to stop sales of non-UFW products in campus cafeterias.

Jerry LeBlanc described the efforts of students at Colorado University in Boulder to mobilize votes for a continuation of the boycott of non-UFW goods on that campus. Since last spring, when student pressure forced the administration to stop buying scab lettuce, there has been a concerted drive by anti-UFW forces to overturn this decision.

LeBlanc also said the Farm Labor Task Force in Boulder will soon begin a campaign to win student support for the Gallo boycott, focusing on the Liquor Mart, one of the largest liquor stores in the state.

Four Denver TV stations covered the conference and the two major dailies in Denver ran articles in their Sunday editions announcing the Gallo boycott drive.



Militant/Martha Harris

Pat Wright of Young Socialist Alliance addresses Malcolm X meeting sponsored by Brooklyn Militant Forum.

## Guards brutalize defendants

# Pretrial hearings open for Leavenworth inmates

By BAXTER SMITH

A prison saga not unlike the one that began at Attica in September 1971 unfolded in July 1973 at the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kans.

At both institutions prisoners were fed up with conditions and struck out to change them.

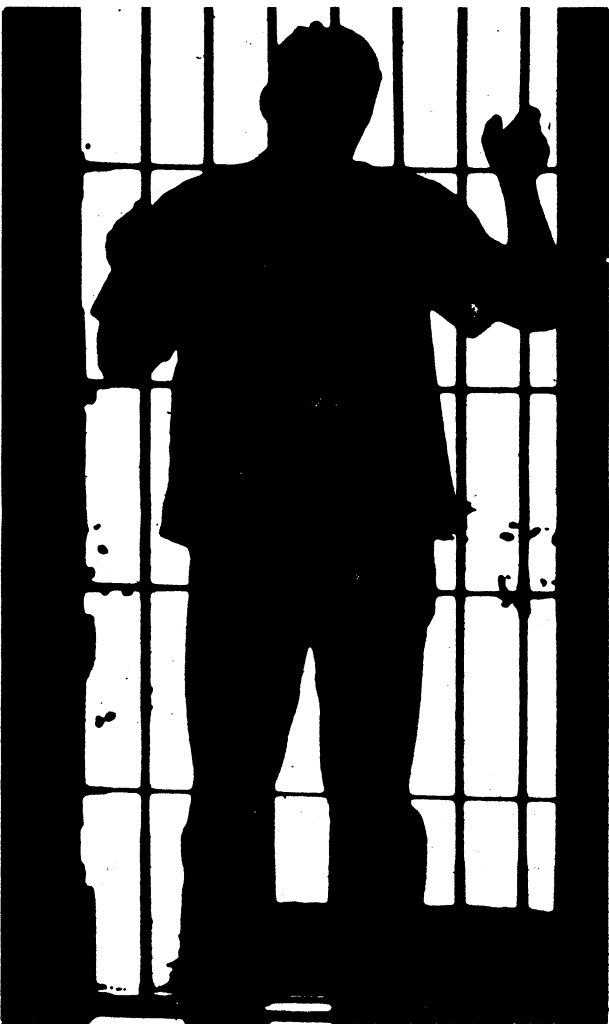
At Attica, 43 men died in the end. At Leavenworth, one guard died.

At Leavenworth, as at Attica, indictments have been handed down naming only prisoners for the ten-and-one-half hour revolt that jarred the prison July 31.

On Feb. 13, hearings on the first Leavenworth indictments began. Odell Bennett, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill Jr., and Alfred Jasper had hearings on kidnapping, assault, and murder charges. William Hurst, Jesse Lopez, and Armando Miramon were indicted for assault and kidnapping. Bennett and Hill are also indicted for mutiny, and Jasper for possession of a deadly weapon.

Other indictments are expected, according to the prisoners' defense committee.

But support is growing and most recently, on Feb. 18, Reverend Philip Berrigan spoke to a protest of 200 people who marched to the prison demanding that charges be dropped against the Leavenworth Brothers.



The Leavenworth Brothers' story dates back to July when a group of prisoners drew up a list of 13 grievances to present to Warden Loren Daggett. The prisoners demanded guarantees of their basic rights and an improvement in conditions at the prison. Daggett refused them.

Then, on July 20, a prisoner was found dead. He had been left in a strip cell for eight days and nights. He was a cripple. He died of a brain clot, mysteriously caused. His death was the fourth in the prison in a nine-month period.

A letter from Leavenworth Brother William Hurst describes what followed: "The prison population was seated in the messhall, everyone was pretty up-tight that another of our number was lost. How things started is still not clear, it was a situation where everyone had had it!"

The prisoners took four guards hostage to force Daggett to the bargaining table, Hurst wrote. After several hours of talks Daggett told a nine-member prisoner committee that he would negotiate on the original 13 demands if they released the guards unharmed. He said there would be no reprisals. The prisoners trusted his word but saw their hopes dashed when officials grabbed them after they released the hostages.

Meanwhile, a guard was killed in another part of the prison in an unrelated incident. However, the rebels were blamed.

About 200 prisoners were rounded up and corralled in segregation cells, where some 30 are still kept.

In August, 16 prisoners filed suit, asking for their removal from segregation, and claiming their right to due process had been denied.

A dispatch in the Nov. 9 Kansas City *Weekly Westport Trucker* describes what segregation in Leavenworth is like: "The ceiling lights . . . are left on 24 hours a day. The men are offered 15 minutes of exercise every two weeks at the discretion of the guard. Clean clothes are available after showers and showers are sometimes weeks apart.

"No implements are made available to clean cells. Complaints about bugs result in the guard spraying the cell while the prisoner is in it. The inmates must eat on the floor because no chairs or tables are provided. They shave with a community razor.

"In the hole, they do not receive full food rations. Their commissary privileges have been severely cut to less than one-half the dollar amount allowed the inmates in open population."

In addition to this treatment, those indicted were abused when they appeared for the Feb. 13 hearing. Members of the defense committee observed that they appeared to have been beaten prior to their arrival.

A special bus brought them to court. All were laden with chains and tethered hand to foot. Some could not walk, and guards who lugged them from the bus dropped some and bounced

their heads on the concrete as they dragged them up the courthouse stairs.

In court, bruises and cuts were visible, and one prisoner's face had to be wiped of blood.

One prisoner told defense committee members who were present that the prisoners were beaten while refusing a rectal search and that one prisoner had been choked unconscious.

Despite this treatment, the Brothers are continuing the fight, and support is mounting. One Brother wrote *The Militant*, saying: "Maltreatment, abuses, termination of visiting rights, no papers, books, pens or personal articles continues unchecked here at Leavenworth federal penitentiary. The abuses are numerous but in the face of all this, the Brothers remain unified and strong."

To aid in the defense effort, contact the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee, P. O. Box 5818, Kansas City, Mo. 64111. Telephone: (816) 753-1619.

## Leavenworth bans issues of Militant



Militant/Michael Baumann

The above *Militants*, which were sent to prisoner subscribers at Leavenworth in February, were recently returned stamped "Not Authorized at U. S. Penitentiary."

Such arbitrary banning of *The Militant* by Leavenworth officials has occurred before. Individual subscribers at the prison report that some weeks they receive their *Militant*, and some weeks they don't.

Protest letters to prison authorities have brought evasive replies, such as a form letter from federal prisons chief Norman Carlson, who said that if a publication is "exciting or promoting violence or disorder [and] would seriously affect the good order of the institution, it may be excluded. . . ."

The National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation has filed a federal class action suit protesting the denial of prisoners' right to receive newspapers, books, and magazines. Among the newspapers cited is *The Militant*.

## Puerto Rican prison revolt leaders transferred

A two-day revolt in Puerto Rico's La Princesa prison won inmates an agreement from the commonwealth government to improve their conditions. But after the prisoners returned to their cells Feb. 21, U.S. and local agents forcibly transferred the leaders of the revolt to another prison, where they were placed in the maximum security section. Clubs and tear gas were used against them when they resisted transfer.

Proindependence lawyers Juan Mari Brás, Carlos Gallisá, and Fermín Arraiza, who at the request of the prisoners had mediated the agreement, sharply denounced the transfers.

According to the Feb. 23 *El Mundo*, one of San Juan's major dailies, they stated in a letter to Secretary of Justice Francisco de Jesús Schuck, "We denounce the flagrant violation of the agreement signed by you as secretary of justice and as the representative of the governor of Puerto Rico with us in the name of the inmates in the La Princesa prison." They condemned the violent attacks against the prisoners who were transferred.

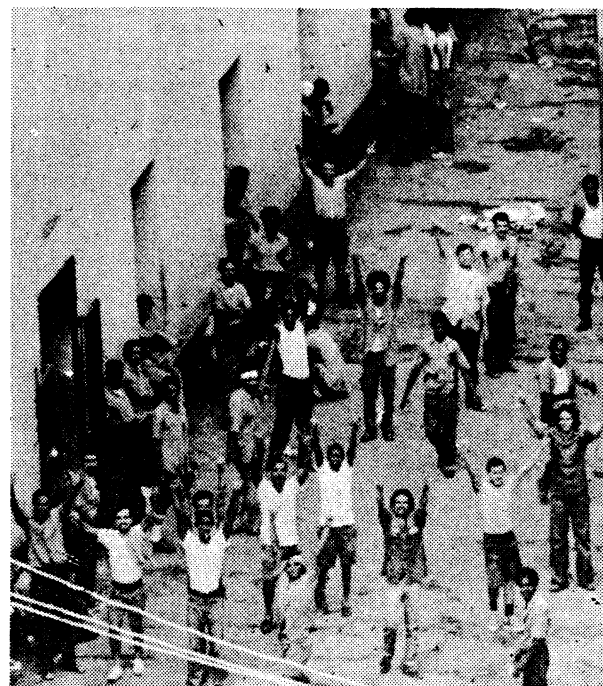
The signed agreement promised to meet the prisoner's demands, which included transferring two brutal guards, providing better health services and

occupational training, extending visiting time for family members by 15 minutes, improving the quality of meals, freedom to receive literature from families and friends, free access to their lawyers with no time limits on visits, and for prisoners under 23 to be transferred to the juvenile annex.

In return the prisoners agreed to free two guards taken as hostages and seven reporters and photographers whom the prisoners had invited as witnesses to the agreement. According to *El Mundo* reporter Eurípides Ríos, who was in the prison during the revolt, "Neither the reporters nor the two guards taken as hostages at the beginning of the mutiny were threatened during the time inside the prison."

The transfer of the prison leaders is a sign that the government may have no intention of meeting the prisoners' just demands. This was reinforced by Francisco de Jesús at a news conference following the transfers when the secretary of justice took a tough line about the need for keeping order in the prisons.

During the revolt at La Princesa, prisoners at the Commonwealth Penitentiary in Río Piedras also carried out a protest that lasted about three hours.



La Princesa prisoners during rebellion over inhuman conditions at penitentiary.



# World Outlook

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

MARCH 8, 1974

## A Soviet oppositionist analyzes Stalinism

[Pyotr G. Grigorenko is a former major general in the Soviet army. He has been confined to psychiatric hospitals since 1969 because of his political beliefs.

[Grigorenko was originally classified as "mentally ill" and hospitalized from February 1964 to May 1965 because, in the words of an official report, he had "studied Marx and Lenin and pondered the mistakes of the political leadership, (and) tried to map out the right course."

[From 1966 until his second arrest, Grigorenko became increasingly active in the struggle for democratic rights in the Soviet Union. He was prominent in the defense of arrested dissidents, in the protests against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, and in defense of oppressed national minorities within the Soviet Union. He was especially well known for his efforts in behalf of the Crimean Tatars, who were exiled en masse from their homeland by Stalin in 1944 and are still denied the right to return by Stalin's successors.

[Last October, several psychiatrists from the United States and Britain, part of a delegation visiting the Soviet Union, were permitted to see Grigorenko briefly. Dr. Alfred Freedman, president of the American Psychiatric Association, reported that Grigorenko refused to be interviewed when denied the right to use his own, rather than a government, interpreter. Freedman said that one of the Soviet psychiatrists present cited this refusal as a proof of Grigorenko's "insanity."

[We are printing below major excerpts from an open letter by Grigorenko to the participants of the Conference of Communist parties, which met in Budapest at the end of February 1968. This document is especially timely today because of the debate on the nature of Stalinism in Soviet dissident circles provoked by the publication in the West of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's book *The Gulag Archipelago*.

[In contrast to Solzhenitsyn, who argues that Stalinism represented a logical extension of Leninism, Grigorenko views the two as antagonistic, and retains his belief in socialism.

[The original Russian text, of which this is the first English translation to be published, was received by the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt.]

It is well known that half a century ago communism passed over from being simply a theory into a real-

world phenomenon; and from that moment, many people began to judge communism not by what was written in books and not by the utterances of the communist leaders and theoreticians, but by practical achievements in the Soviet Union.

And in the early years, these achievements served as an inspiring example for the workers of the entire world. Despite the enemies' resistance and the most colossal domestic difficulties, the workers and peasants were able to uphold the power they had won, and the country, under the leadership of its elected representatives, experienced one success after another:

- in an extremely short historical period, it moved from a state of semi-barbarism to the most advanced levels of industrial development;

- the economy based on peasants with small or very small holdings was collectivized and a highly mechanized agricultural complex, the greatest in the world, was created.

- a genuine cultural revolution took place: the broadest number of the working masses had access to the achievements of science, and all the benefits of culture and art were brought within reach of the people.

Broad masses of communists within the country and the communist public beyond the borders of our native land did not know how and by what methods this was accomplished, and hence did not ponder over the question of whether these successes were socialist in nature. The Soviet people and our friends abroad were impressed by the fact that all this was accomplished by the workers themselves without the landlords and capitalists; without the czarist officials or aid from outside; without foreign loans or contributions and without recourse to colonial plunder. And all this was accomplished under conditions of capitalist encirclement.

On the question of this encirclement it is proper to be more specific.

The interventions that were engineered abroad and the subsequent blockade evoked in turn a reaction: We did everything by ourselves. This natural and healthy response grew, as time passed, into a reactionary isolationism.

The clearly hostile and slanderous bourgeois propaganda caused our foreign friends to fully distrust all the bourgeois reports. And within the USSR, especially among the new intelligentsia, there arose a determination not to give out for use in this propaganda campaign the actual data on



A street barricade in Moscow in the late fall of 1917. Achievements of Soviet workers under Lenin 'served as an inspiring example for the workers of the entire world.'

our shortcomings.

Stalin was able to derive considerable advantage from the domestic as well as the foreign reactions to the propaganda that was hostile to the Soviet Union. Introducing the strictest censorship, forbidding Soviet citizens—under penalty of death—to make any kind of contact whatever with foreigners, making the lie an instrument of governmental policy, he managed to insure that life in the Soviet Union was illuminated only in a light that pleased him. Every success—real or imaginary—was blown up and extolled in every way possible. Every mistake or failure was attributed to enemy intrigues or passed off as a lie.

This was so much the easier to do because he had found reliable assistants.

On his deathbed the great Lenin warned the communists of the Soviet Union that he was bequeathing to the party not simply Soviet power but "Soviet power with bureaucratic distortions." While doing so, he indicated that the bureaucrat is the central, most dangerous enemy of Soviet power. The party, unfortunately, did not heed his warning, and the Soviet bureaucracy began to become more and more entrenched. The bureaucracy sensed, perhaps unconsciously, that the masses—their control—presented the greatest threat to its existence. Therefore, when tendencies to limit open criticism of shortcomings began to appear among the masses, the bureaucrats actively supported these tendencies and used them toward their own ends.

When Stalin undertook action directed toward getting out from under the control of the party and the working masses, the bureaucracy proved to be a most reliable ally for

him in this cause, since it was freeing itself by this means from a potential control that could only terrify it the initiative of the masses.

Thus Stalin and the apparatus he led ended up beyond the control of the masses inside the country and beyond the criticism of the Communist parties of the world. The experiment in building a society that the best minds of humanity had dreamed about, the success of which was in the interest of the broadest masses of workers, ended up being handed over to a small group of "communist priests" who "solemnly performed rites" somewhere behind closed doors, passing off the outcome of their efforts as the highest achievements of human genius. In other words, conditions were deliberately created such that a scientific experiment that was to be the first attempt to organize a socialist system could not take the correct course.

Worst of all, it turned out that there was no one to reveal the mistakes in the experiment. Mass terror was soon instituted in the Soviet Union, striking not only the real opponents but even the potential critics of Stalin's regime.

But before the war, none of our friends abroad could have found out about this. During the second world war the peoples of the world looked to the Soviet Union as the savior from the inhuman Hitlerite tyranny. Progressive people of the world were imbued with an inexhaustible love for our country and for a long time would hear nothing negative about it.

Therefore, the cries of those tortured in Beria's chambers and the moans of millions who liberated Europe and were now perishing in the boundless expanses of Siberia and the Far East

*Continued on following page*



## 'In all practical matters in the USSR there was a fundamental departure from Marxist-Leninist theory'

Continued from preceding page

were not heard by the world community for a long time. Bitter cold and disease literally decimated the poorly clad people who had been weakened by starvation, backbreaking labor, the unbearable living conditions, and savage treatment. But the world heard only the florid marches and bombastic reports about the happy life afforded the people by the "great leader and teacher," our "own beloved Stalin."

Nevertheless, times had changed in the postwar world. The fact that Communist parties came to power in a number of countries in Southeast and Central Europe and in Asia, particularly the revolution in China, led to a weakening of the USSR's position in the world Communist movement.

This situation, along with certain of the Soviet state's domestic phenomena, compelled the CPSU leadership to come out with partial disclosures of the Stalin calamity. However, the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU did not disclose the full essence of what had gone on. What was said at the congress was not the whole truth or half the truth, or even one thousandth of the truth. All in all, what was reported to the congress—in a very restrained manner and distorted form—was only a very tiny part of the truth on one issue: the brutalities of Stalin's period of rule. But even reporting this tiny bit frightened them, and immediately after the congress they began to equivocate. First "Stalin performed this and that horrible crime"; later on we hear, "We will not allow Stalin to be insulted."

However, the brutality did not exist in a vacuum. It was only one consequence of the particular system of government administration. The whole truth was far more terrible: *In all practical matters in the USSR there was a fundamental departure from Marxist-Leninist theory.* The points listed below attest to this.

1. The social structure created under Stalin's leadership was not able to



GRIGORENKO: Confined in insane asylum for criticizing Soviet bureaucrats.

provide a higher level of labor productivity than had capitalism. But according to Marxist teachings this is the main criterion for determining the viability of the new social structure.

2. The Soviet Union was not only unable to attain the main goal of the proletarian revolution—the elimination of the state through its depoliticization. It did not even open up a practical avenue toward this end. In fact, the course of events in the post-October period followed the same road as all previous revolutions. A machine for suppression was created that was more perfect than the one that had existed before October. But according to Marxist-Leninist theory the old mechanism for governing is supposed to be smashed and broken and replaced by a state that "is with-

ering away," that "will begin to wither away immediately and *cannot do otherwise.*"

3. Instead of the unlimited expansion of democracy envisaged by the teachings of Marx and Lenin, democracy ended up being totally liquidated, without a trace remaining. A state was set up that had an unprecedented degree of totalitarian control.

A gigantic bureaucratic octopus has the entire society in its tentacles and is strangling it to death. It is impossible to undertake any organized public activity if it isn't arranged and authorized by the higher bureaucratic body. Religious activities are possible only on that condition. Gatherings, meetings, demonstrations, and other activities organized by the bureaucratic apparatus are carried out in accordance with well-known models or carefully prepared stage directions.

All this applies not only to ordinary people but even to functionaries of the bureaucratic hierarchy on all levels, and to scientists, writers, and artists as well. Every person who has attempted to resist these methods has been eliminated or completely isolated from society.

What was involved in fact was the complete failure of humanity's first attempt at creating a social system fairer than capitalism. No one (except a fool) would want to replace the most backward capitalism with a backward "socialism." It is possible that this is precisely why those on whom all of that depended were opposed to disclosure of the truth.

But we all know that the truth cannot be hidden, and it becomes ever more widely known. But since the attempt was made stubbornly to hide the truth and since the truth was disseminated above all through bourgeois channels, the people began to think that the Soviet system and communism were one and the same.

It is on precisely this level that the present crisis developed. It is from the Soviet system that anticommunism draws arguments for its struggle against the world Communist movement. In such a situation the world Communist movement could save itself as an ideological current in only one way: by totally and unequivocally distinguishing itself from the "socialist" system of the USSR. But this was not done and it is the CPSU that is above all responsible for that fact.

After the Twentieth Congress, the leadership of our party not only failed to become involved in correcting the anticommunist course of Stalinism, but it began to impede denunciation of Stalinism. The line in the direction of a complete return to Stalinism was expressed most clearly after the Twenty-third Congress of the CPSU.

At the present time the censor does

not permit the publication of any document revealing the true nature of Stalinist rule.

Even the term "personality cult" has been secretly banned. On the other hand, everything that in a more or less veiled manner whitewashes Stalin and his time encouraged. We observe the same line in the official statements of leading party and state figures.

Thus L. I. Brezhnev in his address "Fifty years of the Great October Revolution" completely "forgot" not only the entire period of prewar and postwar repression, but also the Twentieth and Twenty-second Party Congresses, which exposed the savage character of Stalin's dictatorship.

We know that the changes that took place in the country after the Twentieth Party Congress applied only to the most loathsome manifestations of Stalinism, but in no way affected its foundations.

For example, the massive repression and brutal torture were discontinued, but the possibility still remained that both might be resumed, since just as in Stalin's time there is no publicity about legal proceedings, and just as before we have no control over the functioning of the KGB.

The isolated signs of a democratization in internal party life that followed the Twentieth Party Congress have long since been suppressed. Members of the party have been deprived of any rights whatsoever and have only one duty: unquestioning obedience to the party, state, and industrial administrative apparatus.

The rights the organs for state security had in the previous period have been restored to them. It is well known that after Beria's clique was crushed, these organs' main line of activity was intelligence and counterintelligence. Therefore, their numbers were sharply cut back and an intelligence specialist was appointed to supervise the work. Now these organs have been directed once again, as in Stalin's time, mainly into the struggle against popular protest within this country.

The main features of the Stalinist structure have also been preserved—government by means of lies and terror. It is true that the terror is not being displayed so openly and does not have the same abominable forms it did not so long ago. But to make up for it, the lying has reached most incredible heights. The lying is done openly—in the press, on radio, and on television—and secretly at different kinds of meetings and conferences, in reports, conversations, instructions, and seminars.

The open lie is used to present our economic and social life in the way that is most advantageous to the ruling circles—to misrepresent the facts about what really has taken place, exaggerate the significance of isolated successes, maintain silence about failures, etc. Particularly notable distortions can be seen in the way historical events are rendered.

The histories of the party and of the Soviet state have been falsified to such a degree that it is embarrassing to read them, the very same event being presented in different ways in different years, but all of them false. Even Stalin's illegal and savage annihilation of those he imagined to be competitors for power—the best students and closest collaborators of the great Lenin, the true Bolshevik-Communists: Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenov, Rykov, and the others—until now has been presented as a blessing in disguise, the liquidation of socialism's worst enemies. Anyone who attempts

### The Soviet Union and Stalinism

The struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution began in the 1920s with the founding of the Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. The fight for socialist democracy continues today. For further reading on this subject see:

**The Revolution Betrayed** by Leon Trotsky. 314 pp., \$7.95, paper \$2.95.

**Stalinism and Bolshevism** by Leon Trotsky. \$.50.

**From Lenin to Stalin** by Victor Serge. 192 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

**The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Bloc** by Gus Horowitz. \$.50.

**Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition.** 400 pp., \$13, paper \$3.95.

Order from:  
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,  
New York, N.Y. 10014.  
Write for free catalog.



Stalinist falsification of history is shown by the removal of Trotsky from photograph shown below—one taken within minutes of this one.

to restore historical truth is viciously persecuted. Not long ago A.M. Nekrich was expelled from the party for venturing to raise ever so slightly the curtain hiding the secrets about how criminally ill-prepared we were for the war.

Lies continue to be cultivated at the highest levels regarding the basic law of the land, the Constitution. Our constitution to this very day is purely for show, serving only to foster the myth abroad that workers in the USSR have every democratic right and freedom.

In fact the Criminal Code completely ignores the Constitution in every way. It contains an article (the article on anti-Soviet agitation) which can be used to block the realization of any of the constitutional freedoms. One can judge the nature of this article by the mere fact that analogous legislation exists only in a country with a fascist dictatorship. Not one bourgeois democracy has such a statute. Even in the United States, where monopolization and conformism have become very highly developed, no law on anti-American activity has yet been forced through.

But in our country it has now turned out that even this antipeople article is not enough. New, draconian laws against potential opposition have been passed. Thus, in September 1966 two additions to the Criminal Code were adopted that completely abrogate the citizens' constitutional rights to free speech, press, meetings, gatherings, demonstrations, and also the greatest conquest of the working class—the right to strike. These amendments were adopted in deepest secrecy amid the noisy clamor of a struggle against hooliganism.

The camps for political prisoners are now, as in Stalin's time, barely distinguishable from Hitler's camps.

As before, for political "criminals" in the USSR there is neither a trial nor an investigation in the normal sense of the words. If anyone had any doubts on this score, the trial of the writers [Andrei] Sinyavsky and [Yuri] Daniel and especially the recent political trial in Moscow (Galanskov, Ginzburg, Dobrovolsky, and Lashkova) left no room for such doubts.

The appalling genocide continues, on a lesser scale than in Stalin's time, it is true; but it continues none the less. With respect to the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans, it has taken forms and methods that are particularly intolerable. By order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, i.e., under the aegis of the highest official bodies, the Crimean Tatars were even deprived

of the right to call themselves a nation. In the Order of September 26, 1967, and in subsequent documents they are referred to as "citizens of the Tatar nationality who had previously lived in the Crimea." Evidently one could just as easily speak of Hungarians as "citizens of the Tatar nationality now living in Hungary."

Naturally, under such conditions, no normal social relations could be developed.

Amidst those who serve the bureaucracy, careerism and moral and ideological indifference are flourishing. None of them, although almost all have a party card, have seriously studied Marxism-Leninism. They only talk about and swear by it; but they do not know its fundamental principles and do not want to know them. The present life fully suits them. The most highly-placed bureaucrats, when the opportunity arises, paint pictures of a happy tomorrow that awaits the Soviet workers, not forgetting for a second the importance of defending their own today by every means available to them. They quote Lenin. But the secretaries and reference workers select quotes for them with the sole purpose in mind of using the quote to strengthen the orator's "general" idea. And woe to Lenin if nothing can be found in his writings that is appropriate. If that happens, they take the first passage they come upon and so mutilate it that "heaven becomes hell."

It is no surprise, therefore, that the judges in the political trials often end up being totally helpless and even ridiculous when in the course of the case they have to join in a polemic against the "anti-Soviet" defendants, among whom there are always people who have studied Marxism-Leninism seriously and extensively. A way out of this awkward situation was soon found. It was not, of course, to have well-educated people as judges. Not at all. Quotations from Marxist-Leninist classics and references to them have simply been forbidden at political trials.

Preposterous? No, it is a fact! And this fact is not surprising if one knows that many of Lenin's works, especially from the later years of his life—above all on the question of bureaucratism—were forbidden publication by Stalin and to this day are secretly banned, despite assurances that his "complete collected works" have been published. The impression is created that this new "filling out" of Lenin's works was done not in the interest of Marxist-Leninist science, but in order more safely to hide the real Lenin from the broad readership. Can it really

be that *Leninism* too is the internal business of the CPSU leadership? Do the fraternal parties really have no right to ask of this leadership? Why are these things happening?

Naturally what has been described here cannot help but provoke public protest within the country. And this protest is beginning to be manifested ever more openly. Here are some facts.

In conjunction with the fact that before the Twenty-third Party Congress rumors were circulating that a partial rehabilitation of Stalin was being contemplated at the congress, several dozen of the most prominent scholars, writers, cultural figures, and artistic figures sent an appeal to the Central Committee requesting that this not be allowed. The people took up this appeal by sending a whole wave of letters in support of it. And although the Central Committee hid this event from the congress, it could not



help but take it into account.

Still greater was the public reaction to the thoughtful, courageous, civic-minded letter of the most outstanding contemporary Soviet writer, A. I. Solzhenitsyn, to the Fourth Congress of the Soviet Writers' Union. And there has already been a literal torrent of letters to Pavel Litvinov and Larissa Bogoraz-Daniel in connection with their appeal to Soviet and world public opinion.

But what is important here is not so much the letters as the general rise in public responsiveness. In all, only the most active-minded are writing, and they address themselves to the appeals, the majority being sympathetic. One can say with certainty that now, at least in Moscow, there are no more popular people than P. Litvinov and L. Daniel.

Only the party and state leadership remain silent. They have chosen the tactic of keeping silent and hushing it up. Neither letters nor petitions receive a response. Simultaneously measures are taken to impede communication of Soviet citizens among themselves and between Soviet citizens and progressive forces abroad. In the Soviet press not one letter or statement from the representatives of these forces has been published. And telegrams addressed to P. Litvinov and L. Daniel from Bertrand Russell and other prominent scholars, writers, and figures in the arts and culture have not reached them. How does all this look to the rest of the world? It is evident that against such a background, the statements of our leaders in defense of the Greek patriots appear as an act of sheer hypocrisy.

Not the least important feature of the present period is the fact that the people are fed up with being afraid. On a large number of the petitions sent to different governmental institutions during the recent political trial in Moscow, people not only signed their name but indicated their address and place of work.

But there are, all the same, anonymous letters in the full sense of the word. Both of the authors have received greetings on anonymous postcards. These postcards obviously came from the same factory. They also had an identical opening: "You are a Jew . . ." and continue in the same "style," with foul language, including obscenities. I myself did not go through it, but I believe that in the times of darkest reaction during the reign of Nicholas the Bloody, members of the Black Hundreds wrote the same kind of postcards to revolutionaries. And this phenomenon also

characterizes the present time in our country. It is characteristic not only that the Black Hundreds are again rearing their heads, but particularly that the riffraff, speaking from governmental positions, have not dared to sign their names and have used foul language and made threats while hiding like cowards.

Social protest means arrest. And social protest is being manifested everywhere. Even the anonymous letters that have been referred to indicate that it is ripening. Those who have written them understand that it is difficult to find those who sympathize with them. A very broad section of society sympathizes with the protesters. These people are paying attention, looking for answers to questions that are troubling them, and they want to know the truth.

Yet that same party leadership that is responsible for all that has been described above in its own country, persistently reiterates the need to restore unity "on the basis of Marxism-Leninism." The question arises: What does it consider Marxism-Leninism to be? Is it really Marxism-Leninism that is at work in our country?

Our country, it is obvious to everyone, cannot serve as a basis for judgment. In fact, many Communist parties have already come to the conclusion that to preserve what influence they have, they must more or less openly declare that when their party comes to power, it will not allow a repetition of what happened in the USSR. Thus, unity on the basis of endorsing what is going on in the USSR is excluded.

*Continued on following page*

## Grigorenko's analysis of Stalinism

Continued from preceding page

What, then, can serve as the basis for unity?

Some believe that there can be only one answer to this question—no less than completely eliminating from Communist ideology the stench of Stalinism.

The great Lenin said of the Communist parties that they are the "mind, honor, and conscience of the epoch." The policies of the CPSU do not give it the right to be so characterized. And all the parties that will not openly say that this is true are themselves unworthy of this distinction. Their declarations that upon coming to power they will not repeat what happened in the USSR must be viewed in this instance as a tactical maneuver, an attempt to betray their own people.

Those who are actually devoted to the ideas of Communism will not be afraid to speak the truth to the peoples of the world openly and unequivocally. Statements about how the disclosure of past flaws will make Communist ideals look less attractive are just as unfounded as the anticommunist lamentations based on the experience of the USSR and falsification of Marxist-Leninist doctrine as proof that the ideas are unviable and utopian. But in the USSR it is not the ideas of Communism that have suffered a defeat, but a particular policy calling itself socialist but in reality nothing of the sort.

The Communist ideal for social organization lives in the dreams of humanity on a much broader scale than the teachings of Marxism. And naturally Marxism, as the scientific expression of humanity's dream, cannot disappear just because there has been an unsuccessful attempt at the realization of that dream. Such an attempt, even an unsuccessful one, only enriches the science and can significantly strengthen it. And the many millions of victims of Stalinism will not be lost without a trace. Their sacred blood and their torment summon us to spare no effort to overcome the present awesome crisis as quickly as possible.

I think it is clear that the resolution of this task is in no way to be found in the realm of secret agreements among party leaders.

Communism is the dream of all humanity, but the attempt to realize it was performed in secret, and information about it was concealed from the broad mass of working people. Worse than that, the people were betrayed and deceived regarding the true results of the experiment. This is precisely why the experiment failed. But this failure occurred not behind the scenes in secret laboratories, but before the eyes of an astonished humanity. It is obvious that after that has happened the world's people cannot allow the explanation of what took place to be hidden away behind closed doors. They want to know the truth—the whole truth! And they have a right to know it!

Under these circumstances the people of the world are justified in regarding any closed-door conference promulgating any sort of declaration, report, or communiqué "streamlined to suit everyone" as a conspiracy of totalitarians against the fundamental interests of the people themselves. And your meeting as well should be open and should be reported comprehensively and in depth in the press. Firm-



LENIN: Communist parties were the 'mind, honor, and conscience of the epoch.'

ly adhering to such a view, I have composed this letter as an open document. For this reason I have not dealt with the most acute manifestations of social protest in our country or those aspects of the questions examined in this letter that are related to my country's defense capacity. I would speak about all this, if invited to, in one of the closed sessions that, of course, no international conference can avoid having as long as the world is split into hostile warring blocs.

Put negotiations for unity in the hands of the rank-and-file communist masses! This is the only slogan that your conference can advance to fulfill the hopes that have been entrusted to it. One can only wonder why this slogan, the only one that can be effective, has not been advanced until now. In truth, the present leaders of the party have conclusively proven how totally incapable they are of settling the differences that have arisen among them. More than twenty years have passed since these differences first came to light and as yet not only have they not been settled, but in fact they are ever deepening. The matter has gone so far that countries calling themselves socialist are openly rattling sabers at one another.

The adoption of this slogan in practice will mean the restoration of international unity among the Communist parties who have adopted it. The conference will fulfill its task and in fact it will mark a turning point in the history of the Communist movement if it adopts this slogan and, pursuant to it, does the following:

1. Openly condemns the present domestic policy of the CPSU as anti-socialist and contradictory to the fundamental ideals of Marxism and Leninism. The principle of "noninterference in the affairs of other parties" is not only inapplicable in the present situation but is harmful and reactionary. It is impermissible to interpret this principle to mean that your party has the right to do anything it has a mind to. Communist parties are internationalist—therefore they cannot renounce their indisputable right to openly criticize any fraternal party for breach of its international duty and violation of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. And no Com-

munist party, if it is really Communist, has the right to show disregard or disrespect toward this criticism. The international duty of the CPSU is to build a social order that can serve as an inspiring example for all fraternal parties. And, if it does not fulfill its fundamental international duty, it is their responsibility to point this out.

2. Demands that the leadership of the CPSU return to Leninist norms in the party and in the country, not only in word but in deed. As a first step, democratic centralism must be restored in the party. In particular the party must reinstate everyone who was expelled for having a different understanding than the leadership of how Leninist principles should apply to internal party life and state life, and also those who were expelled for violation of party rules. As regards the internal political life, the constitution must be brought into force; and in connection with this, all laws and statutes contradictory to it must be abolished. Constitutional amendments that are necessary to make it conform to the "Declaration of Human Rights" must be introduced.

3. Announces in all the Communist parties wide-ranging internal discussion directed toward full disclosure



STALIN: Condemned genuine followers of Lenin to death.

of the causes of the present crisis. The discussion must have an international character, which means, first, that the course of the discussions and the summaries of them are to be published in the international Communist press with a guarantee of full and comprehensive explanation of all the views, expressed by those who support them, without biased commentary. Second, the right to criticize the activity not only of one's own party but of any other. Third, the right of every participant in the discussion to demand and receive from any party any material that he or she feels is necessary in the course of the discussion. And finally, the right to an international investigation regarding any claim that a discussion was undemocratic or that any current of thought was discriminated against.

With respect to the CPSU the conference participants must recommend



KHRUSHCHEV: Even mild criticism of Stalin proved to be too much.

that the discussion be launched with the publication of the Central Committee's platform and all other platforms, which will then serve as the basis for discussion. Subsequently the supporters of all the platforms must have equal opportunities to defend their positions, whether by means of a separate press put out by the advocates of each platform or by a joint press with all platforms allotted an equal number of pages and allowed to have an equal number of representatives on the editorial board. The discussion must be crowned by a congress of the party, with delegates being chosen on the basis of their platforms.

In the USSR a transformation has been carried out that has a socialist character. It is only the bureaucratism that has taken roots in the country that prevents it from becoming socialist. And this bureaucratism can be overcome only through the development of the broadest democracy. The CPSU, if it is worthy of being called a Communist party, is obliged to take the lead in the process of democratizing life in our country. However, this is in no way solely its internal affair. I too want to fight, and am fighting, against bureaucrats. I don't want to and don't intend to contribute to the further development of bureaucratism. The Communist parties of the whole world are concerned that the socialist experiment, interrupted by Stalin's dictatorship, be continued and that a society capable of serving all the people of the world be created.

P. Grigorenko

February 13, 1968

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# Militant drive ahead with 3,000 subscriptions

By SHARON CABANISS

Almost 3,000 subscriptions came in during the first 10 days of *The Militant's* drive for 7,000 new subscribers before March 17. This puts the drive ahead of schedule, since the Young Socialist teams—who have pledged to sell more than 1,000 subscriptions—have not yet gone on the road.

The *International Socialist Review* is conducting a simultaneous drive for 1,200 new subscriptions. So far 658, or 55 percent, have come in.

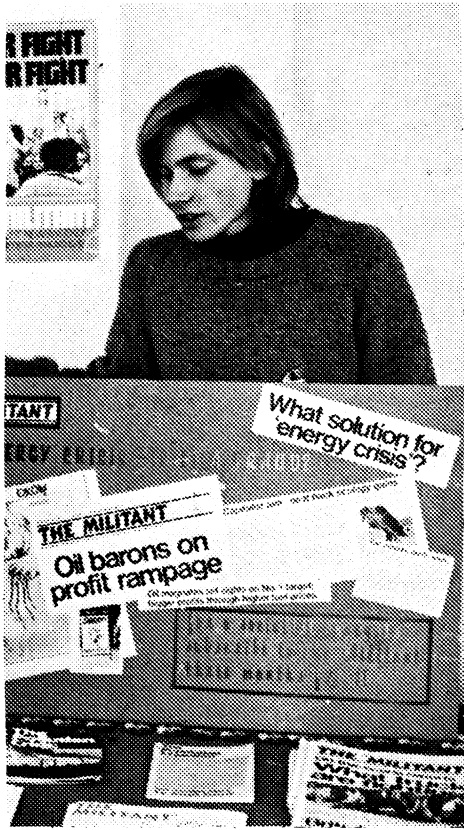
Supporters in Ann Arbor, Detroit, and East Lansing made their goals, or a substantial portion of them, during the Feb. 16 blitz weekend. They attribute their success to carefully organizing subscription selling teams in advance. Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters in Michigan went to major campuses and stayed from one to three days.

Boston and Chicago have sold the highest number of subscriptions so far, also by careful advance planning. Boston sub drive director Jeannette Tracy reports they had success with extensive team sales. "We sent two teams to sell in the region for two days each. The result—300 *Militant* and 100 *ISR* subscriptions."

Tracy also explained they were able to make 145 percent of their *ISR* quota of 100 by "approaching everyone with the combination offer of three months of the *ISR* and *The Militant* for \$2. If they don't want that, they will probably buy a \$1 subscription to one of them, or at least a single copy."

Three campus teams from Chicago sold 236 *Militant* and 21 *ISR* subscriptions along with 200 single copies of *The Militant* in one day. Sub drive director Dave Wulp added that subscription sales are going well in the Black community and they plan to continue this throughout the drive. "Now," he explained, "we are going to shift to the South Side areas that are inside the 1st Congressional District, where Willie Reid is running on the SWP ticket. That way we will be able to combine subscription sales with campaign work."

Marguerite Snyder from Cleveland reported similar progress: "The best sales of both subscriptions and single copies of *The Militant* during the first sub blitz came from teams that went to the Longwood Housing Project, which is totally Black. The paper was well received. Other areas might try door-to-door subbing in this fashion



Militant/Steve Beck  
Special display at Washington, D.C. energy conference netted 17 subscriptions.

in the Black community."

Since the gas shortage has somewhat limited travel to far away campuses, more inner-city subscription teams are being organized. In addition to sales on city campuses, supporters will be canvassing working-class housing projects, going door-to-door in their apartment buildings and neighborhoods, and selling on their jobs, at political meetings, from sidewalk SWP campaign tables, and in the course of their daily political activity.

The subscription drive also helped supporters to sell 7,863 single issues of the Feb. 15 *Militant* ("Truckers say 'No' to Nixon, oil trusts"). This is the highest week yet in our campaign to reach street sales of 10,000 *Militants* each week by May.

Boston sold the largest number for any area in the campaign so far, 718 copies. Sales director Margaret Scott pointed out that "the real place to sell this week has been the gas lines. I can't tell you how good sales have been on these lines, which are extremely long in Massachusetts. We've just been going along the line, and almost everyone buys. A lot of

us have sold along the lines at a rate of 10 or 15 *Militants* in 15 minutes."

Helen Meyers from Seattle reported similarly: "We sold over 100 copies yesterday at gas lines. It was so easy!" And Jim Odling from Los Angeles said they found they were "selling out at gas lines on our way to other sales locations."

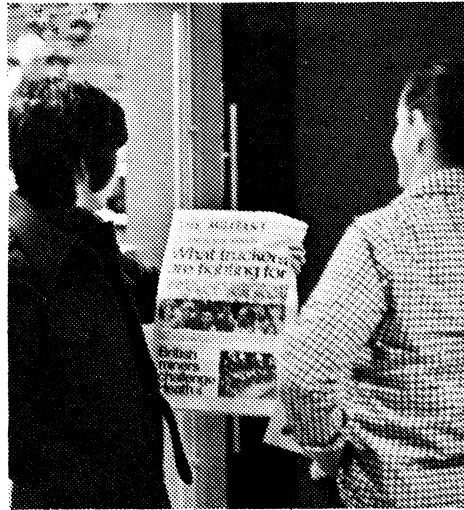
"And," he added, "*The Militant* is just the right masthead for the paper. People in these lines really identify with it."

Portland supporters also reported selling 18 copies at a protest meeting of gas retailers.

Detroit made their sales goal of 400 again this week, and sales director Steve Beumer said they had "good sales at the bus station and lots of good conversations."

Supporters around the country report they have found that people give many different reasons for buying *The Militant*. Claire Moriarty from the Upper West Side in New York ran into "several comments on the socialist Watergate suit from people who had read about it in the *New York Times*." The Nashville chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, who made their sales goal of 60 for the third week in a row, reported they got a very good reaction to the back cover story on the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Hundreds of supporters have been participating in the sales campaign, often going out two, three, or more times to sell each issue. *Militant* readers are encouraged to take a bundle to sell where they work, on their campus, or near where they live. Just send in the coupon on page 23 of this issue.



Militant/Janice Cline

## Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
E. Lansing	20	57	285
Nashville	20	26	130
Ann Arbor	20	24	120
Tucson	7	7	100
Detroit	300	274	91
Boston	400	347	87
Logan	25	21	84
Chicago	500	316	63
New Paltz	20	11	55
St. Louis	150	76	51
Lower Manhattan	300	149	50
San Diego	200	98	49
Twin Cities	275	136	49
Brooklyn	300	145	48
L. A. (West Side)	250	117	47
Columbus	20	9	45
New Brunswick	20	9	45
Portland	175	75	43
Washington D.C.	275	110	40
Cleveland	325	122	38
Upper West Side	250	94	38
L. A. (Central-East)	250	93	37
Denver	275	98	36
Pittsburgh	125	45	36
Atlanta	275	96	35
Cincinnati	20	7	35
Iowa City	20	7	35
Philadelphia	275	97	35
Champaign	20	6	30
Indianapolis	20	6	30
Milwaukee	20	6	30
Santa Barbara	20	6	30
Madison	35	9	26
Austin	60	15	25
Bellingham	20	5	25
Kalamazoo	20	5	25
Phoenix	20	5	25
St. Cloud	20	5	25
Bloomington	75	17	23
Seattle	250	52	21
Athens	20	3	15
Oakland/Berkeley	500	74	15
Ossining	20	3	15
Kansas City	20	2	10
Lexington	20	2	10
Worcester	25	2	8
San Antonio	15	1	7
Baltimore	20	1	5
Houston	275	15	5
Amherst	25	1	4
Hartford	25	1	4
Mt. Pleasant	50	1	2
San Francisco	400	9	2
General		78	
TOTAL	7,000	2,996	43

## Militant seeks monthly financial contributions

This week *The Militant* sent a letter to its readers and supporters asking for monthly financial contributors to the paper. In the appeal, Editor Mary-Alice Waters explained that this year *The Militant* will carry out several special campaigns. But in order for them to be successful, the support of as many readers as possible is urgently needed.

Waters outlined some of *The Militant's* plans for the coming period. The most important is the spring circulation campaign for 7,000 new subscribers and for weekly sales of 10,000 copies of the paper. "Hundreds of supporters will participate in this campaign in major cities throughout the U.S.," Waters stated. "A major part of this propaganda offensive will be to publicize and win support to the 1974 Socialist Workers Party state and national election campaigns."

"However," she continued, "this ex-

pansion in both our circulation, size, and geographic spread will cost money." For example, one of *The Militant's* major expenses is for postage to mail the paper each week. Just this month second class postage rates increased 30 percent. This is on top of an increase of 57 percent already in effect, and there is another 100 percent increase to be implemented before December of next year. Skyrocketing inflation is also adding onto all *The Militant's* other basic operating expenses.

Waters also announced two special projects for 1974. One is a project to index *The Militant* from 1970 back to 1928. "*The Militant* has already printed an index for the last three years," she wrote, "and it has proven to be an invaluable resource tool for socialist writers, speakers, scholars, and others interested in specific aspects of *The Militant's* coverage over the

years."

*The Militant's* second project is to continue to finance free subscriptions to prisoners who cannot afford to pay for them out of their meager prison "wages." At this time *The Militant* goes to 91 different prisons in 29 states, and new requests come in daily.

Many of these subscriptions reach more than one reader behind prison walls, as one prisoner in the Brooklyn House of Detention wrote: "I just received my first copy of *The Militant* today. The paper will go to good use. After I read it, I will pass it around for my fellow inmates to read."

*The Militant* is also used for classes and study groups in prison. One reader in an Ohio prison gives an example: "*The Militant* not only provides up to date news for me, but also for my class in our Afro-American Cultural Organization."

Your help is needed to enable *The*

*Militant* to carry out its ambitious spring circulation campaign, to meet inflated costs, and for the indexing and prisoner subscription projects. If you can help *The Militant* this year by pledging a monthly sum to the Monthly Militant Fund, or by giving a single donation, please send in the coupon below. Every contribution and pledge will be put to good use.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.  
I would like to pledge \$\_\_\_\_\_ each month to the Monthly Militant Fund.  
( ) I want my contribution applied to free subscriptions for prisoners.  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
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Make checks payable to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

## ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ALLIANCE IN AFRICA

**Partners in Crime: The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, Past and Present.** By the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine. (Top Floor, 12-13 Little Newport St., London WC2AH 7JJ.) 36 pp. 25 p (approx. 60 cents).

The African Liberation Day demonstrations in the U.S., which have mobilized thousands of Afro-Americans, have played an important role in exposing U.S. aid to Portuguese colonial rule in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau.

Demonstrations have also taken place in Britain against the British government's support to Portugal. There is much less known in this country about the relationship between the old colonial power Britain and Portugal. Yet, there is a 600-year-old history to the Anglo-Portuguese alliance.

*Partners in Crime: The Anglo-Portuguese Alliance Past and Present* fills this void and gives those interested in the African liberation struggle a good introductory background to the ties between Britain and Portugal, which date back to 1373.



QUEEN ELIZABETH & SALAZAR: Mutual investments at stake in Africa.

Describing the historical and political association between the two states in exploiting Africa, *Partners in Crime* says that, "Today the Alliance serves, as it has always done, to benefit the ruling economic groups of both countries at the expense of the Portuguese and African workers. It helps to maintain the world's oldest surviving fascist government, and to continue the inhumanity of that government's colonial wars."

The authors provide the reader with a historical overview to understand the development of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance and the particular bene-

### Pamphlets

fits Britain has accrued from supporting Portugal's colonial efforts.

They observe that "Lenin described Portugal as 'Britain's first neo-colony', and her development from the time of the Methuen Treaty onwards is a chronicle of neo-colonialism. It was a relationship which was destined to endure until the emergence of Salazar, while its effects are not only still with us but are largely responsible for the present condition of Portugal and of her colonies."

Small wonder that Britain is supporting Portugal's colonial wars in Africa. British investments in the shrinking Portuguese empire are of substantial size.

According to the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, "In Africa too British companies are well established. The Sena Sugar Estates, producing 70% of Mozambique's sugar, are British-owned. The British and Belgian owned Diamang had until recently a monopoly on diamond production in Angola. The British Steel Corporation is a prospective partner for a new iron ore project in Angola. . . ."

By using the NATO alliance and through direct means, Britain provides military assistance to Portugal to help keep intact Portuguese rule and protect British investments.

The alliance is strategic in assuring Portugal continued support. But as two of the final sentences of the pamphlet state, ". . . today the status quo has been shaken—by successful liberation



Freedom fighters in Mozambique

struggles in Africa and increasing popular opposition inside Portugal. The fight against oppression grows stronger everyday."

As the African liberation support demonstrations that have taken place in Britain show, active opposition to British involvement in Southern Africa is growing. Around such demands as those raised by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guine, "End the Alliance" and "End British Collaboration in Portugal's Wars", great pressure can be mounted to end British complicity with Portugal's continued efforts to hold its colonies in bondage. —ROBB WRIGHT

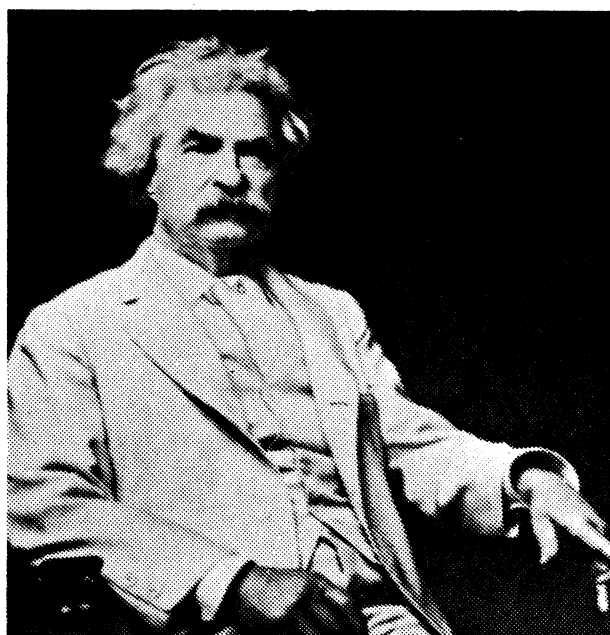
## MARK TWAIN: HUMORIST & SOCIAL CRITIC

**Mark Twain: Social Critic** by Philip S. Foner. International Publishers. New York, 1972. 440 pp. Paper \$1.95.

**Mark Twain and the Three R's.** Edited by Maxwell Geismar. Bobbs-Merrill. New York, 1973. 260 pp. Cloth \$8.50.

In 1885, Louisa May Alcott advised: "If Clemens [Twain] cannot think of something better to tell our pure-minded lads and lassies, he had better stop writing for them."

Alcott was storming over Mark Twain's novel *Huckleberry Finn*, because it satirized the bigots of the prewar South and featured a runaway slave and rowdy kid as its two main characters. When this novel appeared in 1885, the Northern liberals had already made their peace with the Southern



TWAIN: Angered Northern liberals.

against Chinese immigrants.

Twain became a supporter of the struggle against racist discrimination, the rights of Native Americans, and the suffrage movement. After the Haymarket martyrs were put to death in Chicago, Twain became a supporter of labor.

On the subject of imperialism, Twain was at first confused by the Spanish-American war. However, he became a firm opponent of U.S. foreign policy in its aftermath.

He was branded a traitor for his support to the Filipinos in their struggle for liberation against the U.S. During this period he joined the Anti-Imperialist League and wrote several anti-imperialist articles: "King Leopold's Soliloquy," "To the

Person Sitting in Darkness," and "The War Prayer." One of the most interesting sections in Foner's book deals with Twain's support of the Russian revolution of 1905.

He defended the revolutionaries on trial in Russia for participating in the upsurge of 1905, because, as he had stated earlier in *Connecticut Yankee*: "All gentle cant and philosophizing to the contrary notwithstanding, no people in the world ever did obtain their freedom by goody-goody talk and moral suasion. . . ."

But when Maxim Gorky, the famous Russian writer, came to the U.S. to raise funds and build support for the victimized revolutionaries, Twain demonstrated some of his limitations as an active supporter.

The capitalist press headlined the news that Gorky was accompanied on his tour by a woman to whom he wasn't married. This press campaign to whip up sexist bigotry against him was a transparent attempt to cut short Gorky's revolutionary message. The Russian novelist lost many of his prominent supporters in this country, including humorist Mark Twain.

"Poor fellow, he didn't understand our bigotry. . . ." Twain said of Gorky. "He might as well have come over here in his shirttail." (However, it should be pointed out that Twain simply withdrew from the fray; he didn't turn against Gorky as has sometimes been alleged.)

As Geismar points out, Twain's political stance was that of a radical democrat and his literary production is studded with lucid social commentary. It is an interesting reflection on the literary and academic worlds that it took the recent period of social ferment to force acceptance of the view that America's number-one humorist was a social critic. —DAVID SALNER

### Books

bigots. This explains why Twain's social criticism wasn't welcome.

Philip S. Foner's *Mark Twain: Social Critic*, tells why the liberals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ignored or condemned Twain's social criticism. Foner's central thesis is that Twain's social and political thinking were an essential feature of his humor.

A new collection edited by Maxwell Geismar, *Mark Twain and the Three R's*, constitutes a lively companion to Foner's study.

Twain took his first public stand as a social critic in the 1860s with his attacks on the San Francisco police department for their brutality

# Watergate and the left

## Communist Party aim: divert anti-Nixon sentiment into support for Democrats

By CINDY JAQUITH

Millions of Americans, repulsed by the corruption, secrecy, and police-state methods of Nixon's administration, are looking for a way to root out these evils from government. Many are asking if the solution to Watergate can be found within the framework of the the Democratic and Republican parties.

These questions take on special importance for groups on the left, who face an unprecedented opportunity to win support for socialist ideas.

In this series of articles, we will discuss the views on Watergate put forth by the various radical groups in the U.S., beginning with the Communist Party.

The CP strategy on Watergate—as on every other political question—is based on support to whichever section of the U.S. ruling class is most "friendly" to the bureaucratic leadership in the Soviet Union.

The Stalinist CP has long since abandoned any perspective of leading the U.S. working class to a socialist victory. Its basic objective has become pressuring the capitalists to pursue a line of détente with Moscow. This usually takes the form of supporting one capitalist party against the other.

Since the 1930s, the CP has followed a general policy of backing Democratic presidential candidates, and liberal Democrats running for Congress.

Thus the basic solution offered by the CP to Watergate is the replacement of Nixon by a Democrat, and the election of more Democrats to Congress.

The CP tries to mask this pro-Democratic Party orientation with radical-sounding verbiage. Their technique is simple; they have used it for years. To try to justify support to Democrats, they exaggerate the immediate danger of fascism or of military dictatorship, and claim the way to preserve democratic rights is to support the liberal capitalists.

In the wake of the firing of Watergate prosecutor Archibald Cox, for example, a Nov. 2 *Daily World* editorial asked:

"The issue is, will the Constitution survive, will democracy survive Nixon? Basically, will the nation surmount the thrust of the most reactionary forces of big business—toward fascism. Reaction would save Nixon, but if it cannot save him it will attempt to create such political turmoil as will lead millions to accept a fascistic 'savior.'"

What is called for now, goes this argument, is all-out support for the "progressive forces," i.e., Democrats, who can defeat the "most reactionary forces."

The most recent illustration of this line in practice is the *Daily World's* heralding of the Feb. 19 Democratic victory over the Republican candidate in Gerald Ford's old district. "Michigan vote spurs oust-Nixon campaign," declared the front-page headline in the Feb. 20 *Daily World*. "The drive to impeach President Nixon . . . has re-emerged in sharp form" with "the upset victory of a Democrat in traditionally conservative Grand Rapids, Mich.," the *World* exulted.

### Democrat more progressive?

But do the Democrats, in fact, have a more progressive record on the use of secrecy, intimidation, and violence to deny the rights of people in the U.S. and around the world?

White House "plumber" E. Howard Hunt, after all, got his first big as-

signment from Democrat John Kennedy, who ordered the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. The Democrats launched the full-scale war in Vietnam, complete with the lies and deception that were only later revealed as a result of the antiwar pressure of the masses.

The undercover operations of the FBI against the left can be traced back at least to Franklin Roosevelt. The government has recently admitted, for example, that it has been bugging and wiretapping the Socialist Workers



Anti-Nixon sentiment is displayed everywhere president appears. Communist Party strategy seeks to trap this sentiment inside capitalist two-party framework.

Party since 1945. The Communist Party has experienced similar witch-hunting from both Democrats and Republicans.

Nixon does not have a patent on these practices. They are the traditional means by which the capitalists maintain their minority rule at the expense of the majority.

But Nixon did go further than previous administrations in his attacks on Blacks, antiwar activists, and socialists. He even launched widespread spying on his own aides and Democratic Party opponents. It would be a fatal error not to take such moves seriously or to fail to fight these assaults on democratic rights.

### Extent of fascist threat

Nixon, and the rest of the class he represents, are capable of going much further than Watergate. Fascism, the ultimate stage in the degeneration of capitalist democracy, is the most extreme weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal.

Historically, the capitalist class has opted for fascism when the radicalization of the working class has reached a point of directly challenging bourgeois rule. Through supporting a mass movement of middle-class elements against the working class, and crushing the proletarian organizations by force, the capitalists seek to protect their rule.

When the workers no longer retain their illusions in the deceptions of capitalist rule, the only remaining way to keep the ruling class in power is through the ruthless smashing of the trade unions and workers parties. The victory of fascism represents a historic defeat for the working class.

But, just as it is a deadly error to underestimate the willingness of the capitalists—Democrats and Republicans alike—to resort to fascism under certain conditions, it is wrong to base political perspectives on an exaggerated conception of the immediate

danger.

The absence of a mass fascist movement in the U.S. today is one reason why it is an error to say we are confronting an immediate threat of fascism. U.S. capitalism does not now face the kind of social crisis that gives rise to a fascist threat. The overwhelming majority of working people are still firmly wedded to the two-party system. Thanks to the class-collaborationist leadership of the trade unions, workers have not yet even begun to form their own party in opposition

to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

What about the danger of a military dictatorship? The Communist Party also claims this is an imminent threat. In a recent *Daily World* series, for example, Tom Foley argued that the Pentagon spy ring shows increasing control of the government by the military. In his Feb. 5 installment, Foley wrote, ". . . there must be an end to government by a tiny cabal of largely non-elected civil and military officials in defiance of Congress and the public. . . . The alternative is military dictatorship, terrible to contemplate."

But the Pentagon spy ring showed not that the admirals and generals were about to occupy the Oval Office, but the opposite—Pentagon officials were frozen out of Nixon's secret diplomatic operations and had to steal documents to find out what was going on.

But suppose for a moment that the CP is correct about an immediate danger of fascist rule, or at least, military dictatorship. Far from justifying support to liberal capitalists, a real fascist threat would make such a policy a tragically sure road to defeat of the working class.

The history of the struggle against fascism proves the futility of relying on the "progressive" sectors in the ruling class, rather than the revolutionary path of mobilizing the workers in independent struggle against the fascists. In every country where fascism has made a bid for power—Germany, Italy, or Spain, to name a few—the "progressive" capitalists have crumbled before it.

### Impeachment strategy

The CP portrays Watergate as a "constitutional crisis," and argues that the solution to Watergate can be found within the framework of the constitutional "separation of powers," in other words, by supporting the (Democratic)

Congress against the (Republican) president, and by electing more Democrats to Congress.

The CP is trying to channel the wholly progressive sentiment for getting rid of Nixon back into the capitalist political setup. The CP's impeachment strategy, first of all, urges people to put their faith in Congress to do the necessary job.

"Impeach Nixon" is on the order of the day!" declared an Oct. 23 *Daily World* statement.

"Let every Congressman and Sena-

tor know that their stand on this issue is a decisive factor in the 1974 election."

But the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, with their spineless delay on impeachment, have exposed the absurdity of relying on them to stop Watergate. Although the politicians in Congress are trying to turn Nixon's Watergate mess to their own partisan advantage, they are just as committed to protecting capitalist rule as Nixon is.

The problem is clearly not, as the CP claims, that Nixon has "defied Congress and the courts," but that all three branches of the government are totally subservient to the interests of the ruling class. The CP cries that the power of Congress is being "usurped" by the president, but in fact, Congress has authorized the measures taken by Nixon and other presidents before him to centralize more and more power in the executive branch.

The CP, like the liberals, pose no  
*Continued on page 22*

## Socialist view on Watergate

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# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**WEEKEND CONFERENCE ON FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM, MAR. 8-9.** Fri., Mar. 8, 8:30 p.m.: The Black struggle & women's liberation. Speakers: Myriam Richmond, WAOK-Radio newswoman; others: Sat., Mar. 9, 11 a.m.: Have women always been oppressed? Speaker: Maryanne Rafferty, Socialist Workers Party; 2:30 p.m.: Can socialism end women's oppression? Speakers: Eva Chertov and Elizabeth Lariscy. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1 for each session. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**WHERE WE COME FROM—WHERE WE STAND: WORKING WOMEN AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION.** Slide show and speakers: Dianne Feeley, Socialist Workers Party; Linda Malanchuk, Coalition of Labor Union Women. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**WOMEN FILMMAKERS SPEAK OUT—SEXISM IN THE FILM AND TV INDUSTRY: WHAT IT HAS DONE TO WOMEN; WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING TO FIGHT IT.** Speakers: Alexis Rafael Krasilovsky, film producer and director; Kristina Nordstrom, director of Cinema Femina; Vandra Thorburn, videotape director and actress. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## DETROIT

**WOMEN AND MADNESS.** Speaker: Ruth Getts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Michigan. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**STRUGGLES OF WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD.** Panel speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**WHO RULES AMERICA? THE IMPACT OF WATERGATE ON U.S. POLITICS.** Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**WORKING WOMEN: THE STRUGGLE FOR THEIR RIGHTS.** Recently released film, 'Emerging Women'. Speaker: Terry Hillman, member, organizing committee, District 65, Columbia Univ. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1.25. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**WOMEN AND THE UNIONS.** Speakers: Linda Wine, Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union; Debbie Bell and Ruthann Miller, Columbia Univ. District 65 organizing committee. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## PHILADELPHIA

**WORKING WOMEN: PAST AND PRESENT.** Speakers: Shelli Sonstein and Cheri Nick, women unionists. Fri.,

Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY:** A study of women in the U.S. labor movement and the history of International Women's Day. Speakers: Maurine Greenwald, instructor of history and women's studies, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Margaret Blair, Service Employees International Union Local 29, Univ. of Pittsburgh maintenance workers' strike participant; Ruth Querio, socialist activist since the early 1930s; Carla Hoag, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (near Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY: WOMEN'S ROLE IN TRADE UNIONS.** Speakers: Maxine Jenkins, organizer for Service Employees International Union; Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

## SEATTLE

**FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**WATERGATE: THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, 1974 Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee. Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**CELEBRATION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY.** Fri., Mar. 8, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

## ...kidnap

*Continued from page 5*

At the same time the Hearst kidnapping was making banner headlines, another action was taking place that stands in vivid contrast to the SLA's futile adventurism. Tens of thousands of truckers went on strike against the phony fuel shortage, skyrocketing fuel prices, and lowered speed limits.

The truckers' shutdown had *massive social power*. It halted virtually all interstate shipping for more than a week, and threatened to close down entire industries. The truckers won the sympathy of millions of workers.

The strike did not win the demand of a rollback in fuel prices. But the truckers did win some concessions; they strengthened their organizations; they gained confidence in their ability to fight for their interests; and they

set an example for the entire working class.

But terrorist groups like the SLA turn their backs on real class-struggle actions like the truckers' strike, which point the only way toward achieving social change.

It is also interesting to note the attitude of the truck drivers to the barrage of accusations of "violence" directed against them. These militants, who are certainly neither pacifists nor cowards, pointed out that the shooting and rock throwing was being done to discredit them and disavowed any connection with it.

One of the ways terrorism plays into the hands of the ruling class is by obscuring the real source of violence and thus giving the capitalist propagandists a handle to smear all left-wing movements as violent.

This is not a question of "provoking" the ruling class to repression—as far as the capitalist government is concerned, any struggle against the status quo is a "provocation." Rather, it is a question of the effect on the masses of people—confusing them and politically disarming them in the face of efforts to step up repression.

The police have tried to link the SLA to Black cultural and political groups in the prisons, and it is likely that such prisoners groups will be among the first victims of the Hearst kidnapping.

The SLA, which claims to be in solidarity with prisoners, has given prison authorities a golden opportunity to crack down on political activity of inmates, restrict their outside contact, and impose new restrictions.

*El Diario*, a right-wing Spanish-language daily in New York, ran a front-page headline "PSP [Puerto Rican Socialist Party] linked to Hearst kidnapping." The text of the article included not one word of proof of this charge, which the PSP blasted as "infamy" and "libelous."

On Feb. 20 Representative Richard Ichord (D-Mo.), witch-hunting head of the House Internal Security Committee, delivered a speech in Congress in which he attempted to discredit the following groups by associating them with the SLA:

Venceremos Organization, Coalition to Save Our Schools, Revolutionary Union, United Prisoners Union, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, United Farm Workers, Black Cultural Association

(at Vacaville prison), the *Guardian* newspaper, and the 1973 mayoral campaign of Bobby Seale in Oakland.

Ichord ended by reading with obvious glee from an editorial printed in the Feb. 14 *Wall Street Journal*:

"At the same time, the SLA certainly shows how easy it is for groups spewing out violent rhetoric to turn their fantasies into reality. Yet we have heard it suggested, have we not, that concern over such 'dissenters' is somehow not quite a legitimate concern of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies, that such concern is evidence of official 'paranoia,' if not indeed a plot to change the U. S. into a police state. How many of those who have made these suggestions, we wonder, would be willing to make them in front of the Hearst family?"

These reactionaries are obviously testing the political climate to see how far they can go in instituting new repressive measures in the guise of an "antiterrorist" crackdown. Defenders of civil liberties must expose such attempts and be prepared to oppose any victimizations arising out of the Hearst kidnapping.

At the same time we have an obligation to point out that such tactics as kidnapping—which are borne of impatience and desperation—can have only a negative effect on political struggle. Such methods must be rejected.

## ...CP

*Continued from page 21*

political alternative for the working class in their impeachment campaign. They have no effective answer to those who want to know what can be done if Nixon is thrown out to prevent future Watergates. Millions of people are not convinced that Nixon is the only rotten apple in the barrel; polls show that all the Republican and Democratic politicians, including those in Congress, are deeply suspect.

The CP strategy, however, is to divert this anti-Nixon, anti-Watergate sentiment away from the only road that can really lead forward—a political break with the Democrats and Republicans.

As we will see in the next article, the Maoist groups in the U. S. also fail to pose a working-class alternative.

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## Illinois SWP Campaign Banquet

SATURDAY, MARCH 9. Illinois Socialist Workers Party campaign banquet. Speakers: LINDA JENNESS, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; WILLIE REID, SWP candidate for U.S. representative in 1st congressional district; ED HEISLER, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Banquet, 7 p.m.; rally, 8:30 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$5 for banquet and rally; \$3.50 for high school students; \$1.50 for rally only.

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## L.A. sit-in, hunger strike

# Disabled vets demand improved medical care

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 25—A group of disabled Vietnam veterans is now in the thirteenth day of a hunger strike at the federal building here.

Two days ago, one of them, an epileptic, found himself cut off from his medicine when federal security police tried to bar the entrance after he and several others had gone outside to join a support demonstration. The resulting confrontation almost touched off major police violence. Officials later said the attempted lock-out was the result of a "misunderstanding."

The ex-GIs are protesting conditions at Veterans Administration hospitals and vow they will continue their hunger strike until national VA Administrator Donald Johnson meets with them. So far he has been deaf to numerous calls to respond to the demands of the veterans.

Support is developing for the action, mounted by the recently organized American Veterans Movement (AVM).

At a press conference in the plaza of the federal building, representatives of the AVM were joined today by Dr. Marc Strettner of the American Federation of Government Employees Local 1061. Representing medical and other workers at the VA hospitals, the union declared that from the outset of the demonstration it has stood in full solidarity with the AVM.

A VA staff doctor, Strettner is himself fighting efforts by the VA to get

**LOS ANGELES—One of the groups supporting the AVM sit-in is the GI Forum, the Chicano veterans organization. Tom Calderon of Los Angeles said the group's national director was in Washington trying to get Donald Johnson to agree to meet with the veterans. If Johnson agreed to meet with them, he said, the GI Forum would try to raise the funds to fly two of them to Washington. "We are supporting the AVM because we want the things they are demanding," Calderon said. "We are supporting them to the end."**

rid of him because of his dissident views.

The veterans' sit-in and hunger strike are being conducted in the federal building office of Senator Alan Cranston, who is a member of a congressional committee that is supposed to concern itself with the functioning of VA hospitals. So far Cranston has made no effort to dislodge the vets, who are occupying three rooms of his five-office suite, and he has indicated he considers their grievances legitimate.



Militant/Harry Ring

Plaza in front of Senator Alan Cranston's Los Angeles office, where sit-in is taking place. Vets are demanding meeting with Veterans Administration officials.

The near victim of the police lock-out was Bill Unger, a coordinator of AVM. When, down in the plaza, he began to feel the symptoms of an epileptic seizure and attempted to return to the building for his medicine, he found the door locked and began knocking with his cane (he also suffers a battle-incurred knee injury).

As he knocked on the entrance door, the glass accidentally broke. Security cops then opened the door but tried to forcibly expel the veterans who pressed into the lobby in their wheelchairs. Finally the cops decided to let them through. Unger had by this time been hit by the seizure, but the other disabled vets were able to get him back upstairs in a wheelchair.

Earlier, I interviewed the two national coordinators of AVM, Ron Kovic and Bill Unger. Kovic, who served two years in Vietnam, is paralyzed from the chest down.

Kovic was a well-known figure in the antiwar movement. He was beaten by police at one demonstration and jailed several times. He was active during that time in the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

Now devoting himself to building the American Veterans Movement, he said the new group has three principal demands: impeach Nixon; increase rights for all veterans; improve all VA hospitals immediately.

"There's a tremendous misallocation of funds," Kovic said. "We spend \$85-billion a year for military purposes and only \$2.7-billion, I think, for veterans."

"For a beginning we have to triple that before we can even begin to treat these veterans like human beings."

"We want to cut that military allocation," he said, "and put that money where it will do some good. We want more doctors, more nurses, and aides. More rehabilitation programs. We want more sensitivity to what's going on in these hospitals."

VA hospitals, he said, are often badly overcrowded. In some paraplegic units they have four patients in cubicles designed for two. Aides, he said, are badly underpaid and there is inevitably tension with the patients.

Kovic said this was the first major protest action undertaken by Vietnam veterans in relation to their problem as veterans and he is confident the AVM will gain added strength. He said it already has members in California, New York, Florida, and Texas.

Bill Unger said he first became involved with VA medical care after he was wounded in the knee. "For that," he said, "they awarded me \$28 a month and a free cane. Also anytime I break the one I have they'll replace it as long as I come up with the pieces of the broken cane."

After he incurred epilepsy and motor brain damage, Unger said, he was given total disability.

In addition to time in military hospitals, he spent three months in the VA hospital in Long Beach and another seven or eight months as an outpatient.

"My experience has been," Unger said, "that it's not a problem of unqualified doctors but of not enough doctors."

He said that before he was a patient at the hospital, he worked there in the management analysis office, which gave him a real insight into

how it operated.

"I saw the end of one fiscal year," he said, "where in a 32 to 35 bed ward, 20 veterans were being put out. Not one had been properly diagnosed or medicated. Not one of them was satisfied with the medical treatment they were receiving. None of them felt they should be released, although they were happy to get away from the hospital."

"But this brings us to what the problem is," Unger said. "Because of a lack of money—and many times because of bad management—there's no chance of proper care."

**Messages in support of the hunger strikers from groups and individuals should be sent to Veterans Administrator Donald Johnson, 810 Vermont Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Copies should be sent to the American Veterans Movement, 24 1/2 Hurricane Ave., Venus, Calif. 90291. Contributions and requests for information should be sent to the same address.**

At the press conference in the plaza today, Kovic sat in his wheelchair and declared in a clear, firm voice:

"We refuse to eat or to leave until Donald Johnson comes to meet with us to deal with the problems of the veterans."

"Physically," he said, "we're now very weak. But we're firmly committed to our stand."