

THE MILITANT

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

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HANDICAPPED PROTEST GAS RATIONING: New York is one of a growing number of states going on a gas rationing plan. Among those most affected by the rationing are handicapped drivers, who aren't able to use what little mass transportation there is.

More than 100 handicapped persons, in wheelchairs and on crutches, blocked traffic for three-and-a-half hours March 4 outside of New York Governor Malcolm Wilson's Manhattan offices until they won an exemption from the plan.

After meeting with representatives of the governor for more than an hour, Julie Shaw, a spokesman for the demonstrators, led the angry group into the busy intersection of 55th Street and the Avenue of the Americas.

Three-and-a-half hours later, Harold Harris, a press spokesman for Governor Wilson, came out and announced that New York's energy chief, Major General Almerin O'Hara, would provide exemption for disabled persons from the odd-even rationing plan if they could show that they needed gas to get to work or to obtain medical treatment.

After the statement was read, Shaw told the picketers, "I think we have done something historic today. All our problems will be resolved, and if not . . ."

"Back to the streets," said another person in a wheelchair with upraised fist. The rest of the demonstrators cheered.

Disabled Vietnam vets end L.A. sit-in

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A group of wounded Vietnam veterans ended their hunger strike and sit-in here March 2 after compelling Veterans Administration director Donald Johnson to meet with them at the federal building offices they were occupying. The hunger strike had been maintained for 18 days.

The vets, members of the recently organized American Veterans Movement, occupied the offices of Senator Alan Cranston here. Their protest was focused on conditions at VA hospitals, and they had declared they would continue their hunger strike until Johnson met with them.

Johnson did come in from Washington, D.C. on Feb. 28. However, he went to the Veterans Administration office on the seventh floor of the federal building and refused to go up to the thirteenth floor where the veterans, several of them paralyzed, were conducting their hunger strike.

When the vets refused to come downstairs to meet with him, Johnson called a press conference to assail their "unreasonable" attitude. Declaring he would meet with them "only on VA grounds," he flew back to Washington.

This created such a furor of public protest that he did an about-face and flew back two days later to meet with the vets at the offices they were occupying.

At a stormy session, the veterans outlined the scandalous treatment of wounded veterans. At the same time, they presented a series of specific demands involving increased funding and expanded facilities and services at VA hospitals.

While insisting that all was fine at the VA, Johnson did agree to consider the complaints and proposals of the veterans and to meet again with their representatives within a month.

At this point the vets decided they had made their point and ended their occupation. Weakened but triumphant they got into their wheelchairs and were rolled out of the building by supporters.

MUSEUM STAFF FIGHTS FOR UNION RECOGNITION: About 50 members of the professional, administrative, and technical employees of the Brooklyn Museum picketed March 3 outside the museum to gain support for their efforts to win union recognition. They were joined by a number of workers from other museums—members of the Museum Workers Association of New York City.

Last January, the professional and clerical staff of the museum moved to unionize with District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. To date the administration of the museum has refused to recognize this staff union. The museum has petitioned the National Labor Relations Board to determine the composition of the bargaining unit. They have requested that the NLRB exclude curatorial titles from the unit because these are supervisory positions. If the museum wins this claim, it will be a serious blow against all museum workers' right to organize.

VIGIL IN SOLIDARITY WITH STRIKING GRENADIANS: Sixty people, mostly Grenadians, attended a candlelight vigil at the United Nations Feb. 28 to show their support for striking workers in Grenada. A general strike had been called to protest the regime of Prime Minister Eric Gairy.

Speakers at the vigil made frequent comparisons between Gairy's rule and that of the late Haitian dictator Francois 'Papa Doc' Duvalier. Declaring their support for Grenada's independence, speakers warned against Grenada becoming another Haiti under the continued rule of Gairy.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: The Feb. 28 issue of the weekly *Miami Times*, that city's largest Black newspaper, reprinted an editorial from a recent *Militant* titled "More bull from Butz." It was run on the *Times* editorial page under the head "What Other Editors Say."

The same issue of the *Times* ran a lead editorial supporting the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which is up for consideration in the Florida legislature.

The editors wrote: "Black women should be screaming for passage of the ERA louder than any other because they suffer the most discrimination. And according to a national Harris poll, 62 percent of black women favor most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today."

WATERGATERS FEAR 'UNFAIR' JURY (I): The gall of capitalist politicians is without equal. After spending their entire political careers defending a system that denies justice to the vast majority of Americans, Dwight Chapin, former appointments secretary to President Nixon, John Mitchell, former attorney general, and Maurice Stans, former secretary of commerce, are concerned about receiving a fair trial.

Chapin is being tried in Washington, D.C., for perjury in his testimony before a Watergate grand jury.

Chapin recently moved that the site of his trial be changed because the District of Columbia is 75 percent Black. He contended that because the Black population was anti-Nixon, he would not be able to receive a fair trial.

A Black psychiatrist, Dr. Elvin Mackey Jr., was enlisted by Chapin's defense to speak in favor of the motion. Dr. Mackey told the court that there were "widespread feelings of anger, hostility, and rage" among the city's Black population.

Many other Black psychiatrists protested Mackey's defense of Chapin's motion.

WATERGATERS FEAR 'UNFAIR' JURY (II): In the case of John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, the defense recently attempted to hire a team of sociologists to aid them in picking a fair jury. This group of social scientists has helped to pick winning juries in the trials of Phillip Berrigan, the Camden 28, and the Gainesville 8.

One member of this group, Richard Christie, who is a professor of social psychology at Columbia University, said he was interested in working for the ex-administration officials. One condition: all fees would be turned over to the Wounded Knee defense committee.

Professor Christie was told later that the deal was off.

Perhaps Mitchell and Stans felt that it would be better to chance an "unfair" jury than give money to Native Americans, who are among the real victims of American "justice."

—NORMAN OLIVER

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The government is attempting to victimize activists involved in the 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee last year. Read *The Militant's* regular coverage of this important defense case. Subscribe now.

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Demand: 'Drop the charges!'

Wounded Knee rally draws 1,500

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Support for the Wounded Knee defendants is growing despite the attempts of the federal government to isolate the American Indian Movement (AIM) through the frame-up trial now in progress here.

Some 1,500 people jammed a meeting hall at the University of Minnesota Feb. 27 in a rally for Wounded Knee defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means. Enthusiasm ran high.

The theme of the rally was "Drop the Charges" against all Wounded Knee defendants.

There were too few seats, and about 500 persons stood for nearly an hour, listening to Means, Banks, and others blast the government on the first anniversary of the seizure of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

The rally at the University of Minnesota was organized by a broad coalition of organizations with different goals, but united in support of the Wounded Knee defense. It was part of an entire day of events called "Indian Solidarity Day."

Banks and Means are on trial for their leadership role in the seizure of Wounded Knee.

Sponsors for the Indian Solidarity Day events included:

The American Indian Student-Association, the University of Minnesota Indian Studies Department, Minnesota Feminists, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group, Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, West Bank Union, Political Rights Defense Fund, United Farm Workers at the



Defense attorney William Kunstler speaks to overflow audience at University of Minnesota.

university, student body president Kathy Kelly, Minneapolis city aldermen Tom Johnson and Ed Felien.

The Minneapolis city council also endorsed Indian Solidarity Day.

Among the day's events were a panel on Indian women and films, as well as the rally.

Banks told the rally that while he and Means are charged with burglary, "The real burglars are in Washington."

He likened the AIM cause to the fight being waged by the Attica defendants.

John Trudell, national chairman of

AIM, said, "We view the United States government as the number one enemy."

"Corporations run the country," Trudell declared. "If you don't obey their system, they're going to put you out."

He said AIM had been "condemned" for being militant, although its members have never killed anyone.

"But many of our people have died," said Trudell.

"We have not jailed anyone," he said. "But many of our people have been locked up."

Means condemned the media for playing up the stories that two government agents had been injured at Wounded Knee but reporting very little news about the 14 casualties Indians suffered during the 71-day seizure.

A collection speech by Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader who faces trial later, netted the defense committee about \$400.

The rally was chaired by Jeanne Stevens, an activist in the campus defense committee.

Dennis Banks told *The Militant* the rally was "tremendous."

"It shows that there's an incredible amount of unity among a lot of people—Blacks, whites, Chicanos, and Indians—pulling together against corruption," Banks said. "I think that the Watergate indictments that came down last week were because of rallies like this."

As the trial continues, more mass support will be needed. "Drop the Charges!" and "Stop the Frame-ups!" should become a national rallying cry.

No justice for Indian leaders

Inconsistencies plague prosecution case

ST. PAUL, Minn.—If justice was to be done, the government and not some Indian leaders would be on trial here.

But justice in America—being in short supply—has resulted in a federal indictment that finds Dennis Banks and Russell Means facing 10 trumped-up charges in connection with last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee.

Last week, however, federal prosecutors were finding that even the most carefully contrived frame-ups can be riddled with inconsistencies.

There was Gary Thomas, for example, legal services attorney who once represented Russell Means but was now being called by the government.

The prosecution had Thomas tell the court that Means and Pedro Bissonette told him last year that "something was about to happen at Wounded Knee." Thomas testified that the two men removed a gun from his trunk and put it in their car.

Never mind that Thomas couldn't remember whether it was Means or Bissonette who said that "something was about to happen at Wounded Knee"—Federal District Judge Fred Nichol found that irrelevant.

Never mind that Thomas couldn't remember whether Means or Bissonette took the gun out of his trunk—Judge Nichol also found that irrelevant and overruled a defense objection.

Never mind that Bissonette is now dead—murdered by a Bureau of Indian Affairs cop last October. That

wasn't relevant either.

And never mind that Thomas was Means's attorney and thus the conversation between the two should be confidential. Judge Nichol overruled all the objections and allowed the testimony to be given.

Nevertheless, Thomas made some devastating admissions under cross-examination. He said he quit his job as an attorney on the Pine Ridge Reservation under threat from tribal president Richard Wilson.

Thomas told the court that he had seen Wilson on Feb. 28, 1973, in front of the tribal courthouse.

"He [Wilson] said I had 10 hours to leave the reservation or I would be killed," Thomas recalled. The threat was made to him in front of two other lawyers.

It was Wilson's corrupt administration that was one cause of last year's Wounded Knee seizure.

Banks told *The Militant* that Thomas's testimony showed that "Wilson had virtually become a dictator on the reservation by denying people their rights."

Also taking the stand last week for the prosecution was the Reverend Paul Manhart, a Catholic priest who was pastor at a church in Wounded Knee. Manhart testified that his hands were tied for three hours at the beginning of the seige but later was told by Banks that he was free to stay or leave.

William Kunstler, a defense attorney, got the priest to acknowledge an earlier statement that he'd given to the FBI. The FBI quoted Manhart

as saying shortly before the seizure began that the American Indian Movement wasn't going to hurt anyone at Wounded Knee.

Manhart's appearance on the stand was viewed with considerable skepticism by the defendants, who see him as the missionary for white Catholicism and Christianity, attempting to convert the so-called heathens.

Manhart tried to suggest in his testimony that some damage had been done to his church during the seizure. The defense denied that.

But "after the feds got in there, they shot up all the statues," Means told *The Militant*.

Tempers flared when Judge Nichol repeatedly attacked defense attorney Mark Lane for questions he asked of a BIA police officer—a prosecution witness.

Lane had asked the cop, Virgill Randall, on cross-examination whether he had been transferred from the reservation for shooting and killing one Indian, shooting his brother, and striking a pregnant Indian woman in the stomach with a billy club causing a miscarriage.

Nichol said Lane should be "severely condemned" for the question, later saying that he had "abused the right of counsel." He asked him to sit down saying he was "sick and tired, Mr. Lane, of the manner in which you have been operating."

The defense protested the judge's remarks, especially because of its prejudicial effects on the jury.

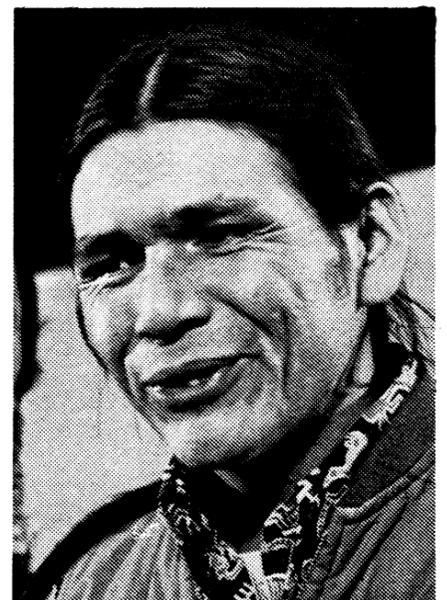
Later on, out of the jury's hearing, Nichol said he would allow Lane to

lay a basis for the question, although he said he would not retract what he said about Lane—the most emotional outburst so far by anyone at the trial.

Lane then asked the BIA cop the question, and he denied the allegations.

Judge Nichol, in a weak statement aimed at showing his "fairness," told the jury to "draw no inference against the defendants . . . because I happen to administer an admonition" to Lane.

It was more double-talk from Nichol, who is not very good at administering justice but certainly has a knack for distorting it.



Tribal president 'had virtually become a dictator,' says AIM leader Dennis Banks.

The British elections and the

Voters repudiate Tory attack on miners

British voters have rejected the Tory government's appeal for a mandate to smash the coal miners strike. The popular anger at rising prices and compulsory wage controls that was expressed at the polls February 28 will make it even more difficult to make the workers pay for the current economic crisis of British capitalism.

The election results, in which none of the parties achieved the 318 seats needed for a majority in Parliament, were an indictment of the Labour party leadership as well as a repudiation of the Tories. By refusing to back

"The problem," the March 3 *Sunday Times* commented, "is that most Tories at Westminster, who look back on Mr Whitelaw's Ulster achievement as the brightest jewel in the Heath Administration's somewhat battered crown, are likely to find the 'bargain' intolerable. For, in essence, it implies a complete unravelling of Whitelaw's work and a resurrection of the 'Irish Question' as the central issue in British politics."

The result has been that Labour party leader Harold Wilson has been called upon to form the first minority cabinet in 45 years. Wilson has rejected any formal coalition, but he will have to depend for support on the Liberal and independent Labour members.

In an editorial, the *Sunday Times* indicated that this might constitute the best of all available worlds at the moment:

"Labour, suitably harnessed, has to be given a chance. What would be required from Labour would be, first, a Cabinet of moderate men. . . . Sec-

will provide both Labour party and union bureaucrats with a convenient excuse for "moderation" in everything but the control of wages. In the March 3 *Observer*, David Wilson reported an interview with David Basnett, general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union:

"If Labour takes power as a minority Government, he foresaw a large measure of co-operation from the TUC [Trades Union Congress]. Unions would realise that Mr Wilson could not fulfil all his election pledges without a working majority and the TUC would help the Labour Party draw up a list of priorities. . . .

"On wage controls, he believed that unions might not insist on an immediate return to wages free-for-all. 'I would like the Labour Government to examine the books and come to the TUC and say "Let's do it this way." I do not think unions would then rock the boat.'"

But for the moment at least, the uncertainty as to the composition of the next government and its chances of survival have delayed the expected offer to end the miners' strike.

"The prospect of a period of weak, unstable government," Michael Braham reported in the *Observer*, "has produced alarm and despondency in industry."

"Many managers fear that any delay in getting the miners back to work and restoring the five-day week would hit output hard and have long-lasting aftereffects. Valuable export markets would be put at risk and the further blow to business confidence would jeopardise the capital investment needed to keep British industry competitive."



Strike by British miners precipitated Heath's call for new elections.

the miners 100 percent and claiming that their strike was not an issue in the campaign, and by supporting the idea of holding down wages in order to deal with inflation, the reformist leadership of the Labour party failed to provide a clear alternative to the Tories. The result was a big jump in the vote for the Liberals, a party that has been moribund since the 1920s.

The February 28 election gave the Labour party 301 seats (against 287 in the previous Parliament), Conservatives 296 (323), Liberals 14 (11), Scottish Nationalists 7 (2), United Ulster Unionists 11 (6), Plaid Cymru (Welsh nationalists) 2 (0), and independent Labour 3 (2). The balance of power between the two large parties thus lay with a heterogeneous collection of 37 members.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath, attempting to remain in office despite the overwhelming rejection of his policies, met with Liberal party leader Jeremy Thorpe March 2 in an effort to put together a coalition government. However, such an alliance would have still been eight votes short of a majority.

At any rate, on March 4 Thorpe rejected Heath's offer of a cabinet post. Although the Liberals hold only fourteen seats in Parliament, they collected 19.3 percent of the vote in the latest election, and apparently decided that their best chances were in maintaining their image as an alternative to the Tories as well as to Labour.

The eleven Unionist members from Northern Ireland were eager for an agreement with the Tories.

only, Labour would have to abandon its extreme policies of nationalisation for its own sake. Thirdly, it would have to go slow on EEC [Common Market] renegotiation. Fourthly, Labour should realise that its 'compact' with the unions would be on probation. It would have to get the miners back quickly and to head off inflationary wage claims."

An unambiguous verdict

The Labour party leaders are considered the logical candidates to impose wage controls because of the public rejection of Heath's attempt to impose them. As Ronald Butt observed in the same issue of the *Sunday Times*: "The meaning of the [election] verdict is unambiguous. The nation has rejected the specific policies for which Mr Heath appealed, and has cast a vote of no confidence in his advice that these policies were vital. . . .

"There were, said Mr Heath over and over again, only two questions. The first was the need for a new mandate for a strong Government to face new problems. Yet whatever peripheral support he could scrape up for survival, the Prime Minister would be unable now to provide the strong Government which he thought important enough to justify an unwise election that the nation did not want.

"The second issue, Mr Heath asserted, was the Incomes Policy itself. But the people have voted by the overwhelming majority of 62 per cent [the total for all parties except the Tories] to 38 percent against this policy."

A Labour minority government

Wilson plans new attempt to hold wages down

From Intercontinental Press

[The following report was prepared just prior to the British elections of February 28.]

London

"We know the trade unions, at national level, in the individual districts and workshops. We can talk with them and work with them. We can get their cooperation. We understand their prob-



WILSON: ' . . . we shall be hard put to maintain living standards. . . .'



HEATH: Encouraged inflation to increase profits and stimulate investment.

lems and their families' problems and we understand their loyalties, their emotions."

With these words Labour party leader Harold Wilson announced February 17 that a "great new social contract" had been agreed to by the top leaders of the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC). The announcement, part of pre-election strategy, was the latest in a series of face-lifting operations undertaken by the Labour party's top brass to improve Labour's image with the business community at home and abroad.

Introducing the pact, Wilson made it clear that the contract would not infringe upon the profits of big business. "We seek to strike a bargain: consent between government, industry, and the trade unions," he said. "That bargain must be kept on both sides, and I believe it would be kept. I believe we can transform the industrial and economic outlook of Britain."

The announcement of the pact fits well with the strategy of the Labour leadership in the pre-election period. They consistently turned against any militancy on the part of workers that might be detrimental to winning support from industrialists and bankers.

The nub of the new "contract" is a promise to capitalist business interests that a future Labour government would introduce an incomes policy that would be enforceable because it would have the consent of the TUC top brass. In exchange, Labour will make a vague commitment to control prices and to introduce a fairer system of taxation, better housing, improved education, and a better health service.

Tories encouraged inflation

The effect of the TUC-Labour party pact is to place the blame for inflation on workers' wage claims and not on the Tories, who have encouraged high inflation in order to generate profits and stimulate investments. At a time when workers are feeling a decline in real income, profits are reaching new peaks.

"It [the analysis of profits for last year] shows there were some startling rises in sector trading profits, including a 104 per cent rise for hire purchase companies," noted John Palmer, business editor of the *Guardian* on February 15. "Trading profits for building materials firms were up 57 per cent, and those for contracting and construction groups by almost 60 per cent."

"Following the big rise in bank profits reported recently by Lloyds, Bar-

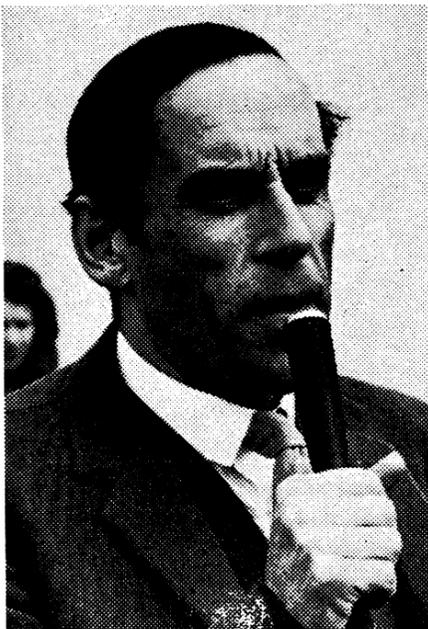
outlook for working people

clays and National Westminster, and the doubling of profits by ICI, these figures may come as some embarrassment for the Conservatives. They compare with a rise of 12.9 per cent for earnings, which was barely enough to keep pace with the rise in prices last year."

According to figures released on February 15, prices are rising in Britain faster than at any time since the retail price index was started in 1947. Since the last general election food prices have increased by an average of 53 pence in the pound.

Wilson's announcement of the pact follows a statement to the same effect by TUC leader Len Murray several days earlier. "If a government wants us involved," Murray said; "it will find us responsible, although it will put a burden on our shoulders. We will cooperate if we think we are getting a fair deal."

Soon after it was announced, the prospect of an incomes policy imposed by a Labour administration and policed by the union showed signs of faltering. In the event that union leaders were unable to do the policing, Harold Lever, a former Labour minister, made it clear what the consequences would be. In a BBC broadcast on February 18, Lever said that a future Labour government would



THORPE: Liberal leader holds balance of power in new Parliament.

introduce, if necessary, any powers it required to enforce its "voluntary" wage controls.

Lever's views are not his alone, but are shared by Labour's top leadership. This was the same viewpoint expressed by Labour's shadow chancellor, Denis Healey, in a television interview on February 11. Asked if he would pledge that "under no circumstances would the Labour Party introduce a statutory incomes policy," Healey replied: "I would not give such a pledge, because I am an honest man and I know how circumstances can change cases."

The Tories responded to the announcement of a TUC-Labour party pact by casting doubts on its workability. Tory leader Heath seized upon the initially unfavorable reaction to the agreement by Hugh Scanlon, "left" leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers.

Scanlon at first denied that the TUC had reached an agreement with the Labour party leaders on wage controls, but by the end of the week he was insisting "emphatically" that a



Demonstrators in London demand release of three building workers jailed by Tories under antipicketing law. Wilson has refused to say if he will free jailed pickets or support repeal of Tory laws against picketing.

"compact" had been agreed to by the TUC, the Labour party Executive and the Parliamentary Labour party. Other union bureaucrats were quick to follow suit.

"By the weekend," wrote the *Sunday Times* staff on February 24, "more union reinforcements were coming over the hill. Both Clive Jenkins, Left-Wing general secretary of the white collar ASTMS [Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs], and David Basnett, leader of the General and Municipal Workers [Union] are circulating their members with a letter expressing the intention of their unions 'to cooperate' fully and wholeheartedly 'with the actions of a Labour Government on the counter-inflation front.'"

The *Sunday Times* reporters commented on the apparent confusion in Labour's ranks. "The Labour leadership, anticipating a general election much later this year, had hoped to lead the TUC carthorse to the water of incomes policy and persuade it to drink by this summer. Jim Callaghan, who had been guiding the TUC talks, on Wilson's behalf, had lined up a number of trade union conferences during the spring and early summer with the specific object of putting across a voluntary incomes policy to which they could agree."

"But the snap election pre-empted such elaborate manoeuvres," continued the *Sunday Times* staff, "freezing the actors mid-way between the 'compact' and 'contract' phases. All Wilson did, in his Nottingham speech, was to nudge Labour's confident expectations forward a bit but it was enough to put Hugh Scanlon on the spot when taxed by Robin Day about the terms of the 'social contract' last Monday night."

What pact could mean

An idea of what the TUC-Labour party pact could mean is evident from the lengths to which the TUC leaders were prepared to go under the Tories to avoid a conflict with the government. Before the election was announced, TUC leaders gave an official commitment to the Tories that they would actively discourage affiliated unions from utilising a breach in Phase III if the government were prepared to grant "special case" status to the miners.

As for the Labour party leaders, they have already provided an indication of what can be expected under the "great new social contract." Before the election was announced the Labour party leadership, feeling the pressure

of the red scare launched by the Tories, undertook to protect their image by initiating a witch-hunt of their own.

When the election was called, Wilson tried to take the heat off himself by publicly expressing regret that the miners did not call off their strike for the duration of the election. He then proceeded to convince the train drivers' leaders to end their overtime ban so as not to mar Labour's image.

On February 22 Wilson revealed that the pact was really a fraud as far as the ordinary worker was concerned. Asked at a Bristol meeting what he would do about repealing Tory legislation against the right to picket, Wilson replied: "We have already had discussions with the TUC." "We have taken legal advice and we are going to change the law at the end of the day." He refused to say whether his government would free pickets jailed by the Tories or if it would repeal all antipicketing laws.

Reason for 'contract'

The main reason for the "contract" cooked up by the Labour leaders was the immense difficulties facing a new Labour government if one should be formed. Given the economic crisis, and the great stimulus of a Labour victory on workers' willingness to struggle, there is all the more pressing need for a Labour administration to rely on the union bureaucrats to keep things in order.

"I think they know now," said Wilson, according to a report in the *Guardian* on February 21 explaining why the TUC would cooperate with a new Labour government, "that the problem is, there isn't going to be any real prospect of major increases in living standards over the next year, especially after the three-day week. I think they recognise we shall be hard put to it to maintain living standards, and that is why they and we will agree there's got to be much fairer shares and nobody's trying to opt out."

The enormous balance of payments deficit incurred by the Tories will necessitate large-scale borrowing by whichever government assumes office. On February 25, three days before the election, a visible balance of trade deficit of £383 million was announced by the Board of Trade. It was the highest monthly total in British history.

A pledge of loyalty on the part of union bureaucrats would greatly aid a Labour government when it came

to making application to international creditors and to enforcing austerity measures on British workers.

But given the economic crisis, it is doubtful that a "voluntary" incomes policy could work for long. Most assessments suggest strict wage controls by whichever government is elected. The statements of Labour leaders about enforcing a statutory incomes policy are based on just this ruling-class need.

"The probability is," wrote John Cole, deputy editor of the *Guardian*, on February 18, "that sometime between March 2 and mid-summer either a Conservative or Labour government will take crisis action: a freeze, a squeeze or both."

On February 16 the weekly *Economist*, which is firmly opposed to Labour coming into office, assessed the advantages of a new Labour administration more favourably than most Tory advocates. "A Labour government might be less bad than Labour itself is saying that it would be. Although Labour advertises that it would surrender to wage inflation, the likelihood is that a Labour government would have to introduce a wage freeze rather quickly."

During their period in office the Tories have unleashed a major assault on working-class rights and living standards, including rising prices and widespread unemployment resulting from the three-day week; legislation directed against trade unions, immigrants, and tenants; and major cut-backs in public spending.

If Labour fails to obtain a decisive majority, it will be because of the confusion created by the class collaborationist policies pursued by the Labour party leadership. Their commitment to capitalism has led these Labour and union bureaucrats to advance policies fundamentally at odds with workers' interests. The prospect of another incomes policy—"voluntary" or otherwise—under a new Labour government in the guise of a "great new social contract" is yet another addition to this dismal record.

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Leon Trotsky on Britain

INTRODUCTION BY GEORGE NOVACK

Leon Trotsky's 1925-28 writings on the burning political issues facing British revolutionists: how to break the ideological hold of reformism over the working masses; how to win them to the revolutionary party; how to lead the class forward to a successful socialist revolution. Introduction by George Novack. A MONAD PRESS BOOK. 344 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45

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Soviet bureaucrats help out

U.S. steps up Mideast diplomatic offensive

By DAVE FRANKEL

With the announcement March 2 that Israeli and Syrian negotiators would travel to Washington to begin work on a troop disengagement accord, the U.S. diplomatic offensive in the Middle East reached a new stage.

Washington aims to stabilize the region by gaining recognition of the Israeli settler-colony from the Arab regimes and winning their collaboration in suppressing those sections of the Palestinian liberation movement that prove unwilling to accept whatever crumbs are tossed to them in the course of the negotiations.

In addition to suppressing the political issue of Palestinian self-determination, Washington hopes to open up new opportunities for imperialist investment and exploitation in the Arab world.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger is being actively aided in his attempt to impose a Pax Americana on the Arab peoples by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. Asked by a reporter what advice he had for President Hafez Assad of Syria, Sadat replied, "To start, to continue [negotiations with Israel], and to give Mr. Kissinger an opportunity to achieve what he has achieved here on the Egyptian front."

Speaking of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Egypt, Henry Tanner wrote in the March 1 *New York Times*, "One result . . . will be that American businessmen, who have started to arrive in droves over the past two months, will have the embassy's advice and assistance."

On March 3 Sadat urged the easing of the Arab oil embargo against the U.S., a move which follows extensive relaxations on the flow of foreign in-

vestment into Egypt and a campaign to encourage the investment of domestic capital. Tanner wrote from Cairo Feb. 27 that ". . . Cairo's more affluent classes . . . have been told that the economy will be liberalized, that Egyptian capital as well as foreign capital is needed to make it run and that nationalization is a thing of the past."

In addition to throwing open the Egyptian economy to U.S. capital, Sadat has instructed newspapers to avoid any criticism of the U.S.

By agreeing to send a representative to Washington to take part in indirect talks with the Israelis, Syria's Assad has made clear his desire for a negotiated settlement with Israel. Like all the Arab governments, the Assad regime gives verbal support to the rights of the Palestinians, but its real concern is the return to Syria of the Golan Heights, captured by Israel in

the 1967 war.

However, even this limited objective is not likely to be won through reliance on the good offices of the U.S. Assad has demanded that any military disengagement agreement with Israel be tied to further Israeli withdrawals from the Golan Heights, while Israel has proposed a withdrawal up to the 1967 cease-fire lines, leaving it in control of all of the Heights.

"In the case of the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement talks," wrote Charlotte Saikowski in the Feb. 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, "President Sadat, too, had wanted prior Israeli assurances of further withdrawal from Arab territory. But in the end all he got was a public Israeli statement that Jerusalem viewed the separation of forces as only a step toward peace."

Furthermore, the Zionist regime has established more than 30 settlements in the Golan Heights and has an-

nounced that construction is beginning on a new town, which Israeli officials say will house 20,000 people within a decade. Prime Minister Golda Meir declared Feb. 8 that the Golan Heights had become "an integral part of Israel." The strengthening of the right wing in Israeli politics, reflected in Meir's recent difficulties in forming a new cabinet, make a softening of this position unlikely.

About 120,000 Syrians were driven out of the Golan Heights following the 1967 war, and another 15,000 to 20,000 became refugees as a result of the 1973 war. This situation puts great pressure on Assad, whose rule is not as firmly established as Sadat's to begin with.

Discussing the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Damascus in this context, *Washington Post* reporter Jim Hoagland wrote Feb. 27 that Gromyko's "arrival could bolster Assad's position domestically by undercutting leftist criticism of cooperation with Kissinger. . . . With visible new Soviet support, Assad should now be in a stronger bargaining position when Kissinger returns here. . . ."

Ironically enough, Hoagland explained March 3 that "Western diplomats believe that the sudden visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Damascus this week demonstrates Soviet concern about an increasingly visible deterioration in Soviet-Syrian relations paralleling the thaw with Kissinger."

Similar Soviet problems have been noted in Egypt. By helping Washington to maneuver against the Arab revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats are enhancing U.S. domination of the Middle East and preparing the bases from which new counterrevolutionary wars will be carried out in the future.



Syrian prisoner being interrogated by Israelis.

Ethiopian workers, soldiers, and students revolt

By BAXTER SMITH

MARCH 6—Prolonged drought and famine, unemployment, and soaring inflation that has doubled and tripled the cost of food and gasoline have touched off the gravest crisis to explode around Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie since the Italian occupation in the 1930s.

A wave of mass protests in the capital city, Addis Ababa, sparked a major revolt in the armed forces and forced the resignation of Selassie's

premier and the 18 other cabinet members.

Early press reports described it as simply an army revolt for higher pay. But it later took the form of demands for increased economic, social, and political rights for all Ethiopians, by sections of the armed forces, students, and the labor movement.

Selassie reportedly agreed on March 5 to a "constitutional convention to create a new system of elected democratic government," according to the *New York Times*.

The 120,000-strong Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions has backed up its 16-point list of demands with plans for a general strike on March 7. Among their demands is the establishment of a minimum wage of \$1.50 a day, twice what an ordinary laborer now earns, a social security system, freedom to strike and unionize workers, price control boards that "take the rising cost of living into account," and a "positive effort to solve unemployment."

The protests began Feb. 18 in Addis Ababa when 3,500 taxi drivers struck against higher costs of gasoline and licensing fees. The same day teachers walked out in response to the regime's plan to overhaul the educational system. Later, employees of Ethiopian Airlines struck.

Cops clashed with the taxi drivers, who were joined by students in halting

all public transportation. Soldiers moved in and made more than 1,000 arrests. A dozen or more people were killed in the process.

Selassie granted a few concessions, but no sooner had "order" supposedly been restored than sections of the army mutinied and seized the second largest city, Asmara, in the northern province of Eritrea, Feb. 26. At least 10,000 soldiers were involved and were said to be led by enlisted men and junior officers.

Although they had been granted pay increases two days earlier, the rebel soldiers termed them insufficient, citing their presence on the hazardous front lines in the war against the insurgent Eritrean Liberation Front.

Selassie originally rejected their demands for higher pay. He sent the army chief of staff and two other generals to Asmara to negotiate, but the rebels took them hostage and demanded "total acceptance" of their demands.

The mutiny spread and on Feb. 28, a rebel paratroop battalion seized control of an air force base and buzzed the capital city. That night, the cabinet stepped down.

Selassie then announced military salary increases and appointed a new premier. But students and others demonstrated March 1 in the streets of Addis Ababa in a 7,000-strong protest, chanting: "We want de-

mocracy!" "Throw out the new prime minister and hang the old primeminister!" and "Leaders should be elected." Cops broke up the demonstration with tear gas, and shot some protesters.

Then, on March 4, "units" of the military said they would "take action" unless Selassie made "sweeping political, economic and social changes," according to the *New York Times*.

In handbills that rained from a helicopter over the capital March 4, the rebel troops demanded "freedom of the press and assembly, the creation of political parties, liberalized labor legislation, the release of political prisoners, free and universal education and land reform, with 'land to the tillers,'" among 11 demands, the *Times* said.

The leaflets protested that the media had stressed only troop pay demands "in disregard" of democratic and social demands, prompting a "misunderstanding among the people." The leaflets "warned" the Ministry of Information not to distort the army's position again.

At this writing the general strike is still on even though the hard-pressed, 81-year-old "Lion of Judah" granted pay increases and dismissed his unpopular cabinet. But as a *New York Times* editorial reflected: "It is not yet clear whether these concessions will satisfy the rebels and restore peace to the ancient kingdom."



Ethiopians demonstrate for democratic rights in Addis Ababa.

Do indictments show 'system works'?

Grand jury tightens noose around Nixon

By CINDY JAQUITH

The grand jury indictment of seven presidential cronies as conspirators in the Watergate cover-up is a devastating blow to the Nixon administration and to Nixon himself.

Capitalist newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* are gamely trying to make the best of a bad situation by pointing to the indictments as proof that "the system works."

The rulers of this country are hoping to keep the deepening distrust resulting from Watergate, the energy crisis, and soaring prices within the two-party system. Pointing to the recent victories of Democrats in Republican congressional districts, they are trying to prove that the capitalist political setup can be the vehicle for ending Watergate.

System doesn't work

But the indictments and the as-yet secret grand jury report on Nixon's personal involvement are new evidence that the system does *not* work in the interests of the masses of Americans. And, despite the short-term gains being chalked up by the Democrats, the capitalist politicians of both parties are deeply worried over the disenchantment with all of their institutions, including the two-party shell game.

"Never before have so many close and trusted advisers of an American president faced criminal accusations in a single indictment," commented the March 2 *New York Times*.

The seven people indicted are former attorney general John Mitchell; H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, the president's two top advisers until last April; Charles Colson, Nixon's former special assistant, now chief attorney for the Teamsters union; Robert Mardian, former head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division; Gordon Strachan, Haldeman's former assistant; and Kenneth Parkinson, lawyer for the Nixon re-election campaign.

All are charged with conspiracy to cover up the Watergate burglary. Six are also charged with obstruction of justice, two with perjury, and three with lying to the FBI or to the grand

jury.

"One source close to the Watergate investigation," reported James Naughton in the March 3 *New York Times*, "said that within recent weeks some of the grand jurors still wanted to indict the President and that the prosecutors had had a difficult time dissuading them."

Instead, the grand jury gave Federal Judge John Sirica its secret report on Nixon's role in the cover-up. The report, according to the March 2 *New York Post*, "contains approximately 50 paragraphs outlining evidence involving the President."

Political impact

R. W. Apple, writing in the March 2 *New York Times*, assessed the political impact of the grand jury's ac-

proper forum for the resolution of the questions concerning Watergate."

Despite the bold front, however, the latest developments have been a blow to his plan to "fight like hell" to stay in the White House.

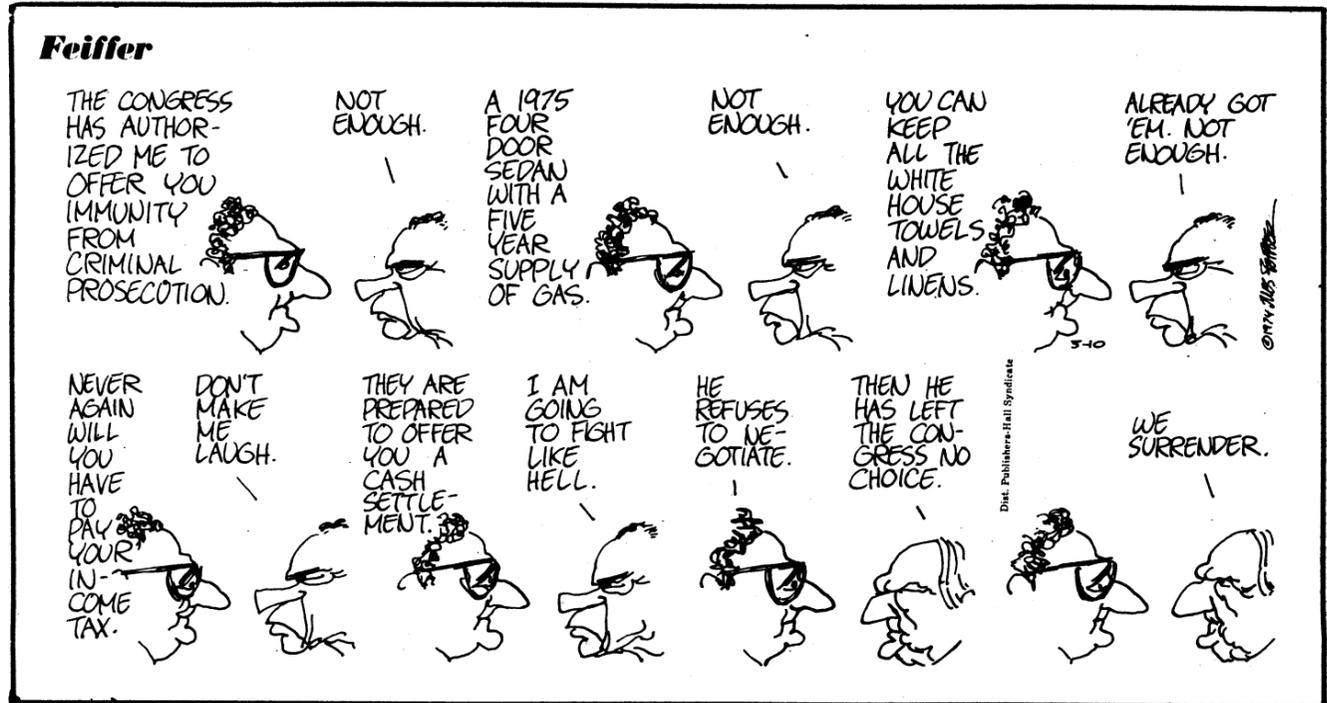
Democratic and Republican politicians have been falling all over themselves to hail the indictments as proof that democracy is alive in the U. S. Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) declared, "The Constitution, legal and judicial processes are all functioning."

Senator Jacob Javits (R-N. Y.) said the indictments "reflect once again that the appropriate and ordinary processes of our criminal justice system are working, and that they are working without discrimination or favor with

of the indictments called for recognition that "those indicted are presumed innocent unless proof of guilt is established in the courts."

Vice-president Ford echoed this sentiment, saying, "I trust that all the defendants in the Watergate case will get a prompt and fair trial."

The phony concern of the rulers of this country for "prompt and fair trials" is particularly outrageous for the thousands of Blacks and other poor people presently rotting in jails awaiting trial. The irony of this phrase was underscored by the *Wall Street Journal*, which editorialized March 4: "Mr. Haldeman, Mr. Mitchell and the rest are entitled to their day in court, no less than Daniel Ellsberg or Father Berrigan."



tion:

"More than a year and a half after the apprehension of a bugging squad inside the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee, the judicial branch of the Government has pointed the finger of accusation at the four men who were then President Nixon's closest advisers and raised questions about the veracity of the President himself. Accusations have been hurled at these men for months by politicians, the news media, commentators and Watergate witnesses. But those charges did not have behind them the weight of a grand jury . . . and they were not couched in the precise and yet frighteningly blunt language of indictment.

"Much of what was said in the hearings of the Senate Watergate committee was stale stuff indeed to the Washington political community, but it hit the average voter hard. The same thing is likely to happen as the public views the picture painted by the grand jurors of conduct at the very core of the American Government in late 1972 and early 1973."

Speaking for the wing of the ruling class that has decided it would be better to get rid of Nixon now, despite the overhead costs involved, Apple concluded:

"Especially if the energy crisis continues, especially if the economy turns sour as Watergate developments unfold in the weeks ahead, all the old questions about the President's ability to govern will be raised again."

Nixon issued a statement through his press secretary claiming to be pleased with the way things were going. He said he had "always maintained that the judicial system is the

regard to the high positions of influence and power formerly occupied by those who have been indicted."

Impartial justice?

But is the "criminal justice system" really working impartially?

As it is, the federal prosecutors have never presented the grand jury with evidence on most of the government's crimes, such as the criminal war in Southeast Asia, or the crimes directed at the real victims of Watergating.

No evidence was heard on the persistent government attempt, during both Democratic and Republican administrations, to destroy the Black liberation movement. It is known that the FBI conducted a heavy surveillance program against Dr. Martin Luther King up to the time of his assassination. The government had agents infiltrate Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity. And recently, an FBI agent admitted that he was an Illinois Black Panther Party security chief at the time of the brutal police murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

What about the infiltration of other radical groups, such as the Weathermen, by agents provocateurs who encouraged bombings and other terrorist tactics?

What about the government's admission of illegal practices directed against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, including wiretapping, mail tampering, and spying?

Instead of talking about these crimes, the capitalist politicians warn the American people not to "prejudge" the men who have been indicted.

Nixon's statement greeting the news

Have the *Journal* editors forgotten that "Mr. Mitchell" was the top law enforcement officer when Ellsberg and Berrigan were indicted? Have they forgotten that Mitchell's Justice Department planted an agent provocateur to frame up Berrigan and the other Harrisburg defendants, or that Ehrlichman, also under indictment, tried to bribe Ellsberg's judge in an effort to get a conviction?

This is the kind of "fair trial" meted out by capitalist justice for antiwar activists, Blacks, and socialists.

We can expect that the trials of the Watergate crooks will be quite different.

They will have the best lawyers money can buy, or, in the case of Nixon, that taxpayers can pay for.

They will be free to come and go during their trial, unlike defendants such as Angela Davis, who sat in jail for months just awaiting her trial.

If convicted, they can look forward to golfing at places like Lumpoc prison camp, where Watergater Donald Segretti resides, or doing their time at some other equally comfortable "camp" reserved for government officials and "white collar" criminals. Compare this to the beatings, indignities, and racist abuse suffered by the prisoners at Attica.

The Watergaters' sentences will undoubtedly be short, and paroles will come easily. Already, three of the original Watergate burglars are free, pending appeal, and two others are up for parole. In the meantime, Elmer Davis, the Black man framed up for the Ellsberg burglary, remains in jail.

This double standard of justice is just one more way that the capitalist system "works" for the benefit of the rich at the expense of the poor.

Justice, the American way

The maximum sentences allowed for some of the crimes cited in the Watergate indictments are lengthy. But past experience shows that long prison terms have a way of passing quickly if you have friends in the right places.

Take the case of Lieutenant William Calley, who was sentenced to 20 years for the mass murder of Vietnamese civilians at My Lai. On Feb. 27 U. S. District Judge J. Robert Elliott released him from house arrest pending an appeal. In doing so, Elliott said there was "no likelihood" Calley would flee.

"Why should he?" asked the March 11 issue of *Time* magazine. "Under the terms of his sentence, he was comfortably confined to his \$111-a-month, two-bedroom apartment at Fort Benning, Ga., where he passed the months watching television, building model airplanes, boning up on oceanography and ancient history through correspondence courses, growing vegetables and flowers in his backyard, and talking to his pet mynah bird. Calley, 30, has also enjoyed almost daily visits from his girl friend, Anne Moore."

Support for socialist in debate with oilman

By JAMES WILLIAMSON

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 21 — One of the least publicity-minded and most secretive of the oil trusts—the Sun Oil Company of Philadelphia—emerged this afternoon at the University of Pennsylvania to defend its energy policies.

The occasion was a debate, sponsored by the Forum for Social Change, between Sun Oil representative Ludwig Stern and *Militant* staff writer Dick Roberts. One hundred people attended, and it was clear that the majority had no sympathy for Sun Oil's case.

"I'm not interested in discussing the energy crisis in terms of capitalism versus socialism," Stern said at one point. The problem, he said, is that "we have had a public that wanted both ends of the lollipop at the same time. You wanted clean energy. If you want it clean you have to pay for it."

But Stern was unable to convince most listeners either that consumers were to blame or that the character of capitalism is irrelevant to the energy crisis.

In brief introductory remarks, the speakers took quite different approaches. Roberts stressed two central demands in the fight against the oil trusts—the demand to open the books and the demand to nationalize the oil companies—and pointed to the need for a workers government.

"What we are confronted with," said Roberts, "is congressional investigators asking the oil companies for facts. This isn't going to get very far, and it is not what we mean by opening the books."

"The books have to be examined by organizations independent of the capitalist government. Organizations representing the workers, drivers, and consumers, who have a real need for the facts."

"The oil companies claim they have a right to make profits," Roberts said. "I don't believe that capitalists have a right to make any profits."

Pointing out that Sun Oil is overwhelmingly owned by a single family—the Pew family of Philadelphia—Roberts contended that Sun's policies are solely directed to maximizing the profits of this ruling-class family and not to meeting the needs of the people. "The Pew Memorial Foundation," he said, "alone holds over seven million shares of Sun, worth over \$400-million."

"These industries have to be taken out of the hands of the wealthy and run by a government of working people to benefit all of society," Roberts said.

Charts and tables

Stern's initial presentation consisted entirely in showing slides of graphs and tables supposedly proving the existence of an "energy gap." "The world energy demand is going to go up, so the picture will get worse rather than better," he said.

Attempting to blame this shortage on consumption of energy by individuals, he insisted, "We must

curtail our usage or the situation will get out of hand."

The first question from the audience went right to the point. The questioner noted that all of Stern's tables were actual or potential *demand* figures. "What about *supply*?" he asked. "What is the relationship between your charts and known reserves?"

The Sun spokesman's answer clearly revealed the irrationality of production for private profit. "I don't like to talk about potentials," he said. "When the price gets to a level where it is economically justifiable to go after this, then more material becomes available."

"In other words," said Roberts, "the oil industry figures on reserves are based solely on what they believe it is *profitable* to produce. Drive up world oil prices, and oil reserves and oil profits will increase. This is their main aim."

Giving an almost ecstatic description of the potential reserves in Manitoba, Canada, Stern predicted: "When the price of oil goes up even further than it is today [!], more oil is going to be produced. If the price goes up high enough there'll be more incentive for the oil companies to buy land up there."

Ecological problems

In answer to a question about ecological dangers from offshore drilling, Stern replied: "There have been 17,000 oil wells drilled off the U.S.A. in 25 years. Of those there were only four spills. Let's put that in perspective. If you were married for 20 years and your wife handled one dozen eggs each day (which nobody does because the cholesterol would kill you), and if she broke one egg, would you divorce her?"

This attempt at humor was met with a chorus of boos from the audience.

"Who does run Sun Oil?" someone asked.

"It is not owned by the Pew family," said Stern. "It is a publicly owned corporation, and you can go out to your broker right now if you wish and buy shares of Sun Oil."

"I want a million shares!" said the questioner, but Stern was undaunted.

"Many people own shares, not all of them as much as Mr. J.N. Pew perhaps, certainly not," Stern continued. "I am an ordinary guy and I own a number of shares, I'm a capitalist if that's what you want to accuse me of, and I'm proud of it—real proud."

Assuring Mr. Stern that he was not, indeed, a member of the ruling class, Roberts pointed out that "if there is one place where there is 'democracy' in this country it is in how a corporation is directed. One share has one vote. And if you own 800,000 shares as Mr. Pew does," said Roberts, "you have 800,000 votes."

"The ruling class that is so wealthy is a hereditary ruling class. Its children go to a certain very



STERN (left), ROBERTS: Differing views on profits.

narrow number of schools, graduate schools, etc., and with proper education and backing they end up on the board of directors. The Pews, of course, run Sun—they own 42 percent of the stock."

A round of questions was directed at Sun's advertising expenses ("Put Sunoco in your gas tanks and it's springtime") versus its exploration and research expenses. Stern claimed he did not have the figures for advertising expenses. Anyway, he argued, the real problem is that although the oil companies spent some \$700-million on research in 1973, they are not being backed up by the government.

This was one of Stern's main arguments—that government energy policy, not the oil monopolies' policies, is to blame for the current crisis.

Roberts, on the other hand, stated, "We should not in any way be led into believing that there is a separation of interests between oil and the U.S. government. The oil company owners, directors, and their corporations are by far the largest contributors to both the Democratic and Republican parties. Richard Mellon Scaife—heir to the Mellon Gulf fortune—was the biggest contributor to Nixon's 1972 campaign."

"I believe, correct me if I'm wrong," Roberts continued, "that every secretary of state since World War I, except two, represented oil interests directly. Henry Kissinger, a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller at the Brookings Institution and manager of a Rockefeller election campaign, is the latest example."

"Today Kissinger's Middle East policies directly reflect the interests of the Rockefellers, not the Arab or Iranian or American people. It is this ruling class that owns the oil interests and runs the U.S. government. What more underlines the need to replace the present capitalist government by one representing working people, instead of profiteers?"

Blacks, Chicanos doubly hit by energy crisis

"This energy thing is a hoax," declared Jesse Jackson as he toured the Ford River Rouge assembly plant in Detroit last month. Jackson, a civil rights leader from Chicago's Operation PUSH, went to Detroit to call attention to the massive number of layoffs that Black auto workers are suffering.

According to the Detroit *Free Press*, the PUSH

leader "urged workers to resist layoffs through mass demonstrations, pickets and work-ins."

Layoffs and unemployment are only one of the ways Black people are getting the short end of the stick in the energy crisis. Harlem congressman Charles Rangel has reported that complaints to his office about lack of heat and hot water are up 25 percent from last winter. Landlords plead the

energy crisis.

In many businesses, layoffs attributed to the fuel shortage have been accompanied by the dropping of minority group hiring programs.

Also hard hit by the fuel shortage are migrant farm workers, many of them Chicanos. Often farm worker families have to travel 100 miles a day in a constant search for work at poverty-level wages.

The toll of the energy crisis on Blacks, Chicanos, and other poor has begun to bring forth protests. On Feb. 23 the Washington, D. C., African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) organized a rally of 100 people against the fraud of the energy crisis.

Presented at the rally was a "Black People's Position on the Energy Crisis." Placing responsibility for the crisis on the oil monopolies, the ALSC demanded, "an end to tax kickbacks to oil monopolies; more gas for the poor and Black working people and less gas for the military; reinstate ecology and conservation legislation; and a call to roll back the price of gasoline."

For D. C., the statement demanded a rollback in bus fares and a moratorium on all rent increases during the energy crisis.

Speakers at the rally included representatives of the Coalition for Human Needs, the D. C. Black Assembly, the Congress of African Peoples, Youth Organization for Black Unity, and Maceo Dixon from the Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee.



PUSH demonstration in January outside Chicago Standard Oil building denounced phony shortage.

Strip mining: western lands threatened by coal profit drive

By JEAN WALKER

The long-standing debate over strip mining is coming to a head. Using the energy crisis as a pretext, the government and the oil and coal monopolies are moving to beat back environmental regulations that would cut into profits in the coming "great coal rush."

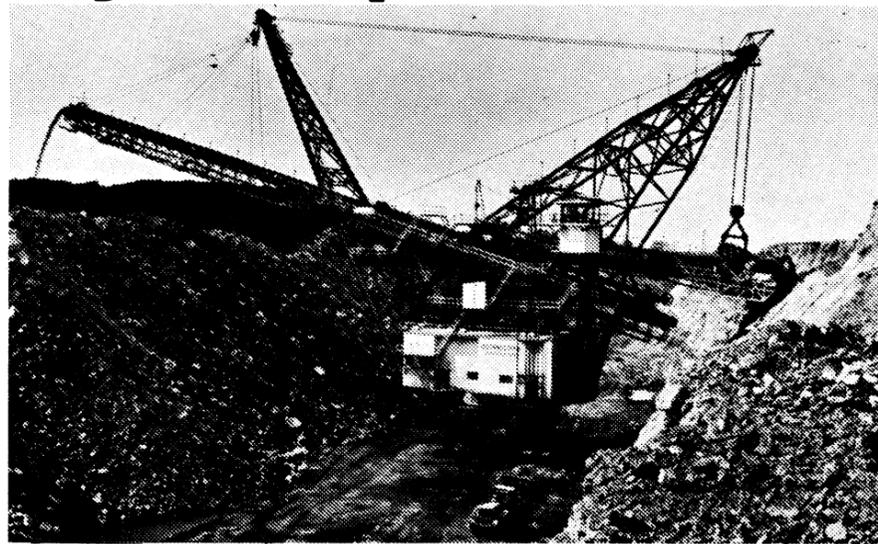
Last October the Senate passed the Surface Mining Reclamation Act of 1973, which would impose the first federal regulations on strip mines—that is, mines that extract minerals from surface layers of the earth. A similar bill is under consideration in the House Interior Committee.

Last month coal lobbyists and Nixon administration representatives collaborated with Representative Craig Hosmer (R-Calif.) to produce a weakened substitute for the bill now in the House committee. The Hosmer bill would eliminate the original bill's requirement that strip mined areas be returned to their "approximate original contour" and that coal companies pay a fee to the government for restoration of land destroyed by strip mining in the past.

On Feb. 27 the Hosmer substitute was defeated in a close vote in the committee, but the original bill can still be amended.

There is a great deal at stake in this debate. Strip mining now accounts for more than half this country's bituminous coal production. In 1973 strip mining tore up an estimated 1,000 new acres per week.

Studies conducted by environmental groups say only a tenth of all land



Strip mines 'leave green hills looking like remains of a dead plant.'

UMW photo

stripped for coal has been restored.

Although only 3 percent of U. S. coal supplies are in strippable lands, coal companies have concentrated on strip mining because it is more profitable. The lower cost of strip mining to the coal companies conceals the high social cost in terms of devastated land.

Citing the "energy crisis," Nixon and the coal and oil monopolies want to clear the way for superprofits in the coal industry. More than 90 percent of this expansion of coal production is expected to come from strip mining.

The coal industry—a major part of which is controlled by the big oil monopolies—has its eyes on the huge Fort Union coal formation that lies in eastern Montana and Wyoming and western North and South Dakota.

The strip mining rampage of the coal and oil companies is generating protests from miners and farmers in the West, in addition to environmental groups. The Farmers Union, for example, sponsored a regional conference in South Dakota in January on the dangers of the process.

Tony Dechant, national president of the Farmers Union, was quoted in the North Dakota *New Salem Journal* as saying, "Strip mining is the most dramatic violation of the environment that man has yet devised. It leaves once green hills looking like the remains of a dead plant. Underground water supplies are destroyed, or ruined. All of this happened in Appalachia, but indications are that the effects will be much worse in the arid west."

He said, "Down in Kansas, members of the Farmers Union have been looking at the area of their state that has been ruined by Gulf Oil Corporation's coal mining operation, and they want the land restored."

Others concerned about Gulf Oil's operations are the 110 coal miners

in Cherokee County, Kans., who are being thrown out of their jobs at Gulf's Pittsburg & Midway No. 19 strip mine. Many miners think Gulf has announced this shutdown as a way to pressure the state legislature to weaken reclamation standards, which Gulf says make the mine unprofitable.

The problem of these miners points up how the oil and coal profiteers are unconcerned not only about the environment, but also about the lives of their workers. As the *United Mine Workers Journal* put it, the workers at Gulf's mine "have put in 10 or 20 or 30 years with the company, earned seniority and pension credits, built homes in the area with their own hands," and now Gulf just wants to dump them.

"It's like a hydrant," said miner Carl Wood. "They turn you on and turn you off as they please."

Another thing that bothers the workers is that they have no way of knowing whether the shutdown is really necessary. According to the *UMW Journal*, miners felt the necessity of "a federal requirement of disclosure of all corporate financial records. They said this step, known among British workers as the demand to 'open the books,' would at least let them evaluate the true motives of Gulf in closing the No. 19 mine."

This demand of "open the books" could be applied to the whole strip mining industry.

Working people have a right to see for themselves whether the industry is telling the truth when it says reclamation is "too expensive." And if the private companies can only mine coal by devastating the land, the industry should be taken over by the government and run under workers control in a way that preserves both the environment and the living standards of the miners.

Truckers call new strike for May 13

By ANDREA BARON

LOS ANGELES—Another shutdown is planned by independent truckers to begin May 13. This was reported by Mike Parkhurst, editor of *Overdrive* magazine, at the Central-East Los Angeles Militant Forum, March 1.

Parkhurst said the demands of the shutdown would be the same as they were in February—a rollback in fuel prices and a full public audit of oil company reserves.

Truckers learned a lot about the workings of the government during the last shutdown, he said.

Before the shutdown, the independent truckers associations sent leaflets and posters to Congress, expressing their frustration at the problems they were facing, and warning of a possible shutdown. These warnings were ignored.

"Congress didn't act until pressure built up . . . they won't do anything until we move again," Parkhurst declared.

Parkhurst expressed disgust with the way the shutdown was covered by the news media. "The press is ignorant and biased; they were only interested in violence for their headlines."

"Nobody likes violence," he commented. "But it's very ironic that this country which drops bombs and kills people it has never seen is so horrified if one trucker throws one rock."

Parkhurst estimated that 85 percent of the Teamsters union members supported the shutdown. "But, unfortunately, the union hierarchy does not. The official line of the Teamsters union supports the companies; they work hand in glove."

Sharing the platform with Parkhurst was Arnold Tipton, an independent trucker and an active participant in the recent shutdown. He gave the forum a vivid description of some of the harassment truckers constantly face.

The truckers are forced to comply with complicated permit and registration systems, which are different in every state. Up to five different kinds of permits may be required for the truckers to operate their rigs in a single state.

The permits vary in price from one dollar to several hundred. If a driver is found to be missing a permit, he can be fined by the state. The fines often run into hundreds of dollars, which the trucker must pay on the spot or be thrown into jail.

Tipton also described the continual inspections and harassment the owner-operators constantly face from state police.

"I don't want to get rich," he commented. "I came into life a poor boy, and now it looks like I'll go out a poor boy. I just want to make a decent living." Tipton felt this was the basic frustration felt by the truckers.

Both speakers said the truckers are going into the May shutdown with an increased understanding of what to expect from the government and the press.

Tipton said most of the truckers active in the shutdown had never been involved in any activity like this before. "I haven't been a 'militant' before, but now I'm just fed up. I got to the point where I have to fight for my rights."



UMW Journal

CARL WOOD: 'They want to turn us off and on like a hydrant.'

Coal miners strike for more gasoline

Anger at government handling of the fuel shortage prompted more than 21,000 miners to go out on wildcat strikes at 100 mines in Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky the last week of February.

Originally directed against the general shortage of gasoline, the protest strikes in West Virginia shifted emphasis after the state's March gasoline allocation began to come through. The miners then focused on demanding an exemption from West Virginia Governor Arch Moore's order prohibiting cars with more than a fourth of a tank of gas to buy fuel.

Many miners in the area have to drive 50 to 100 miles each day to and from work. Compounding this hard-

ship is the fact that filling stations are often not open at the hours miners can get to them.

The strikes, unauthorized by the United Mine Workers union, spread rapidly through the use of roving pickets.

In response to the protests, federal energy administrator William Simon agreed to allocate an extra 675,000 gallons of gas to West Virginia counties to alleviate the shortage. This was worked out in a March 1 meeting between Simon, Mine Workers President Arnold Miller, and the president of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

On March 5, however, miners in

West Virginia were still out on strike, according to Jack Perry, UMW district president in Charleston, W. Va. It remained to be seen whether the miners would find the extra allocation sufficient to meet their needs.

Jack Perry told *The Militant* in a telephone interview that union representatives had gone on radio and TV urging miners who did have enough fuel "to go ahead and work." He continued, "Naturally we didn't say that you have to walk 50 miles to work."

But thousands of miners say they'll stay off the job until all the miners have fuel. Perry estimated the 80 percent of miners in his district—District 17—were supporting the strike.—J. W.

Int'l Women's Day

On March 8, 1908, women garment workers marched through New York City's Lower East Side demanding the right to vote and an end to sweatshop conditions. That day became International Women's Day—a day that will be marked by the workers movement as long as women throughout the world are treated as inferior beings deprived of basic human rights.

It is noteworthy that this year International Women's Day has again been marked by the exemplary militant action of women garment workers—the Farah strikers. Earlier this month the Farah workers, most of them Chicanas, won the right to unionize after a 22-month strike and a national boycott of Farah pants.

The determination and militancy of these Chicanas is only one reflection of a more general awakening that is beginning to occur among working women. Another sign is the conferences of trade-union women that have occurred around the country over the past year, which will culminate in a national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) in Chicago March 23-24.

Traditionally, International Women's Day has been especially dedicated to working women. The holiday was originally proclaimed in 1910 by a conference of socialist women, who saw that the struggle of women for liberation would be interlinked with the struggle of all working people to end the capitalist system of wage slavery and sexual, racial, and national oppression.

When the new women's liberation movement emerged in the United States at the end of the 1960s, it was attacked from many quarters as supposedly being "irrelevant" to the masses of working women.

But the spread of women's liberation ideas has confirmed the view of Marxists and the traditions of International Women's Day; that is, that the most resolute fighters for the rights of women will be those who are most oppressed as women—working-class women, Black women, Chicanas.

Now women are fighting on many fronts—refusing to put up with discrimination; pushing their way into previously male-only jobs, sports, and other pursuits; and fighting for child care, the Equal Rights Amendment, maternity benefits, equal pay, and to maintain the right to abortion.

These issues are interlinked with the problems confronting all working people, such as inflation, unemployment, bad housing, inadequate education, and the hardships imposed by the energy crisis. As working women begin to move in greater and greater numbers, they will be a factor in transforming the conservatized trade unions and mobilizing their great power to fight for the interests of all the oppressed.

Painesville strike

The long and courageous strike of *Painesville* (Ohio) *Telegraph* employees has suffered a serious setback. The strikers were forced to end publication of their newspaper *Lake County Today* on March 1—the 239th day of the strike—after Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53 voted down continuation of a strike assessment. The five-day-a-week paper had provided an alternative newspaper for thousands of people supporting a boycott of the *Telegraph*.

The significance of this struggle goes beyond the relatively small number of workers directly involved. This was one of the few attempts to organize newspaper workers on an industrial rather than a craft basis.

From the beginning, publisher Don Rowley has been determined to smash this effort to bring union organization and decent wages into his chain of open-shop newspapers. Rowley has had the full cooperation of court injunctions and police.

The Painesville strikers have shown determination and resourcefulness, and have won significant sympathy in the union movement and the community. Everything possible was done to organize support, within the limitations of the routine methods used by the unions today.

The present setback, though, is a reminder of the power of the antiunion forces. These forces are lashing out not only at the Painesville strikers but also against such major unions as the building trades.

Painesville holds a warning for the labor movement that it is necessary to go beyond routine methods. Mobilization of the full power of the labor movement, united with the strength of labor's allies, will be called for in the struggles that lie ahead.

Prison pay

I would like to renew my subscription to *The Militant* and order two books: *The Logic of Marxism* by George Novack and *Malcolm X Speaks*.

I would also like to fill you in on some of the deplorable dehumanistic conditions we the superexploited are forced to live under. The state jobs here pay only \$3 a month; industry jobs pay on the average \$20 a month.

Due to this basic exploitation, the strong prisoners prey on the weak, only because what they pay you is not enough to take care of your needs. The guards promote this kind of behavior to keep us divided.

We try to get as many brothers as possible interested in studying Marxist political economy. Those that we can reach we struggle with, which is about the most we can do under the present circumstances.

A prisoner
Missouri

Energy rip-off

The Militant's articles on the energy rip-off have been excellent. You likewise owe your readers a full story or two on the phony Federal Reserve System. The energy swindle is panhandling by comparison.

W.A.
Oneonta, N.Y.

Army officer donates

Please send a complimentary subscription to someone spending some time in one of America's prisons for me. Thanks.

Lt. B. P.
APO, New York

Politics and art

This letter is just to tell you that your articles on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and other Soviet dissidents have really been great. There is one small improvement that might be made in further articles on this subject.

There is a lot of confusion on the part of many radical writers and poets on the nature of revolutionary politics and art. Some feel that if a writer's work does not reflect his revolutionary ideas then this writer is somehow betraying those ideas. Others feel that any art that is not produced under the supervision of the revolutionary party is inherently reactionary.

Only *The Militant* can clarify these mistaken assumptions. So please, give us some more of your great articles on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, along with the Trotskyist position on literature, art, and its relationship to the revolution.

Ninure Oyabisi
Chicago, Ill.

Martin Sostre

On Feb. 21, 1974, the third world students of Long Island University presented Martin Sostre with one of their 1974 Black Unity Awards. The award was formally presented by Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X.

Meanwhile, Judge Curtin of Buffalo has now deliberated more

than eight months on the question of whether to grant a retrial to Sostre on the grounds of the recanted testimony of chief state witness Arto Williams, who has stated that the Buffalo police granted him favors for giving false testimony.

The state's case is further clouded by the fact that the major officer involved, Sergeant Alvin Gristmacher, has now been dismissed from the Buffalo Police because of his activities in the drug trade.

Martin Sostre Defense Committee
Glen Gardner, N.J.

Educational tool

Please renew my subscription for another year. Your paper has given me a remarkable insight into events both domestic and international. It provides a valuable tool for educating my fellow students to the realities of the society in which we live.

P. K.
Indiana, Pa.

Viva La Causal

I have been reading *The Militant* for just over one year, and I have come to admire the courage and tenacity of its reportage. *The Militant* is an important organ of information to counter the false and misleading information put out by the clever and insidious propagandists employed by big business, big unions, and the government. I admire very much your treatment of the struggles of La Raza.

Que viva *The Militant*! Que viva La Causal!
John Martínez
San Francisco, Calif.

Terrorism

As a new subscriber to *The Militant* I'm enjoying the refreshing liberation from the banal grip of the establishment media. Your international news coverage is good and your theoretical discussions (for example on terrorism in Spain) have helped me clarify my own thinking about our local terrorism—the SLA kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

M. Z.
Oakland, Calif.

The Militant means a lot

I'll be leaving prison shortly, so please cancel my subscription to *The Militant*.

I want to express my thanks and my gratitude to you for the solidarity you've all shown over the past few months. Receiving *The Militant* meant an awful lot to me.

A prisoner
New York

A cop is still a cop

Selling *The Militant* is getting easier. Its attractiveness was illustrated to me the other day when I was selling outside the Student Union. One of the campus cops came sauntering over in my direction



A lesson for teachers

(stetson, holster and six-shooter, the whole bit). I expected trouble and put on my bravado which I reserve for such occasions.

"Current issue of *The Militant*, officer?" I intoned. "Sure," he said. While he was fishing for a quarter I remarked casually, "You know, I don't get too many cops buying this paper."

"Well," he said, "I was a truck driver for 25 years and I like your position on that issue."

Chris Starr
Lawrence, Kans.

Warmest praise

I feel *The Militant* must be applauded for its consistently outstanding contributions to the sometimes unpopular and always desperate plight of the Brothers and Sisters confined behind these cold, lonely, gray walls in American prisons.

I extend our warmest praise to you on behalf of all the Brothers of this prison for bringing the issue of the prisons before the court of our Brothers and Sisters out there in minimum security.

A prisoner
Michigan

Sharing the goods

Enclosed is a check to renew a subscription of mine and to buy a subscription for a friend of mine. Actually my subscription is shared by several friends—so it can hardly be called "mine" alone.

H. E.
Moscow, Idaho

From a marine

I am presently in the Marine Corps. I have found it and my country's condition extremely undesirable. I hope you can enlighten me to some truths and give me some idea of how I can help a change come.

C. T.
Portsmouth, N. H.
P. S. the Marine Corps finds me undesirable too!

A sub for Tricky

I know of someone in desperate need of a *Militant* subscription. His name is Richard M. Nixon of 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D. C. Therefore, I have enclosed a dollar to cover the cost of an introductory subscription for him.

Please rush the first issue to him as quickly as possible, as the remote possibility exists that he will not be at his present address much longer.

Al Hirvela
Mt. Pleasant, Mich.

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.

Negotiations to merge the 1.4-million-member National Education Association (NEA) and the 400,000-member American Federation of Teachers (AFT) broke down Feb. 27. This reveals the weakness of leadership in both organizations and will affect the many local teachers' struggles to save schools and win decent wages.

The fact that negotiations broke down over the issue of AFL-CIO affiliation is a victory for AFT Vice-president Albert Shanker, head of the big United Federation of Teachers in New York and dominant force in the AFT nationally.

Conventions of both NEA and AFT last summer approved merger plans. But from the beginning, Shanker saw the merger negotiations as a maneuver to split off chunks of the huge NEA while keeping the AFL-CIO-affiliated Teachers union intact and under the domination of his bureaucratic regime.

When it appeared that AFT President David Selden was steering the negotiations toward a possible merger of the two teacher organizations, Shanker moved quickly to oust Selden as union president. This move did not succeed in the immediate removal of Selden. It did, however, achieve its initial purpose. Shanker blew up the merger negotiations and destroyed any plans Selden may have had for his own future in a united teachers organization.

On the other side, NEA officials were never very enthusiastic about the possibilities or advantages of merger, preferring to contest as an independent organization in collective bargaining elections against the AFT for the allegiance and support of more than a million unorganized teachers in this country.

Helen Wise, NEA president, says she is prepared for a "major new emphasis" by the AFT on raiding "We're pretty confident we can win most elections," she says.

The negotiating position of the NEA was established at its convention in Portland, Ore., last summer, which demanded referendum votes on union policy and the election of officers, and insisted on constitutional provisions for the inclusion of minority representation on all administrative bodies of any new union.

Many NEA members regard the AFL-CIO as a conservative force that would serve to further bureau-

cratize their organization and prevent effective action to improve the quality of education and raise the low wages of teachers.

On the question of minority representation, Wise was uncompromising. She said, "The AFT, while paying lip service to minority involvement, opposed an effective way to assure it. There is no compatibility between the NEA commitment and the AFT laissez-faire attitude on this issue."

These are deep differences, but they are not the real reasons the negotiations failed.

Officials in both the NEA and AFT are unsure of the road ahead. Both know that schools are under attack, that federal funds for education are lacking, that teachers face wage cuts. Neither group is prepared to organize a determined struggle for more money. Both fear the initiative of teachers who are striking back against blows rained upon them by local school boards.

This present insecurity and uncertainty does not promote unity. Teachers are still waiting to test the two organizations in the struggles that are brewing.

In the recent St. Louis teachers election the AFT won by the narrow margin of 482 votes with about 1,400 teachers not belonging to either organization. Both organizations supported the solid 28-day St. Louis strike a year ago, and each now seeks to win the still unorganized teachers. They will prove themselves in the struggles ahead to save the schools and win better conditions and higher wages.

Another test is the four-week strike of the Public School Teachers Association in Baltimore. It is solidly supported by the 8,600 teachers and 186,000 students there. It is a strike over money to provide education and pay teachers. City and state governments both claim poverty. Defiance of a 60-day injunction against the strike has brought the arrest of 53 strikers and fines of \$15,000 a day while the strike continues.

Top officials of NEA and AFT should take a lesson from these Baltimore teachers and their student supporters. If these union officials cannot agree now on organizational unity, they ought at least to unite behind a joint defense of the Baltimore strike and all the other teachers' strikes that are coming.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Southern Black mayors

Today there are well over 2,000 Black elected officials in the U. S. on the local, state, and national levels.

This figure is more than double what it was just four years ago. It demonstrates the power of Black voters and their desire to have Black representatives in public office.

Not since Reconstruction 100 years ago has there been as high a proportion of Black elected officials in public office.

Out of this ever-rising figure, 101 are mayors.

These Black mayors reign over everything from sleepy trackside hamlets of 500 people in parts of the South to restless urban centers such as Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Detroit. About half of them hold office in the South.

But because all of them are Democrats or Republicans, the desire of Blacks for representatives who can cope with their problems remains unfulfilled.

In the past year or so there has been a growing cohesion among the Southern Black mayors. All of them evince concern about bad schools and housing, unemployment, and lack of medical care.

Kenneth Colburn of the Joint Center for Political Studies, a Black think tank in Washington, D. C., said of the plight of Southern Black mayors:

"This is real power, and you've got to take the problem with the power. The fact that they're getting themselves together is a sign that they think they can overcome those problems, but they can't do it by themselves."

Colburn is right when he says they can't do it by themselves. The mayors realize it, but all of them have sought to solve the problems of their constituents by working through the two capitalist parties rather

than build independent Black power. In the process, some have even embraced George Wallace.

A year ago, prior to the first Conference of Southern Black Mayors, a group of them met to seek a hearing with Nixon.

"Maybe if we tell him from our hearts what is wrong he'll have mercy on us and change," said Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Miss., who was speaking on the effect of Nixon's budget cuts.

Stanley Scott, the Black presidential adviser, was on hand and tried to soft-soap the group. He offered token promises and the prospect of revenue sharing funds.

The mayors whiled away the time, hoping and trusting. But things got worse.

Then in January they met again, making more demands on the federal government. But Scott was there, making more promises.

The problem is that these mayors don't understand that Black poverty in the South is a product of hundreds of years of capitalist oppression. But two conferences, a string of broken promises, and a rash of worsening conditions would seem to convince the stubbornest skeptics that neither Nixon nor the capitalist parties can solve these problems.

These problems can only be solved by organizing the power of Blacks outside the Democratic and Republican parties, and in opposition to them. This can best be done through the construction of an independent Black party.

And when a Black party, committed to struggle both at the ballot box and in the streets, is formed, the aspirations of Blacks for genuine representation will begin to be met.



Support your local dentist—Saturday morning TV commercials beamed at the kiddies by General Mills extol the joy of "cuddling up with my supersweet cereal, Count Chocula," and also advise, "Poop-de-do, Frankenberry is the delicious supersweet cereal for you." Supersweet they are. Researchers found they contain 35 to 40 percent cereal grains and more than 40 percent sugar.

Bank balance?—A feature on David Rockefeller in the British Airways in-flight magazine reports that he grew up in a number of homes, including a New York town house, a Wyoming ranch, and a 90-room "cottage" on an island off the coast of Maine. "If things are alright inside," David says,

"money can be a great asset. I am, fortunately, an emotionally balanced and stable person."

Watergate go-go—Spectators at a recent UCLA Bruins basketball game apparently noted the presence of a distinguished alumnus, H.R. Haldeman. An irate letter to the campus paper complained: "One of the rudest things I have witnessed on this campus was the chant at Saturday's basketball game: 'Go, Haldeman, go/Go Haldeman, go/Off the floor and out the door/Go Haldeman, go.'"

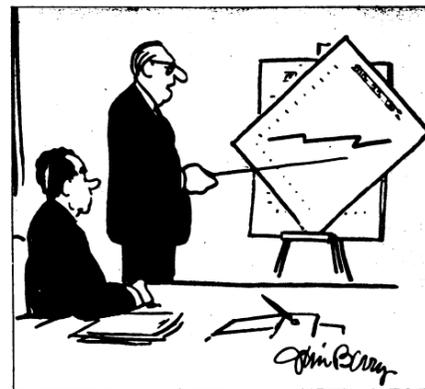
Tired enough to crack a safe—"I feel most of the men involved with this whole thing were honest men. They just got caught up in something that

grew and grew and they were all overworked."—Gail Magruder, wife of convicted CREEP official Jeb Magruder.

Just doing their job—Munich police officials began investigating their Criminal Investigation Department after \$7,300 disappeared from a safe used to hold funds for policemen who pose as thieves to catch thieves. What's to investigate? Everyone knows it takes a thief to catch a thief.

Capitalism in our time—Calcutta officials made their first study of the 50,000 to 100,000 who live in the streets. They found that 75 percent of them work, earning the equivalent of 20 cents a day, enough for no

more than one meal. "The pavement dwellers," one official sagaciously observed, "have no future to speak of."



... As you can see, the profit picture for oil companies isn't THAT bright ...

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



In defense of undocumented workers

For decades, *raza* workers without documents (the so-called illegal aliens) have been at the mercy of unscrupulous bosses and *la migra* (the Immigration Service). Because of their "illegal" status they have surely been the most downtrodden of our *raza*.

But in recent years as a result of the youth radicalization and the rise of the Chicano movement, an attitude of resistance is developing. This is especially true in the barrios, where there is widespread sympathy for those without papers, and where many are beginning to see through the racist lie that the "aliens" are here to steal our jobs. Among many Chicano activists there is an increasing desire to take action in defense of undocumented workers.

One of the important contributions of the anti-deportation movement has been to shun the terminology of the media and the government. Instead of "illegal aliens," the terms "workers without papers," or "undocumented workers" are used.

The government line is such a perversion of reality, it helps to step back in order to see things as they really are. In the first place, we should not "respect the border." The imperialist corporations certainly don't respect the border when there's a buck to be made in Mexico.

A few liberal politicians, such as Edward Roybal (D-Calif.), oppose the new, more restrictive immigration laws now being proposed in Congress. But even though they say they are sympathetic to the problems of undocumented workers, all they propose to do is sugar-coat the immigration laws and make them easier to swallow.

In contrast to this, the goal of the movement should be to completely eliminate the "illegal" status so that workers without papers can enjoy equal rights with everyone else.

We should not support the existence of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. We should not support the "right" of the government to make any law whatever in regard to immigration. Whoever gave the gringo capitalists the right to stake out this area, put up a fence, and say, "It's ours; if you want any of it, you'll have to ask our permission"? Nobody did, of course.

The movement should call for the unrestricted right to cross the border; seek employment; send home money; receive welfare, food stamps, and income tax deductions; join unions; form self-help and self-defense organizations; seek housing; attend school.

Immigrant workers, with or without papers, are an integral part of the working class. They work

for a living, pay taxes, and all the rest, just like other working people. But the national chauvinist and racist labor bureaucracy refuses to accept them as part of the labor movement. The antideportation forces, by winning support among the ranks of labor, can go a long way in developing true working-class solidarity in the labor movement.

A strong defense of the undocumented workers can be built. In order to do this it will be necessary to focus on issues for which broad support can be won. A campaign can be mounted to defeat the immigration legislation now before Congress. Rallies, pickets, and marches are key weapons for this struggle.

Campaigns can be mounted around the slogan "No deportations!" By making a celebrated case out of a situation the government hopes to keep quiet, their plans can be foiled. One such case right now is that of the 400 Haitians the U.S. is trying to deport to torture and death at the hands of the dictator Duvalier.

By uniting around this and similar cases, the movement can win partial victories and raise the level of consciousness of masses of people, thus pointing to the day when the border and *la migra* can be abolished once and for all.

The American Way of Life

Spiro Agnew & the great American novel

Spiro Agnew out of office meant Spiro Agnew out of sight, and, I had hoped, out of mind. Oh, there were a couple of brief newspaper references to him. One when we learned that for want of income he was forced to put his suburban home—government improvements and all—on the market.

Another in the social column about a luxurious weekend he was planning for at his pal Frank Sinatra's Palm Springs refuge. But then came bad news. Transmigrated from a soulless politician, Agnew is coming back. This time as a novelist!

It wasn't enough that he molested our sensibilities, acting as Nixon's Nixon, trumpeting, as he himself might have put it, "bullying and abominable alliterative speeches." It was too much to expect that Mr. Law 'n Order, exposed as an extortionist and self-confessed as a tax swindler, would crawl away. No. He has contracted with Playboy Press, and come the end of the year he is going to impose upon us with a 300-page book, first serializing it in the *Ladies Home Journal*.

Now, Agnew as a writer is a creature not lack-

ing in things to say. He could, of course, discourse interestingly on the real workings of capitalist government, especially on the state level, where in Maryland he was into it up to his snout. Or he might recite what led him to lock up his daughter Kim on the afternoon of a big antiwar demonstration she had wanted to attend.

But no. Agnew is consistently Agnew. That is, predictable and offensive. His novel, tentatively titled *A Very Special Relationship*, is about a fictional career woman, Meredith Lord, the first woman secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and her romance with—you guessed it—a fictional vice-president, one Porter Newton Canfield.

Agnew's press agent had this to say about the book: "I think Mr. Agnew has always been interesting to women and to women readers. He's a big, attractive, outspoken kind of guy, and I think the author's view of women as it shows up in the novel will be of interest."

The plot, as Agnew has sketched it so far, disregards Meredith Lord's wit, toughness, and

ability. Rather, what starts stirring the fictional Veep's emotions are her legs, her figure, her perfume, and her brown hair (softly arranged). The press agent went on to say that the romance would be "tastefully described."

I doubt that however "tastefully described" this piece of sexist stereotyping turns out it will be of interest to many. Interest in Agnew is in his infamy, not in his sensitivity, a quality writers need but which he so demonstrably lacks.

Meanwhile Playboy Press has gone ahead and laid out up to a quarter of a million dollars for the rights to the book. It wouldn't be surprising if their financial expectations were defeated and the book turns out to be one of the bigger dogs of the 1974 fall book season—destined to be remaindered for a dollar a copy at Marboro's.

Remaindered at Marboro's... Now that is poetic, if not tragic. Agnew, muted at last, consigned to stacks on a table with a sign over his last work that could just as easily make up his epitaph: "For Sale Cheap." —MICHAEL SMITH

Views of radical groups

Hearst kidnap: suspicions grow

At *Militant* press time there has been no communication from the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army for two weeks. Suspicions about the SLA's kidnapping of Patricia Hearst continue to mount.

New York Times reporter Earl Caldwell wrote from San Francisco on March 2 that in addition to "persistent reports that the F. B. I. now knows where the group is," there is "also speculation that the kidnapping itself may, at least in part, be something of a hoax."

Caldwell reported: "In the Bay Area there has also been speculation that the so-called Symbionese are not a legitimate group but rather a movement inspired by provocateurs."

"There are just too many unanswered questions," a lawyer close to the radical community said. "This whole thing isn't sitting well with a lot of people."

Even the capitalist news media have felt compelled to note what *Time* magazine called "the almost unanimous outcry against S. L. A. tactics by other leftist political groups."

Time cited this response as a possible reason for the "bitter tone" of SLA "General Field Marshal

Cinque" in his latest communiqué. "Clearly angered by that reaction, he urged more organizations to 'stand with the people,'" *Time* said.

A front-page editorial in the March 4 *Great Speckled Bird*, an alternative newspaper published in Atlanta, opposed the kidnapping and provided further information on the government's attempt to whip up a witch-hunt against the left.

The *Bird* pointed out that even the kidnapping of Reginald Murphy, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, by the right-wing "American Revolutionary Army" was used to this end. The *Bird* wrote:

"Richard Ichord, Chairman of the House Internal Security Subcommittee, appeared on national television. Without mentioning that ARA was apparently a right wing group, he listed several left-wing organizations in Atlanta, as if they might somehow be responsible for the kidnapping. He singled out the October League and the Progressive Labor Party for special mention."

The *Bird* report continued: "We could not reach any members of Progressive Labor Party but a spokesman for the October League com-

mented, 'We don't support and we never have supported this type of action. We think revolutionary change has to come through conscious and active participation by the masses of the people.'"

The *Bird* summed up its own position by saying, "Our opposition [to the SLA kidnapping] comes from our belief that these kinds of individual terroristic actions do not help build a mass movement to change our society. A new society will not be created by extorting the ruling class, but only by building and sustaining the power of the people. What is needed is mass organization, not terror."

Among those opposing the SLA's terrorist acts are Maoist groups such as the October League and Venceremos. Venceremos has come under special attack by the police, who claim its former members have links with the SLA. The group issued a statement that declared:

"The SLA is not a revolutionary group. In effect if not in intent, they are anti-working class, anti-revolutionary, anti-communist. If the SLA did not exist the police would have to invent them. Objectively, they are playing the role of provocateurs."

Statement by former SLA members

The following are excerpts from a statement by former members of the Symbionese Liberation Army. The full text appeared in the Feb. 22-28 Berkeley Barb.

While *The Militant* disagrees with many of the opinions expressed in the statement, it is of interest for what it reveals about groups such as the SLA.

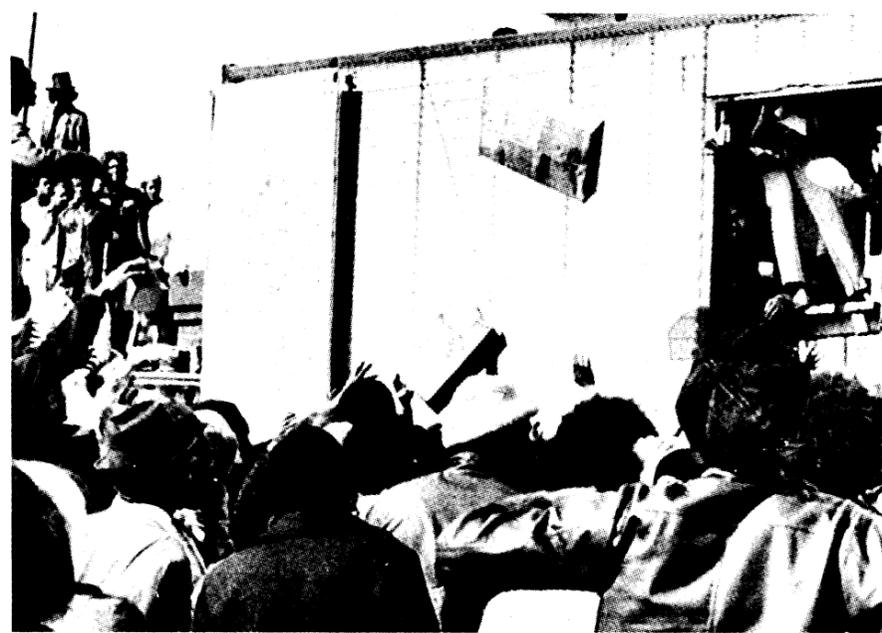
It shows the conditions that impelled people to join the SLA: anger at the outrages of capitalism, coupled with impatience, frustration, and lack of political perspective.

It also demonstrates the inevitable evolution (or degeneration) of terrorist groups, as political program and political discussion are subordinated to the military apparatus, and the organization becomes ripe for police infiltration and provocation.

We joined the SLA separately, not knowing each other at the time, but for similar reasons, as we later discovered, namely, that we could no longer tolerate the quality and conditions of our private and public lives — repressive education that was no more than an assembly line for making obedient slaves, boring and humiliating jobs, declining "standards of living," and a polluted, ugly environment.

And, as far as we could see, things were getting worse. All the reforms we fought for in the '60's had failed, or been taken back, and were inadequate to start with. All of us were frustrated with the divided factions of the so-called revolutionary left.

That movement was based on guilt, on always making the revolution for somebody else, in the name of some-



Food is distributed on SLA's demand. Ex-members say, 'We are not interested in just an extension of the welfare system.'

body else's oppression, supposedly greater than our own. It was dominated by egotistical leader-bureaucrats and leader-stars who cared only about their "revolutionary" careers. They led a mass of follower-lackeys who proved their own decrepitude by tolerating and in fact creating such leaders.

The confusion of anti-war groups, sexual liberation groups and national liberation groups were all presenting the image of militant opposition, but we wanted to do more than merely talk back to the TV screen. We were looking for brothers and sisters who felt as urgently as we did that the time to seize back our lives was now.

The Symbionese people we contacted were self-disciplined, serious and efficient revolutionary cadres, willing to risk anything in order to gain everything. When we joined in the first founding conference of the Symbionese Federation last June, we thought we had found a place for ourselves in a revolutionary organization that was on its way beyond the Left, old and "new." We joined in August.

During the early stage of the writing of the original Declaration of the Sym-

bionese Federation — not the same one the the SLA had published in the papers — basic contradictions had already begun to emerge among the membership.

Although some of the brothers and sisters asserted that to create a positive vision of a new society required serious thinking — a clear and comprehensive theory and strategy — others insisted that all that was necessary was to put yourself into situations where your ass would get kicked and armed bravery would do the rest.

Some of the brothers and sisters were complaining about the lack of democracy within the organization. The justification for this was always that we were in a "state of war."

It increasingly became apparent to us that the Symbionese Federation was not fundamentally opposed to the errors of the Left we had known, but was rather the culmination of all its defects. The process of the organization was totally top-down. The War Council made decisions in secret and the members were expected to obey orders without question, just as in a capitalist army.

Continued on page 22

Hearing opens in steel suit for right to strike

By FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH — Hearings are continuing in U. S. district court here on the challenge by rank-and-file steelworkers to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA).

The legal challenge was brought by 35 United Steelworkers of America (USWA) members from 14 locals. They seek an injunction to nullify the no-strike provisions of the ENA until the 350,000 USWA members in the Big Ten steel companies vote on it. Sixty rank-and-file steelworkers have been attending the hearings.

United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel testified before Judge Hubert Teitelbaum in a packed courtroom on March 4. He revealed that USWA officers had been negotiating toward the ENA for five years without notifying the union's international executive board or the membership.

Abel was asked why he had not informed the members that he was negotiating away their right to strike. He replied, "I saw no need for it."

He went on to say that consulting the membership would have made it impossible to achieve the ENA.

On March 5 five steelworkers testified that there was no communication from the leadership to the ranks on the issue. There was no indication that a no-strike agreement was being negotiated.

The workers cited a 1967 memorandum from the international executive board. At that time the board had voted against a binding arbitration agreement and indicated that the leadership would poll the members before signing such an agreement in the future.

When USWA general counsel Bernard Kleiman was put on the stand, he stated that the ENA was qualitatively better than the 1967 no-strike proposal and there was no need for the membership to vote on it. He said he had not intended to set a precedent in 1967 that future no-strike proposals should be submitted to the membership.

As the third day of hearings began March 6, Abel, Kleiman, and the steel company executives exchanged pleasantries on one side of the courtroom as the plaintiff steelworkers filled the galleries.



ABEL: 'Saw no need' to inform steelworkers he was giving away their right to strike.

Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism

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

Rallies kick off Socialist Worker

California socialists nominate Rodriguez, Styron

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—An election convention and rally held here Feb. 23 nominated Olga Rodriguez as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California and Dan Styron for U. S. senator.

The SWP is also running congressional candidates in Northern and Southern California and will nominate for various municipal offices. The balance of the party's state ticket will be announced shortly.

Built with the support of the Young Socialist Alliance, the nominating convention and rally were attended by nearly 250 supporters, including a contingent from the Bay Area.

The rally, held at the newly opened Central-East Los Angeles SWP hall, was unusually spirited. Speakers were interrupted by applause and shouts of approval. A barometer of the enthusiasm was the collection of \$2,560 to help fund the campaign.

In her acceptance speech, Rodriguez referred to the government's admitted bugging and disruption of the SWP and YSA:

"What are these ideas that the U. S. ruling class fears so much that it uses everything at its disposal, including illegal methods, to stop from spreading?" she asked.

"Could it be that we believe the working people of this country should control the wealth that we produce and the institutions that affect our lives?"

"Could it be that the SWP and YSA



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles meeting projected most ambitious SWP campaign ever run in California.

are diametrically opposed to the imperialist policies of the U. S. government?

"Are they terrified at the specter of socialists getting a hearing that could lead to the majority of people in this country embracing our ideas?"

Rodriguez continued, "What that tiny band of capitalists who currently rule society in their own interests fears most is the masses of Americans seeing their rotten system for what it is and seeing them for who they are—a pack of liars, conspirators, and mass murderers who will stop at nothing to increase their profits and maintain their control over this country and the rest of the world."

In addition to Rodriguez and Styron, the rally heard Salm Kolis, Nat Weinstein, and Laura Moorhead.

Salm Kolis, now fighting a frame-up felony conviction stemming from her campaign for city council in San Diego last fall, is the SWP nominee for Congress from the 41st District in San Diego.

Weinstein, active in the Painters union in San Francisco, is the party's candidate in the 5th Congressional District.

Laura Moorhead is Southern California regional organizer for the YSA. She will be heading a major drive to build Young Socialists for Rodriguez groups throughout the area.

The SWP and YSA are projecting the most ambitious campaign they have yet conducted in the state.

Speakers at the rally emphasized, and the participants clearly agreed, that a particularly energetic statewide campaign is called for this year. The combination of Watergate, inflation, and the fuel shortage has had a deep impact on public thinking, and there will be many more people ready to consider the socialist alternative.

This is particularly true among Chicanos, Blacks, women, trade-union activists, and students. SWP candidates will be making a special effort to reach these constituencies with their program.

The gubernatorial bid by Olga Rodriguez is expected to create particular interest in California's large Chicano communities. Chicanos are among the most oppressed working people in California and are the victims of deep-going racial discrimination and oppression. Because Chicanos have virtually no voice in government, Rodriguez's stands for Chicano control of the Chicano community and for independent political action are certain to win a positive response.

An important focus of the SWP campaign will be its fight against the undemocratic California election laws, which are among the most restrictive in the country.

The SWP has joined with four other minority parties, including La Raza Unida Party, in a court challenge to regulations designed to preserve a Republican-Democratic monopoly of the ballot. The suit is being conducted by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

CoDEL is pressing for a favorable court decision prior to this election. Court rulings have voided similar discriminatory ballot requirements in other states.

The California SWP is in a good situation to take advantage of the present favorable political opportunities. In both Northern and Southern California the SWP and YSA have made recent expansion moves.

In Los Angeles there had been one SWP branch and YSA local for the

past number of years. Now both organizations have grown to the point where each has set up two units.

In place of the one small hall previously occupied, they have moved into two spacious and attractive headquarters.

In San Francisco, the SWP and YSA in recent months moved to large and modern quarters near the downtown area. And in Berkeley, the SWP and YSA recently rented a large one-and-a-half-story building near the University of California campus.

While the campaign will be centered in the Bay Area, Los Angeles, and San Diego areas, the candidates and their supporters will be traveling throughout California during the campaign. Rodriguez and Styron have already begun a nine-week tour of the state.

Voters disgusted with both capitalist parties

LOS ANGELES—If California voters are not atypical—and there's no reason to assume they are—both major parties are in trouble.

The *Los Angeles Times* recently conducted a survey to determine how the state gubernatorial race was shaping up. The paper found that none of the candidates for either the Republican or Democratic nomination had significant support.

But beyond this, the paper reported Feb. 15, "a pervasive mood of disgust, distrust and cynicism was noted among both Democrats and Republicans—much more than in any of seven *Times* political surveys taken in the last 18 months."

"Anger over national events, a feeling of helplessness and a suspicion that most politicians are crooked were among the most common emotions ex-

The following are the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance California campaign headquarters:

1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Telephone: (415) 548-0354.

1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. (415) 863-8030.

710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. (213) 483-2732.

230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. (213) 394-9050.

4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. (714) 280-1292.

pressed in the survey—emotions not confined to Democrats," the paper reported.

These are some of the things people told the *Times* surveyors:

"Nobody appeals to me," a camper company department head said, "They're all too crooked."

A state employee said, "I'm so disgusted with the world the way it is

Profiles of SWP candidates

Olga Rodriguez, 25, was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles in 1973. She was the only Chicano running for a major office—this fact alone created wide interest in her campaign.

She, along with a Black welfare mother, won a precedent-setting suit eliminating mandatory filing fees for candidates unable to pay them.

A native of Brownsville, Texas, Rodriguez was active in the Chicano, student, and antiwar movements there before moving to California.

She participated in the Conferencia de las Mujeres por la Raza held in Houston in 1971. This was the first major gathering of Chicanas that addressed itself to their problems as women.

She organized the Chicana Task Force for a 1971 Houston demonstration against restrictive abortion laws. In April 1972, she served as a coordinator of the Raza contingent of an antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles.

Rodriguez is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Dan Styron has been active in radical politics since the early 1960s. While a student at the University of California at Berkeley,



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California.

he participated in the historic Berkeley Free Speech Movement, and then became a leading activist in the antiwar movement.

Styron, 33, has been a member of railroad and construction unions. He is a member of the SWP national committee, and was the party's candidate for U. S. Senate in Illinois in 1968.

rs campaigns in Calif. & N.Y.

right now. There's so much confusion you don't know whether you can believe any of them . . . I wish they booted Nixon out of there a long time ago."

A bank messenger said he had no preference, explaining: "Any politician is a lying, cheating crook."

"I don't have any faith in the government, period," said a film scriptwriter. "The whole thing doesn't function according to the will of the people."

In a predominantly Chicano district, a retired machinist told the surveyor, "I don't know why you came to this neighborhood. The people of this neighborhood, they don't give a damn about politics. They wouldn't care if you put a dog or a cat in the White House, a dog or a cat in Sacramento."

"Maybe it's because the elected people don't give a damn about us. Once they're elected they forget all the people."

"I'll probably vote," he said. "I figure it's my duty and I always do vote. But I don't know why—it never does me any good."

With such deep dissatisfaction with the capitalist parties, it should be a good year for the socialist alternative—the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

—H. R.

N.Y. SWP hails Attica Brothers, British miners

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—Three hundred and fifty supporters of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 ticket in New York state gave the party's election campaign an enthusiastic launching at a rally here March 1.

Some of the political themes of the campaign were evident from the banners: "Support the Truckers," "Support the British Mineworkers," "Open the Books of the Oil Trusts," "Jobs for All," "Protest the Expulsion of Solzhenitsyn," "Drop Indictments Against Attica Brothers," and "Control de las Escuelas por las Comunidades Puertorriqueñas, Negras, y Chinas en el Distrito Numero Uno" (Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese Control of Schools in District 1).

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor, related several inspiring struggles around the world and discussed the truckers' protest in this country.

Pointing to the miners' strike in Britain, he said, "Heath has tried to beat back their challenge with talk about the 'unity of the nation' and 'national interests.' But the coal miners and the rest of the workers can't see sacrificing their wage demands, their right to a decent living, upon the altar of 'national interests.'"

Following Morrison's remarks, Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee and chairman of the rally, read a message from the meeting to the National Union of Mineworkers in Britain. It said in part:

"Your militant determination in the face of formidable opposition is not only an inspiration to working people in Britain but is also being closely watched by workers here. We express the hope of working people throughout the United States when we wish you victory in your struggle."

Attica Brothers

Morrison is running against Republican incumbent Malcolm Wilson, who was Nelson Rockefeller's lieutenant



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York, hits Democratic and Republican Watergating.

governor for many years. The Rockefeller-Wilson administration is infamous for the slaughter it ordered at Attica in 1971.

Dixon said that Morrison, who covered the Attica rebellion for *The Militant*, went to Buffalo recently to attend a general hearing for the indicted Attica prisoners.

Red Murphy, a prisoner at Attica at the time of the rebellion and an activist in the Attica Brothers Legal Defense Committee, spoke at the election rally. He described the indictments and explained that the state is spending huge sums of money to carry out these frame-up prosecutions.

Dixon then read a message of solidarity from the meeting to the Attica Brothers.

The fight against government Watergating was repeatedly referred to during the evening. Rebecca Finch, SWP senatorial candidate, took up the approach to Watergate expressed by one of her Democratic opponents, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark.

"He blames Watergate on what he calls a 'crisis of character' of the American people," she said. "For a solution he says, 'Let's put the power back into Congress.'"

'Government by secrecy'

Finch pointed out that while Clark blames the American people for Watergate, he was involved in Watergate methods himself during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations:

"Ramsey Clark says he is 'disturbed by government by secrecy.' Was he disturbed by the unprecedented expansion of wiretapping under Robert Kennedy, when he was assistant attorney general?" Finch asked.

"Was he disturbed by John Kennedy's secret attempt to invade Cuba? Was he disturbed when LBJ, under whom he was attorney general, lied to the American people to get the Gulf of

Tonkin Resolution passed so he could wage war on the Vietnamese? Was he disturbed by J. Edgar Hoover's 'Get Martin Luther King' program?

"If he was, he certainly kept it to himself," she said.

Finch went on to attack the Republican incumbent Jacob Javits, saying he "not only isn't disturbed by government secrecy—he's for more of it." She also blasted Javits for his racist anti-Arab stance and support to Israel.

Finch argued that it is the capitalist system that is responsible for the lies, secrecy, and undemocratic maneuvers associated with Watergate. Only through struggle organized independent of both capitalist parties and their policies can working people win a society where democracy "will be extended and permanent," she said.

Campaign funding

Linda Jenness, the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, spoke briefly on Watergate and on the fraud of capitalist "reform" of campaign funding. In response to her appeal for contributions to the socialist campaign, more than \$4,200 was raised.

Another inspiring feature of the rally was the introduction of the other New York candidates by Ray Markey. Markey, SWP candidate for attorney general, is a longtime activist in the Irish movement and a member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930.

His description of the wide range of activities the SWP candidates are involved in was testimony to the broad experience and activist orientation of the party.

Those introduced were James Men-

For a free copy of the New York state 1974 socialist campaign platform, write to SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003 or call (212) 982-4966.

dieta, lieutenant governor; Sam Manuel, state comptroller; Claire Moriarty, Congress, 20th C.D.; Maxine Williams, 12th C.D.; Robb Wright, 16th C.D.; and Katherine Sojourner, 18th C.D.



Militant/Martha Harris

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York, speaks at street meeting in Brooklyn.

Jane Roland, state coordinator of Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison, outlined plans for organizing youth support for the campaign. A three-person team will travel to campuses and high schools throughout the state to speak, distribute literature, and form YFSM groups.

Roland also related the success of a two-and-a-half week tour she and Finch made through several cities in upstate New York before the rally.

Greetings were read to the rally from Georgina Hoggard, Miriam Gonzalez, and Jane Tam, three leaders of the struggle in New York School District 1; Ronnie Jaffe, an activist in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; and Dr. Mohammed Mehdi, chairman of the Arab-American Action Committee.

The rally concluded with an appeal for everyone present to begin campaigning the following day at street meetings in Brooklyn and at five locations in Manhattan.

Socialism and democracy

The following is an excerpt from the speech by Rebecca Finch, candidate for U.S. Senate, to the New York SWP campaign rally.

Everywhere I have gone, people say to me, "We agree. The Democrats and Republicans are rotten. The capitalist system is an undemocratic system. But how do we know socialism will be any more democratic? Look at the Soviet Union."

I reply that the robbery of democratic rights from working people in the Soviet Union by the privileged bureaucrats in Moscow was criminal.

For more than 40 years the capitalist propaganda machine has pointed to the purges, arrests, executions, and political expulsions in the Soviet Union and said, "Look—there's socialism. Is that what you want in the United States?"

The persecution of dissident intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn, the imprisonment of revolutionary Marxists like Grigorenko, and the denial

of asylum to all but a handful of refugees from Chile—these are not the acts of a socialist government. They are the repressive measures of a parasitic bureaucracy that usurped power during the 1920s.

That is not socialism. That is not democracy. It is not what the Socialist Workers Party is fighting for.

Democracy will not be restored in the Soviet Union through a return to capitalism, though, but through the revolutionary action of the Soviet workers throwing out the bureaucrats and building a truly socialist society.

Socialism means democracy. It means a system under which every human being can develop his or her unique capabilities and creativity.

We have full faith that working people in America will find what is in their own best interests. We're confident that having once won power, working people in this country will be vigilant about protecting their democratic rights against any bureaucracy or reactionary movement.

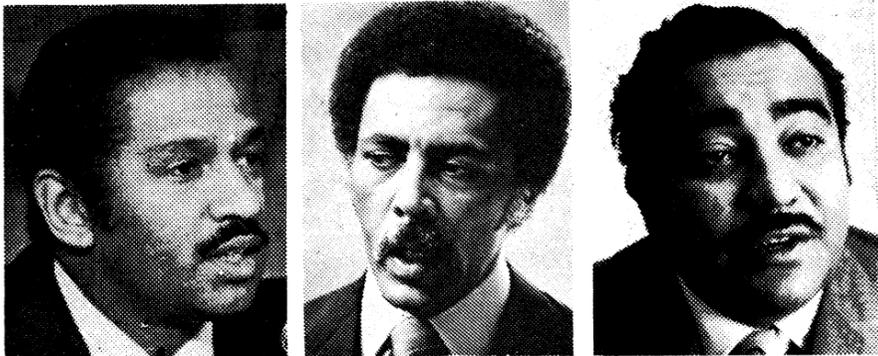
Black elected officials endorse socialist W'gate suit

By CONNIE PIPER

Several nationally known Black elected officials have become sponsors of the suit against government Watergating filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Representative John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) is the third member of the Congressional Black Caucus to endorse the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to gather broad support and raise funds for the socialists' suit.

Earlier, representatives Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) became PRDF sponsors.



Congressional Black Caucus members (left to right) John Conyers, Ronald Dellums, and Charles Rangel are among sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Rangel, who is chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, called the PRDF's drive an effort "to assure all people the rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution of the United States."

Conyers became a sponsor when he spoke at a recent impeachment meeting in Detroit. PRDF activists, at the meeting to distribute literature and sell buttons, spoke to him about recent developments in the suit. Already familiar with the case, Conyers endorsed it on the spot.

Black activists have been among the victims of the worst government harassment. The FBI recently admitted the existence of a "Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) - Black Extremists." This document is still secret, but the murders of Black Panther Party leaders, Malcolm X, and Dr. Martin Luther King may well be connected with COINTELPRO's instructions to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" protesters.

Other Black elected officials who support the PRDF include Georgia state legislator Julian Bond; Atlanta city councilman James Bond; Charles Casell, member of the Washington, D.C., school board; and Percy Sutton, Manhattan, New York, borough president.

In response to the socialists' suit against Richard Nixon and others, the government has admitted conducting another COINTELPRO, the "SWP Disruption Program," monitoring mail addressed to the SWP, and wiretapping, questioning, and investigating members of the SWP and YSA. The suit, filed last July by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, seeks a permanent injunction against these and other illegal tactics and an end

to the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

The PRDF's support drive was recently strengthened by coverage in two journals that reach a wide audience of civil libertarians.

The current issue of *Rights* magazine, publication of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), features a two-page article about the suit.

The article notes: "The Senate Watergate hearings neglected a whole area of illegal government operations against the anti-war movement, radicals and socialists, the labor militants, black groups, and other dissenters."

Rights calls the suit "far-reaching" and predicts, "The SWP Watergate suit could be instrumental in uncovering countless illegal government plans."

The magazine goes on to say that "broad public support for the suit is essential to demonstrate to the government the opposition of those committed to defending political and civil liberties and to prevent future administrations from continuing on the Nixon course."

In its latest issue of *Open Forum*, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California reported on the suit and said, "it has raised substantive constitutional issues and will expose pervasive violations of the civil liberties of a segment of American citi-

zens who strive for political change and progress."

Edith Tiger, executive director of the NECLC, and Ramona Ripston, executive director of the ACLU of Southern California, are both longtime sponsors of the suit.

For more information, to contribute to help defray the high costs of the suit, or to order literature, send in the coupon.



Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

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

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

Indiana SWP campaign set; rights struggle erupts

By STEVE MILLEN

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — The Indiana Socialist Workers Party 1974 election campaign was launched at a Feb. 26 news conference in Terre Haute in front of the former home of the famous socialist campaigner Eugene Debs.

A civil liberties fight has already erupted around the campaign, as Melissa Warner, a student at Indiana University in Bloomington, was removed from her staff position on the *Indiana Daily Student* for supporting the SWP candidates.

At the news conference David Colton, 31, announced his candidacy for the U. S. Senate seat now held by Democrat Birch Bayh and also contested by Indianapolis Mayor Richard Lugar.

Colton is a former member of SNCC and a longtime activist in the antiwar movement in Glasgow, Scotland, as well as in the U.S. He is currently a member of the American Federation of Teachers and an activist in the United Farm Workers Support Committee.

At a campaign rally in Bloomington Feb. 27, Harold Schlechtweg announced his candidacy for U. S. Congress from the 7th District. Schlechtweg, 24, is active in the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The rally was chaired by Dave Pensack, Young Socialist Alliance candidate for student association president at Indiana University.

Melissa Warner spoke at the rally and announced she had just been fired from her job as opinion page assistant on the *Indiana Daily Student*.

In a letter printed in the March 2 *Daily Student*, Warner stated, "I did not want to leave the *Daily Student*. My competency on the job was not questioned. I was removed from the *Daily Student* for something I did off the job."

Declaring that her right to political activity had been blocked, Warner called on the *Daily Student* to take the following steps:

• Re-instate me as opinion page assistant

• Make a written statement giving the reasons for my dismissal

• Grant a public hearing on my case so that I can defend myself against this arbitrary dismissal."

In response to Warner's letter, editor-in-chief Michael Starks wrote, "Our decision is no *Daily Student* staff member may engage in active, organized support of a political group or candidate."

Starks replied further in an editorial column titled "Limits of journalistic ethics." The level of Starks's "journalistic ethics" may be gauged from the anguished dilemma he poses in his opening paragraph:

"Suppose a journalist pins on a pro-boycott button and goes out to interview the manager of a store being picketed for selling Gallo wines. Is the manager going to believe the reporter will be fair in telling all sides of the story?"

Despite this reactionary sophistry, few students will accept Starks's

contention that "credibility" and "balance" justify his discriminatory and unconstitutional firing of Warner.

The YSA has launched a campaign to defend Warner's rights, including petitions and letters to the editor from students and faculty.

Endorsements for her rehiring already include Student Association President Steve Danzig; former SA president Jeff Richardson; Professor Bernard Morris; two *Daily Student* staff members; and staff members of both local underground papers, *Common Sense* and *Primo Times*.

The Committee to Defend Melissa Warner asks that letters of protest be sent to Michael Starks at the *Indiana Daily Student*, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Salm Kolis speaks to union, high school

LOS ANGELES — Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from San Diego's 41st District, began a statewide speaking tour with several successful meetings here.

At the Area H Alternative High School, Kolis spoke to 30 students about the frame-up perjury charge on which she was convicted as a result of running for city council in San Diego last fall.

Kolis put this denial of her civil liberties in the context of the Watergate revelations, and explained how her socialist ideas were the basis for the attack on her locally and on the SWP nationally. During the discussion pe-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

SALM KOLIS: Denounces frame-up perjury conviction.

riod nearly all the questions were about socialism.

Kolis was invited to speak at an open executive board meeting of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1061. The president and executive board of this union local have already endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund, and members of the local have sold more than 100 PRDF buttons.

After Kolis spoke, Rhea Butler, president of Local 1061, endorsed the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis.

For more information, write to the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

Attica pretrial hearings open in Buffalo

By DERRICK MORRISON

BUFFALO, N. Y. — The pretrial hearings for the Attica Brothers began Feb. 25 in an atmosphere designed to intimidate and repel the public.

Supporters of the 60 indicted prisoners and ex-prisoners had to first stand outside a wiremesh fence on the third floor. You are searched by a deputy sheriff who afterward runs a metal detector over you.

Then, upon entering the courtroom, one by one, male then female, we were told to take off our coats and show identification to another deputy sheriff. He then took the ID—in my case a library card—and copied it down in a book. This gives the police a list of everyone—whether they are supporters of the Brothers or just observers—who steps into the courtroom.

During the two days that this writer and Sam Manuel, Socialist Workers



Supporters rally outside Attica hearings

Militant/Sam Manuel

Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.

Party candidate for state comptroller and a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, attended the pretrial hearings, the courtroom—holding about 50 people—was packed. FIGHT, a Black community organization in Rochester, brought two busloads of people the first day. Since the courtroom was so small, people were rotated every half-hour in order for everyone to attend.

On the second day there were Black people from the community and campus, as well as many white students.

The hearing centered on the prosecution's contention that it was ready for trial. However, two lawyers for

the Attica Brothers Legal Defense (ABLD)—Donald Jelinek and Dennis Cunningham—argued with some success that the prosecution was not really ready, since the defense had not yet received films and other materials on which the state based its 42 indictments.

These materials include photos of 4,000 eyewitnesses—the nearly 1,500 inmates involved in the rebellion of Sept. 9-13, 1971, the several hundred other inmates who were locked in their cells during this time, and the assault force of 1,000 state troopers, National Guardsmen, and prison guards that retook the prison.

These eyewitnesses have to be sought and interviewed by the battery of lawyers defending the Brothers. This will take considerable time, money, and effort.

The state has had more than two years to prepare its case. During that time it has spent more than \$3-million of tax monies collected from Black, Puerto Rican, and other working people. However, Governor Malcolm Wilson has requested over \$2-million more for a continuation of the Attica investigation. This means that the all-white, pro-prison-guard grand jury in Wyoming County, where Attica is located, will continue to sit.

In contrast to the funds at the command of the prosecution, the ABLD is virtually penniless. Jelinek and Cunningham said that any semblance of a fair trial will require that the state grant the defense some money.

Erie County—where Buffalo is located—has requested \$2.8-million from the state legislature, of which about \$500,000 might go to the de-

fense. Cunningham, in a detailed budget submitted to the presiding judge, Carman Ball, however, showed that the defense will require \$2.6-million.

The defense also said that as long as the grand jury continues to sit, it would be difficult to interview many of the eyewitnesses, especially prisoners, who will fear new indictments. In addition, with 29 of the Brothers still in various prisons and jails, the defense declared a court order was needed to cut through prison red tape so that all the defendants might meet to discuss their defense.

Of the imprisoned, 17 Brothers in the "special housing unit" at Auburn prison are in the most severe situation. They are in virtually "maximum-maximum" detention, locked away 22 hours a day in 6-by-8-foot cells.

Moreover, the unit is divided into tanks containing five to six cells. Each of the 17 Brothers is alone in one tank, at the mercy of the guards. This almost meant death for one Brother, Otis McGaughy.

He suffered burns over 40 percent of his body after a fire started mysteriously in his cell. Nobody was around to witness how it happened—except the guards. The ABLD is demanding that the 17 be allowed into the general population at Auburn.

Judge Ball conceded that the state was not ready for trial but turned down most of the requests of the defense. He set April 29 as the day for another hearing to start setting trial dates. This gives the defense—which has finally gotten some of the materials from the state—two months to prepare for trial, while the prosecution has had more than two years.

To help the defense effort, contact Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 1370 Main Street, Buffalo, N. Y. 14209. Telephone: (716) 884-4423.

Activist speaks out on school issues

Mistrial in frame-up of Yvonne Golden

By ROGER RUDENSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—A mistrial has been declared in the case of Yvonne Golden, a Black activist and public school teacher here.

Golden faced three frame-up misdemeanor charges—a year in jail if convicted—stemming from a Jan. 8 board of education meeting on school integration at which fighting broke out between spectators and a gang of uniformed Nazis.

Two prosecution witnesses claimed

that Golden was wearing a "denim jacket" at the school board meeting, but the photo of her submitted by the district attorney showed her wearing a polka dot blouse.

When her attorney pointed out the discrepancy, Judge George Maloney ordered a session in his chambers. In chambers, the DA claimed there was a confusion of pictures and the one he submitted was not the one of Golden at the meeting. He said he would call the photographer to the stand to testify.

The judge accepted this and resumed the trial. But when the trial resumed, the DA rested his case without calling the promised witness.

Golden's attorneys then moved for a mistrial on the basis of the prosecutor's misconduct. The judge declared the mistrial but based it on the grounds that he thought an alternate juror may have heard the discussion in chambers.

The judge's action allows the prosecution to move for a new trial. The defense contends that since Golden has been placed in jeopardy once, she cannot be tried again. Nonetheless, the judge set a hearing for April 10 on the motion for a new trial.

Earlier, on Feb. 15, Golden spoke at the Militant Labor Forum here, outlining the school issues.

"The integration we're talking

about," she said, "is not the integration that Hopp [Eugene Hopp, president of the school board] is talking about. We're talking about the amount of money being spent. The amount that's spent in Pacific Heights and the amount that's spent in Hunters Point [a predominantly Black area]."

"You can't have integration by picking up a few white kids from the Mission [a largely Chicano area] and taking them to Hunters Point, because economically they're in the same boat. They only had a slice of bread in the Mission and three-quarters of a slice in Hunters Point."

The board of education attempts to preserve the educational system at its current inferior level, she said. Although ordered by the federal government to achieve "racial balance" in the schools, the board has been dragging its feet on developing a desegregation plan. Moreover, what work it has done has been conducted without regard to the wishes of the Black, Chicano, and Asian-American communities.

Hopp, the president of the board, was elected on a wave of racist, anti-busing sentiment and ran on an anti-busing platform. This sentiment has been used to whip up racist hysteria against Blacks in the school district. An indication of this is the appearance of Nazi youth at Lowell High School.

Moreover, the lack of hiring of Black administrators and teachers in the San Francisco schools has become a public scandal.

A study made by the Bayview-Hunters Point Coordinating Council reveals this discrimination using the board's own figures. Out of 94 school system administrators, only 13 are Black. Out of 29 secondary schools, only three have Black principals. Out of 74 vice-presidents, only eight are Black. Out of 988 junior high school teachers, only 64 are Black, and out of 959 high school teachers, 68 are Black.

It is no wonder that Golden and others have repeatedly gone to school board meetings to protest this state of affairs. This is the reason the school board is attempting to silence her.

In her speech at the Militant Labor Forum, she called for Black control of the schools: "The school district puts out a questionnaire: 'Are you afraid of your child going to school in the Fillmore [a predominantly Black area]? State your fears.' We in the Black community say this is hogwash!"

"Give us community control over our schools. When you start talking about that you're talking about transfer of power. We say to the board of education: 'We don't need you anymore.'"



Militant/Howard Petrick

GOLDEN: 'Give us community control.'

What if Solzhenitsyn was a member of your union?—answer to the Daily World

By CAROLINE LUND

The Communist Party's *Daily World* of Feb. 28 carries an article titled "What if Solzhenitsyn was a member of your union?" Attempting to justify the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the USSR, Tom Foley contends that "abstract and unreal appeals for 'democracy'" are instruments in the hands of the right wing for attacks on both the labor movement and the Soviet Union.

Although Foley doesn't admit it, his article is clearly an attempt to answer an article by this writer in the Feb. 8 issue of *The Militant* defending the movement for democratic rights in the USSR. I noted that the capitalists point to the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, as well as in the trade unions, to try to prejudice working people against socialism and trade unionism.

"Does this mean that union militants should try to deny that corruption and lack of democracy exist [in the unions]? I asked. "Obviously not. Union militants must fight for democracy, against the bureaucrats that sit on top of the unions. Such a fight is not antiunion. It is the only way to strengthen the union movement for its fight against the capitalists."

"Similarly," I continued, "the fight for workers democracy inside the Soviet Union and other workers states is not 'anti-Soviet' . . . but the way to strengthen the world struggle for socialism against the slanders and attacks of the imperialists."

Foley's attempt to answer this analogy is very revealing. He says, let's assume there's a member of your union—"Alex"—who "invariably takes the side of the bosses, in every issue."

You might say this would be a little unusual, but it's explained by the fact that Alex is "the son of a ruined business tycoon."

Then, says Foley, assume that in the middle of a very important strike, during which several unionists are killed, Alex "tries to get a discussion group started among the workers about how stupid, inept and tyrannical the union leadership is." (A reference to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's criticisms of Stalin's policies during World War II.)

On top of this, after the strike is won, Alex "begins contributing articles to the corporation's newsletter" saying that the workers don't deserve wage increases, the union should have lost the strike, and the whole union should be abolished.

The workers, Foley contends, would kick Alex out as "an agent of the bosses," just as Solzhenitsyn was kicked out of the Soviet Union.

Let's look into this analogy a bit more closely because it is a good one—even though, like all analogies, it has limits.

First of all, to bring the analogy closer to reality we would have to say that Alex is not alone but is part of a group of unionists with differing views fighting for democratic rights inside their union.

Also, let's assume that his wrong ideas on the principles of unionism derive not from the fact that he is "the son of a ruined business tycoon" but because he was soured by the corruption of the union officialdom. (After all, how many offspring of ruined business tycoons do you know of in your union?)

Also, we would have to make the correction that during the very important strike, Alex was making his criticisms from the point of view of a union militant on the front lines of the struggle, against faulty policies of the union officials that were seriously endangering the union.

(Solzhenitsyn's criticisms of Stalinist policy during World War II were essentially confirmed by Khrushchev himself, who said in his speech at the twentieth congress of the Soviet CP, "Therefore, the threatening danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the Party by Stalin himself." And although Solzhenitsyn was imprisoned by Stalin during the war, Soviet courts determined in 1965 that he had shown "personal heroism" at the front and had been imprisoned unjustly.)

Then let's say—to make a truer analogy—that Alex's wrong ideas on unionism are in a tiny minority; that most of the group of unionists fighting for democracy are class-struggle militants. So actually the real question is whether this whole opposition current should be granted democratic rights—not only Alex. This is the most important question for the union, even though both the bosses and the union bureaucrats falsely select out Alex as representing the views of all the dissident unionists.

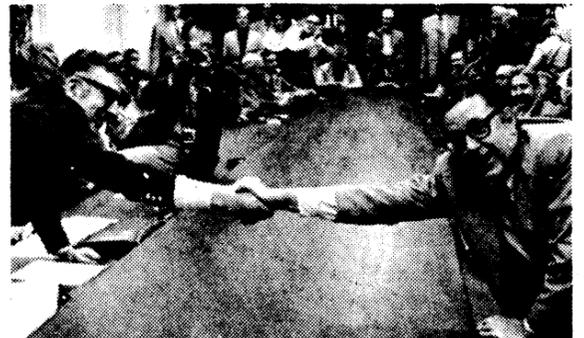
If it were up to Foley, not only should Alex and the others be denied democratic rights, but they

should be kicked out of the union altogether—because of their ideas.

But to see the falseness and dishonesty of Foley's argument, let's fill out the analogy in an area Foley carefully omits: the character of the union leadership the dissidents are fighting against.

Suppose the union is run by a bureaucracy of self-seekers with huge salaries and expense accounts. This layer becomes so privileged, in comparison with the average worker, that they come to think a lot like the bosses. They even enjoy associating with the bosses, playing golf with them, drinking champagne with them, and perhaps exchanging expensive gifts, like luxurious automobiles.

Continued on page 22



Top, UAW's Woodcock poses with GM Vice-president Morris at beginning of 1973 contract talks. Bottom, Nixon and Brezhnev.

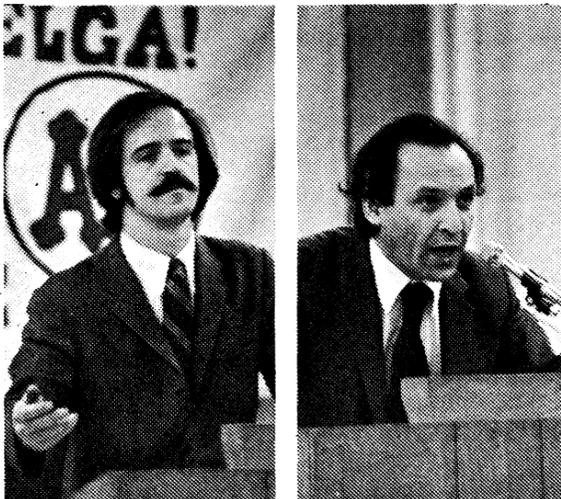
Boston forum hears defense of Soviet dissidents

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—The expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn will not snuff out the growing dissent inside the Soviet Union.

This is the prediction of Dr. Yuri Glazov, who spoke to an overflow crowd of 125 at the Boston Militant Forum Feb. 22. While a citizen of the Soviet Union, Glazov was a member of the Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights.

Glazov, who had been in contact with Solzhenitsyn immediately prior to and after his forced exile, was joined by Gabriel Grassberg, a Russian literary scholar from the University of Massachusetts, and George Saunders, a writer for *Intercontinental Press*.



George Saunders (left), Dr. Yuri Glazov

Grassberg discussed Solzhenitsyn's epic novel *August 1914*, which has been attacked in the Soviet press as "anti-Russian."

Glazov, taking up the Soviet dissident movement, said that he, like Solzhenitsyn, had come to see something fundamentally wrong with Marxism because of "the totalitarian hell that is the nature of Soviet socialism."

Saunders insisted on the necessity of distinguishing between Stalinism and Leninism. He saw the circulation of underground writings in the Soviet Union as a revival of the revolutionary tradition of the antitzarist struggle and of the later anti-Stalinist opposition led by Leon Trotsky.

Since the timid "de-Stalinization" begun by Khrushchev, Saunders said, "a revival of political discussion and thinking and activity has occurred inside the Soviet Union, and the Brezhnev-Kosygin regime . . . decided to take a different tack and tried to stop that process of the rise of political consciousness."

Big public trials of dissidents failed to stop this political ferment, which is still only in its initial phases. As a result, Saunders continued, the regime made a switch and tried to intimidate dissidents by imprisoning them without trial in psychiatric hospitals.

But this has proved extremely embarrassing for the Soviet bureaucracy, Saunders explained, because of international publicity. "And so," he said, "they tried a new tactic: kick the troublemakers out; if you don't like it here, go to America."

Saunders predicted that the latest response of the Soviet bureaucracy to the dissident movement would prove no more successful in stamping it out

than its earlier attempts.

In taking up the political ideas of the Soviet dissidents, Saunders explained that there were many different tendencies inside the dissident movement and that many of the Soviet oppositionists had contradictory ideas. He called for democratic rights for all of them, pointing out that many of their errors were due to their lack of information about the outside world—something the Soviet bureaucracy is responsible for.

Glazov agreed on the necessity for a united defense, saying, "I would support any activity to defend Pyotr Grigorenko, who is a brilliant communist and who is perhaps one of the best men in the world."

Replying to a question on his view of the the Soviet Union today, he said, "I don't think that the revolution was only bad. I don't think that we should come back to the position of Russia in the beginning of the century. . . . And of course, we are not going to restore capitalism . . . we understand that capitalism has a lot of dark shadows."

Saunders explained that "the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a planned economy was a major gain of the Russian revolution." At the same time, he said it was necessary to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to restore democratic rights and to move forward to a genuine socialist society.

In this regard, Glazov indicated that the examples of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 and of Czechoslovakia in 1968 had a big impact on dissidents inside the Soviet Union—as did the student movement in the U.S., which he said encouraged the dissidents to speak out.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 15, 1974

Poet calls for truth on Stalin era

Yevtushenko's defense of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

By Candida Barberena

On February 17 an unexpected voice rose to defend Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko praised the exiled Soviet novelist in an open letter for having raised the issue of the Stalinist purges.

Commenting on Yevtushenko's decision openly to defend a dissident, *Le Monde* correspondent Jacques Amalric wired the following in a dispatch from Moscow printed in the February 19 issue of the Paris daily.

"Yevtushenko's position greatly surprised Moscow, as for several years now the poet has increasingly acted—and written—like an official. Enjoying the honors of fame, living rather grandly for Moscow, and strongly

arrest was excerpted in the February 18 *New York Times*:

"On Feb. 12, there were rumors circulating in Moscow about the arrest of Solzhenitsyn; I was shaken by this news. Trying not to believe it, I telephoned the K.G.B. [the Soviet secret police] and was told, 'Yes, he's arrested.'

"Extremely agitated over both the writer's personal fate and public repercussions of the arrest, I immediately sent a telegram to the Central Committee addressed to the General Secretary [Leonid Brezhnev] in which I voiced my anxiety about the fate of the writer and also about how this might affect the prestige of our motherland, but in polite form without any sharp expressions."

But the "polite form" of Yevtushenko's telegram did not prevent reprisals against him.

"In my telegram," Yevtushenko continued, "I even emphasized that I did not agree with many views of Solzhenitsyn."

"Nevertheless, in response to my sincere, confidential appeal, there followed immediate, crude and humiliating punishment.

'Unworthy blackmail'

"I do not know who is responsible, but my concert was canceled. I was summoned to the secretariat of the Union of Writers. There, people already knew about my phone call and telegram. During the conversation my actions were termed 'unworthy blackmail,' and it was proposed that I deliver a public denunciation of Solzhenitsyn, which I refused to do."

In reply to Yevtushenko's request for an explanation for the canceling of his performance, he was merely told that the action taken was "correct."

"Unambiguously, they expressed opinions about 'the doubtfulness' of my political face," wrote Yevtushenko.

"I know how such utterances about the 'doubtfulness' of a poet's political face usually end—with attempts to discredit him by various methods. This cancelation of my concert is nothing but the beginning of discrediting my poetry as a whole.

"But who is needed by our people—writers who write or automatically sign everything asked of them, or those writers who, taking the positions of socialism, nevertheless consider it their right to have their own viewpoint on the advantage to socialism of various actions?"

Yevtushenko is well acquainted with the Stalinist legacy of slandering and blackballing potential "enemies of the people." He has himself in the past been asked to participate in some of the Kremlin's exploits in this field. Although Yevtushenko mentions sev-

eral such instances in his open letter in *Il Giorno*, they were not included in the *New York Times's* excerpts.

However, Amalric, in his February 19 *Le Monde* article, referred to the passages in question. Yevtushenko stated that in the past he had been the object of several approaches and pressures. The first time, fifteen years ago, the Kremlin sought to extort from him a denunciation of Boris Pasternak. Then in 1963 he was asked to write criticisms of some young artists whose names were not mentioned in his open letter.

In addition, Yevtushenko revealed that on two occasions he asked that Solzhenitsyn's *Cancer Ward* be published in the Soviet Union. He also opposed the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Union of Writers. The open letter went on to charge that reprisals were being taken against persons who had dared to speak in Solzhenitsyn's behalf and even against those who had defended his defenders. In reference to Vladimir Voinovich, a writer who was the first person to speak out publicly in Solzhenitsyn's defense after the official campaign was launched against him in January, Yevtushenko wrote: "Someone will probably defend him and in turn be punished. In this way we're going to lose



Militant/Laura Gray

Soviet bureaucracy has halted publication of works critical of Stalin.

all our writers."

Yevtushenko's charge of reprisals was confirmed on February 20 with the expulsion of Voinovich from the Union of Writers. In a statement of defiance to the Union published in the February 21 *New York Times*, Voinovich said: "You have slandered and helped push out of the country her greatest citizen. You think that you all now can take his place. You are mistaken."

Pointing out the dangers of siding with Solzhenitsyn, Yevtushenko noted that Lidiya Chukovskaya, the writer whose country home Solzhenitsyn had lived in recently, was not long ago ousted from the Union of Writers.

Yevtushenko also explained the position from which he was writing, leaving no doubt of his loyalty:

"I have proven my adherence to the ideas of socialism not only by my verses but also in public appearances abroad, when young fascist toughs attacked me right on stage, trying to drag me down from it. Now, attempts are being made to drag my poetry down from my very own native, Soviet stage."

Bloody crimes

Yevtushenko stated his disagreement with many of Solzhenitsyn's conclusions, but defended his book as necessary to an understanding of Stalinism: "No, I do not agree with many of Solzhenitsyn's views in *Gulag Archipelago*, which I have read. . . .

"But in this book there are terrible, documented pages about the bloody crimes of the Stalinist past. However great the mistakes of Solzhenitsyn, the bloody blunders of the Stalinist past are beyond comparison with him.

"And have we said everything to our people about those bloody blunders?"

"The theory of the flow of 'prison-camp literature,' which allegedly flooded the pages of our magazines, is invented. Actually, only a few books were once published, including *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* [the only book Solzhenitsyn was allowed to publish in the Soviet Union], and a number of verses, including my poem, 'Stalin's Heirs.' Later, those works were never reprinted. Instead, a number of memoirs and novels were published in which Stalinist blunders were artificially painted over and history was distorted with beautifications."

Yevtushenko's criticisms are well-founded. The way the Kremlin is now attempting to rewrite and distort Solzhenitsyn's past is a case in point. In an 8,000-word article in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the Union of Writers weekly, the historian Nikolai N. Yakovlev leveled a new allegation: that Solzhenitsyn's eleven-year imprisonment and exile for exchanging anti-Stalinist remarks in battlefield letters with a friend were entirely justified. Such a view contradicts the conclusion of the court that rehabilitated Solzhenitsyn in 1965 that he had shown "personal heroism" at the front and had been imprisoned unjustly.

Yevtushenko cited a powerful example from his personal experience of the

Continued on following page



YEVTUSHENKO: 'History was distorted with beautifications.'

convinced of his talent, he has hardly raised his voice since condemning the [Soviet] invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968."

Yevtushenko made his last big "political" speech in June-July 1971 before the Congress of Soviet Writers. "At that time," wrote Amalric, "Yevtushenko asked that his generation be allowed to take on responsibilities, even though certain members of this generation were skeptical and doubtful and plunged at times into the snobbery of nonparticipation and social opposition." It was clear from this speech that Yevtushenko himself had not gone astray, although he once again denounced the blunders of Stalinism.

Yevtushenko's open letter, published in the February 17 issue of the Milan daily *Il Giorno* and addressed to Soviet radio and television viewers, was entitled "Is it a Crime to Defend a Man?" Here Yevtushenko's explanation of his reaction to Solzhenitsyn's

Yevtushenko speaks out

'...real belief can be based only on the truth'

Continued from preceding page
consequences of perpetually distorting history:

"Last year around a campfire in Siberia, one good young girl, a student about 18 years old, raised a toast to Stalin. I was shaken. 'Why?' I asked.

"'Because then, all people believed in Stalin and with this belief they used to be victorious,' she answered.

"'And do you know how many people were arrested during the years of Stalin's rule?' I asked.

"'Well, say 20 or 30 people,' she replied.

"Other students were sitting around the fire, and they were about her age. I started asking them the same question.

"'About 200,' said one lad.

"'Maybe 2,000,' said another girl.

"Only one student out of 15 to 20 said, 'It seems to me about 10,000.'

"When I told them that the figure is reckoned not in thousands but in millions, they did not believe me.

"'Did you read my poem "Stalin's Heirs"?' I asked.

"'And did you really have such a poem?' asked the first girl. 'Where was it published?'

"'In Pravda, in 1963,' I answered.

"'But at that time I was only eight years old,' she replied, somewhat at a loss.

"And then I suddenly understood, as never before, that the young generation really does not have sources nowadays for learning the tragic truth about that period because they can-

not read about it either in books or textbooks."

Yevtushenko warned of the dangers to the Soviet state implicit in the official lies:

"The disparity between historical



SOLZHENITSYN: 'Let us refuse to say that which we do not think!'

reality and the description of history in books and newspapers can lead our youth only to lack of belief, to cynicism, whereas we need belief; but real

belief can be based only on the truth."

Yevtushenko's is not the only document circulating among dissident intellectuals. An essay by Solzhenitsyn, "Live Not By Lies," has apparently created some stir in Moscow since his expulsion. Dated February 12, the day of his arrest, the essay is probably the last thing he wrote in the Soviet Union.

In some ways the document parallels the Yevtushenko statement in its refutation and condemnation of Kremlin lies and historical distortions. While Yevtushenko's open letter "Is It a Crime to Defend a Man?" alludes only to the pressures brought to bear on him personally to denounce some of his colleagues, Solzhenitsyn's "Live Not By Lies" asserts that virtually every Soviet citizen is subjected to varying degrees of pressure to accept official lies as truth, or at least not to question them openly.

The call to action—the act of personally rejecting falsehood—is the end of Yevtushenko's appeal, but Solzhenitsyn's beginning. Solzhenitsyn pessimistically asserts that most Russians have not matured enough politically "to march into the squares and shout the truth out loud or to express aloud what we think," because it's still too dangerous. He proposes an individual response to the Kremlin falsifiers: "Let us refuse to say that which we do not think!"

"So in our timidity," continues Solzhenitsyn, "let each of us make a choice: Whether consciously to remain a servant of falsehood—of course, it

is not out of inclination, but to feed one's family, that one raises his children in the spirit of lies—or to shrug off the lies and become an honest man worthy of respect both by one's children and contemporaries."

While Solzhenitsyn envisages an individual opposition to bureaucratic falsehood, his proposals are particularly revealing of the social pressures that the bureaucrats mobilize to force acceptance of their falsifications.

Solzhenitsyn's proposals

In the process of casting off these lies, Solzhenitsyn proposes, the individual:

● Will not henceforth write, sign or print in any way a single phrase which in his opinion distorts the truth.

● Will utter such a phrase neither in private conversation nor in the presence of many people, neither on his own behalf nor at the prompting of someone else, neither in the role of agitator, teacher, educator, nor in a theatrical role.

● Will not depict, foster or broadcast a single idea which he can see is false or a distortion of the truth, whether it be in painting, sculpture, photography, technical science or music.

● Will not cite out of context, either orally or written, a single quotation so as to please someone, to feather his own nest, to achieve success in his work, if he does not share completely the idea which is quoted, or if it does

'Stalin's Heirs': a suppressed poem

By Yevgeny Yevtushenko

[*Stalin's Heirs* was Yevgeny Yevtushenko's response to the removal of Stalin's body from the Mausoleum in Red Square during the brief period of "de-Stalinization" under Khrushchev. It was printed a year after it was written in the October 21, 1962, issue of *Pravda*, but was never included in anthologies of Yevtushenko's poetry published in the Soviet Union. The translation was done for *The Militant* by George Saunders.]

The marble held silent. Silently shimmered the glass.
The guard, as it stood growing bronze in the wind, held its silence.
But the coffin smoked slightly. Breath seeped through the cracks
as they carried it out of the doors of the Mausoleum.
Slowly the coffin floated, its sides brushing bayonets.
It too held its silence—it too!—but ominous silence.
Within it, embalmed hands gloomily clenched into fists,
pressing his eye to a crack, was a man playing dead.
He wanted to memorize all who were bearing him out,
the youthful, the newly elected from Kursk and Ryazan,
so that later in some way he'd gather his strength for the onslaught,
and rise from the earth and show these unwise ones what's what.
He had thought up a scheme. He had just nestled down for a nap.
And I address myself with a request to our government:
To double, still better to triple the guard by his gravestone,
so that Stalin won't rise from the earth and with Stalin, the past.
Not of that cherished and valorous past am I speaking,
Of the Turksib and Magnitogorsk and the flag o'er Berlin.
In the given instance, I have in mind by the past—
unconcern for the welfare of people, arrests of the innocent, slanders.
Our grain we sowed honestly, honestly welded our metal
and forming ourselves in soldierly files, marched with honor.
He feared us, though. Serving a great end, he never considered
that means should be worthy of the great good of their end.
Far-sighted he was. And steeped in the laws of battle.
Behind him he left many heirs all over the globe.
It strikes me as though a phone had been placed in his coffin.
To Enver Hoxha, Stalin transmits his instructions.



Where else does the telephone wire from that coffin lead?
No, Stalin has not given up. He thinks death is correctable.
Yes, we have moved him out of the Mausoleum.
But how are we to remove Stalin from Stalin's heirs?
Some of his heirs clip roses in retirement
but in secret consider their leave to be temporary.
Others may even curse Stalin himself from the tribunes
while at night by themselves they long for the times of old.
For good reasons, it's obvious, Stalin's heirs suffer today
from dying tissues. To onetime supports of the throne
these times are not pleasing when prison camps lie empty
and halls where the people hear poetry are overflowing.
The Party has ordered me not to be at my ease.
Even if someone affirmed, "Take it easy!" I will not know how
to be easy.
As long as on earth there exist any heirs of Stalin,
It will seem to me Stalin is still in the Mausoleum.

not accurately reflect the matter at issue.

"● Will not allow himself to be compelled to attend demonstrations or meetings if they are contrary to his desire or will, will neither take into hand nor raise into the air a poster or slogan which he does not completely accept.

"● Will not raise his hand to vote for a proposal with which he does not sincerely sympathize, will vote neither openly nor secretly for a person whom he considers unworthy or of doubtful abilities.

"● Will not allow himself to be dragged to a meeting where there can be expected a forced or distorted discussion of a question.

"● Will immediately walk out of a meeting, session, lecture, performance or film showing if he hears a speaker tell lies, or purvey ideological nonsense or shameless propaganda.

"● Will not subscribe to or buy a newspaper or magazine in which information is distorted and primary facts are concealed. . . ."

Solzhenitsyn charges that the practice of these most elementary democratic rights is forbidden in the Soviet Union, and to broach them is not without certain risk, as he points out in the following passage:

"No, it will not be the same for everybody at first. Some, at first, will lose their jobs. For young people who want to live with the truth, this will, in the beginning, complicate their young lives very much, because the required recitations are stuffed with lies, and it is necessary to make a choice."

Solzhenitsyn remarks that even these acts of individual resistance are not carried out in isolation, that many people have for years adhered to these principles of living by the truth.

"So you will not be the first to take this path, but will join those who have already taken it. This path will be easier and shorter for all of us if we take it by mutual efforts and in close rank. If there are thousands of us, they will not be able to do anything with us. If there are tens of thousands of us, then we would not even recognize our country."

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.

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Witch-hunt in Canadian labor party defeated

An attempt by the leadership of the British Columbia New Democratic party, Canada's labor party, to expel Wendy Stevenson, a member of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Canadian section of the Fourth International) failed when the B.C. NDP provincial council overwhelmingly affirmed her membership on February 2-3.

The February 18 *Labor Challenge*, the English-language newspaper of the

mid-1960s). Stevenson pointed out that she had been an active member of the Alberta NDP between 1968 and 1972, and a delegate to the 1971 Alberta NDP convention. She requested that the executive use its constitutional power to affirm her membership and reject Brown's arbitrary action."

The executive referred the question to the provincial council.

Stevenson and the supporters of her

clarifying that "the League for Socialist Action is an organization political in nature and pursuing political action" and that "membership in, support of, active participation in the League for Socialist Action is declared incompatible with membership in the NDP. . . ."

In an interview with *Labor Challenge*, Stevenson said: "A number of delegates objected. They pointed out that the resolution was undemocratic and unjust. Some stated that they were supporters of many of the activities of the LSA, like defense of Chilean political prisoners and defense of Dr. Morgentaler [who was placed on trial for having performed abortions]."

"In the morning," she continued, "a motion to table the resolution on the LSA passed by a large majority. Then a motion instructing the executive to affirm my membership was put to a vote. It carried, approximately 35 to 4."

Explaining why the vote represented a victory for every member of the NDP, Stevenson said: "The NDP, as a party based on the organized power of the labor movement, must be open to all those who support working-class political action independent of the big-business parties. There are, of course, many different views on how to achieve socialism—different programs that emerge in the struggle. The party leadership has no right to ban those ideas that differ from its own. And right now we have to pay particular attention to internal party democracy, when the leadership has all the resources of the [provincial] government at its disposal to impose its view—often in opposition to convention decisions made by the party rank and file."

A similar undemocratic move by the NDP leadership in Ontario occurred when the provincial council there "withdrew" the memberships of Barry Weisleder and Harold Lavender at its January 13 meeting. The two are also members of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.



Labor Challenge/Isolde Belfont

Women in British Columbia demonstrate in support of doctor who was victimized for performing abortions. Some who opposed witch-hunt in New Democratic Party said they supported League for Socialist Action activities such as the defense of Morgentaler.

LSA/LSO, reported: "On Nov. 26, 1973, Stevenson received her NDP membership card. But in the same mail also came a letter from former NDP provincial secretary Hans Brown, who told her that she had 'no status' in the party. Brown alleged that she had a 'longstanding and existing membership in another political party,' and returned her membership fee.

"Refusing to accept this undemocratic expulsion, Stevenson returned the membership fee to the provincial executive. In an accompanying letter, she corrected Brown's assertion that she had 'only recently arrived . . . from Ontario' (where she had been denied membership in the NDP in the

right to remain in the party launched a provincewide campaign in her defense. A petition was circulated calling on the provincial council "to reaffirm the principle of party democracy." She received considerable support from the ranks of the B.C. NDP. The ridings of Vancouver Little Mountain, Vancouver Center, Vancouver Point Grey, and Vancouver Burrard, and the North Delta executive, the steering committee of the NDP women's rights committee, the Lower Mainland NDP women's rights committee, and many individual party members supported her right to remain in the party.

At the provincial council meeting the executive circulated a copy of a 1964 provincial council resolution de-

Iran: eight more victims fall to shah's firing squads

By Majid Namvar

Within forty-eight hours February 18-19, the shah's regime executed other eight of its political opponents. On February 18, firing squads murdered Khosrow Golsorkhi and Karamet Daneshian, who belonged to a group of twelve artists, filmmakers, and journalists sentenced earlier this year. On February 19, a group of six persons accused of sabotage fell before the shah's firing squads.

The arrest of the group of twelve was made public by the government on October 3, 1973, after they had already been imprisoned for more than a year. The group was accused of plotting to assassinate the shah and to kidnap three members of his family as hostages to secure the release of political prisoners.

On January 9, a military court in Tehran sentenced seven of the defendants to death and the other five to

prison terms. The only evidence against them consisted of "confessions" extracted by SAVAK, the shah's secret police. A military court of appeals in Tehran confirmed five of the seven death sentences January 20. According to the February 23 air edition of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*, the shah commuted three of these death sentences to life imprisonment.

The order for the execution of Golsorkhi and Daneshian was signed by the shah. During their trial, the two had proclaimed their adherence to Marxism and had defended their ideas before the military tribunal.

In announcing the execution of the group of six persons, the Iranian press gave no information about the date of their arrest or the circumstances under which they were tried. Allegedly the six were part of a group of ten persons accused of acts of sabotage, assassination, arson, and armed attacks against the state. The govern-

ment tried to create the impression that they were religious fanatics.

According to *Kayhan*, the six were: Abdo-Allah Khodarahmi, Bahman Manshat, Hojat-Allah Abdolli, Masha-Allah Sayfe, Ruh-Allah Sayfe, and Vali-Allah Sayfe.

In response to the recent wave of royal murders in Iran, protests have been organized in Europe and the United States. According to the February 21 issue of *Le Monde*, the Union of Iranian Students in France released a statement protesting against "the policy of more and more savage repression against Iranian intellectuals with the aim of silencing them."

A broad defense campaign on behalf of the twelve was waged by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). Forums were organized in several cities, including one in Boston, at which Noam Chomsky was a featured speaker, that drew an audience of 160.

Other organizations, such as the Confederation of Iranian Students, Amnesty International, and the international writers' organization P.E.N., have also condemned the shah's renewed executions of political opponents.

Bangladesh

Rahman gets new laws against opposition

Within two weeks after the successful January 20 general strike called by the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party), the Awami League majority in the Bangladesh National Assembly passed two pieces of legislation giving the government and its Jatiya Rakkhi Bahini (National Defense Forces) greatly expanded powers of repression.

The February 3 issue of *Holiday*, a leftist weekly published in Dacca, wrote of the Rakkhi Bahini (Amendment) Bill 1974: "According to the provisions of the Amendment, the Rakkhi Bahini will be able to search, detain and arrest any individual without any warrant whatsoever. And what appears quite evident from the recent and present performance of the Bahini, they will also be able to physically liquidate or kill any individual without any sanction from any court of law." The amendment even carries a provision stipulating that the new powers of the Rakkhi Bahini cannot even be challenged in court.

On February 5 the Awami League went even further in its efforts to strengthen its repressive hand by pushing a Special Powers Act through the National Assembly. Seven opposition and independent members of the Assembly demanded that the bill be circulated publicly for discussion before the Awami League majority attempted to pass it. When the Awami League MPs ignored the demand, the oppositionists walked out of the session in protest, and the act was passed in their absence.

Before leaving the session, however, some of the opposition members spoke



Unemployed workers in Dacca. Rahman has been unable to satisfy demands of masses and is resorting to repression.

against it. Attur Rahman Khan of the Jatiya League (National League) said the passing of the law was an effort to kill all opposition politics. Qamrul Islam Mohammed Salebuddin of the National Awami party (Bhashani) called it an aggression against the people. And Mainuddin Ahmed Manik of the JSD said that the people of Bangladesh would reject the Special Powers Act and, in the words of *Holiday*, "throw it into a dustbin."

As with the legislation giving the Rakkhi Bahini new repressive powers, the Special Powers Act gives the government the legal means to arrest, detain, try, and sentence anyone for acting, writing, or speaking in a manner

"prejudicial" to broadly defined national "interests." It sets up a Special Tribunal to try offenders of the act and also puts any actions carried out under the act above the court system. One provision of the act gives the government the power to suspend the activities of any union or political party for up to six months.

In December, the president of Bangladesh, Abu Sayeed Chaudhury, resigned from the government. The February 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that one of the reasons for his resignation was his opposition to the continued use of Presidential Orders 50, 8, and 9, which give the government almost unlimited powers

of detention. The Special Powers Act, however, renders even these presidential orders obsolete.

An editorial in the February 10 *Holiday* commented on the passing of the act: "In the case of Bangladesh, the passage of this Bill is not only tragic (mainly because of the people's enormous sacrifices for democracy and freedom) but it is ironic as well. And that is because the same political organization which had agitated against similar laws in the not too distant past should now decide that to administer this country they must have this law. And what is worse—and sinister too—is that the Special Powers Act is the ultimate in black laws, for in its pernicious embrace it covers almost all acts of men living in a society; from censorship of news publication to any action of anyone which the government thinks is prejudicial to the interests of the state. And that can be made to mean anything because explaining away internal repression as a defense against international conspiracy is a very familiar phenomenon indeed."

The main target of the regime's attacks has been the JSD, which responded by calling demonstrations, strikes, and rallies against the repression. Although the Rahman regime has not yet used all of the repressive powers at its command, the passing of the Special Powers Act gives it the legal cover and apparatus to attempt to smash the JSD if an opportunity arises. While the massive support expressed for the JSD's actions has been the main deterrent to an all-out attack by the Awami League regime against the JSD, many JSD members have been clubbed, arrested, and even killed. On February 3, for instance, a leader of the JSD, Mosharruf Hussain, was assassinated in Jessore by "unknown assailants."

Demand 30 percent pay raise

Japanese unionists protest soaring prices

More than 30,000 Japanese trade unionists from all the major trade union federations held an anti-inflation rally in Tokyo on February 18. *Washington Post* correspondent Don Oberdorfer reported from Tokyo in the February 19 issue: "The 30,000 unionists, sitting amid red banners in a vast indoor hall, heard speeches declaring that the government, big business and the international oil companies are responsible for this country's soaring inflation."

In a January 22 dispatch to the *New York Times* Richard Halloran noted the growing realization among the Japanese people of the real causes for Japan's skyrocketing inflation: "There is growing suspicion here that oil concerns and trading companies that import oil colluded to drive up prices, or at least to benefit from price increases announced by producing nations."

Such suspicion could only be further aggravated by reports such as the one that appeared in the January 15 *Washington Post*: "Japanese oil companies have given their workers off-season bonuses as a share in unusual profits resulting from the oil crisis. Shell Sekiyu Co. gave its employees a bonus of \$263 on top of the customary win-

ter bonus. . . . General Sekiyu, an Exxon affiliate, and Esso Standard Sekiyu, a subsidiary, have also agreed to pay extra bonuses at the end of January." Thus, while many Japanese industries and companies are cutting back production and laying off workers as a result of the government-ordered cutbacks in fuel consumption, the oil companies, many of which are controlled by the U.S. oil trusts, are able to pay bonuses from their higher profits.

The anti-inflation rally on February 18 was the first action of the spring labor offensive, which may be among the most militant Japanese labor actions since the second world war. The January 19 *Daily Yomiuri* reported that all four of the major Japanese trade-union federations were planning to carry out joint struggles in the spring. The four federations are Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions), Domei (Confederation of Labor Unions), Churitsuroren (Federation of Independent Unions), and Shinsanbetsu (National Federation of Industrial Labor Organizations). Sohyo, Churitsuroren, and Shinsanbetsu previously coordinated their labor actions, but Domei did not. So the upcoming labor offensive marks

the first time that all four will carry out a joint campaign.

The *Washington Post* report on the rally noted that the trade unions would be asking for an unprecedented 30 percent pay hike. In addition, the labor offensive will also stress anti-inflation and public welfare measures.

The four opposition parties—the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Komeito (Clean Government party), and the Democratic Socialist party—agreed at a November 28 meeting to launch a joint anti-inflation campaign within the Diet (parliament).

In the face of determination by the Japanese working class to press demands for higher wages and for anti-inflationary measures, some sections of the Japanese ruling class have begun to express nervousness about the more blatant instances of profit gouging and hoarding. An editorial in the January 14 *Mainichi Daily News*, for example, said: "The situation is quite serious. If the industrial and business firms, which have already made fat profits by increasing the prices of their goods last year in anticipation of the impact of the petroleum crisis, are allowed to raise prices further, Japan's economy will

reach a catastrophic stage. It requires no expert to predict that the dissatisfaction and anger of the masses will explode if some enterprises are allowed to continue to fatten themselves at the sacrifice of the people's livelihood."



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Aimed at crushing workers struggle

Peron backs 'police revolt' in Cordoba

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

The chief of police in Córdoba, Argentina, Antonio Domingo Navarro, refused to give up his command on February 27 when the governor ordered him retired from active service. Instead he jailed the governor, deputy governor, and the heads of a number of provincial ministries.

Immediately after the arrest of the governor and the leading figures in his administration, right-wing trade-union goons seized the local radio and television station.

It quickly became apparent that the grievances of the police were not strictly "professional." "Yesterday a bomb destroyed the home of a judge who is handling the case of 19 policemen accused of summarily executing five farmers in January after mistaking them for left-wing guerrillas," a dispatch reported in the March 2 *New York Times*.

"Terrorists also attempted to bomb the most influential newspaper in the province, La Voz del Interior, yesterday.

"The newspaper has angered many policemen by reporting in detail the case of the five slain farmers. It has also published letters by two witnesses of the shootings, which took place on Jan. 23 when the policemen ambushed an automobile on a highway outside of Córdoba."

Bus drivers

The mutinous police apparently tried to exploit the hue and cry raised over acknowledged and alleged actions by left-wing terrorists in recent weeks, but their real concern was the extent of left-wing influence among the masses, particularly in the unions. The rightist bureaucracy was infuriated when the UTA (Unión Tranviarios Automotor — Bus Drivers Union) was promised a raise around the end of the year that went beyond the guidelines laid down by the Pacto Social between the unions and the employers association. Furthermore, the UTA was protected from strikebreaking by Deputy Governor Atilio López, the leader of the union and one of the most popular and respected Peronist trade-unionists.

The victory of the Córdoba bus drivers threatened to undermine the entire class-collaborationist deal that Perón's government is based on. Most immediately endangered were the right-wing bureaucrats, who were put in a difficult position to oppose the aspirations of their rank and file. They launched a furious counterattack, passing a motion that formally expelled López from the CGT (Confederación General de Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor).

But it was difficult for the right-wing bureaucrats to gain effective control of the provincial labor movement. Independent class-struggle formations were strong in some unions. And as against López, a veteran of the illegal Peronist movement, these leaders suffered from a certain lack of prestige, many of them having collaborated with the former military regime.

Apparently the right-wing bureaucrats hoped that the "police revolt" would cut the gordian knot: "Left-wing labor leaders, who have asked their workers to remain in a 'state of alert' have gone into hiding," the *New York Times* reported March 2.

"Taking advantage of the absence of the leftists, conservative labor leaders early this morning elected one of their members, Bernabé Barcena of the Millers Union, to head the provincial labor federation."

More than a thousand alleged "leftists" were rounded up by the putschist police, according to a UPI dispatch in the March 1 *El Diario*. "Police sources said they were being held in various premises of the force."

Groups of armed men in civilian clothes patrolled Córdoba, claiming to be loyal followers of Perón.

"Two young men who patrolled an intersection early this morning near the central Spanish-colonial-style Plaza San Martín said they were Peronist workers who were helping the police 'to maintain order,'" reported Jonathan Kandell in a March 2 cable to the *New York Times* from Córdoba.

'Kill Bolshevik leaders'

"This is not going to end until we kill all the Bolshevik leaders," said one of the youths, who was carrying a rifle with a telescopic sight."

In the face of a minicoup, with a scenario similar to the take-over only a few months ago by the bloodthirsty Chilean junta, the Peronist national government announced its "respect for provincial autonomy."

"In keeping with his political style, he [Perón] has struck an above-the-battle pose and declared the revolt a matter that should be solved 'at the provincial level,'" a March 1 dispatch to the *New York Times* reported.

But the national government did not maintain a strict hands-off policy. The results of the rump CGT elections were immediately recognized by Perón's minister of labor, Ricardo Otero, who explained to reporters that the right-wing labor bureaucrats "must have had a good reason" for backing the police revolt.

In his message to congress March 2, Perón called on the national legisla-



PERON: Collaborates with leaders of police take-over.

ture to remove Obregón formally from office and said that the police revolt was a result of the ousted governor's "failing to meet the duties of his office."

What the reaction of the Peronist activists was when they saw their leaders in effect collaborating with the hangmen of the dictatorship in jailing a veteran of the "resistance" like López is not yet known. But there were signs that the Córdoba putsch put a serious strain on Perón's national



Right-wing goons patrolling streets of Córdoba

coalition. The bourgeois liberals of the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), the largest non-Peronist party, have historical reasons to fear authoritarian rule by "el líder," and their statements indicated some nervousness.

In this situation, Perón and the rightists seemed still to observe some limits in the purge. López and Obregón were released on March 1, and the ousted governor immediately went into hiding and appealed for resistance to the coup:

"I have not resigned and I will not resign," said Mr. Obregón Cano in a message sent from his secret hiding place," Kandell wrote in the March 3 *New York Times*. "He also called on Córdoba residents to back him and asked for the support of President Perón."

Peron blocks counterattack

The caudillo moved quickly to try to block a counterattack from the Peronist left. "In a message to Congress [March 2]," Kandell cabled from Córdoba, "he [Perón] blamed the crisis in this industrial city on Mr. Obregón Cano and announced his intention to replace the Governor once and for all with a federal official of his own choice." It seemed that the caudillo had suddenly forgotten all about "respect for provincial autonomy."

The mutinous police took full advantage of Perón's declaration:

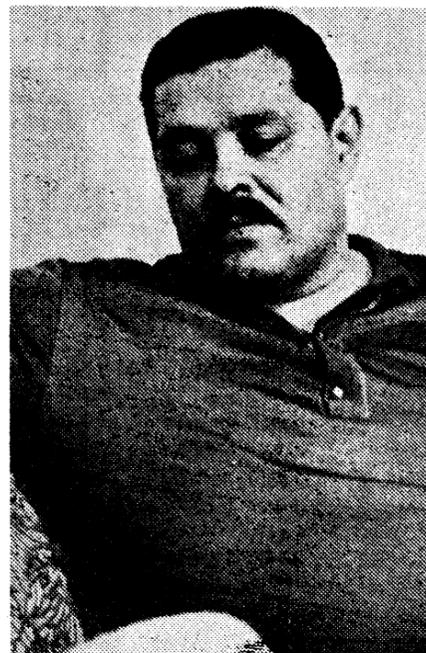
"Citizens of Córdoba,' blared the radios to the strains of the Peronist marching song, 'General Perón himself has decided to direct our city's destiny. Give him your whole-hearted support, and do not listen to a seditious Marxist coterie that wants to lead us to violence.'"

Perón's new governor promised provincial elections in September to resolve the conflict, apparently trying to convince the population that he would oversee a "democratic" solution. Thus, regardless of whether Perón intends to hold any more bourgeois-democratic elections in Córdoba or anywhere else, an intense battle for the confidence of the masses has obviously opened up.

Perón seems to be trying to use the rightist coup in Córdoba as he did the one in Chile as a horrible example of what happens when "ultraleftists" disturb the "social peace." In this way he probably hopes to frighten the Argentine people into giving him carte blanche to negotiate a "pacification."

But the old strongman has ventured onto shaky ground. The removal of left Peronist governors by armed force cannot help but stir unpleasant memories in Argentina. And López is an old stalwart whom no one can accuse of being an "ultraleftist." Furthermore, endorsing a coup by a police force accused of carrying out a massacre of farmers and a whole series of terrorist attacks, including attacks against the elected authorities, a coup that has already cost the lives of seven people in unexplained shooting incidents, should put Perón in a rather difficult position to exploit the "peace" issue. The outrage in Córdoba has put the responsibility for terrorism and violence in the country squarely on the repressive forces and their mafia-type allies in the trade-union bureaucracy.

The Córdoba coup is clearly a decisive test for the Argentine workers movement. The problem to be overcome goes much deeper than the putschist inclinations and actions of the provincial police and rightist gangs; it involves Perón's political hold on the majority of the working class. If a revolutionary workers leadership is able to expose the "people's general" effectively before the masses and develop a mass response to the outrage in Córdoba, Peronism will be shattered by its contradictions and the way will be cleared for a qualitative leap forward by the well-organized and combative Argentine proletariat.



LEFT PERONIST LOPEZ: Ousted by right-wing trade-union leaders.

FEMINISM AND THE SOCIALIST

Women, Resistance and Revolution by Sheila Rowbotham. Pantheon Books, 1972. 288 pp. Cloth, \$7.95.

By Evelyn Reed

British feminist Sheila Rowbotham investigates a question of crucial importance to the women's liberation movement today — the interconnection between feminism and revolution.

The first part of her study traces the history of women's resistance to their subjugated position in society from the seventeenth century to the socialist revolutions of the twentieth century in Russia, China, and Cuba. The second portion evaluates the effects of revolution and reaction upon the feminist movement.

As a declared Marxist-feminist, Rowbotham is convinced that women cannot win liberation as a sex short of a revolution that will restructure society. As she puts it, "Many women in women's liberation are not revolutionaries. But the demands they make for their own improvement require such a fundamental change in society that they are completely inconceivable without revolution."

Rowbotham acknowledges the pioneering work of the founders of Marxism in connection with the feminist cause. She writes, "Marx and Engels left an important theoretical commit-

Books

ment to the liberation of women's potential as a human being and the connection of this to communism. Between them they added greatly to an understanding of the nature of women's oppression in the nineteenth century, both in the anthropological and in the economic sense."

She then draws back from her pull in the Marxist direction. Despite the depth and scope of their knowledge and sensitivity to women's problems, Marx and Engels "were still a couple of bourgeois men in the nineteenth century," she writes. "Socialist" men, like the others, do not understand the problems of women and many "were not able to cast off a deep contempt for women."

Rowbotham is dubious and ambiguous about the necessity of linking the women's movement with the class struggle, which involves both sexes.



New York, Aug. 26, 1970. The rise of the new feminist movement renewed interest in relationship between feminism and socialism.

She contends that feminism and Marxism are antagonistic, and writes, "I carry their contradictions within me."

Marxism & feminism

In fact, the contradictions are not in the relations between feminism and Marxism — which are fully compatible. They are lodged in Rowbotham's confusions on the relations between sex oppression and class exploitation.

She believes that the sex-role problems of women are so special they cannot be understood or solved through the scientific method created by male Marxists. It may be useful in liberating men but not women. She therefore concludes that women must themselves be the sole agent of their liberation. In essence she is torn between non-Marxist radical feminism and Marxist revolutionary feminism.

Marxists do not deny that in their struggle for liberation women have problems as a sex not shared by men. Women have been degraded to home and family servitude and deprived of their sexual freedom along with their economic and social independence. They are dominated by men and subjected to patriarchal brainwashing, which seeks to convince them that women are "naturally" inferior because of their procreative functions.

Rowbotham deals with these injustices in considerable detail, adding her own illustrations and insights to the data already accumulated on this subject. Her narrative of male oppression and the sexual shackles clamped

on women through all stages of capitalist society furnishes the most interesting and informative sections of her book. Women have borne their own crushing burdens over and above the general oppression that capitalism imposes on both sexes in the working class as a whole. All this confirms the Marxist view of the status of women as the "doubly oppressed" sex.

But such descriptive data is insufficient to answer the question that is the main theme of Rowbotham's book: how can women win their liberation?

Both sexes

The socialist revolution involves the participation of both sexes; the exploited working men and the doubly oppressed women, as was demonstrated in Russia, China, and Cuba. If the Marxist road to revolution is inadequate or to be abandoned, as Rowbotham suggests, what alternative theory, program, and prospects does she offer in its stead? She is silent on this all-important point.

Contrary to her opinion, Marxists have taken into account both the special problems of women as a sex and the tasks of the general class struggle within which these are situated. These two sides of the social struggle are interconnected, even though they develop in a highly uneven way.

The defense and promotion of the interests of one sector of the oppressed cannot be entrusted to others, although they can and do assist one another. This means that women, like the oppressed nationalities, must take the leadership of their own movement, press for their own demands, and develop their own organizations both before and after the revolution. Rowbotham agrees with this in principle.

However, she does not agree with the no less important proposition that the women's struggle and the class struggle are interlocking. This detaches the women's movement from the arena of anticapitalist struggle and puts it in a nebulous region of its own where women will somehow effect their own liberation through ways and means left unexplained.

She buttresses her ambiguity by reminding us that male oppression "predates capitalism." By projecting women's subordination into a dim, undefined past, she lends credence to a favorite theme of academic anthropologists and biologists that women have been "eternally dominated" by

The truth is, the domination of women has a definite, limited, historical framework. It emerged with patriarchal class society, which began about five thousand years ago when matriarchal primitive collectivism was overturned. Through the class institutions of the family, private property, and the state, the toilers became the exploited and oppressed class and women the doubly oppressed sex. These twin conditions have persisted through all stages of class society from chattel slavery through feudalism to capitalism.

But a few thousand years of class rule is not an "eternity" in the million-year history of humankind. Capitalist domination will be even shorter; barely four hundred years old, its ending has already begun. About a third of the world today is post-capitalist, the necessary precondition for socialism.

The Marxists pointed out that the

Evelyn Reed is a Marxist anthropologist and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. A popular lecturer, Reed is available for speaking engagements through Viewpoint: Speakers for Radical Change, P. O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 255-9229.

productivity of the wage workers under capitalism created the socioeconomic preconditions that would bring about the revolutionary abolition of capitalist society and its injustices. They further explained that it is precisely the workers who are the prime agents of the liberating socialist revolution. Since the proletariat as a class is composed of both sexes, the revolution cannot succeed without the participation of women as well as men.

Rowbotham's own narrative of women and revolution through the few hundred years of capitalism bears out this Marxist prognosis. A certain level of the development of capitalism and the class struggle was required before any feminist movement could come into being. Although, as Rowbotham writes, there were "Impudent Lasses" in seventeenth century England, "A feminist movement at this stage would have

Marxism and women's liberation

The following books provide a revolutionary socialist analysis of the origins and nature of sexual oppression and a program to end it.

FEMINISM AND THE MARXIST MOVEMENT by Mary-Alice Waters. 32 pp., \$1.60.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY, AND THE STATE by Frederick Engels with introduction by Evelyn Reed. 192 pp., \$2.25.

PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION by Evelyn Reed. 96 pp., \$1.45.

WOMEN AND THE FAMILY by Leon Trotsky. 80 pp., \$1.25.

FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM. Edited by Linda Jenness. 160 pp., \$1.95.

The privileged bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union is an obstacle to winning the liberation of women and the blossoming of socialism. **The Revolution Betrayed** explains how the bureaucracy came into being, how it betrayed the interests of women and all the oppressed, and outlines a program to fight to restore workers democracy.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED by Leon Trotsky. 320 pp., \$2.95.

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REVOLUTION

been inconceivable."

The possibility for such a movement on a bourgeois basis was first evidenced in the French revolution toward the end of the eighteenth century. In England this period brought forth Mary Wollstonecraft, whose book *Vindiction*, according to Rowbotham, is "often taken as the beginnings of feminism," although as yet "a bourgeois radical" feminism.

Reformists & revolutionists

After the industrial revolution and the advent of scientific socialism in the mid-nineteenth century, the feminist movement became divided between bourgeois-liberal feminism and socialist feminism. Marxism ushered in the struggle between reformists and revolutionists on which road to take toward liberation—a struggle that continues to the present day.

The petty-bourgeois and "socialist" reformists thought liberation could be achieved through gradual improvements within capitalism. Marxists insisted that, while reforms must be fought for by both the workers and women, their liberation could begin only through a thoroughgoing social revolution.

Rowbotham herself notes that from 1848 on, "the conflict was explicit between the two feminisms, one seeking acceptance from the bourgeois world, the other seeking another world altogether." Why, then, in the light of her own narrative, does she, as an avowed feminist and socialist, disqualify Marxism as an adequate program and guide for revolutionary action?

Among other reasons, Rowbotham, in common with many other feminists, does not have a clear understanding of the contradictory development of the October 1917 revolution and the Soviet Union that issued from it. She thus fails to draw a sharp line of distinction between socialist revolution and bureaucratic counterrevolution.

Rowbotham points out, "The Russian revolutionary movement at the end of the nineteenth century was passionately committed to women's emancipation." She shows what brilliant vistas were opened for women after the victorious Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

The old tsarist tyranny where women had no more rights than pack animals was shattered. Women received full and equal rights with men. Special laws were enacted for women and centers set up to meet the needs of pregnant women and mothers.

Wives were no longer subservient to husbands; wife-beating and paternal domination were outlawed. Distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children were dissolved. Divorce was made easy and abortions granted.

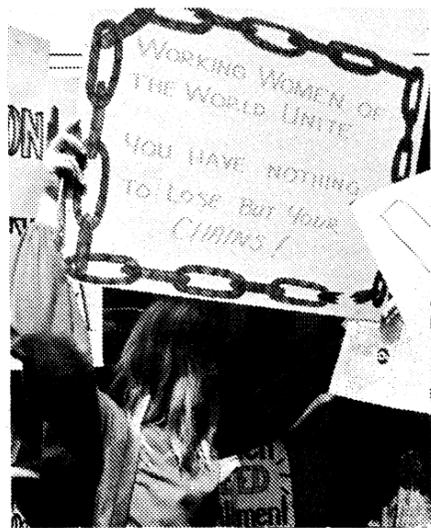
In 1919 the women's special division of the Communist Party was formed, the Working and Peasant Women's Department, called the "Genotdel," to watch over all the special interests connected with women. As Rowbotham sums all this up: "The world the revolution opened for women is inseparable from that which it opened for men."

What happened to set back that new world the Petrograd women themselves, as Rowbotham points out, ushered in through their February 1917 demonstration for bread? Although

she has read and cites Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* and *The Revolution Betrayed*, she offers a superficial and even frivolous explanation of this disastrous development.

In a chapter debonairly entitled "If You Like Tobogganing," she passes from the Bolshevik revolutionary days to the subsequent Stalinist bureaucratic counterrevolution as though these were simply two turns in a ride up and down the Russian roller coaster. She sees no connection between the bitter setbacks for women with the defeats suffered by the Soviet workers under the Stalin regime. In a wishy-washy way she says that "a strong counter-tendency had emerged," and gently condemns the resubmergence of women "under the benign whiskers of Uncle Joe."

Then, in wide-eyed innocence she asks, "Where had all those honest Leninists gone?" Surely she must know that the entire generation of Bolshevik leaders who had made the revolution were murdered by Stalin. And surely she must know that many thou-



Militant/John Gray

sands of honest Leninists were incarcerated and perished in his slave labor camps that today have become known as the "Gulag Archipelago."

A clear and comprehensive distinction must be made between revolutionary Marxism and Stalinist bureaucratism, which is as much antifeminist as it is antisocialist. Rowbotham does not do this. Therefore she does not furnish enlightenment to the many women who are seeking the revolutionary road to liberation but are turned off and turned back by the Stalinized Communist parties, which oppose the aims and aspirations of the women's liberation movement.

The defects of Rowbotham's outlook are well expressed in the last paragraph of her book. She writes, "The connection between the oppression of women and the central discovery of Marxism, the class exploitation of the worker in capitalism, is still forced. It is still coming out of the heads of women like me as an idea. It is still predominantly just a notion in the world."

It is an error of subjectivism on her part to reduce a world historical movement, the transition from capitalism to socialism that began in 1917, to "a notion" in her head. Indeed, despite her confusions and contradictions, her own study indicates that both socialism and feminism are growing and interdependent realities.

Truckers strike boosts Militant sales campaign

By SHARON CABANISS

Sales have climbed consistently throughout the first month of the campaign to sell 10,000 copies of *The Militant* each week. More than 8,000 of the Feb. 22 issue, headlined "What truckers are fighting for," were sold.

Supporters in the new West Side Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance made their sales goal for the first time this week. They have been selling in many new locations and found that sales in the Black community went extremely well, resulting in 233 *Militants* sold. They also sold 50 issues at gas lines.

For many areas these lines continued to provide good sales locations. Seattle, for example, sold 400 papers last week, many to drivers waiting in lines. Sales director Toby Emerich explained, "We sold 154 *Militants* in service station lines, many in the Black community. People waiting for gas are interested in what the truckers are trying to do about the energy crisis."

According to Boston sales director Margaret Scott, "The truckers' strike headline sold exceptionally well" at places working people gather.

Washington, D.C., supporters found a similar receptivity when they sold 52 *Militants* at an AFSCME meeting held in solidarity with the Baltimore teachers' strike. And East Lansing, Mich., members of the YSA reported "very successful selling at picket lines (Motorwheel and Long Construction Company.)"

Ernie Mailhot, sales director in the Oakland/Berkeley area, reported that "the response at the Teamster hall was very good, especially to the interview with Farrell Dobbs on the truckers' strike and the Teamsters in the 1930s." Similarly, two supporters in Chicago sold 17 copies and one subscription to truckers in 15 minutes pointing out the Dobbs interview.

Many areas report an enthusiastic response from truckers to *The Militant's* coverage, and not just at truck stops and protest meetings. Mary Nell Bockman from Atlanta related an incident when she was selling on a street corner in the Black community: "A carload of truckers pulled up and bought a paper. The driver said if it was any good he would come back and buy another one. Twenty minutes later, the car pulled up, and he said, 'You are the only ones telling the truth about our strike. I can't believe it.' And, he proceeded to buy another paper."

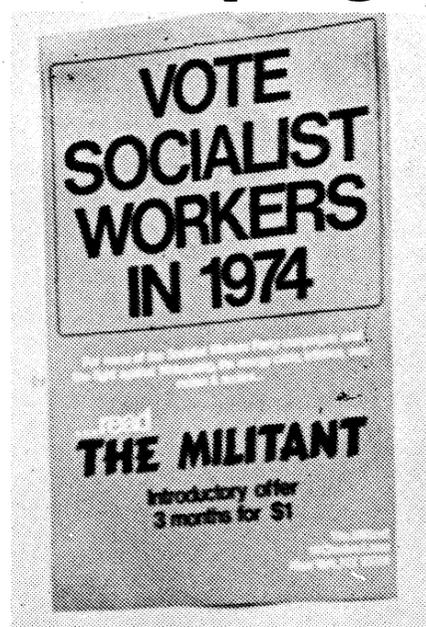
Efforts of supporters to sell 7,000 new *Militant* subscriptions by March 17 have also augmented single copy sales. According to sales director Elard Yow, Pittsburgh supporters found that "our subscription mobilizations increased weekday sales, and we have 95 subscriptions toward our goal of 125."

Detroit supporters made their sales goal for the third week in a row, and they sold 184 single issues on campuses during their subscription drive. Lower Manhattan almost made their sales goal of 500 because of single copy sales by their subscription selling teams.

More than 900 subscriptions have come in during the past week, bringing the total to 3,974.

Many supporters who have recently ordered weekly bundles of *The Militant* have done very well selling in their cities. A supporter in Vermillion, S.D., found that selling to farmers and construction workers in the downtown area has enabled her to sell out her bundle of 20 three weeks in a row.

A new salesman in Huntsville, Texas, sold out his bundle of 10. "In



The above poster can be ordered from The Militant business office.

such a small college town," he wrote, "*The Militant* sells very well, so increase my bundle to 20."

A supporter in Muncie, Ind., with a bundle of 15, reported similarly, "Sales have gone well, beyond any expectations. Please increase the bundle to 25 as soon as possible." Supporters in Nashville and in Bowling Green, Ohio, also requested larger bundles for March.

The Militant is sold in dozens of cities not listed on the Sales Scoreboard each week. This means that sales are actually higher than the total reported. Just this week, for example, new bundles were ordered by readers in Bloomsburg, Pa., Duluth, Minn., and Fresno and Stockton, Calif. If you can sell a weekly bundle of *The Militant*, just send in the coupon on page 23 of this issue.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
L.A. (West Side)	350	447	128
E. Lansing	40	50	125
Iowa City	20	25	125
Detroit	400	461	115
Philadelphia	400	439	110
Twin Cities	350	353	101
Athens	35	35	100
Huntsville	10	10	100
Nashville	60	60	100
Vermillion	20	20	100
Washington, D.C.	400	386	97
Madison	50	48	96
Lower Manhattan	500	472	94
Pittsburgh	350	329	94
Seattle	425	400	94
Milwaukee	30	27	90
Atlanta	500	435	87
St. Louis	325	263	81
Bellingham	30	24	80
Logan	30	24	80
St. Cloud	25	20	80
Portland	325	251	77
Oakland/Berkeley	800	605	76
Houston	500	344	69
L.A. (Central-East)	350	230	66
San Diego	325	215	66
Indianapolis	50	32	64
Boston	700	440	63
Mt. Pleasant	50	30	60
San Francisco	525	298	57
Chicago	700	392	56
Brooklyn	450	248	55
Austin	75	40	53
Denver	450	229	51
Bloomington	100	50	50
Cleveland	350	166	47
Upper West Side	475	184	39
Kalamazoo	15	5	33
Cincinnati	50	11	22
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	10,000	8,098	81

BOSTON

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND WATERGATE: THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION. Speaker: Debby Bustin, co-chairwoman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 Nat'l. Campaign Committee. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE COMING TRIAL OF RICHARD NIXON ET AL. Speakers: Allard Lowenstein, former congressman from Brooklyn and plaintiff in a suit against Nixon's 'enemies' list; Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from New York and plaintiff in SWP Watergate suit; Lennox Hinds, national director, National Conference of Black Lawyers. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

WHAT INDEPENDENT TRUCKERS ARE FIGHTING FOR. Speakers: John T. Williams, Teamster; an independent trucker. Fri., Mar. 15, 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

CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE ELECTIONS: THE BRITISH MINERS' BATTLE AGAINST WAGE CONTROLS. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

HOW TO SOLVE THE ENERGY CRISIS—THREE VIEWS. Speakers: Caroline Lund, staff writer for The Militant; Charles Komanoff, NYC Environmental Protection Administration; Nancy Wolf, Environmental Action Coalition. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

POLITICAL ACTIVISTS VS. THE GOVERNMENT—DEFENSE AGAINST FRAME-UPS. Speakers: Doree Friedman, San Quentin Six Defense Committee; Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from California's 41st Congressional District. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF THE NEW YORK SCHOOLS. Speaker: Luis Fuentes, superintendent of New York City's District 1. Fri., Mar. 15, 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.

TWIN CITIES

CRISIS IN BRITAIN: WHAT NEXT? Speaker: Bill Onasch, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

WOUNDED KNEE ON TRIAL. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 15, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

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Serious conflict developed over the subordination of the support units, as of all non-military activities of the organization, to the combat units: That is, the "Army" came to be seen as the chief agent of the revolution. We began to suspect that the War Council was manipulated either by some local right-wing organization or the CIA itself. The secret decision to kill Marcus Foster, and its execution, confirmed our suspicions. . . .

The irony of the SLA kidnapping is this: That the life of yet one more human being is traded for the barest necessities of survival. Patricia Hearst is being exchanged for what amounts to a temporary raise in state food stamp allotments. As revolutionaries, we are not interested in just an extension of the Welfare system, whether "radically" administered or otherwise.

...answer

Continued from page 18

Assume these union leaders, in order to prove their usefulness to the bosses, adopt a policy of selling out workers' struggles, which they dress up in phrases like "striving for social peace," "eliminating strife and tensions," and "peaceful coexistence" of workers with the bosses.

And imagine that these misleaders always meet behind closed doors with the capitalists, making deals that are kept secret from the workers. Often they make "sweetheart" deals with the bosses at the expense of smaller unions struggling against the bosses' attempts to crush them.

If a smaller union insists on continuing an independent struggle, or tries to introduce some democratic norms in the name of "unionism with a human face," the bureaucrats will even send in hired thugs to beat up union militants or put the union into receivership.

Let's say the militant dissidents attempt to get the union newspaper to print their views but the bureaucrats refuse, slandering them as "insane," or "antiunion," or even hiring killers to murder the leaders and their families

in their beds at night.

So the dissidents are forced to reproduce their criticisms of the bureaucrats painstakingly by hand, circulating them secretly to sympathetic workers. Or maybe they also try to set up a discussion group to talk over how to fight for democracy and for a return to class-struggle traditions.

The union bureaucrats try to suppress any such discussion of opposition views because they cannot refute them in open debate and they fear that these views will gain support among the other workers if they receive a fair hearing.

The bosses see that the denial of democracy weakens the union, and try to take advantage of this weakness to denounce unions in general. They reprint for their own purposes some of the articles circulated by the union opposition—especially highlighting Alex's views.

The oppositionists, however, answer that they are fighting for true unionism, democratic unionism. They say that the current union officials—not the dissidents—are the ones who are weakening the union and giving unionism a bad name—with their totalitarianism, corruption, gangster tactics, and class-collaborationist policies.

Foley's use of the trade-union analogy fails because he leaves out the privileged, undemocratic, sellout bureaucracies that rule both in the trade unions and in the Soviet Union. This omission is so striking because of all the obvious parallels in the way these two bureaucracies operate, even though one holds state power and the other must be content with its grip on the unions.

Foley would no doubt have some trouble explaining his version of this analogy to a worker who is a veteran of the struggle against the Boyle bureaucracy in the United Mine Workers union. Or to a farm worker or trucker who has been up against the treacherous Fitzsimmons bureaucracy in the Teamsters union. Or to one of the rank-and-file steelworkers who have been forced to sue United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel in an attempt to retain the right to strike.

The threat to these unions does not come from a few "Alexes." The threat comes from the bureaucrats on top, who try to expel, harass, beat up, or otherwise silence those who are fighting for workers democracy and class-

struggle policies. This is also the problem in the Soviet Union.

When Foley dismisses democracy as a concept of the bosses and the imperialists, he is trampling on the traditions of Marxism and the whole working-class movement. In defending the totalitarian regime of Brezhnev and Company, he would equate socialism with tyranny.

The rising currents of dissidents demanding democratic rights in the USSR—like the Hungarian workers who revolted in 1956, and the Czechoslovak workers who rose up in 1968—are the hope for restoring the Marxist traditions of workers democracy before the eyes of the masses of working people of the world.

...W. Indies

Continued from page 24

sons for the GRS here, while not denying the important role the GRS played in the struggle, point out that these accusations—along with the claims about "foreign agitators" and "Cuban arms"—represent an attempt to divert attention from the power displayed by the masses of Martinique workers and from the conditions they are struggling against. He believes that government attempts to suppress the GRS in Martinique are not probable at this point because of the high level of combativity of the workers and students.

Here in Paris, French revolutionary socialists have affirmed their solidarity with the Martinique struggle. Alain Krivine, one of the leaders of the ex-Ligue Communiste (Communist League—former French section of the Fourth International), held a joint press conference with Bourgeois in which he announced that the French Trotskyists unconditionally support the struggle for national liberation of the Martiniquans and other peoples oppressed by France. He also announced that the French Trotskyists and others would be launching actions in solidarity with the struggle in Martinique.

A special joint issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French Trotskyists, and *Libération Antilles-Guyane*, published by GRS members in France, has been published, reporting on the events in Martinique and containing the statements of the GRS.

Socialist Directory

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COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

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East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

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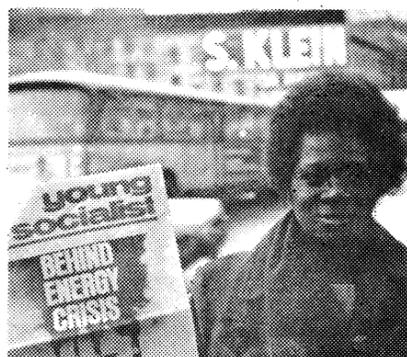
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1974 Michigan SWP Campaign Banquet

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Martinique general strike

West Indian Blacks win job & wage gains



Trade unions in French colony of Martinique shut down island in strike against unemployment, inflation, and low wages.

By Tony Thomas

Paris

All around the world, the effects of the current economic difficulties of imperialism are being passed on to the working class in the form of inflation and unemployment. One of the most massive and successful responses to this inflation has been the recent labor upsurge that shook the French colony of Martinique.

A West Indian island with a largely Black population of 340,000, Martinique has witnessed a series of important labor struggles over the last few months that culminated in a general strike February 12 that lasted more than a week. As a result of these struggles the workers were able to win most of their demands for wage increases and job security.

I was able to interview Jean-Claude Bourgeois, a leader of Martinique's electrical workers and a member of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste (Socialist Revolution Group—GRS), the Antilles section of the Fourth International. Bourgeois is here to take part in the negotiations between the electrical workers and the French government.

The inflation that is currently gripping most of the advanced capitalist countries is having an even greater effect in many colonial areas such as Martinique. In addition to the inflation in the prices of industrial and finished goods that these countries must buy from the advanced countries, they face a permanent deflation in the value of the cash crops and primary resources exported to the imperialist countries.

In Martinique, Bourgeois pointed out, this crisis has especially affected sugar and bananas, the two main crops produced on the island. Twelve

years ago Martinique produced 90,000 metric tons of sugar; today it produces 25,000 tons per year. In 1971 alone, thirteen sugar mills closed, and only two mills are operating this year. Banana production has also suffered a decline.

The resulting economic crisis has led to an unemployment figure of 60,000, more than one-sixth of the total population. This has helped enforce low wages and foster poor working conditions. For example, banana workers, who are able to find employment only six to eight months a year, receive as little as \$90 a month.

Added to this degradation is the mounting inflation that has hit the island. The price of rice, a basic staple for the workers and peasants, has gone up 150 percent in the past nine months. The cost of living is 30 percent higher than in France, which itself has seen steep inflation.

These conditions triggered the series of worker and student struggles that led to the February 12 general strike. The first to move into action were the workers at the *France-Antilles* newspaper, the island's only daily. For three months the workers there had been on strike, demanding a raise in wages (some workers make less than \$35 a week after ten years of work) and recognition of collective-bargaining rights. The Hersant trust, the owners of the paper, refused to negotiate with the workers and brought in scabs to operate the daily. When the striking workers began to put out their own paper, *Force-Antilles*, the police helped sell the scab-produced daily.

In January the building workers struck for thirteen days for a 25 percent wage increase and were able to win an 18 percent raise. They were

followed by the electrical workers, who shut off all power on the island February 4-7. Their demands included an increase in their base wages, equal fringe benefits with French electrical workers, and automatic wage increases to match inflation. Their struggle forced the electrical company, which is publicly funded, into negotiations that are still continuing.

The banana workers also went on strike, demanding a raise in wages and guaranteed daily work. Additional strikes took place in other sectors of the island's economy.

These struggles pushed the leadership of Martinique's unions, the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), FO (Force Ouvrière—Workers Power), the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor), and the FEN (Fédération d'Education Nationale), to call a united general strike. The demands raised by the strike included support to the various local strikes, social welfare benefits equal to those in France, and equalization of the minimum wage for farm and agricultural workers.

Bourgeois explained that this general strike had been different from previous, more or less symbolic ones that the union leaders had called. Militants, especially those in the GRS, had pushed to have the strike organized by the workers themselves, rather than leaving it solely to the reformist and Stalinist apparatuses. Strike committees were formed, daily strike assemblies were held, and mass demonstrations and flying picket squads were used to try to win the support of the population.

The strike met sharp government re-

pression, including the murder of two banana workers. In Lorrain, in the northern part of the island, a flying picket squad was attacked the evening of February 13 by the police and army. Renor Illmany, one of the strikers, was killed on the spot. Several days later the body of Georges Marie-Louise, a striker who had disappeared after the police attack, was found horribly mutilated on a nearby beach.

These measures of repression met with a massive response, including demonstrations of 10,000 in Fort-de-France, the island's main city, and the attendance of thousands at Illmany's funeral. To prevent police attacks, these demonstrations were defended by worker defense guards carrying clubs and the machetes used by the sugar and banana workers.

The strength of this upsurge, which, according to Bourgeois, fused with a desire for political independence from France, forced the bosses to settle with the workers. Substantial concessions were won on all fronts except for *France-Antilles*, where the struggle continues. Most of the strikes had been settled or had gone into final negotiations by February 21.

Throughout the struggle, the French press and government tried to claim that it was all due to "Trotskyist instigators" from the GRS. Bernard Stasi, minister of overseas departments and territories (i.e., colonies) of France, claimed in a statement that the deaths of striking workers were due to "the work of agitation" of "organized groups," and that "it is the Trotskyists who are profiting from this situation in order to campaign in favor of independence."

Bourgeois and the other spokesper-

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