

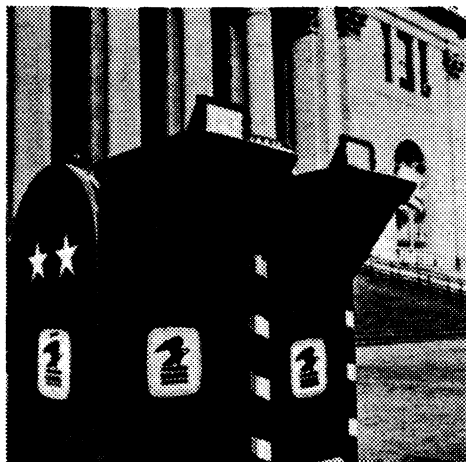
THE MILITANT

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

GOV'T ADMITS SPY PLAN TO 'DISRUPT' SOCIALISTS

— page 3

**Socialist Workers Party
phones bugged since '45**



**FBI agents intercepted
letters sent to socialists**

**Gov't says anything goes
in fighting 'subversives'**



THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 5 Kolis released after day in jail
- 6 Voter reaction to W'gate 'devastating'
- 7 Interview with James P. Cannon on defense policy
- 13 S.F. unions map plans to aid Sears strike
- 14 Rallies demand passage of ERA
- 15 Demand rises: 'Open books of oil trusts!'
- 16 British 3-day week fails to break miners
- 17 Watergate & energy crisis
- 18 Kissinger spouts 'peace' rhetoric; U.S. threatens military action
- 19 History of Left Opposition: Comintern's ultraleft binge
- 20 Justice Dept. to investigate N.Y. racist gerrymandering
- 21 United Farm Workers strike for lettuce contracts
- 24 Wounded Knee defense cites government attacks

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

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Interview with Wolf Biermann, E. German oppositionist
- 3 U.S. helps Portugal's African wars World News Notes
- 4 Statement on Mideast war by Arab and Israeli revolutionists

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IRANIAN SCHOLAR FREED: The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has announced that Reza Baraheni, the prominent Iranian poet and literary critic, has been freed by the Iranian government and has resumed teaching at the University of Tehran.

Baraheni was arrested more than three months ago after an article he wrote titled "The Culture of the Oppressor, and the Culture of the Oppressed" was published in a mass circulation daily in Tehran. In that article he criticized the regime's policy of cultural suppression of the Azerbaijan nationality and called for the legalization of their language. Baraheni was tortured while in prison.

Baraheni's arrest led to protests from many writers, professors, and students all over the world. In a letter to the New York Times on behalf of Baraheni, more than 30 prominent individuals called on the Iranian authorities to "release him forthwith from prison, restore his full rights and liberties and permit him to resume his academic and literary functions." Signers of the letter included Daniel Berrigan, Noam Chomsky, George Novack, Arthur Miller, and I. F. Stone.

Baraheni's release in no way signifies a democratization of the shah's bloody regime. On Jan. 9, seven of the 12 writers, filmmakers, and journalists framed up a year ago on charges of plotting the assassination of the shah were condemned to death.

RACISTS IN COLORADO HUNT CHICANO ACTIVIST: The Denver police and media have joined hands in a hysterical campaign to victimize Francisco "Kiko" Martinez, a well-known Chicano movement lawyer. Martinez is charged with mailing three letter bombs to foes of the Chicano movement in Denver.

Martinez's indictment came in the wake of a series of unconnected bombing attempts of nightclubs and restaurants in October. He is being hunted by local and federal agencies.

The racist Denver media took it upon itself to put Martinez on trial and found him guilty. The Denver Post, for example, offered a \$2,500 bounty for information leading to his arrest and conviction.

The racist hysteria surrounding the Martinez case is the backdrop for police harassment of other Chicano activists. Related incidents include the arrest of his brother, Reyes Martinez, and a raid on the home of Madeline Navarro, the Raza Unida Party candidate for Denver school board last October.

BLACK ACTIVIST WINS FIGHT AGAINST EXTRADITION: Ronnie Williams, a Black activist convicted in 1972 in Alabama on a frame-up charge stemming from his efforts to expose police brutality, has won his fight against extradition from the state of Oregon. In a surprise move Oregon's Governor Tom McCall notified Williams's attorney on Dec. 28 that he had telephoned Alabama officials to inform them that he was denying their extradition request.

Dozens of affidavits on Williams's behalf had been prepared. They showed both the political nature of Williams's conviction and the threat to his life if he were returned to an Alabama jail. According to people working on Williams's defense, Governor McCall let it be known that he had never seen such an effective set of documents.

Hundreds of letters in support of Williams had been received in McCall's office from a broad range of individuals and groups.

INDIANA LOYALTY OATH KNOCKED DOWN: On Jan. 9 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states cannot require political parties to swear that they do not advocate the forcible overthrow of the government to be placed on the ballot for elections.

This decision came as a result of a suit filed by the Communist Party against the Indiana election board for its refusal to place the CP's 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates on the ballot.

Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, among others, have similar laws. One of the attorneys involved in the Indiana case says that the Supreme Court decision will affect one to two dozen states.

JDL THUG SET FREE: Last October the Jewish Defense League (JDL), a gang of racist thugs, attacked and disrupted a meeting at which anti-Zionists were presenting their views on the Mideast war to an audience at Brooklyn College in New York. Later six JDLers beat up James Mendieta with a pipe. Mendieta had attended the meeting.

Mendieta is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and at the time of the attack was the SWP candidate for Brooklyn district attorney. Recognizing two of his assailants, Mendieta filed charges against them.

On Jan. 15 the trial of one of these goons, Allan Wiseberg, was brought before Judge Glowa of the criminal court in New York. Wiseberg is a former president of the JDL and is president of the Student Jewish Union at Brooklyn College.

Judge Glowa dismissed the case for "lack of evidence."

Glowa said that since Mendieta did not see Wiseberg with the pipe until after he was struck, he could not prove that Wiseberg had hit him. The judge didn't consider the fact that Mendieta was attacked from behind.

Just before dismissing this case, Judge Glowa sentenced a Black man to 90 days in jail for stealing a piece of copper from an abandoned building.

On Feb. 7, Mitchell Yagid, another one of Mendieta's attackers, will be tried.

WAR EXILE GIVEN STIFF SENTENCE: In a test case of the right of war exiles to return to the U.S., Richard Bucklin was convicted on two counts of being AWOL by a military court in Fort Carson, Colo., Jan. 9. Bucklin was sentenced to 15 months at hard labor in a federal penitentiary and given a bad conduct discharge from the army.

The court-martial followed Bucklin's return to the U.S. after four-and-a-half years in Sweden. During the course of the trial, Bucklin was denied the right to base his defense on the grounds that his actions were dictated by his conscience.

He was also denied the opportunity of calling, as witnesses for the defense, prominent figures in the antiwar movement. Among those Bucklin wished to call were Jane Fonda and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

The prosecutor in the case called Bucklin a "coward" and asked the court for a "stiff sentence" to challenge "those yokels around the world to see if they have the guts to come home and face their charges."

SOCIALISTS SEEK BALLOT STATUS: Petitions bearing 22,000 signatures were presented to the secretary of state's office in Lansing, Mich., on Jan. 14 on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP is attempting to gain ballot status for the November elections.

According to campaign staff member Robin Maisel, of Detroit, the SWP plans its largest Michigan campaign ever. He said the SWP will run candidates for all state offices and local candidates in Detroit, Ann Arbor, Flint, East Lansing, Kalamazoo, and Mount Pleasant.

MARTIN SOSTRE BRUTALIZED AGAIN: Martin Sostre has been subjected to yet another beating by prison guards for refusing to submit to a dehumanizing rectal examination.

Sostre telephoned The Militant to report the new assault. He was in New York to testify in behalf of a fellow prisoner.

Sostre is awaiting a decision by Judge John Curtin concerning his release from prison. In May, the prosecution's star witness testified that he had lied at Sostre's trial in 1967 at the urging of Buffalo, N.Y., city police who were out to "get" Sostre.

Although this is the most decisive evidence presented toward Sostre's innocence, Curtin has still not offered a ruling.

Amnesty International has declared Sostre to be a political prisoner and is working on his behalf. The Sostre defense committee is planning a demonstration Jan. 25 outside the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City, where Nelson Rockefeller, Governor Malcolm Wilson, and others will hold a Republican party fund-raising dinner. The demonstration will demand action in Sostre's case and protest New York state prison conditions.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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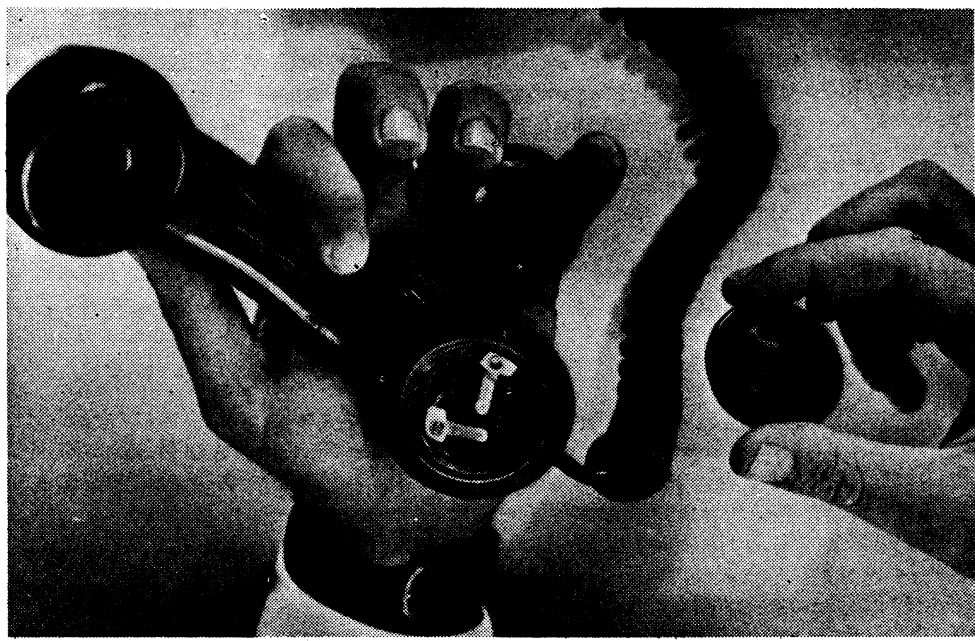
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Gov't admits spy plan to 'disrupt' SWP & YSA



By CINDY JAQUITH

In a major breakthrough for the socialist suit against Watergating, the U.S. government has admitted conducting a broad spy operation against the Socialist Workers Party dating back to 1945, and more recently, against the Young Socialist Alliance.

While conceding the truth of some of the charges against the Nixon gang, the U.S. attorney claims the spy actions are justified because the SWP and YSA are "subversive."

The government admissions were made public at a Jan. 10 news conference in New York by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The PRDF is organizing publicity and fund raising for the suit against the government filed last July by the SWP and YSA.

The suit charges Nixon and other present and past federal officials with wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, bombing, and other harassment against members and supporters of the SWP and YSA. Noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin is representing the plaintiffs in the case.

It was announced at the PRDF news conference that U.S. Attorney Paul Curran had filed an answer to the charges on Jan. 7, on behalf of all defendants except Nixon and John Mitchell. The government has filed another motion requesting that charges be dropped against Nixon on grounds of "presidential immunity." Mitchell will apparently file a separate response.

'SWP Disruption Program'

In its reply, the government revealed the existence of an "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1969. It admitted "limited national security electronic surveillance of certain plaintiffs" from 1945 to 1963, and placing a "mail cover" on all correspondence to the SWP national headquarters from January to May 1973.

In carefully worded statements, the government also concedes that its agents single out members and supporters of the SWP and YSA for special victimization, including intimidation from FBI agents and visits to families or employers. This discriminatory treatment is justified on the basis that the SWP is on the attorney general's "subversive" list.

The government's reply admits the following:

• "Investigations are conducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP."

• These investigations "may include conversations with others having knowledge about the person's background." During such interviews, agents "may have disclosed the affiliation of SWP or YSA members to others which may have influenced the conduct of such persons."

When visiting supporters of the SWP or YSA, FBI agents "may have on occasion characterized the objective of SWP, and asked questions . . . which may have influenced the conduct of SWP members."

• In reply to the charge that government informers infiltrate the SWP and YSA, the government admits that FBI agents "may have induced members of SWP to inform the Government of SWP activities."

The suit charges that members and supporters of the SWP, a legal political party, are prevented from exercising their constitutional rights as a result of this systematic harassment and persecution. In particular, the suit argues, persons active in supporting recent SWP election campaigns have been targeted for government surveillance.

The government's answer is self-contradictory. It denies that "such persons have been singled out because of political activity with respect to the 1972 and 1973 campaigns," but in the same paragraph concedes that "investigations are conducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP."

At the PRDF news conference John Ratliff, a member of the PRDF legal staff, characterized the government's reply as "delicate doubletalk for a systematic program of harassment."

"The intent of this broad program of government activity is to frighten and discourage supporters and potential supporters of the SWP and YSA," he charged.

Ratliff noted that "anyone who 'indicates' membership in the SWP is subject to an FBI investigation. This obviously inhibits support for SWP election campaigns. In fact, people who simply signed a nominating petition or supported SWP candidates have been subject to such investigations."

Another example of the nature of this surveillance is the case of Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student investigated by the FBI for send-

ing an inquiry to the SWP. Such correspondence—in this case to gain information for a school project—apparently also qualifies as "indicating membership in the SWP" according to the FBI. Paton is suing the FBI for violating her rights.

If the government's position is allowed to stand, anyone who makes contact with the SWP or YSA, for any reason, will be fair game for these secret-police tactics. This includes the thousands of people who came to SWP candidates' meetings in 1972; the 96,000 who voted for the SWP that year; and the tens of thousands of subscribers to *The Militant* and *Young Socialist*.

But the government doesn't stop there. It also tries to intimidate participants in protest movements by charging that these movements are "dominated" by the SWP. This was the tactic of the House Internal Security Committee (HISC) in 1971, when it held hearings on the antiwar movement. HISC tried to smear the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) by branding it as "dominated" by the SWP.

Thus, as Ratliff explained to reporters, "when the government singles out and harasses a political group on the basis of its ideas and programs, it threatens everyone's First, Fourth, and Fourteenth Amendment rights."

The government was forced to make its far-reaching admissions because it realized the SWP and YSA could prove many charges on the basis of documents already uncovered in related cases.

For example, the existence of a mail cover on the SWP's national headquarters was disclosed in the suit filed by Lori Paton. Her letter was intercepted in February 1973.

The existence of the "SWP Disruption Program" was established by FBI documents obtained by NBC newsman Carl Stern last month. The documents described COINTELPRO, a broad counter-intelligence program that included the SWP disruption project.

However, some of the details in the government's answers contradict this earlier information.

'Alert the public'?

The government's answer describes the aim of the "SWP Disruption Program" as simply to "alert the public to the fact that SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky." At the PRDF news conference, Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate in 1972, blasted this coverup.

She pointed out that J. Edgar Hoover himself outlined the true nature of the COINTELPRO program in a secret memo written in 1968. "The purpose of this program," Hoover wrote, "is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership, and adherents."

"We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents," the memo went on. Hoover also warned, "You are cautioned that the nature of this new endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau. . . ."

"This is the real face of a government that rules on behalf of a tiny capitalist minority," Jenness declared. "The FBI disruption program was obviously not to 'alert the public' but to keep the public from finding out about socialist ideas."

Continued on following page



Government claims right to 'investigate' anyone who 'indicates' membership in SWP, including the tens of thousands who voted socialist in 1972 or participated in socialist campaign activities.

Continued from preceding page

"There is nothing secretive about our views," she added. "In fact, if the FBI would like to offer us a few hours of television time, we'd be more than glad to tell the American people all about our program."

The Hoover documents on COINTELPRO bring out other contradictions as well. One memo, for example, calls for the termination of the "SWP Disruption Program" in 1971, two years after the date given by the government in its answer to the suit. In fact, attorneys for the SWP and YSA have already documented 141 cases of FBI visits to plaintiffs since the claimed 1969 "cutoff."

The bugging and harassment did not end with Hoover's memo, either. In 1972, for instance, a wiretap was found on the home phone of James P. Cannon, the national chairman emeritus of the SWP. And in 1973, the FBI intercepted the Paton letter.

The Cannon wiretap proves that the "national security electronic surveillance" did not end in 1963, as the government claims.

Nor did such surveillance begin as late as 1945. Seymour Hersh, writing in the May 24, 1973, *New York Times*, revealed that "... Presidents from Franklin Roosevelt on have permitted covert electronic surveillance and have authorized illegal burglaries to protect the country against what they perceived as threats to its existence."

"From 1941 until 1966, for example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation pursued a policy of making otherwise illegal entries in connection with domestic intelligence-gathering operations," reported Hersh.

Barely scratching surface

As unprecedented as the government's admissions are, they barely scratch the surface of the attacks directed against the SWP and YSA in recent years. The government denies, for instance, any involvement in bombing attacks on the socialists' headquarters in Los Angeles and Houston.

In the Los Angeles assault, which occurred in May 1970, a dozen armed men firebombed the SWP offices while four campaign workers were still inside. The four were lucky enough to escape. New information shows that the Cuban exiles involved in the attack had ties with the CIA.

The Houston SWP headquarters was bombed in 1971. U.S. Treasury Department agents, under the pretext of investigating the bombing, instead investigated SWP members, and tried to pin the blame for the attack on the socialists themselves!

The government also denies involvement in the 1971 burglarizing of the Detroit SWP headquarters. But police investigating the break-in commented at the time, "It looks like an FBI job." Persons whose names were on mailing lists stolen by the intruders were later visited by the FBI.

Is it legal?

At the heart of the government's assertions in answer to the suit is the statement that "all alleged activities of defendants were in furtherance of their official duties, or within the scope of their authority and were not in excess of their statutory authority. . . ." This wording implies that even such acts as burglaries and bombings are within the scope of "official duties" of government agents!

The significance of this defense goes far beyond the SWP and YSA. It means the government is claiming for itself the right to subject any group it deems "subversive" to all kinds of illegal attacks. This is the reasoning used, for example, to justify the burglary of Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. It has also been the basis for the deadly raids on the homes and headquarters of Black Panthers.

If the socialists' suit is able to win injunctions against any of these practices, it will be an important victory for all groups who face harassment from the government. It will help legitimize the right of these organizations to freely present their ideas and engage in protest activity.

Attorneys for the suit have already demanded a series of documents from the government on COINTELPRO and on mail covers. More documents and other evidence will now be requested on the basis of the information in the government's reply to the charges.

The attorneys are also preparing a brief to counter Nixon's motion for dismissal on grounds of presidential immunity. The recent court order forcing Nixon to turn over White House tapes is an important precedent in this case.

Excerpts from W'gate case

Socialist charges:

"During or about the year 1948 and continuously thereafter, the defendant Public Officers and their predecessors agreed . . . to cause agents of the U. S. government to engage in a systematic campaign of excessive interrogation, employment discrimination and other harassment against SWP, its members, candidates and supporters (including members of YSA), and to spy on them systematically by means of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglary, and by other illegal means."

"Because SWP is listed on the Attorney General's List, [the defendants] systematically singled out and continue to single out SWP, its members, candidates and supporters. . . ."

"Prior to and during the months of July through November, 1970, defendants Nixon, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Mitchell, Dean, Huston, and Mardian . . . agreed . . . to cause government agents to intensify their interrogation and harassment of SWP, its candidates, members and supporters (including members of YSA) and to intensify the use of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglaries, and other illegal tactics against plaintiffs."

"The purpose . . . was and is to deny the SWP, its members, candidates and supporters the equal protection of the laws and equal privileges and immunities under the law by preventing them from running for and obtaining office . . . from supporting candidates and platforms . . . and exercising their freedoms of speech and association on an equal basis with the Republican, Democratic, American, Conservative, and most other political parties and their members."

"Prior to and during the 1972 and 1973 election campaigns, the defendant FBI Director and his agents systematically singled out for interrogation and surveillance the SWP and hundreds of its members, supporters and candidates for elective public office. . . ."

"On many occasions FBI agents threatened to and did disclose members' and supporters' SWP or YSA affiliation to their families, employers . . . landlords and others with the purpose and effect of provoking hostility and discrimination against SWP members and supporters. . . ."

"On many occasions FBI agents attempted to induce members and did induce supporters of SWP to become government agents for the purpose of spying on the other members. . . ."

". . . prior to and throughout the 1972 and 1973 election campaigns, agents of defendant Postmaster General . . . have systematically recorded senders' names and return addresses on mail addressed to the SWP. . . ."

Gov't response:

"Deny the allegations . . . except state that during the period 1961-1969 the FBI conducted a program denominated 'SWP Disruption Program' whose basic purpose was to alert the public to the fact that SWP is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky, and further state that at various times during the period 1945-1963 the FBI conducted limited national security electronic surveillance of certain plaintiffs. . . ."

"Deny the allegations . . . except admit that members of organizations designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 are subject to loyalty and security provisions. . . ."

"At all times material herein, all alleged activities of the defendants were in furtherance of their official duties, or within the scope of their authority and were not in excess of their statutory authority; defendants are therefore absolutely immune from civil liability under the doctrine of official immunity."

"All alleged activities of defendants were performed in furtherance of their official duties, were undertaken in good faith and in the reasonable belief that such activities were necessary, lawful and within the scope of their authority. . . ."

"Deny the allegations . . . except admit that pursuant to law, executive orders and regulations, investigations are conducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP. . . ."

"Deny the allegations . . . except admit that on occasion FBI agents may have disclosed the affiliation of SWP or YSA members to others which may have influenced the conduct of such persons."

"Deny the allegations . . . except admit that on occasion FBI agents may have induced members of SWP to inform the Government of SWP activities."

"Deny the allegations . . . except admit that a lawful mail cover was placed on mail of the Socialist Workers Party . . . from approximately January 23, 1973 to May 18, 1973. . . ."



Militant/John Gray

In May 1970 armed Cuban exiles firebombed Los Angeles SWP headquarters, after threatening to kill four campaign workers who were present. Government denies involvement in this assault too, despite evidence of ties between attackers and CIA.

Appeals court overrules judge

Kolis ordered released after day in jail

By **BRUCE MARCUS**

SAN DIEGO—Asserting that "lying by an ordinary citizen is contemptible, but lying by a politician is intolerable," Superior Court Judge Douglas Woodworth sentenced Salm Kolis to five days in jail, a \$500 fine, and probation for three years Jan. 14. Kolis, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for the San Diego city council, had been convicted Dec. 17 on a trumped-up charge of perjury.

In a move that surprised and outraged trial observers, Woodworth refused to stay execution of the sentence or grant Kolis bail, citing "the gravity of the crime." Kolis was taken from the courtroom by two sheriff's deputies, and her attorney immediately filed an appeal to set bail and notice of appeal of the conviction.

The next day the Fourth Appellate Court overturned Woodworth's vindictive refusal to set bail, and Kolis was freed from the San Diego County Jail. In a statement released by the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK) Jan. 16, Kolis said: "Throwing me in jail is just another attempt to intimidate me from seeking office as a socialist in San Diego."

Commenting on her release on bail, Kolis said, "This victory is one step in the fight to win an appeal that overturns my conviction. I urge all my supporters to help continue the fight for civil liberties in San Diego."

Kolis's trial was widely seen as an attempt at political intimidation. In an effort to demonstrate the breadth of community opposition to her trial, the CDSK introduced letters from several prominent San Diegans into the court record. Among the supporters of

Kolis's democratic rights present in the courtroom were Jim Webb, former candidate for San Diego city attorney; Mel Crain, vice-chairman of the San Diego Democratic Party; and Donna Obata, feminist and treasurer of the CDSK.

In a statement to the judge, Webb contrasted the trial of Kolis with the treatment accorded San Diego City Attorney John Witt. Charges against Witt for accepting illegal campaign contributions were not pursued on the recommendation of the district attorney.

Mel Crain, in another statement, pointed out that "many of our citizens" would view the punishment of Kolis "as an attempt to persecute and silence nonconforming, if not unpopu-

lar, beliefs."

Woodworth felt constrained to answer these charges, assuring the spectators that he had nothing against Kolis. "If she were a Republican or Democrat I'd probably throw her into jail for six months," he insisted. Even the court's own probation officer, who recommended that Kolis not be given a prison sentence and that she be placed on minimum probation, was ignored by Woodworth.

The political nature of the charges against Kolis was confirmed by the discovery of an FBI informer in the SWP just before the trial opened. The DA denied knowing about the government stool pigeon, and the judge denied a defense motion to turn over wiretap logs, government documents,

and other secret information that might have a bearing on the case.

To try to keep information concerning police surveillance of the SWP from the public, Woodworth imposed a gag order on Kolis during the trial. When this maneuver failed to silence the CDSK, Woodworth attacked the media's coverage of the trial as "cheap and underhanded."

The CDSK has vowed to carry the fight against Kolis's conviction to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary. Endorsements and contributions can be sent to the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, P. O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.



Salm Kolis talking to reporters outside San Diego courthouse

Militant/Larry Seigle

SAN DIEGO—Hearings continued last week in the appeal of Peter Bohmer, a well-known San Diego activist. Bohmer, a former professor at San Diego State University, was convicted on charges of helping anti-war demonstrators obstruct railroad tracks in Del Mar in 1972. Bohmer was convicted despite unchallenged testimony that he was not present at the disruption. He is appealing the case on the grounds that a police informant violated the attorney-client privilege.

In testimony last week police informer Wayne McCracken stated that he had attended defense committee meetings. During one such meeting he wore a device that transmitted conversations between Bohmer and his attorney to a police van. Bohmer's attorney in the appeal, Peter Young, defended Anthony Russo in the Pentagon papers case.

Miners, Farm Workers officials back PRDF

A prominent United Mine Workers (UMW) official and several United Farm Workers (UFW) organizers have recently endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) campaign to halt government Watergating. The PRDF is organizing support for the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government surveillance and harassment.

Lou Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers, announced his support to the PRDF "in view of the widespread and illegal, as well as unconstitutional, activities and the allegations brought about by the Watergate case."

"Unfortunately at this time, because of other economic commitments, we cannot support you financially," he added in a letter to the PRDF. "But be assured you have our moral support. On the other hand, who knows but that at some time in the near future, we can because of better circumstances provide the support needed."

Among the United Farm Workers organizers backing the suit is José Bustamente, Houston UFW organizer. Bustamente told a recent PRDF benefit in that city:

"Just as the United Farm Workers Union is struggling for human dignity and democratic rights, it's important

that our union, in turn, support the fight for civil liberties in the Watergate suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

"This kind of victory for democratic rights will help not only the socialists, but all of us—especially the Farm Workers."

The UFW is familiar with government Watergating. Since 1968 the Pentagon has bought millions of pounds of nonunion lettuce and grapes in an effort to subvert UFW organizing. And in its current struggle, the union is up against a conspiracy of the Nixon administration, Teamsters officials, and growers.

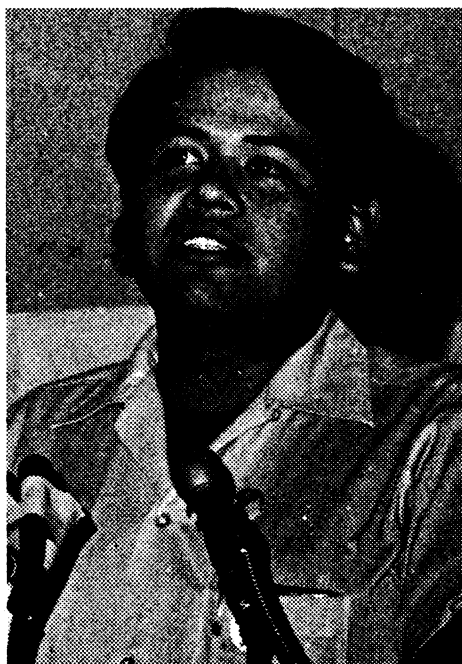
Other UFW organizers who have expressed solidarity with the suit include UFW Secretary-treasurer Gilbert Padilla; International executive committee member, Eliseo Medina; Colorado director Richard Longoria; Chicago staff member Gustavo Gutierrez; and Boston director Jim Besson.

Support for the suit has also come from such victims of government frame-up attacks as Dr. Daniel Ellsberg; Peter Mahoney, one of the defendants in the Gainesville Eight case; Clyde Bellecourt, who faces frame-up charges for the Wounded Knee, S.D., occupation; and the Berrigan brothers.

The broad sponsorship list also includes former senators Ernest Gruen-

ing and Eugene McCarthy; attorney William Kunstler; Dr. Linus Pauling; Pete Seeger; Howard Zinn; Noam Chomsky; and several student governments.

The PRDF, whose national office was dynamited and destroyed in early December, has received a number of messages of support protesting the attack.



Among supporters of defense fund is UFW International executive committee member Eliseo Medina.

Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), for example, sent a personal letter to New York Mayor Abraham Beame expressing his "outrage over the recent bombing." The letter was in response to an appeal from former attorney general Ramsey Clark in the PRDF News.

The PRDF is intensifying its fundraising efforts now that the government has made its initial response to the charges in the socialist suit. Legal expenses are expected to increase considerably as attorneys begin collecting the documentation and testimony to be submitted as evidence.

To contribute to the PRDF, or to find out more about its activities, send in the coupon below.

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 _____

Reaction of voters to Watergate is 'devastating' to both capitalist parties

By LINDA JENNESS

A shoe-store owner in Maine: "I think the President is in the hands of the oil interests. He's a wheeler-dealer. I think he's a high-class crook. I voted for him, but I think he should resign."

A widow living on a monthly pension of \$175: "I don't trust our Government any more or the big businesses."

A male unionist in Iowa: "If there wasn't ladies here I'd tell you how I feel."

"The ladies feel the same way you do!" retorted a woman unionist.

A telephone employee in Chicago: "He acts like a king—he's always putting on airs like England's royal family. He thinks he's above everyone else. . . . We've got to show him the public doesn't approve of him."

That's the mood that met members of Congress when they returned to

The reporters all agreed that cynicism and disillusionment have been heightened by the energy crisis. "The energy problem," writes David Broder of the *Washington Post*, "is another unexpected, inexplicable blow to public confidence in the stability of basic factors of life. . . . They [the voters] are inclined to doubt that it can be as serious as it is portrayed. . . ."

"The mood is ugly," summed up one observer quoted by *Time* magazine.

Yet another blow was dealt to Nixon's credibility with the announcement Jan. 15 that the 18-minute gap on a crucial Watergate tapewas caused by at least five separate erasures and not by a single "error."

A court-appointed panel of six technical experts found that the erasures were made manually, leaving little doubt they were deliberate. The experts agreed that if it were an accident, "it would have to be an accident that was repeated at least five times."

The new revelations show, wrote columnist Joseph Kraft, "the Nixon administration, once again, using the national security label as a cover-up device in the Watergate affair. They indicate that diehard right-wingers, not wobbly liberals, are the main source of national security leaks. They imply that Dr. Kissinger lied to a congressional committee."

Nixon's attempts to "move beyond" the ITT and milk scandals by releasing statements about them also fell flat. Nixon's "facts" not only failed to answer the basic questions, but raised new ones and caught Nixon in another web of lies.

The statements show that Nixon did know about the \$2-million pledge from the milk industry before boosting the price support and that he did intervene in an antitrust suit against ITT.

"Inadvertently," writes the *New York Times*, "the White House has added to the textbooks on American government chapters and verse on exactly how political considerations influence Federal policy."

It's exactly these kinds of exposures, proving that the American government is totally subservient to big business, that send chills down the spines of the capitalists. One sign of the depth of concern the rulers feel is the way newspapers like the *New York Times* have been treating the chief executive. The *Times*, which speaks for an important section of the ruling class, has been portraying Nixon as a dangerous buffoon to back up its demand that he resign.

The *Times* article on Nixon's sixty-first birthday party, for instance, captured the degenerating atmosphere in Nixon's inner sanctum.

A small group of staff members, aides, and reporters, along with Pat Nixon, Tricia Cox, and Bebe Rebozo, brought the "somewhat puffy and weary" president his birthday cake. "Hey, King, want a little lick?" inquired the president of his Irish setter. The dog got the first lick of the cake.

"In the confusion," continues the *Times*, "the President leaned against his desk and the cake and got a considerable amount of gooey icing on his hands and jacket. He looked hesitant about how to deal with the situation."

"'Let King lick it off,' someone said. Mr. Nixon sat in his chair and King returned and carried out his orders. The crowd laughed lightly."

It's a pitiful image: the president



NIXON & DOG: Trying to clean up a sticky situation

of the United States falling into his birthday cake and being licked clean by an Irish setter.

The *Times* has also been playing up a proposal made by Abe Fortas, former Supreme Court justice, that Congress grant President Nixon immunity from criminal prosecution if he decides to resign. Although Fortas claims publicly it was not a serious suggestion, the *Times* reports that it is "under discussion in Washington political and social circles."

The *New York Times* editors are not alone in their fear of what is happening to the illusions of the American people in the "democratic two-party system."

A survey taken by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research showed that 72 percent of the American people now believe the government is run on behalf of "a few big interests." The survey also showed "an unusual surge of distrust of elections."

In spite of the cynicism toward elections, however, one-half of the American people would rather have new elections in 1974 than be stuck with Nixon another three years. A recent Harris poll shows that 50 percent of the American people would favor holding a "special election for President in 1974."



Rose Mary Woods' elaborate stretch did not cause 18-minute tape erasure

their home states during the congressional recess.

Newspaper reporters traveled with the politicians and conducted lengthy at-home interviews with voters. The mood, they discovered, is devastating—not just for Nixon, but for both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The reports show that because of Watergate there is a rapidly growing repugnance toward all politicians of the capitalist parties.

"I believe the others just never got caught before," an operator of a cosmetics firm said.

A woman in Skokie, Ill., told her congressman that "all politicians are crooked, including the Senate Watergate committee."

Even before this disclosure, new questions of credibility were raised by reports this week of a Pentagon "spy ring."

In 1971 the Pentagon generals felt left out of Kissinger's secret diplomacy and arranged to surreptitiously get copies of White House documents. Nixon's plumbers reportedly uncovered the "ring" of military officers, who were relaying information on the China talks and other matters to the Pentagon.

This Pentagon snooping is apparently the supersecret "national security" matter Nixon has held over the heads of investigating committees. It was for the sake of such "national security" concerns that Nixon tried to limit probes into the plumbers' activities.

Watergate miracle: Colson gets religion

Charles Colson, the Nixon gangster who used to head the White House "office of dirty tricks," has announced his conversion to a new cause. Colson, whose devotion to the fortunes of Richard Nixon was expressed in the widely quoted remark "I would walk over my grandmother if necessary" to secure Nixon's reelection, is now campaigning for religion. "I have found in my own life the relationship with Christ," Colson told William Greider of the *Washington Post*.

Colson denies that his piety is designed to impress grand juries considering his role in the Watergate scandal: "Someone asked me last week whether people wouldn't say I was

hiding behind God to escape from Watergate. My answer to them was, if someone wants to say that, I'll pray for them. That's all I can say." Hardened skeptics presumably will be added to a divine "enemies list."

Senator Harold Hughes, a liberal Democrat who is leaving his office to become a religious worker, describes Colson's conversion as miraculous. Hughes, who has been attending prayer meetings with Colson, told Greider: "The very fact that Chuck Colson and myself, who represent opposite ends of the political spectrum, have established this bond in Christ is, I think, the miracle of Christ itself. It has altered both our lives."

If this miracle seems less impressive



Charles Colson

than walking on water or over grandmothers, Colson has others in reserve. But unfortunately, they seem to be covered by the religious equivalent of executive privilege. "Colson," Greider reported, "underwent a personal revelation, too personal, he feels, to describe publicly. But Hughes likened Colson's experience to the conversion of Saul, the tax collector, on the road to Damascus."

Colson may have begun something of a trend among members of the White House gang. Nixon grabbed some headlines by attending church January 6 for the first time since the preceding March. It would be a real miracle to have Richard Nixon praying for his enemies instead of preying upon them.

Veteran revolutionist draws lessons from political defense experiences

"We exploit the cracks and crevices in the bourgeois-democratic system without paying the slightest respect to it."



James P. Cannon addresses meeting to protest 1941 Smith Act indictments. Cannon and 17 others were imprisoned by Roosevelt for opposing World War II and advocating socialism.

James P. Cannon, one of the pioneers of the American Trotskyist movement, has had decades of experience in political defense activities.

As a leader of the early Communist Party, Cannon initiated and headed the International Labor Defense (ILD), one of the most successful defense groups ever organized. Before its degeneration into Stalinism, the Communist Party, through its work in the ILD, took the lead in defending all labor political prisoners, regardless of their political views. For example, some of the largest mobilizations organized by the ILD were to defend Sacco and Vanzetti, two anarchist workers framed up on a murder charge and executed in 1927, despite a seven-year protest campaign.

In 1941 Cannon was one of the defendants in the Minneapolis trials, which led to the first convictions under the notorious Smith Act. On the sole grounds of their political opposition to the imperialist war and advocacy of socialism, Cannon and 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters were sentenced to prison terms ranging from a year and a day to 16 months. During the trial Cannon turned the courtroom into a platform for explaining the ideas of revolutionary Marxism.

The following are major excerpts from an interview with Cannon, now national chairman emeritus of the SWP, in which he discusses some lessons of these experiences and their application to the current struggle against the Watergate attacks on the socialist movement. The interview, obtained Oct. 29, 1973, was first published in Intercontinental Press.

Question. What is your opinion of the Political Rights Defense Fund?

Answer. It's a proper and correct procedure to exploit every possibility to utilize what cracks there are in the bourgeois-democratic system to advance our ideas. It's like taking part in their elections. It's wise to utilize a situation like this to explain our ideas to a wider audience.

This wasn't known to the old radical movement. The old radical movement tended toward the ultraleft view that courts are crooked instruments of the capitalist class, so why bother? Ignore them. Including the elections. That was the prevailing opinion of the syndicalists and red-socialist wing in which I was.

But I don't blame myself for being an ultraleftist in those days. I didn't know any better and there was nobody to teach us better. The only ones who spoke the other way were the right-wing socialists who thought you could accomplish everything through the ballot box. We were pretty sure that was false.

It was not until after the Russian revolution and Lenin wrote his pamphlet on the infantile sickness, explaining how revolutionists could utilize parliamentary action effectively, that we got straightened out on that. It was so damned simple and so convincing that I don't have any patience with people who still repeat the old arguments of the ultraleft before the Russian revolution.

I can recall instances in the early days where Lenin's approach could have been effective. One was the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike of 1912. That was sixty-one years ago. It was a famous IWW strike. Bill Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Carlo Tresca, Joe Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti were involved in it.

Retrospectively, I recall one incidence that has a bearing on this question of whether you should utilize bourgeois-democratic institutions. At that time Victor Berger was a Socialist congressman from Milwaukee. He was the first Socialist congressman in the United States. But he was a right-winger. He was the leader you might call the ultraright wing of the Socialist party. Notwithstanding that, the strike leaders were able to use his position to gain tremendous publicity for the strike. They cooked up a wonderful idea for publicity—to take the children of the strikers on the train to socialist sympathizers in various places to be kept during the strike. It caused a great sensation. The Lawrence authorities interfered and tried to put a stop to it. The use of the police created a furor.

Then Victor Berger introduced a resolution in Congress to investigate the Lawrence strike. He got an official committee set up, and Haywood and the leaders brought the kids and women to the congressional hearings to testify about conditions. It was a wonderful publicity job that helped win the strike.

But it was not a normal procedure. Retrospectively I see it as a good example of how to use a bourgeois parliamentary institution.

Another example I recall was in 1917 when the Socialist party came out against the war. Morris Hillquit, in the New York municipal elections that year, ran for mayor and made the war question his main issue. It got tremendous publicity across the country.

I didn't realize it then because I was still a hidebound syndicalist, but I look back on it as a wonderful illustration of how even a municipal campaign can be utilized for a national political purpose.

I really rejoice over the way our party goes into these elections, national, state, and local—any place they can get an edge in and get up some kind of an audience, newspaper space, some TV or radio time, and do it without giving away anything. That's all for free.

I see all these ultrawise, ultraleft groups. What do they do? They stand around with their mouths open while we exploit the cracks and crevices in the bourgeois-democratic system without paying the slightest respect to it. You know, they can't run a bourgeois-democratic system without giving a little opening here and there. So, we take advantage of it; and we're 100 percent right!

Q. In the history of the radical movement has there ever been a crisis in government with the kind of impact that the Nixon-Watergate crisis has had? Why do you think this Nixon thing has developed to the degree it has?

A. That's what Nixon would like to know. There have been some attempts to compare it to the Teapot Dome scandal of the Harding administration. But that was a pure-and-simple graft scandal involving cabinet members and some oil companies. Public sentiment was rather "So what? Don't they all steal?"

The Communist party ran its first presidential candidates in 1924. Foster and Gitlow were the candidates. It was only a token campaign; but one of the slogans we started out with was "Down with the Capitalist Teapot Dome! Vote for Communist candidates for president."

Our comrades were somewhat taken aback by the reception to that. People would say, "You mean to tell us that if your guy got in there he wouldn't steal? All politicians steal." There was absolute cynicism, more or less indifference. "What the hell; so they stole a few million dollars."

I think that would have been the attitude now if Watergate had been limited to graft. What's involved in this case is the extent of the bugging, espionage, and intimidation. A large section of the population, including a large section of the middle and upper classes, got apprehensive about it.

It's not the same as the Teapot Dome scandal. There is a genuine public reaction to this scandal. You might say, multiple scandal. Every day, you expect something new to be revealed.

Q. As a result of the tapes controversy and the whole development of this struggle around Nixon's role in Watergate, there's quite a bit of sentiment in various circles, from George Meany to radical students, to impeach Nixon. As far as I know, that's a totally new phenomenon. Do you have any opinion about how revolutionists should relate to demands for impeachment?

A. The only other case involved was that of President Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln. That was in 1866, over a hundred years ago. No, there has been nothing like the exposure of the Nixon administration.

He's committed to something that's unforgivable in the eyes of the moneyed rulers of this country. He's gone too far; he's stirred up too much trouble. They want to rule the country rather calmly. They're getting plenty of benefits the way it's working. They're not ready to use police-state methods to the extent Nixon has used them.

And then there's been some bad luck. One thing leads to another. A witness incidentally mentions to the Ervin Committee that they kept tape recordings of all the conversations. My god, is that so? Accidental things like that led from one revelation to the next.

I think our press is doing all right in covering Watergate and should keep hammering away on it from our own special viewpoint that this is just an unusually flagrant example of what capitalist rule and politics are really like.

We should watch out for oversimplification. Some issues of *The Militant* may have given the impression that it was being treated like another Teapot Dome scandal, "Well, they all do it; don't they?"

Continued on following page

WATERGATE: Interview with James P. Cannon

Continued from preceding page

But Watergate goes beyond anything previous. Even Supreme Court Justice Douglas says he suspects they tapped the Supreme Court, and Johnson suspected that his phone was tapped.

If the ruling class thought all this was necessary, they would be for it, but at present they're not for such extensive use of police-state methods. So I think we should recognize this, and without making any concessions in principle, deal more fully with the way Nixon has embarrassed the real rulers of America.

But, as I say, that's marginal. It's not a fundamental criticism of our handling of the case. I think *The Militant* is doing very well, harping on it all they can, speaking about it all they can.

This morning I received a copy of the *Workers Vanguard*.

Q. That's Robertson's paper.

A. Do you know what they say on the headline? "Impeachment is not enough!" (Laughs.)

Q. He has to be hanged by the thumbs, or something?

A. (Laughs.) Returning to what the attitude of the radical movement used to be toward utilizing the judicial and parliamentary system for revolutionary purposes. Our actions used to be purely defensive. Even in the Sacco-Vanzetti case we took a defensive position. The same was true of the Mooney case and going all the way back to the Haymarket martyrs. They were all defensive actions.

The tendency was to say the courts are crooked, influenced by the capitalist class, and so keep away from them. For instance, the idea of utilizing the courts was not known to me. I recall distinctly in the terrible persecution of the IWW during the First World War. They arrested active Wobblies wherever they could find them. They had so many they put whole groups on trial. Around eighty to one hundred were tried in Chicago. There was another big group in Sacramento, California, and another in Kansas City, Kansas, the Witchita Case, they called it.

This gives you an idea of the decentralization of the IWW and the ultraleft approach to the question of utilizing the courts. In the Chicago and Kansas cases they put up a legal defense with lawyers. But in Sacramento they adopted the policy of a "silent defense." Did you ever hear of that?

Q. Where they refused to speak?

A. A silent defense. They didn't have any lawyers; they used no witnesses; they didn't use cross-examination. They ignored the court. They just sat there. Just to show their contempt.

They got stiff sentences like the others, but all they accomplished by their silent defense and their refusal to employ any lawyers was to lose the possibility of appealing, getting some of their people out on bail while the appeals were pending, and organizing an effective campaign. It was a negative action. It represented the prevailing attitude of the left-wing movement that you couldn't get anything out of the courts.

Now, our policy today is different. We base ourselves on the fact that it's not a police state, it's a bourgeois-democratic state, which a lot of people think is really democratic. In order to maintain that illusion the ruling class has to give you a little leeway here and there.

The intelligent thing, as Lenin explained in his pamphlet on the infantile sickness, is that we utilize these crevices for our own purposes. The suit filed by our party in the Watergate case is a very correct tactic, a serious move to exploit the bourgeois-democratic system in an offensive action in the courts. It's correctness is self-evident when you look at it.

I noticed the New York papers carried reports of the press conference about the filing of the suit. You're going around the country speaking to audiences who wouldn't be there if this issue didn't appeal to them the way it does.

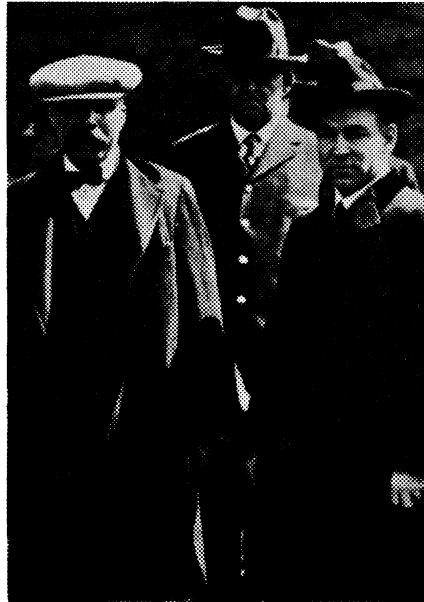
And what are ultralefts doing? Doing nothing except occasionally yapping at us.

Of course we should explain in our general propaganda that we don't expect to get much justice from the capitalist courts. The whole thing is rigged against us. But in order to maintain some illusion of democracy they've got to show some respect for law and order, so we'll take advantage of that and we'll test it out.

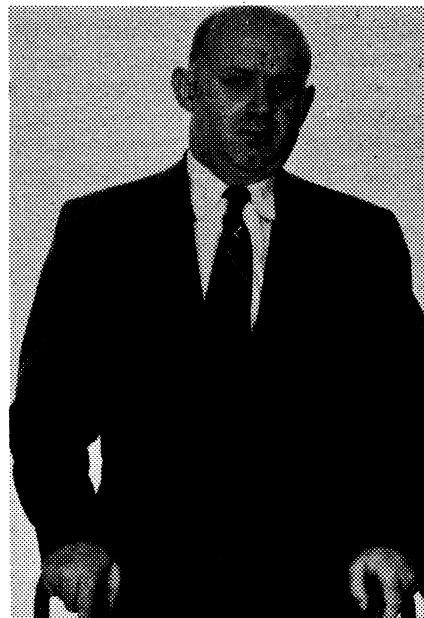
The Kutcher case is a wonderful example of how sometimes such a course can be successful.

We're not fighting this case, I hope, with the idea that we're going to get justice. We're fighting to see if we can get a little something out of the pretense of a democratic society. If they make things absolutely airtight, and there's no chance to win any kind of a legal process and so on, then they can't make a pretense of having a democratic order. There's a great distinction between a police state and a bourgeois-democratic system. One has loopholes

"The prosecutor kept prodding me. I finally shouted, 'I think the workers have a right to defend themselves. And if that's treason, you can make the most of it!'"



SACCO & VANZETTI: Labor and radical movement rallied to their defense, but the two anarchists were electrocuted in 1927 on an infamous frame-up charge.



JAMES KUTCHER: Fought against McCarthyite witch-hunters who fired him from his government job for belonging to SWP. His case was won after eight-year battle.



News conference announces socialist suit against Watergate gang, another historic opportunity to defend democratic rights and expose capitalist 'justice.' Leonard Boudin, center, is attorney for suit; Andrew Pulley and Linda Jenness are SWP leaders.

in it and the other is airtight, until it's overthrown.

Q. Some ultralefts have argued that it's ridiculous for socialists to try to defend legal rights that they have formally under a bourgeois government. We touched on some of those questions before in terms of the Sacramento trial of the IWW. But there are a lot of parallels between this argument and the kind of argument that it seems to me Grandizo Munis was presenting in his criticisms of your conduct in the Smith Act trial and so I wonder if you have any comment on whether or not his criticism and your answer would have any relevance to legal actions like the SWP suit today. You were making the point that there is some necessity for the ruling class to grant some democratic rights.

A. They had to grant us a trial which they wouldn't have had to do under a police state. And taking advantage of that, we used the courtroom for a forum. To do that effectively, we conducted a very prudent, dignified defense. We had our own lawyer, Albert Goldman, who was a member of the movement and on trial himself. We worked out together the questions he would ask and answers we would give. And in general we exploited the trial to the full for propaganda purposes.

I thought the Communist party made a mess of their big case in New York by engaging in so many squabbles with the judge on technicalities. The public became impatient and that hurt the defendants.

In contrast to that, our idea was just to get all the propaganda advantage possible out of the case. I don't know how long I was on the stand. Enough to make a small book. All those questions that Goldman put to me—these had all been worked out in advance. And, as far as I can remember, we didn't concede a damned thing to them. We just denied that what we were doing was illegal.

We used defensive formulas. We didn't go in there and shout for the right to use violence or anything like that. We just said the workers have a right to defend themselves and do such things as form a workers defense guard in the Minneapolis strikes.

When the prosecutor kept prodding me on it, and I kept answering defensively, I finally ended, "I think the workers have a right to defend themselves. And if that's treason, you can make the most of it!" I stood up and shouted that at them.

And the whole goddamn courtroom was stunned and he just said, "That's well spoken," and stopped.

When he questioned me about the Russian revolution, he was flabbergasted by my contention that it was a legal act. "What the devil are you talking about?" He didn't say that, but put it in lawyer's language.

I gave some more calculated arguments about revolutions and their legality, and finally said, "I don't think you'll find a more legal revolution than that!"

He said, "That's all." He just threw up his hands. "That's all."

The pamphlet we made of that testimony has been the most circulated of all our publications. I've been told many times that it's most effective in talking with new contacts: *Socialism on Trial*.

Q. I have one other question. I'd like to know more about the ILD. How did that idea develop? Did it come from some earlier experience in the radical movement in the United States, or was it from international experience?

A. You might say it came about by accident. There was a tradition in America of solidarity in defense cases. The IWW had a defense committee called the General Defense Committee. It was strictly an IWW committee.

The general procedure was that when someone was arrested, his own organization would set up a defense committee. They'd ask for the support of others, but they didn't broaden out the defense committee. The Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee, in fact, was a little group of Boston anarchists, who kept tight control of everything. The campaign didn't get under way until the International Labor Defense came in on the propaganda side. We didn't participate on the legal and financial side.

In the early twenties, after the uprisings that followed the Russian revolution, the Russian party first set up an organization of their own in Russia to collect funds and so on for the victims of the white terror in Eastern Europe.

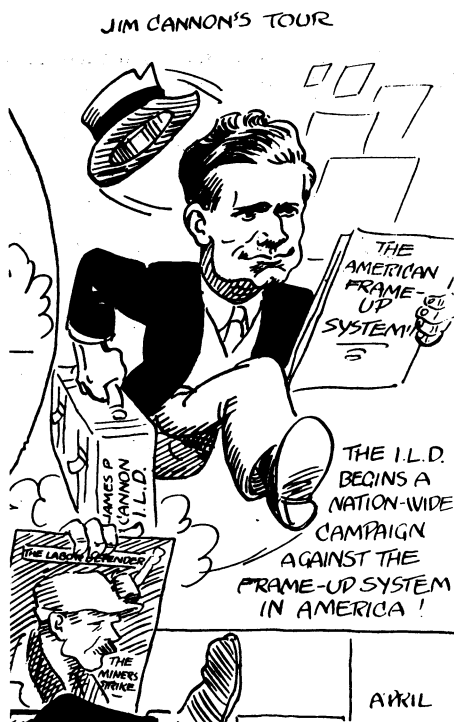
In early 1925, when we were there to attend a plenum, a proposal was made to organize international support for the victims of the white terror. The organization was to be called the International Red Aid. Its primary function would be to collect funds and to protest on behalf of the victims of the white terror.

We talked about this in our delegation. We had the custom of congregating in Bill Haywood's room in the Hotel Lux. Bill Haywood and I were talking about it



ROSE KARSNER: Leader of International Labor Defense and one of the founders of American Trotskyist movement.

"In 1925 we started the Labor Defender. It was the most popular magazine in the radical movement."



April 1928 cartoon announces Cannon's tour for the International Labor Defense.

one day, and we came up with, "By God, we ought to do something about the American prisoners." There were a lot of them. There were over a hundred men still in jail from the old prosecution, and new criminal-syndicalist prosecutions were under way in various states. "We ought to do something about the Americans. We ought to broaden this thing out and make the committee take responsibility for the American prisoners—really Americanize the American section."

The more we talked about it, the more the idea took hold. I was then a member of the Political Committee of the Communist party and all I had in mind was just to promote the idea. Get it accepted in Moscow and then, when we came back, have the PC endorse it, take the initiative, get hold of somebody, and do it.

Well, when we got back, I went before the Political Committee for the first meeting, explained what had developed in Moscow, what the proposal was. The fact is that while we were in Moscow, they had sent delegates to the different countries to promote the International Red Aid idea. Their representative here had presented a formal motion that the PC support it. International Red Aid membership cards had already been printed. A very quiet, inoffensive operation—they were going to organize a few committees, get a few dollars for the victims, and let it go at that.

Well, my idea was to expand the operation and make something out of it. The committee immediately adopted my plan. "My idea," I said, "is not only just to have party members. Let's go out and get some prominent people to support it."

There was a defense committee in Pittsburgh on a special case there. There was a defense committee in Chicago on some still pending case of the Communist party. Some old Wobblies might become interested because they had friends still in prison.

I got Ralph Chaplin interested. He wasn't active in the IWW but he was sympathetic. And so were two or three other prominent ex-Wobblies. An ex-Wobbly was not somebody who had repudiated the movement, but somebody who had simply dropped out for personal reasons. They were well-known people. We made them members of the Executive Committee. And in fact in the Executive Committee, as we laid it out in our plans, the majority would consist of nonmembers of the Communist party, people who were sympathetic to the general idea.

The more we talked about it, the more enthusiasm grew. We finally decided that we wouldn't just proclaim this committee; we would organize a national conference to launch the International Labor Defense. We projected publishing a magazine. As I say, the thing simply got out of hand. I recall one meeting just before the conference was called. We were laying out the plans and came to a point about the secretary of the Chicago Defense Committee possibly being named national secretary. Some Wobbly said, "Uh, uh; you got it all wrong."

"What do you mean?"

"You're going to be secretary. You want us to hustle? Well, we're not going to hustle for some fellow we don't know. We know you and we'll support you."

Then it became evident to everybody that I had gotten so deeply involved in the thing and I was so much better known than any of the other potential candidates that I would have to take over. I had never planned on that at all.

Then Rose Karsner said she would like to come in and run the office. She was the head of another organization called the International Workers Aid, which had originally been called the Friends of Soviet Russia. It was organized during the famine of 1921 and had continued as a fund-raising organization for different countries and different movements in need of financial help, where there were famines and persecution, etc.

Q. So it had a separate office with its own staff?

A. Yes. We were going to set up a national office with a secretary and an office manager. We planned it as a big operation. She would come in and run the office so that I'd be free to travel and organize locals and one thing or another.

So it culminated in a good-sized first national conference of the International Labor Defense. We had the endorsement of a lot of prominent people, including Upton Sinclair. We announced that we were defending all prisoners—what we called class-war prisoners—in connection with labor. And there were quite a bunch of them. There was a large number of IWWs in different cases. Mooney and Billings were in prison. The Centralia fight had resulted in a dozen Wobblies being imprisoned. Then we discovered that in Texas, Cline and Rangel, who had been helping Mexican revolutionists, had been framed up and were serving long sentences. In San Quentin were a lot of people who had been sent up under state criminal-syndicalist laws. Up in Maine there was a case. It added up to about 140 people. We said we will help all of them; we'll raise money to send a monthly stipend of \$5 a month to every prisoner for commissary.

A commissary is a place in prison where you can buy a little extra stuff. It's very important. You get the routine meal. But if you have a little money you can buy candy bars, cigarettes, cookies, apples, oranges, and things like that. It makes a big difference.

We would send \$5 a month to each prisoner and we would send \$25 a month to their families, if they had a family. Then we would plan—without promising definitely—we would plan to raise a Christmas fund to give a bonus of \$25 or \$50 to every prisoner for Christmas. We would publicize all their cases through our magazine and other media. It was a very enthusiastic national conference.

The plan outlined in the constitution made it a membership organization. Anybody sympathetic to the cause could join. Ten cents a month dues and donate whatever you could and if you had a little extra money, send it in to the national office.

We organized locals all over the country and not only that, we put in full-time district organizers in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and places like that—Cleveland. Full-time organizers! They coordinated local branches and stirred up activity. The thing took hold and was quite well received.

In 1925 we started the *Labor Defender*. It was an illustrated monthly magazine. In the magazine, on which Max Shachtman was the editor and worked full time, we decided to revive all the old cases. We told the story of the Haymarket martyrs, and Mooney and Billings. We put out a special edition on the lynching of Frank Little in Butte, Montana. We publicized the Sacco-Vanzetti case and campaigned on other cases. It was the most popular magazine in the radical movement. Sold wider than the party press.

The second national conference was in 1926. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was brought in. She had been very prominent in the IWW. She became national chairwoman and was sent on a national tour. The third national conference in 1927 was held under the slogan: "Third National Conference of the International Labor Defense, Fortieth Anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs." Lucy Parsons, the widow of the martyr, was the guest of honor. These things were very effective in stimulating a sense of solidarity in the radical movement.

Our work was propaganda and agitation, and legal defense only if it was needed. New cases were brought to us and we had quite a number of those. Our Christmas fund was very popular.

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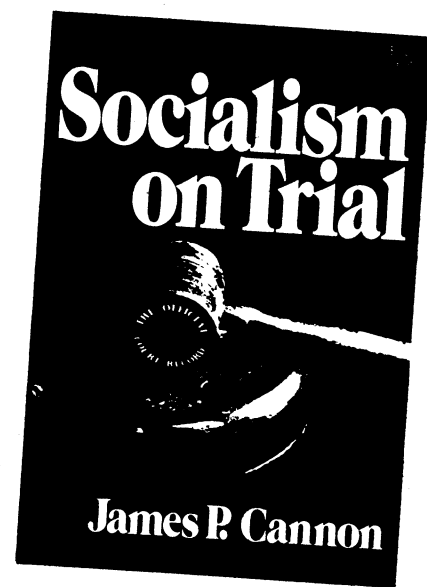
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Step up W'gate fight

The socialist offensive against the Watergate gang has reached a turning point. In response to the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the government has been forced to admit it has been wiretapping, bugging, mail tampering, and investigating and harassing SWP and YSA members and supporters.

Moreover, the government tries to argue that all these acts—and others they still deny they had a hand in, such as fire-bombing of SWP headquarters—are legal and justifiable on the grounds that the SWP is "subversive."

This poses the issue squarely: Can the capitalist government trample on the Bill of Rights simply by declaring a person or group "subversive"? The SWP and YSA are labelled "subversive" not for violating any law, but simply for *advocating ideas*—for following "the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin, and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky," as the government lawyers put it.

The government claims its "SWP Disruption Program," carried out by the FBI, was intended to "alert the public." But it is the government—not the socialists—that operates through secrecy and lies. It is the government—not socialists—that has carried out illegal acts such as robbing working people of their wages, murdering thousands of Vietnamese, and committing innumerable crimes against the labor movement, Blacks, Chicanos, and Indians.

We can use the latest admissions to "alert the public" to the *government's* crimes and mount a strong rebuff to them.

The attacks on socialists are a threat to the rights of all working people. Unions, Black organizations, student groups, women's groups, and others should be urged to support the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) as a way of defending these rights for everyone.

The educational campaign around Watergate launched by the SWP and YSA provides a vehicle to help radicalizing people draw the lessons these revelations contain about the true nature of capitalist "democracy."

The government's admissions prove that the current Republican administration is not the only guilty one. "Electronic surveillance" of the SWP *admittedly* took place under Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy. The "SWP Disruption Program" was *admittedly* in operation under Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon.

The fight against Watergating is a fight not only against the Nixon gang, but against the whole system of minority rule by the corporate moguls. A new social system is called for; and only a workers government will be a government of genuine freedom and democracy.

The government's partial confession is a major victory brought about—in the climate of the spreading Watergate scandals—by the vigorous efforts of the PRDF to date. But this is only a beginning. Now is the time to step up the fight. Let's put the socialist offensive against the Watergate gang into high gear!

King's birthday

Black people throughout the country have observed the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King as a symbol of the continuing struggle for Black liberation. Some unions and schools have won Jan. 15 as a holiday in honor of the slain civil rights leader. Memorial meetings have expressed the sentiment to continue the fight for complete equality.

Almost six years after King's death, most of the goals he sought have yet to be realized. Racist discrimination and oppression in housing, jobs, and education remain the lot of the masses of Black people.

The chorus of liberal and some not-so-liberal capitalist politicians trying to identify themselves with the observance of King's birthday was a disgusting spectacle. These Democratic and Republican vote hustlers who eulogize King after his death are the same ones who, openly or covertly, attacked him during his life. They are defenders of a racist system, masquerading as "friends of Black people."

This pack, once led by Lyndon "We Shall Overcome" Johnson, ordered the FBI's surveillance and harassment of King, and fomented the atmosphere that led to his assassination.

Coretta Scott King has called for a new and impartial investigation of her husband's murder. Following Watergate revelations about government attacks on the Black movement, and convicted assassin James Earl Ray's claims about a "white Southern conspiracy," this demand is an immediate and important one.

'Kojak'

It seems that those hour-long advertisements for law'n'order that crowd prime time television are getting low viewer ratings—all except one, that is. *Kojak* is an exception to the dull and idiotic shoot-em-up banality of the other shows. It's the best cops and robbers weekly to hit the TV screen for years. But then it should be.

According to *Time* magazine, the star of the show, Telly Savalas, once worked for "the U.S. State Department Information Service, rose to executive director for the Near East, South Asia and Africa, and . . . switched to being a director for ABC television news and special events."

Time also says that Savalas "does not have to invent a character for *Kojak*, because he is playing himself." This understatement cramps the truth. The real-life Savalas is a propaganda torpedo that dwarfs his police detective surrogate. And no network would dare allow him to "play himself" in front of millions of American people. It would reveal far too much about the sensitive nature of bourgeois "popular entertainment" and "objective newscasting." A reader

Williamsburg, Mass.

Not sectarian

I find your reporting and editorial policies contain the broadest and fullest socialist perspective I've yet encountered in a periodical. You skillfully avoid petty sectarian backbiting and promote ideas and information in the interest of us all. We turn to your pages for support in our struggles here in Vermont.

P. H.

Charlotte, Vt.

A new Militant salesperson

After coming into contact with your newspaper I have become interested in the socialist philosophy. I see the circulation of *The Militant* essential in the formation of a more perfect society.

I am a student in what tends to be quite a conservative private high school. At this point I have no awareness of how well a socialist newspaper would sell, so in order not to go to any great private expense I feel that I should limit the number of papers I order to 15 a week initially.

F. N.

Louisville, Ky.

Psychiatry & homosexuals

When the American Psychiatric Association removed "homosexuality" from its list of psychiatric disorders, it was belatedly responding to a decade-old demand of the gay liberation movement. The APA statement deploring discrimination against gays in areas of employment, housing, and public accommodations is also long overdue, but helpful in the battle for full human rights for gays.

However, the APA's new category, "sexual orientation disturbance," is defined for individuals who are bothered, in conflict with, or wish to change their predominantly homosexual orientation.

The difference between the "progressives" and reactionaries in the

APA is actually very subtle. A debate between representatives of each camp appeared in the *New York Times*.

Dr. Robert Spitzer, the "progressive" and a promoter of the nomenclature change, stated, ". . . in no longer considering it (homosexuality) a psychiatric disorder, we are not saying that it is normal, or that it is as valuable as heterosexuality." Dr. Bieber, the reactionary, fully supported the APA change in nomenclature and its statements in support of civil rights for gays. He simply asserted that gays are sexual cripples, some of whom can be returned to full heterosexual effectiveness and others who must be made content with their status.

Thus the psychiatric profession has a lot further to go before anyone considers them in "the vanguard of the movement to liberate people from their troubles."

Kendall Green

New York, N. Y.

Nationalize oil

This is an ideal time to push for the *nationalization* of the petroleum industry.

J. J. Sternbach

Little Neck, N. Y.

A different bias

I think your paper is great. Everybody is biased, but your biases are different from most and provide a refreshing change. I only wish that I could be more certain of the facts you report. Thanks anyway.

Dave Chappell

St. Paul, Minn.

Cruel and one-sided?

Please cancel my subscription to *The Militant*. The reason for this is your opinion on the Middle East, which is cruel and one-sided.

Mike Sholin

La Habra, Calif.

In league with imperialism

I picked up a copy of *The Militant* on my way to a job interview. I admire your anti-Zionist point of view, even though I disagree with a lot of what you print. It seems that very few newspapers in the United States are willing to publish an anti-Zionist point of view, except for the socialist newspapers.

International Zionism seeks to impose its will on the Afro-Asian world, in league with western imperialism. Portugal will get "smart bombs" and other weapons to use against Africans in return for her services to the United States in providing a base for weapons shipments to the Zionists.

F. G.

Camas, Wash.

Exxon gets picketed

The chairman of Exxon visited Florida State University at the end of December. The energy crisis had generated much discussion preceding his visit and a number of graduate students in the chemistry department decided to picket outside the hotel where he was speaking in order to get their views out to the general



One year of legal abortions

public.

This picket line got a lot of press coverage. The press was there from Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, and Miami. Several radio stations carried some of our comments on the crisis, i.e., that it was contrived by the oil companies for reasons of profits and to set back the ecology movement. We also pointed out that the oil companies' books should be opened to the public for inspection. The demonstration was also covered by the local TV station and shown on the 6 p.m. and 11 p.m. news.

*Jerry Swanson
Tallahassee, Fla.*

'Fast-breeder' reactors

I was glad to see the article in the Jan. 11 *Militant* on the dangers of nuclear power as it is promoted by the proindustry Atomic Energy Commission. One of the greatest dangers we face today is from the "fast-breeder" reactors which convert nonfissionable Uranium-238 into plutonium, which can be used in nuclear reactors. Plutonium is 35,000 times more lethal a poison than sodium cyanide and remains lethal for half a million years!

The breeder is a pet project of Nixon's. At a ceremony announcing plans for a breeder in 1971 Nixon said: "Don't ask me what a breeder reactor is; ask Dr. Schlesinger (AEC chairman). But tell him not to tell you, because unless you are one of those Ph.D.'s you wouldn't understand it either."

Asked about the danger of accidents or pollution, Nixon told reporters: "I am not afraid, not because I know much about, but because what I do know tells me that here we have a new source of energy. . . ."

If Tricky Dick plays dumb when it comes to our safety, he is smart enough to know that the oil corporations that put him in office own almost half the uranium in the U.S. and a big chunk of the electrical utilities.

*Steve Beck
New York, N. Y.*

Read, reread, & argued

I received your notification of the expiration of my complimentary subscription. When I first started reading it I was very disheartened . . . I thought I had just lost another friend.

I don't suppose you can imagine how my spirit was uplifted up by the last paragraph offering to renew my subscription. Certainly, by all means, I have to have another subscription. I don't know how I could do without it.

Thank you for sending me the paper. You can believe it is well received and thoroughly read, reread, and argued.

*A prisoner
California*

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.

Abortions have been legal in the United States for one year now. What has it meant for American women?

First, the Supreme Court ruling has put most illegal abortionists out of business. Thousands of women today are able to go to clinics, hospitals, and private doctors for medically safe abortions. The quacks and butchers are disappearing.

There are no official figures on the number of legal abortions performed this year nationally. We do know, however, that in cities where a year ago it was impossible to get a legal abortion, thousands are now being performed. In Atlanta, for instance, there are now seven abortion clinics, some performing as many as 100 abortions a week. Detroit has 22 abortion clinics and referral agencies. Even in Massachusetts, one of the bastions of the so-called right-to-life forces, it is estimated that 40,000 women will have legal abortions this year.

The legalization of abortion has also driven the cost down. Once abortions were taken out of the black market, treated as a medical procedure, and facilities established, the cost, in most cases, was reduced.

The costs today vary. In New York City approximately half of the abortions performed this year were covered by Medicaid. The average cost in a Detroit clinic is \$150 for a first trimester abortion. Many clinics have a sliding scale of cost according to income.

"The biggest discernible change", however, writes the *New York Times*, "is in attitude."

"Before the decision, women would come begging for abortions," Marilyn Cringer, a counselor for Arkansas Woman's Rights, told the *Times*. "Many used false names, and most were extraordinarily concerned over our confidentiality."

"Now, when women call, they feel that an abortion is their right. We don't have to assuage their guilt."

Women just want the facts—where they can go for the best and least expensive abortion."

Perhaps not as immediately discernible, but just as important, is the added confidence women have won to decide the kind of lives they want to lead. Legal abortions mean that women can plan their studies, jobs, or careers without the fear of forced interruption by an unwanted pregnancy.

This new confidence also means that women are better prepared and more inspired to fight around other issues as well.

There are still obstacles. Many states have yet to comply with the ruling. Some have passed anti-abortion laws that are in clear violation of the Supreme Court decision.

So far, whenever the state laws have been challenged the courts have ruled in favor of a woman's right to abortion. Recent court victories include a Florida ruling to remove the requirement of parental or husband's consent, and a Pennsylvania decision that women on public assistance may have the cost of an abortion paid for by the Department of Social Welfare.

None of the proposed constitutional amendments that seek to reverse the Supreme Court decision have gathered much steam. But the "right-to-life" forces are still doing whatever they can to hinder implementation.

Senator James Buckley (R-C-N.Y.), for instance, has introduced a rider to a Social Security bill that would deny women the right to have their abortions paid for by Medicaid.

These, and other attempts to sabotage our victory, must be continually fought by all who support abortion rights. Our right to abortion must be safeguarded.

But the gains in just one short year are already significant: fewer women killed by botched abortions, less expense, less fear and guilt, and a new confidence.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Steelworkers hit no-strike deal

Formal negotiations for a new three-year contract covering 400,000 workers in the basic steel industry are to begin Jan. 30 under the no-strike terms of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) signed last year by United Steelworkers President I. W. Abel and the steel corporations. But not if rank-and-file steelworkers can prevent it. They are moving against the steel companies and the union bureaucracy to regain their freedom to strike.

Thirty-five members of the union filed suit in federal court Jan. 7 to have ENA declared "void and inoperative." Thousands of workers in the giant steel mills of Chicago, Burns Harbor, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, and Lorain, Ohio, have endorsed this action. They charge that Abel has violated their basic legal rights and the USWA constitution. They seek a court order prohibiting adoption of any contract in the steel industry without approval by a vote of the union membership.

In a separate court action, steelworkers in the Chicago-Burns Harbor area hope to unseat the incumbent USWA district director. Last February Edward Sadlowski, a young USWA staff representative, came within 1,788 votes of defeating the hand-picked candidate of the Abel machine, Samuel Evett. Sadlowski immediately challenged the close election, and when his challenge was denied by the union's International Executive Board he appealed to the Labor Department. On evidence of vote fraud the Labor Department is seeking court-ordered elections in USWA districts 31 and 15.

These pending court cases serve to expose the lack of democracy in the union and collusion between the Abel bureaucracy and the major steel companies.

Meantime steelworkers are trying to organize on-the-job protection against speedup and unsafe working conditions. Rank-and-file caucuses have won considerable support in the Youngstown and Chicago areas. In Youngstown the president of USWA Local 1462 is a leader of Rank and File Team (RAFT). In Chicago the Right to Strike Committee is the main force behind Sadlowski's bid to become USWA

district director there. A third caucus, based in Lorain, Ohio, calls itself National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee. In Local 1462 there is also an Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, a Black caucus with supporters in other locals.

Opposition groups are forming in most big locals of the union, prompted by the general dissatisfaction of steelworkers and their distrust of the union leadership.

On Jan. 9 a group of 100 angry workers from the Sparrows Point mill of Bethlehem Steel near Baltimore, Md., broke into the closed meeting of the union's Basic Steel Conference at the posh Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. They were mostly from the coke ovens, many having come directly from the job. They denounced Abel for signing the ENA and demanded safe working conditions and higher pay under a new contract. They wanted to talk to Abel, but he refused.

The two-day meeting of the Basic Steel Conference, made up of 600 local union presidents, approved a 15-page list of demands. These included a "very substantial wage increase" and an improved cost-of-living clause, but emphasized the need for a better pension plan. Abel indicated that the wage increase should go beyond the government's present 5.5 percent guideline.

Steelworkers currently earn an average of \$5.75 an hour. Labor-management productivity committees in the mills are largely responsible for the 23 percent increase in steel output during the past year with only 6 percent more workers.

The companies' 1973 profits jumped to an estimated \$1.2-billion, up 55 percent from 1972.

Under the no-strike terms of the ENA an agreement must be reached by April 15, otherwise all issues in dispute go to a five-member arbitration panel. The present contract expires Aug. 1.

Whatever the final outcome, the immediate future of steelworkers hinges on how successfully rank-and-file organization in the mills puts pressure on these top-level negotiations.



Harry Ring will be writing for several weeks from Australia, where he is participating in the convention and Marxist summer school of the Socialist Workers League. He will also visit New Zealand at the invitation of the Socialist Action League.

As reported Down Under—“Since Exxon and Gulf were among the big secret donors to Mr. Nixon’s campaign in 1972, it is little wonder that so many of the president’s beloved middle Americans are making what can be called ‘the oil connection.’ According to the silent majority, the energy crisis is something cooked up by Mr. Nixon at the behest of the oil barons to whom he owed a great deal.”—Report from New York in the Sydney Australian.

A voice from home—Los Angeles evangelist David Hubbard arrived in Sydney to lead a mass march against pornography, which, he explained, “turns sex into a pleasure and a trip, which is not as God intended.”

Sorry about that—Australian police maintained “poison patrols” along Sydney waterways after 12,000 gallons of copper cyanide escaped from “safety tanks” of the U.S.-owned Sunbeam plant. Fifteen tons of dead fish, cats, and birds were collected along river banks. A Sunbeam spokesman said the tanks had been given a “thorough” test before use. “Obviously,” he observed, “the tests proved wrong.”

Favors harmony—The president of Rotary International told Australians

his organization barred women because it would be able to take in only career women and that this would exclude most wives. Wives, he said, would be terribly unhappy to have their husbands constantly meeting with career women in their clubs. “I think,” he said, “this would lead to disharmony in the home, which would be a disaster.”

And less paper money—A South Australian consumer credit act barred such advertising phrases as “easy credit,” “tailored terms,” and “flash quick credit.” The president of the Retail Traders said he didn’t think merchants were terribly happy about this because “more restrictions make more paper work.”



“We Must All Sacrifice — I’m Prepared To Give My Time To Government Service”

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Hasta la victoria siempre!

New Year’s Day 1974 was an occasion for celebration. It marked the fifteenth anniversary of the victory of the Rebel Army over the *gorila* armed forces of Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista. It was on Jan. 1, 1959, that the tanks of the columns led by Che Guevara and Camilo Cienfuegos rolled into Havana.

The Cuban revolutionaries immediately abolished Batista’s hated army and police. Over the next few years they carried out a thoroughgoing land reform, took over the *yanqui* corporations, and nationalized industry.

Hunger, unemployment, racial discrimination, and illiteracy have been virtually eliminated. Education, health care, and many other social services in present-day Cuba are unequalled in any other Latin American country.

In consolidating the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, our Cuban brothers and sisters have faced a particularly difficult road. Washington has concocted counterrevolutionary schemes such as the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion in an attempt to return the island to capitalist slavery.

The *yanqui* economic blockade continues to this day. This has been primarily responsible for causing economic hardship for the Cuban people.

Cuba’s so-called friends in the Kremlin have not

been much help either. The economic and military aid from Moscow has been far less than adequate. And such aid has been cynically used—with some success—to pressure Havana into softening its revolutionary line.

Yet despite the obstacles, to this day Cuba serves as the best example to the rest of the Bronze continent of how to fight imperialism. The Cubans came to realize that in order to end the economic backwardness in their country caused by U.S. domination, they would have to abolish capitalism.

The Cuban revolution also contains lessons for those who live in the northern-most extension of Latin America, Aztlán. Racism and superexploitation are as much a part of capitalism here in Aztlán as subjugation to *yanqui* imperialism is a part of capitalism from the Río Bravo to Tierra del Fuego.

Just as the workers and peasants of Latin America will have to take the path of socialist revolution to free themselves from the imperialist yoke, so will the Chicano people have to join with Blacks and white working people to overthrow capitalism in order to end their racist oppression and economic exploitation.

1973 was an eventful year in Latin America. The workers of Chile and Uruguay suffered terrible

defeats as their countries fell victim to military coups. But as events in Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and other countries showed, not even the harshest repression can prevent for long the resurgence of massive workers’ and peasants’ struggles. The *yanquis* still face the spectre of socialist revolutions all over the continent.

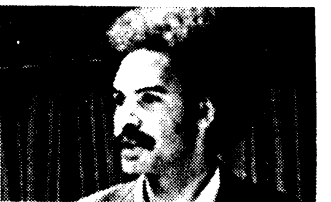
These words of Fidel Castro in the *Second Declaration of Havana* ring as true today as when they were first uttered in 1962:

“This epic before us is going to be written by the hungry Indian masses, the peasants without land, the exploited workers. It is going to be written by the progressive masses, the honest and brilliant intellectuals, who so greatly abound in our suffering Latin American countries. Struggles of masses and ideas. An epic which will be carried forward by our people, despised and maltreated by imperialism, our people, unreckoned with until today, who are now beginning to shake off their slumber.

“Imperialism considered us a weak and submissive flock; and now it begins to be terrified of that flock; a gigantic flock of 200 million Latin Americans in whom *yanqui* monopoly capitalism now sees its gravediggers. . . . For this great mass of humanity has said, ‘Enough!’ and has begun to march.”

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



An oasis amidst poverty in Haiti

Princelings execute perfect jackknives into the pool. Millionaires dance to the lilt of native rhythms. Diamonds and emeralds that dazzle the eye adorn deep-tanned countesses swathed in Schiaparelli fashion exclusives.

And Black waiters in white jackets serve gourmet treats to all at this coffee-bean-green jungle retreat snuggled amidst palms and magnolia on a 15-acre sweep once owned by the fun-loving sister of Napoleon, Pauline Bonaparte Leclerc.

“Elegant,” remarked Nicole Duvalier, as she entered Habitation Leclerc for the recent opening night party. Nicole, flanked by strapping bodyguards, was the unexpected stand-in for her brother, Jean-Claude Duvalier, the Haitian dictator-for-life.

The Habitation is the newest oasis-amidst-poverty for the nouveaux—and some not so nouveaux—riches on an island that has one of the lowest per capita incomes in the world. And the \$1.8-million resort, financed by the likes of Mick Jagger, the Duke of Bedford, and Baron Edmund de Rothschild, is carefully fortified from the sur-

rounding squalor by stone walls topped with chunks of broken glass.

On Jan. 1, Haiti celebrated its independence day.

In 1804, this nation of machete-and-musket-armed slaves that defeated the combined armies of several European countries became the first independent Black nation in the world. In his book *The Black Jacobins*, C. L. R. James notes the significance of the event:

“The transformation of slaves, trembling in hundreds before a single white man, into a people able to organize themselves and defeat the most powerful European nations of their day, is one of the great epics of revolutionary struggle and achievement.”

But today, despite the overthrow of colonialism, Haiti stands impoverished among the world’s nations, saddled with Black-faced neocolonial rulers.

Its economy is dominated by U.S. capital, and its political life is marked by ruthless tyranny.

Little more than one year ago, a group of 65 Haitians arrived on U.S. shores seeking asylum from the brutal oppression. Since then others have arrived. But U.S. immigration officials say the

Haitians, 209 in all, entered the country “illegally” and cannot stay. Forty-nine of them are in jail; 160 are free on bond.

On Dec. 28 a district court judge, in a cruel blow to the exiles, upheld the immigration department’s decision. Attorneys for the defense announced they will appeal the ruling. Help is needed to pressure the immigration department to reverse its stand.

To help in this effort or obtain more information contact the Haitian Refugee Information Center, 740 58th St. N.W., Miami, Fla. 33127. Telephone: (305) 754-6139. Or Father Adrien, 915 Putnam Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11221. Telephone: (212) 491-6580.

Winning asylum for these Haitians will bring them some relief here. But a revolutionary transformation of Haiti will be required to bring relief to all those on the island. And when the Haitian masses begin to move, the dukes, lords, countesses, and Mick Jagger would be well advised to lug their capital, spas, and deep-tanned bodies right back to Europe.

San Francisco trade unionists map plans for united labor support to Sears strikers

By DERREL MYERS

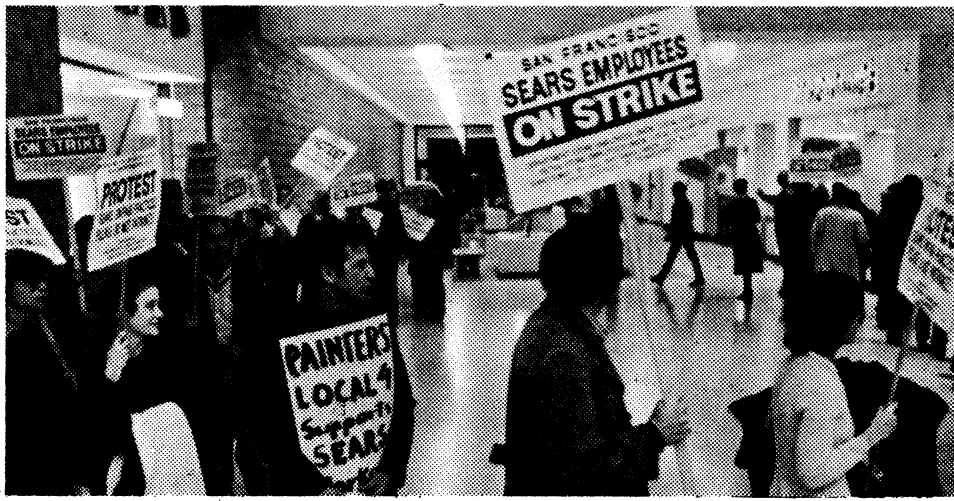
SAN FRANCISCO—As Sears employees here approach their twenty-second week of strike action, they are experiencing a new surge of support from other unionists in the Bay Area.

A meeting of 200 trade unionists from more than 30 unions was held Jan. 12 to plan stepped-up labor support for the Sears strike. Among other actions, it called for a labor rally to be held soon against Sear's union-busting activities.

Growing numbers of working people here are coming to realize that this strike is more than a fight over wages and working conditions. It has become a battle to defend unionism at Sears.

Jim Herman of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) expressed this sentiment at a Jan. 7 news conference when he said, "Sears's apparent intention is to destroy the union at its San Francisco retail stores, and the job of all San Francisco labor is to see that that doesn't happen."

The actions of Sears confirm this charge. For a full year before the



Militant/Howard Petrick

Pickets hit San Bruno Sears store Jan. 10. Union activists intend to step up picketing of several Sears outlets.

strike began last August the company refused to even discuss raising health benefits to San Francisco retail-industry standards. This is a key demand in the strike; of the 6,000 members of Department Store Employees Union (DSEU) Local 1100, only the 300 at Sears do not have these health benefits.

For the first 19 weeks of the strike, Sears refused to discuss wage proposals. Then in December it announced a settlement offer, which, if accepted, would have given the strikers worse sales commissions and conditions than they had before the strike.

Another union-busting tactic was to settle with four of the seven unions that originally walked out together. The Electricians local and three small Teamsters locals settled and broke ranks. Remaining on strike are DSEU Local 1100, Retail Clerks Local 410, and, in solidarity with them, Machinists Local 1347.

The Jan. 7 news conference was the first step in mobilizing broader labor support. It was followed by expanded picketing at two Bay Area Sears stores. This action brought business at the two stores to a near standstill for several hours Jan. 9. The news conference also announced the emer-

gency labor unity meeting for Jan. 12 and plans for an upcoming Bay Area labor unity conference.

The new strike support drive has been spearheaded by the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC), which organized a demonstration of several thousand here last April 28 to protest wage controls, inflation, and unemployment. It includes a number of union activists who have worked with DSEU Local 1100 in the antiwar movement, in organizing the April 28 demonstration, and in supporting the United Farm Workers, Hospital workers, Beer Drivers, and Carpenters strikes.

The response to the ULAC-called Jan. 12 meeting was, in the words of Sears striker Pete Sojda, "A real needed shot in the arm for us."

The meeting was attended by official representatives from the Southwest States Council of Retail Clerks; Santa Clara Central Labor Council; San Mateo Central Labor Council; ILWU; Machinists Local 1327; Painters Local 4; American Federation of Teachers (AFT); and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Locals 1695 and 101.

There were also 150 rank-and-file

members of the Carpenters, Hod Carriers, Steelworkers, Farm Workers, Teamsters, Electricians, Waitresses, and other unions. In addition there were students from San Francisco State College, San Francisco City College, and University of California at Berkeley; members of Child and Parent Action, a child-care organization; and members of a senior citizens' committee.

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Local 1100, opened the meeting by stressing the need for solidarity and thanking those present for their support.

Jim Herman from the ILWU spoke for the United Labor Action Committee. "Some think you have to have a struggle in basic industry to be important," he said. "Not so. Wherever an injury occurs, it is important to all labor."

Jeff Mackler, president of the Hayward AFT, introduced the following action proposals to the meeting. All were adopted unanimously:

- To organize a labor rally to say to Sears, "We will not tolerate your union-busting activities."

- To get the broadest support and participation for this rally from the ranks and officials of the Bay Area labor movement.

Continued on page 22

Sears empire

SAN FRANCISCO—The 300 striking Sears workers are up against a corporate giant that is determined to break their union. In 1972 Sears had the fourth highest sales (\$11-billion) and sixth highest profits (\$621-million) of all U.S. corporations.

Of the 850 Sears outlets in the U.S., only a handful are unionized, including two in San Francisco. Sears obviously fears that the precedent of successful unionism here could set an example for the rest of the country.

Three hundred strikers alone cannot force the Sears empire to accept unionism; that will require the strength of united labor action.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Local 1100, appealed for solidarity with Sears strikers.

Truth about Siqueiros's attempt to kill Trotsky

By MIGUEL PENDAS

Mexican painter David Alfaro Siqueiros died Jan. 6 at the age of 77. Siqueiros was one of the leading exponents of modern Mexican mural painting, but his political life was something else again.

For most of his life, Siqueiros was a member of the Stalinist Communist Party of Mexico. He also served as a political gangster in Stalin's secret police.

Siqueiros's most heinous political act was the May 1940 assassination attempt he led against the exiled Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky.

During the raid on Trotsky's house, Robert Sheldon Harte, Trotsky's bodyguard, was kidnapped and several days later was murdered. Police



Siqueiros admitted leading 1940 assassination raid on orders from Stalin.

discovered Harte's body buried in the garden of a villa rented by Siqueiros. Trotsky was assassinated soon after by another GPU agent, Ramón Mercader.

The *New York Times*, recently acclaimed by *Time* magazine as being "commendably blessed with a passion for accuracy in things both great and small," gives a less-than-passionately-accurate account of these events in its Jan. 7 issue.

The *Times* states that Siqueiros's involvement in the attempt on Trotsky is merely "widely believed." It mentions that Siqueiros had denied it.

The Maoist weekly, the *Guardian*, apparently relying on the *Times* account, claims, "No conclusive evidence linking him with the [assassination] plot has ever been put forward. . . ." The *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party, didn't even mention this aspect of Siqueiros's life in its laudatory obituary.

But there is good reason for this story to be "widely believed." Contrary to the *Times* and the *Guardian*, Siqueiros himself admitted it. In an interview with Norberto Valentino that appeared in the Oct. 9, 1972, Dominican weekly *Ahora!* Siqueiros said the following:

"Stalin was worried that in his exile in Mexico Trotsky might be the center

of another chauvinist movement aiming to substitute itself for Soviet power. So he ordered a high official of the NKVD [Stalin's secret police], Leonid Eitingon, to organize Trotsky's physical liquidation and granted him unlimited means. . . .

"On May 24, 1940," Siqueiros continued, "we said that it was time to break from our inertia. I got hold of an army major's uniform and disguised myself as an officer. Twenty of my companions disguised themselves as soldiers. We took the police guarding the Coyoacán fortress by surprise and immobilized them. We captured the American Sheldon Harte,



Stalinist gangsters kidnapped and murdered Robert Sheldon Harte, a Socialist Workers Party member and one of Trotsky's guards.

who was Trotsky's personal guard, and broke into the patio of the house. I confess that at that moment I was paralyzed by emotion.

"I had taken part in various clandestine operations and was used to danger. I had participated in political struggles in Central and South American countries. But despite this, I had never found myself faced with the necessity to kill anyone in cold blood. But even so we fired about three hundred shots from the patio into the bedroom where we thought Trotsky was sleeping."

This interview was translated and published by *Intercontinental Press*. It was also printed in *The Militant*, Nov. 24, 1972.

The *Times* also falsely stated that Siqueiros was tried and acquitted for the attempt on Trotsky. The fact is that Siqueiros never went to trial. He was arrested, but an accommodating judge dropped the charges of the murder of Harte and attempted murder of Trotsky. These were reduced to housebreaking, unlawful use of police uniforms, robbery of two cars used in the raid, and damaging property (with machine-gun fire).

Released on bail, Siqueiros skipped the country and entered Chile with the help of Stalinist poet Pablo Neruda.

Women open '74 offensive for equal rights bill

Rallies demand ERA passage in Ga., Ohio

By EVA CHERTOV

ATLANTA—One thousand women and men marched to the state capitol here Jan. 12 to demand that Georgia legislators ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

Thirty states have passed the ERA so far, and eight more must do so for it to become law. The amendment would outlaw discrimination on the basis of sex.

Eleonore Raoul, a leader of the 1915 suffrage parade in Atlanta, led off the Jan. 12 march. The rally was opened by Vicki Gabriner, a coordinator of Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA).

She explained, "Women have struggled for over 50 years, since 1923, to gain ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. . . . The legislature opens on Monday for the 1974 session, and we want them to meet knowing that hundreds of Georgia citizens were concerned enough about the ERA to come out today to demonstrate their support."

"We will keep the Equal Rights Amendment visible until it is not only a household word, but also the Twenty-seventh Amendment to the United States Constitution," she declared.

Myriam Richmond, a Black news-caster for WAOK-Radio, also addressed the rally. "I speak as a Black woman, a worker, a wife, and mother, who chafes under the dual system

of discrimination based on race and sex," she said.

"I cannot overlook the fact that Black women are workers at the bottom of the heap," she continued, "that many of these have full responsibility for themselves and their children, that our paychecks do not reflect our full worth, and that as women we must deal with our particular predicament of injustice and inequality."

Young people, many of them from campuses, made up the bulk of the crowd. They chanted, "Equal rights, equal pay—Ratify the ERA!" and "Women are 51 percent of the population—We demand equality!" There was extensive coverage of the demonstration on radio and TV.

GERA was the main organizer of the action, which also received endorsement from three chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW); Georgia Women's Political Caucus; United Auto Workers; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Atlanta Lesbian/Feminist Alliance; and several campus women's groups.

By NANCY BROWN

COLUMBUS, Ohio—A pro-ERA rally here of 1,000 was addressed by Ohio Governor John Gilligan; Frank King, head of the Ohio AFL-CIO; and Liz Carpenter, of the National Women's Political Caucus.



"Equal rights, equal pay—ratify the ERA!" was popular chant on Atlanta demonstration

The rally took place Jan. 12, three days before the opening of the state legislature, which will debate ratification of the ERA. Last year the House passed the bill, but the Senate kept it bottled up in committee.

Sponsors of the rally included the Ohio Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment, NOW, Women's Political Caucus, and the League of Women Voters.

The AFL-CIO's decision at its recent convention to support the ERA will be a boost to the ratification fight here. King told the rally the Ohio

AFL-CIO will work in support of the bill and has sent out a mailing of 500,000 to its membership, urging support for the ERA. Last year, the AFL-CIO was one of the main forces campaigning against the ERA in Ohio.

Following the rally, a series of workshops was held, including sessions on lobbying and legislative action, media work, and trade-union women. The trade-union workshop was attended by more than 100 women, who decided to return to their local areas to organize their unions to actively back the ERA.

Ore. socialist outlines program for labor

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND—The Oregon Socialist Workers Party announced Stacey Seigle as its candidate for governor at a well-attended news conference here Jan. 14.

The launching of Seigle's campaign coincides with significant rumblings in the Oregon state AFL-CIO for independent action by working people to protest gas and oil shortages and resulting high prices.

Seigle called for a congress of labor in Oregon and nationally to plan out how workers can mobilize to defend their living standards against the assault of the oil trusts and the government. She hailed the stand adopted by the Columbia Pacific Building and Construction Trades Council urging AFL-CIO President George Meany to call a nationwide labor walkout of four- to five-days duration to protest the energy crisis and high prices.

Seigle said this call for a walkout

by labor is the kind of action by working people that her party supports. In addition, she proposed the formation of workers' investigation committees to make public the finan-



Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Oregon.

cial records of the monopolies.

The SWP candidate said that she and her supporters agree with Frank DeSanto, business manager of Plumbers Local 51, that "somebody has to get the ball rolling" in regard to nationwide labor protest. She cited an article titled "Unions Ask National Walkout" by Frank Flori in the Jan. 11 issue of the Oregon AFL-CIO newspaper as an indication of the rising anger of Oregon's working people with the secrecy, fraud, deception, and criminal practices of the oil monopolies and their agents in the government.

Seigle, who is 30 years old, is known locally for her work in the Inauguration Day Peace Coalition, in defense of the United Farm Workers Union, and as a supporter of the women's liberation movement and the movement in defense of political prisoners in Chile.

She told reporters that the axis of

the SWP statewide campaign will be to demonstrate that the solution to the multiple problems facing Oregon's working people can't be solved by the Democratic and Republican parties but only by the independent action of working people.

In addition to its gubernatorial candidate, the SWP will be running candidates for senator, labor commissioner, and superintendent of public instruction, and two candidates for Portland city council.

Seigle concluded by pointing out that the programs of Tom McCall, Oregon's present governor, and those of her Republican and Democratic opponents—James Redden, Betty Roberts, and Harl Haas—are a dead end for working people. She said they offer no solution to the problems of energy, high prices, and Watergate, and that they all cover up and apologize for a government that is set up to protect the rule of the rich.

Retail clerks' strike in Wash. hits sex bias

By KARL FOREMAN

BELLINGHAM, Wash.—Some 80 members of Retail Clerks Union Local 240, the overwhelming majority of whom are women, have been on strike against the Bellingham Bon Marche Department Store since late November.

Issues in the strike are wages and a two-year contract that would bring contract expiration in line with other stores in the Bon Marche chain.

Local 240 is pointing out the fact that most Bon Marche employees are doubly exploited as women. A leaflet distributed by the strikers said in part, "70 Bellingham women said No—we will no longer be subjected to second-class treatment by the Bon Marche."

The union is appealing to feminist sentiment and to students at Western Washington State College here in Bellingham for support.

A statement issued by the Bellingham Young Socialist Alliance in support of the Bon Marche strikers notes that capitalism "assigns a second-class status to women in order to justify, among other things, paying them lower wages."

The YSA statement calls for active solidarity from women's liberation groups and from the entire labor movement to defeat Bon Marche.

Starting salary at Bon Marche is only \$2.28 an hour, with women who have worked at the store for many

years receiving top pay of only \$2.51.

The strikers are demanding a 35 cent per hour increase each year in a two-year contract, while management is holding out for a maximum of 16 cents each year in a three-year contract—not even enough to keep pace with the current rate of inflation.

Although the strike is now entering its seventh week and business at the store is down to a trickle, Allied Stores Corporation, which owns the Bon Marche chain, is able to hold out because the Retail Clerks Union has not pulled its members out of other Bon Marche stores. The reason cited for this is "contract obligations."

In addition to refusing to grant

union demands, the bosses are holding out for a "management rights clause." Such a clause would allow them to destroy the union by firing union militants at will.

Local 240 has called for a boycott of all Bon Marche stores but has not challenged the conservative notion that union members at other stores should honor their "contract obligations."

The Bon Marche workers have received help from other unions. On Jan. 12, ten members of the United Farm Workers Support Committee joined the picket line at Bon Marche to demonstrate their solidarity with the retail clerks.

Demand rises: Open books of oil trusts!

By CAROLINE LUND

The energy crisis has evoked a storm of protest and disbelief across the country, as the American people are asked to make continuing sacrifices because of "shortages" that they have no way of verifying.

The suddenness and magnitude of the credibility gap has forced the Nixon administration and the oil monopolies to scramble to come up with figures to "prove" that there really is a shortage.

Last week challenges were coming from all directions.

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader charged the oil industry with "billions of dollars of unarmed robbery." He told a Senate subcommittee that there is no shortage: "To this very hour the industry refuses to disclose its reserves to the government. If there was a real energy shortage, that is the first thing they would want to show. Basically, this country is drowning in a sea of oil and gas."

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) charged Jan. 14 that the government has been secretly protecting the interests of the oil companies for 20 years. He cited documents showing "how the antitrust legislation was interpreted to allow the use of foreign policy and national security to permit control of Middle East oil by the seven major companies."

The documents include classified records of the National Security Council and secret correspondence between the oil magnates and John Foster Dulles, who was secretary of state in the Eisenhower administration. The secret papers were obtained by the Senate subcommittee on multinational corporations.

Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) concluded that "perhaps most of our people doubt the existence of the energy crisis" after he was deluged with 38,000 to 43,000 letters from constituents protesting the shortages and high prices.

The oil companies face challenges on the legal front as well. A Detroit law firm has filed a \$270-billion class action suit against the industry under the Sherman Antitrust Act. It charges the companies with creating the shortage to raise prices and profits.

One of the objectives of the suit, says attorney James Tucker, is to force the monopolies to open their books and records on production and reserves.

'My last lie'

Refusal to accept the government-oil company fraud has extended into high places. Lieutenant Commander Kirby Brant quit his job as deputy director of naval oil shale reserves Jan. 12, declaring, "I have written

my last lie" to cover up for White House oil policies. Brant believes, according to the *New York Times*, that "the oil companies had manufactured the fuel crisis, in part as a means of obtaining access to rich naval oil reserves."

Still other charges came out of the investigative efforts of columnist Jack Anderson. "Locked in the files of Aramco [Arabian-American Oil Company], intended for the eyes of its top executives only, is evidence that the giant U.S. oil combine encouraged Saudi Arabia to increase oil prices," Anderson wrote in his Jan. 10 column.

According to the secret papers, he claimed, "Aramco calculated that a price increase would boost its 'rate of return.' So the company, fearing nationalization of its Saudi oil works 'well before 1980' and wishing to squeeze out more profits before the take-over, quietly pressed for higher prices."

New 'Operation Candor'

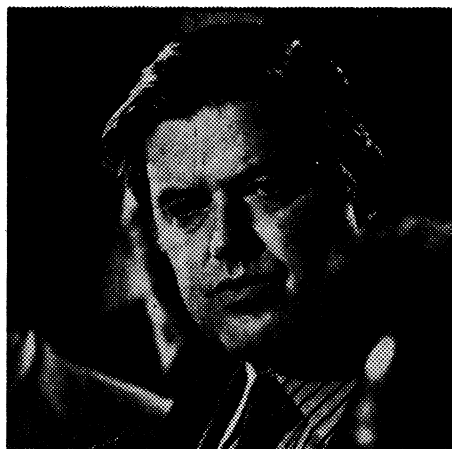
Bombarded by this avalanche of charges, the government and the oil companies are desperately trying to patch up their credibility. *Newsweek* called it another version of "Operation Candor."

Texaco, Gulf, Exxon, and Mobil announced that they would voluntarily give out their production data—which not surprisingly added up to the same totals published all along by the petroleum industry's organization in Washington.

Nixon's energy chief William Simon—himself a former Wall Street broker who knows all about the capitalists' methods of operation—chimed in with the announcement of plans for inspection of the oil industry's books by the Internal Revenue Service.

This is obviously no better than getting a fox to watch a chicken coop. Who would expect Nixon's gang—softened up with \$5-million in oil company contributions—to seriously drag out the facts and figures from the monopolies?

Furthermore, even *Newsweek* ad-



SENATOR CHURCH: Bares plot by oil companies and government.

mitted that the capitalist system provides the monopolies with plenty of ways to deceive the public. "The major companies participate in every phase of the oil business, from the production of crude to distribution. This provides them with tremendous flexibility in accounting, making it difficult to determine exactly what part of their operations profits come from."

But indications are that all of this fancy footwork on the part of the government and oil industry will do little to convince the American people as long as profits soar while shortage hardships and the price squeeze continue. Protests and proposals for action emerged from many directions.

Truckers from across the country gathered in Washington, D.C., the second weekend in January to discuss forming a national association of independent truckers and the possibility of a second nationwide truckers' strike against high fuel costs.

In Philadelphia, angry parents protested at a recent school board meeting over the danger involved in their children going to school in the dark in the mornings because of Daylight Saving Time.

After hearing the parents' complaints, state representatives David Richardson and Lucien Blackwell sent a telegram to Pennsylvania Governor Shapp, quoted in the Jan. 12 *Philadelphia Tribune*, a Black newspaper. It

stated, "It is the children of the poor in the cities who must go out on the streets in the morning to attend public school. It's another case where the citizen on the street is being asked to pay a higher price for fuel and heating oil while at the same time they are the ones facing the layoffs and unemployment."

"We have yet to read about any hardships accruing to the oil companies or the airlines over the crisis," it continued. "In fact, things seem to be working out pretty well for them."

The profit-gouging of the oil monopolies led to calls for nationalization of the oil industry from numerous labor officials and union bodies, such as the Minnesota AFL-CIO executive committee.

Oil conspiracy

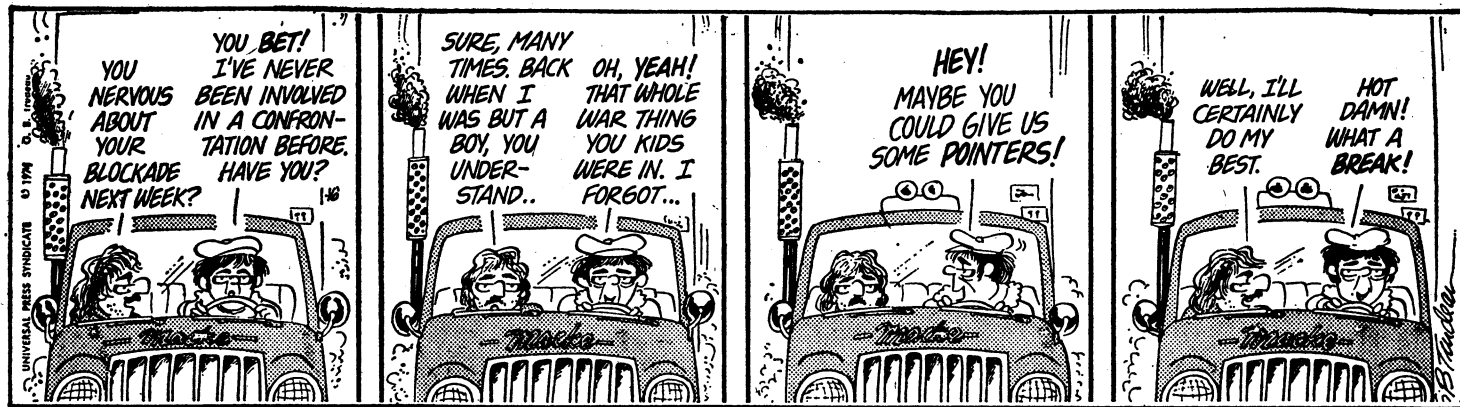
The Oregon state AFL-CIO paper raised the idea of a national walkout by trade unionists to protest the unfair hardships on working people. Dean Killion, president of the Oregon AFL-CIO, labeled the energy crisis "a conspiracy of the oil companies along with the banks."

Independent action by the labor movement is the only road to finding out the truth about the fuel shortage and restraining the destructive rule of the monopolies.

The first demand of any such protest action should be: Let's have an inspection of the oil companies' books, not by Nixon's gang of liars and thieves, but by the workers in the oil industry and from other unions—those who have a real interest in finding out the truth.

Another demand should be: Nationalize the whole energy industry, so that it can be run rationally, under workers control, for the good of the public.

As Senator Church's findings reveal, the Democratic and Republican politicians have worked hand-in-glove with the oil monopolies for years in laying the groundwork for this crisis. Working people need to launch their own party based on the unions in order to fight effectively for the interests of the masses of Americans.



SWP candidate: No rate hikes for utilities

PHILADELPHIA—The effects of the energy crisis and the true aims of the monopolies that are behind it are becoming clear.

The major corporations—such as Sun Oil Company, which enjoyed a 58 percent increase in profits last year—have gone to great lengths to urge conservation and austerity on working people here. Democratic Governor Milton Shapp has had posters printed with a personal message urging people to turn off lights, keep driving down, and "pitch in" to help overcome the present crisis.

In return for their frugality, working people are now threatened with an electricity rate increase of as much



ROBERTA SCHERR: Demands nationalization of utilities.

as 25 percent. The Philadelphia Electric Company claims the rate increase is justified because people are using less electricity and, as a result, this corporation's profits are hurting.

Neither Governor Shapp, nor any other Democratic or Republican politician, has come out in opposition to this move. The only candidate to oppose the increase is Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

In a Jan. 7 statement she pointed out, "The request for a rate increase by Philadelphia Electric shows that the 'energy crisis' is nothing more than a scheme on the part of big

business to extract higher profits from working people. In 1972, Philadelphia Electric made over \$107-million in profits—an increase of over \$13-million from 1971."

Declaring her opposition to any rate increase for residential consumers, she called for higher rates for the large industries, such as U.S. Steel and General Electric.

"Public utilities should be seen as a right and not a privilege to be paid for dearly by working people," she stated. She called for nationalization of the utilities companies, to be run under the control of workers and consumers.

British 3-day week fails to break miners

By JEAN WALKER

The miners in Britain have refused to end their two-month-old job action in the face of economic blackmail, red-baiting, and even a show of military force by the Tory government of Prime Minister Edward Heath.

In an effort to mobilize public opinion to break the miners' struggle, Heath ordered a three-day workweek, which began Jan. 1. By Jan. 9 nearly one million had been laid off work because of the shutdown, and millions more were suffering pay cuts of up to 40 percent.

Unemployment was expected to rise to three million by the end of January.

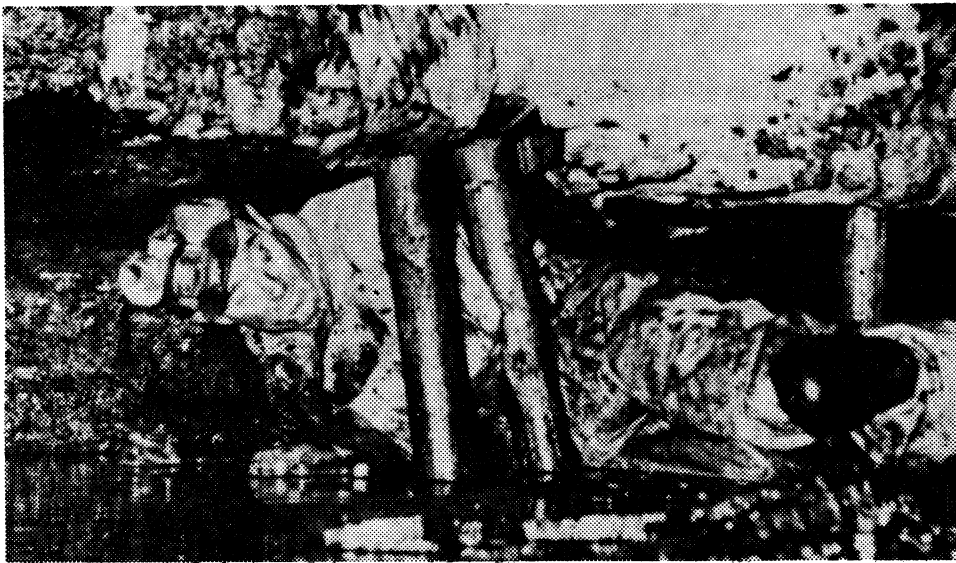
Heath has tried to blame these enormous hardships for British working people on an "energy crisis" supposedly caused by the miners and the Arab oil embargo. But opponents of the government have countered that the three-day week is in fact a lockout designed to force the miners and other militant trade unions into submission.

As one press operator, standing in an unemployment line, told a *New York Times* reporter, "Mr. Heath has loaded inflation onto the shoulders of the working man with this three-day week. We all know there was enough coal to last the winter."

Another job action is being conducted by railway engineers. The nationalized railway industry has refused to negotiate with the Engineers union unless their slowdown and ban on overtime work is ended.

The miners, who now make between \$59 and \$84 a week, are fighting for overtime pay and wage increases that would amount to about a 33 percent raise. The mines are a nationalized industry and strikes are illegal, so the miners have simply refused to do overtime work.

The Heath government has arro-



Miners have one of the hardest, most dangerous jobs in Britain. Tory government refuses their demand for overtime pay.

gantly refused to consider any more than a 16.5 percent increase, calling the miners' demands "inflationary."

The government has had a hard time putting this over, however, since price increases have in general outstripped wage increases in Britain in the past period.

So far, the Heath government has excluded any compromise whatever with the miners. In a New Years statement, Conservative Party chairman Lord Carrington said that to "surrender" would be to open the door to "a flood of inflationary wage claims."

"What is more, giving way would encourage militancy," he stated. "We have to prove once and for all, that extremism doesn't pay."

On Jan. 13 Heath released a statement implying that the miners were "subversives" and red-baiting the union because a number of its executive committee members belong to the Communist Party. Heath denounced miners' leaders for making "a false appeal to class loyalties."

On Jan. 7 the Tories had tried another tactic obviously aimed at intimidating the miners and other unions on job actions. It sent 400 armed troops, accompanied by tanks and other armored vehicles, to occupy the London airport—an unprecedented step in peacetime Britain.

The move was said to be in response to terrorist threats, but the British *Guardian* and other commentators openly asked, according to the Jan. 11 *New York Times*, "Was the army flexing its muscles to prepare for some possible domestic assignment such as use against mass protests or other political disorders?"

Despite these arrogant threats and red-baiting attacks the Tories have not succeeded in breaking the miners' struggle. The *Guardian* stated Jan.

12, "Some influential Conservatives [Tories] fear that the tide of public opinion is showing signs of flowing against the Government as the three-day week begins to bite."

Not only have the miners refused to give up, but militants in the Scottish and Welsh mines are pressing for an all-out strike in the pits.

Railway engineers vowed to continue their ban on Sunday and overtime work as well. In addition, they ordered a one-day strike on Jan. 15 in support of their demands.

In this situation, the Tories have been looking for some way to break

the deadlock. All of the London Sunday press on Jan. 13 speculated that Heath was seriously considering calling a general election as soon as possible. The idea would be to try to capitalize on public discontent with the three-day week and turn this sentiment against the Labour Party, which has given some support to the miners' demands.

But, reported the Jan. 14 *New York Times*, many Tories argue that "the longer the crisis continues, the greater will be the tendency of the voter to blame the Government rather than the miners or the Arabs. . . ."

Leaders of the 10-million-member Trades Union Congress (TUC) proposed a compromise to government negotiators on Jan. 14. They pledged that if the government made an exception for the miners and allowed a wage increase above the government's "Phase 3" guidelines, other unions "will not use that as an argument in negotiations for their own settlements" in the future.

Even this was not enough for Heath, who felt that no matter how willing the labor fakers were to sell out their memberships, the pressure of the rank and file for wage gains to offset inflation could not be easily suppressed if encouraged by a miners' victory. Further negotiations are to take place following a meeting of presidents of the TUC's member unions Jan. 16.

Glimpse of a miner's work

"I've always said that there's two things worse than going down a pit," said a Yorkshire miner in Britain. "One's being a deep-sea fisherman: the other's being on the dole." He and other miners were explaining to a reporter for the British *Guardian* newspaper why mining is one of the hardest jobs in existence and why the British miners deserve higher pay.

The *Guardian* sent its reporter, Ann Clwyd, down into a mine to see firsthand what the work is like. Here are some excerpts from her description carried in the Jan. 12 *Guardian*:

"The tunnel narrows; we kick up clouds of white stone dust; there are no more lights—just the dark and the water trickling. I forget to bend and crack my helmet on the roof. . . ."

"The seam of coal the men are working is four foot three inches high. The mechanised coal cutter gets going, ripping and gouging. I strap on my rubber kneepads,

lie flat on my front, and wriggle into the coal face 200 yards long, where the men are crouched. It is hard to comprehend exactly what is going on; someone tries to tell me, but I can't hear a word. . . ."

"Near me, behind a tangle of cables and a heap of coal Dai Young is hunched. . . . A couple of years ago he broke his pelvis in a roof fall. . . . Another man showed me his fingers: broken in a roof fall. They are all twisted. . . ."

"And if you want to pee? Well, they say, choose your spot. . . ."

"Unwrap the spam and the cheese and pickle sandwiches, and a flask. Our hands are black, but maybe one gets used to eating coal dust. . . ."

"They all keep emphasizing that this particular coal face is one of the best and the nearest and the cleanest in the pit. 'They wouldn't have sent you here otherwise, now would they.' I admit they must be right. . . ."



HEATH: Calls miners 'subversives'

January ISR has answers on energy crisis

Why is there a fuel shortage now? What role did the oil companies play in the energy crisis? What were the real effects of the Arab oil embargo? Was the energy crisis manufactured?

These are the questions in the minds of more and more working people, who face a marked deterioration of the quality of their lives because of the energy crisis.

The January issue of the *International Socialist Review (ISR)* carries an article that answers these questions in depth. "Energy Crisis: A Bonanza for the Oil Giants" by Steve Beck and Cliff Conner is must reading for everyone interested in the truth about the energy crisis.

Beck and Conner expose the lie that the reserves of fossil fuels have been exhausted. They show that the production cutbacks and embargo by the Arab states were not major contributing factors to the crisis in the U.S., which began before the embargo.

The authors instead see the causes of the present crisis in the inner workings and manipulations of the oil companies. They show how the shortages of gasoline and heating fuels are caused by monopoly practices of the oil industry. These giant firms have conspired to fix prices, restrict supply, and manipulate reserves to increase their profits.

The article also shows how the con-

trived shortage is used by the oil magnates to break down three roadblocks to their power and profits: Arab nationalism in the Mideast and North Africa, competition from the independent oil firms, and public concern over pollution and environmental destruction.

After exposing the greed of the oil barons and the destruction and suffering they cause, Beck and Connor explain how working people can organize to end such crises by taking political and economic control out of the hands of the oil monopolies.

Another timely article in the new *ISR* deals with Watergate and the U.S. Constitution.

By all means read the new *ISR*.

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Watergate and the energy crisis: new fuel for distrust of capitalist rulers

By CAROLINE LUND

Members of Congress who went back to their home states for the Christmas recess were alarmed by an "ominous mood" among the people, report syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.

The legislators described what they saw as a "mass hysteria"—"the conviction by ordinary citizens that the energy crisis is a hoax perpetrated by big oil for higher profits and by Nixon to drown Watergate."

The politicians complained that many of their constituents saw the energy crisis as just "another dirty trick."

A recent article by humorist Russell Baker also reflected the mood of distrust about both Watergate and the fuel shortage. Asking whether the energy crisis really exists at all, Baker says, "Government heavyweights talk about it full time, but do we really dare believe anything that is said by people like them anymore?"

He continues: "The simple fact of the Government's endorsing the reality of the energy crisis makes natural men suspicious. Why would they hesitate to deceive us about that, too?"

Far from "drowning Watergate," the energy crisis has quickly become another scandal. The oil scandal and Watergate have reinforced and fed on each other, producing a deeper and more widespread distrust of the government and of capitalist institutions.

The interconnections of the two crises, and the parallels between the Nixon gang and the oil barons, have brought more and more Americans to the correct conclusion that both are somehow part of the same problem.

Actually, the massive distrust of the government goes back to an even bigger crime—the Vietnam war. The fact that U.S. imperialism persisted for years in that brutal conflict, despite the clear opposition of the majority of American people, made a deep impact on the consciousness of the masses of people.

Vietnam deception

The years of hypocrisy and deception of the Southeast Asian war undermined the authority of the entire government. This was brought home to Nixon early in the Watergate scandal, when his attempts to cover up and dismiss the charges didn't work.

People simply didn't believe his claims of innocence or his appeals to the needs of "national security" and the authority of the office of the presidency.

The oil monopolies are now having the same problem in attempting to cover up their responsibility for creating the fuel shortage and all the hardships accompanying it. They have spent millions on advertising to try to convince the American people they are not to blame. But few believe it.

The oil trusts have joined the capitalist government on the other side of the "credibility gap."

Secrecy. Deception. Rule by and for the rich. These are the common threads that stand out more and more clearly in government and big business policy—from Vietnam, to Watergate, to the energy fraud.

With Watergate it was secret spying and police operations, secret bombing of Cambodia, secret Pentagon papers, secret campaign contributions.

In the oil scandal, it is business secrets of the monopolies. No one knows whether there is a real shortage or what to do to end it because the oil monopolies keep secret all the vital information on oil reserves and production. What we do know is that oil profits are soaring.

Business secrets

Nixon and all the Democratic and Republican administrations before him have defended the right of the monopolies to their business secrets. Just to make sure, the oil monopolies greased Nixon's palm with nearly \$5-million in contributions in 1972.

The oil companies tell us that business secrets are necessary for successful competition. But it is clear from the current crisis that the main concern of the oil monopolies is not to keep secrets from their "competitors"; the top monopolies work quite well together in fixing prices and dividing the market among themselves.

Their real concern is to keep their profit-gouging policies hidden from the eyes of the American people, who are forced to pay the bill.

On all levels of the economy, the capitalists' prerogative of business secrets serves to hide from working people the most important information about the disposal of wealth in this country. Business secrets serve to keep working people in the dark about the profits the capitalists are taking, about secret agreements between capitalists to jack up prices or to get out of taxes, about secret plans to speed up production, degrade working conditions, or ravage the environment.

The capitalist government operates according to the same principles of secrecy, although the government is forced to be a little more flexible than the corporations in order to give the appearance of representing the majority of the population.

Although the meetings of Congress and the state legislatures are public, the real decisions are made in the corridors and behind closed doors.

Similarly, all important diplomatic decisions are made in secret. Who knows what shady deals and blackmail Kissinger engages in on his world tours? If the deals he makes are in the interests of the masses of people of the world, then why the secrecy?

Like the government, the capitalists always prefer secret negotiations. For example, they like to negotiate trade-union contracts with compliant labor bureaucrats behind closed doors, as far as possible from the eyes and questions of rank-and-file workers.

Another way the government and the giant corporations cooperate to secretly protect their own interests is through their police apparatuses—the CIA, FBI, military intelligence, the regular police apparatus, company goon squads, the immigration police, and extralegal spy setups like Nixon's plumbers.

Under cover of "protecting national security," these police apparatuses are used to intimidate and sabotage any movements or dissenters that pose a challenge to the capitalists' prerogatives and rule, both nationally and internationally.

Watergate has exposed how Nixon used the secret police apparatus to try to crush the antiwar movement and Black liberation movement.

Internationally, the CIA and the Pentagon cooperate to overthrow governments and put down



popular rebellions, as in Iran, Guatemala, Brazil, the Congo, and the Dominican Republic, to name only a few.

The military-secret police apparatus works hand-in-hand with the oil monopolies and other international corporations in these deadly international operations. This was illustrated in the ITT-CIA joint efforts to bring down the Allende regime in Chile.

Just last September, Nixon publicly threatened to use the CIA the same way in Libya in retaliation for the Libyan government's nationalization of oil companies. "Oil without a market, as Mr. Mossadegh learned many, many years ago, doesn't do a country much good," he stated—referring to the Iranian prime minister who was overthrown in 1953 by a CIA-inspired coup following a U.S. boycott of Iranian oil.

Police the world

The multinational corporations and their governments cooperate on an international level in their military-secret police work aimed at keeping the world safe for the exploiters. For example, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation recently exposed the existence of an agreement between the U.S., Britain, Canada, and Australia for a division of labor among them in policing various sectors of the world.

The Vietnam war criminals, the Watergate gang, and the oil barons, ITT magnates, and other corporation chiefs all have the same goal: to maximize profits of the wealthy few and preserve the capitalist system. Their only morals are the "morals" of the marketplace.

Vietnam, Watergate, and the oil scandal have revealed how the corporation chiefs and the Democratic and Republican politicians are tied together by a thousand strings—through campaign contributions, interlocking personnel, secret deals, and mutual protection through armed forces as well as other means.

The "oilgate" revelations are beginning to open the eyes of the American people to the truth that capitalist secrecy is designed to hide: that capitalism is a system of power by the few over the many; of power by the capitalists over working people.

These revelations have fueled a deepening radicalization. More and more Americans are rejecting any appeals for sacrifice for "patriotic" objectives—whether for a "war against Communism" in Southeast Asia, or for a "fuel shortage" that is blamed on the Arabs.

More and more people will not go along with government frame-ups of opponents of war, racism, or capitalism. Those who are on high—like Nixon and Exxon—are the biggest crooks.

These revelations will strengthen the arguments of those in the workers movement who point to the need for a total break with the two capitalist parties, and the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions. Such a party could fight for a workers government that would take the wealth and political power out of the hands of the capitalists and run the country democratically in the interests of the majority.



Kissinger spouts Mideast 'peace' rhetoric while Washington threatens military action

By DAVE FRANKEL

As U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger shuttles back and forth between Jerusalem and Aswan, predictions of an agreement on the disengagement of Israeli and Egyptian forces along the Suez Canal are coming from all sides.

Unfortunately, what is involved is not a step toward peace at all. The basic issues of the dispossession of the Palestinian people and of U.S. imperialist control of the Arab world are not up for discussion at the Geneva conference or at Kissinger's secret meetings. Until these issues are resolved, the only certainty in Mideast

This was reflected in Jerusalem, according to Terence Smith in the Jan. 14 *New York Times*, by an increased appreciation of Kissinger's junkets. "The atmosphere surrounding the meetings seemed markedly relaxed compared with that of Mr. Kissinger's last visit here. . .," wrote Smith.

"At that time the Israelis seemed suspicious of Mr. Kissinger and his methods. Now, they seem to place considerable confidence in both the man and the manner in which he is attempting to break the Middle East stalemate."

A similar view was also expressed in Aswan and Cairo. *New York Times*

and therefore a success for his policy of negotiations. As Gwertzman points out, "American officials [referring to delays in the disengagement agreement] assume that the Egyptians have a domestic political problem, that they feel they must appear not to be giving away too much to Israel in this first stage of the negotiations."

Despite the official optimism, the negotiations are being conducted under the constant threat of U.S. or Israeli military action. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan warned in Tel Aviv Jan. 14 that "there is no real, sincere cease-fire in the north and the south [the Syrian and Sinai fronts]" and "It really needs a very urgent defusing. It cannot stay as it is now."

Dayan said that if clashes on the Suez front continue, Israel might again halt the daily convoys of food and water to the encircled Egyptian III Corps.

From the point of view of Washington, the Geneva talks are only one part of an overall attempt to stabilize and strengthen U.S. imperialist control of the Arab world. Military action is an option that is never ruled out by the imperialists in their dealings with the rest of the world. This threat was underlined Jan. 7 when U.S. Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger openly suggested this possibility in a television interview.

Asked whether the U.S. might "simply colonize those Arab countries" engaged in the oil boycott if the embargo went on too long, Schlesinger replied, "I think that that is a risk. It is plain, I think, that one should not tempt fate by pushing the concept of national sovereignty too far."

Although the U.S. press at first maintained a judicious silence on Schlesinger's statement, the reaction in the Arab world was sharp indeed. The Kuwaiti government made an official statement affirming that "all the necessary arrangements" had been made to blow up oil fields in the event of any U.S. invasion, and similar measures were reaffirmed by the Saudi Arabian government.



U.S. Marines train for combat in desert

U.S. spokesmen tried to soften the meaning of Schlesinger's trial balloon, but the significance of the threat was confirmed in a report to the *Los Angeles Times* by William Coughlin. "Pentagon hawks have been pressing for American military intervention to seize Middle East oilfields, according to a U.S. ambassador to an oil-producing nation," wrote Coughlin.

"Asked if the Arabs were needlessly apprehensive on the subject, the Ambassador told the *Los Angeles Times*: 'I wish they were.'"

Drew Middleton, writing in the Jan. 12 *New York Times*, detailed the U.S. and British forces immediately available for a Mideast intervention. "Discussing the problem on a theoretical basis, military sources think such forces would be sufficient for initial operations against the smaller oil states provided sufficient air cover was available."

The speed with which such an intervention can develop was seen in the Dominican Republic in 1965. On April 24 the people of Santo Domingo revolted against the pro-U.S. military regime, on April 28 the Johnson administration began sending in U.S. Marines and paratroopers, and in two weeks there were 32,000 U.S. troops occupying the country.

Continued on page 22



SADAT & KISSINGER: Self-determination for Palestinians and end to U.S. domination of Mideast are not on the agenda.

politics is that there will be more war.

From the point of view of the Israeli regime, a military disengagement agreement with Egypt would remove a substantial part of the burden that full military mobilization has placed on Israel's economy. At the same time, the Zionists would remain in control of the entire Sinai Peninsula, except for a strip of land less than 20 miles deep along the Suez Canal. In addition, they would be free to bring a larger portion of their forces to bear against the Syrians.

reporter Bernard Gwertzman wrote Jan. 15 that when Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy "was asked whether he thought the talks would prove fruitful," he replied, "'Your Secretary of State, when he sticks his finger in something, usually brings it to a successful conclusion. And he will, I think, this time.'"

Fahmy's attitude reflects the hopes of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, who would be able to play up any Israeli pullback as a first step in the liberation of the occupied territories,

Doors closed in U.S., USSR

Victims of Chilean terror refused asylum

Four months after the right-wing military coup that deposed Allende, an estimated 3,000 political refugees remain in United Nations sanctuaries and foreign embassies throughout Chile. In addition to these refugees, mainly Latin American exiles who sought refuge from their own governments under Allende, there are thousands of Chileans looking for homes and jobs in other countries.

These refugees face a Feb. 3 deadline for safe conduct out of Chile. In addition to the obstacles placed in their way by the junta, many have been unable to find a country that will allow them entry. Despite a special appeal by the office of the UN high commissioner for refugees, places have been found for only 1,400 of the 2,500 people registered with the UN.

Many of those governments allowing entry to refugees from Chile have put severe restrictions on the exiles. Mexico and Argentina have insisted that refugees entering those countries find some other country in which to

settle permanently.

A communiqué by non-Chilean refugees quoted in the Jan. 3 *Le Monde*, the Paris daily, denounced the attitude dominating the immigration policies of West Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Finland. The same issue of *Le Monde* reported that "the Bonn government has actually sent representatives from the Federal Bureau for the Protection of the Constitution to Santiago de Chile to interview candidates desiring to emigrate."

Unfortunately, with the exception of Cuba, which has placed no restrictions on immigration of refugees from Chile, the record of the workers states has been little better. The Kremlin bureaucrats have allowed entry to only six Soviet women, along with their husbands.

"Moscow's lack of enthusiasm about the non-Chilean refugees is understandable, diplomatic sources said, since many of them are Trotskyists or other unorthodox leftists who have been critical of the Soviet Union,"

wrote Terri Swan in the Jan. 5 *Washington Post*.

Swan continued: "Like many other governments, the Kremlin apparently fears that political exiles can be a source of domestic unrest."

The wretched response of the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow has been the rule throughout Eastern Europe as well as in China. The only exceptions have been East Germany, which agreed to admit 400 refugees—probably because of the pressure generated by the admission of 230 to West Germany and the announcement that several hundred more would be allowed asylum there—and Yugoslavia, which has agreed to allow the entry of 60 exiles.

The shameful example of the workers states stands out even more in contrast to the acceptance of nearly 1,000 refugees by the Pompidou regime in France. The French government was one of the first to recognize the junta, and it continues to sell it arms.

So far the U.S. has admitted only

one family of four. Frank Grinnon of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) told *The Militant* that the Department of State is screening political exiles, using the criteria of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

"This act was passed during the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt," Grinnon said. "I spoke to a Mr. Kiley at the State Department, who told me that membership in proscribed organizations would disqualify people from being granted entry to the U.S. He said proscribed organizations 'would be any left-wing organization, such as a left-wing auto union.'"

USLA is urging that letters and telegrams demanding the admission of all victims of the terror in Chile, regardless of their political views, be sent to Dr. Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, State Department Building, Washington, D.C. 20520.

For further information, contact USLA at 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, New York, N.Y. 10010.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 25, 1974

Interview with East German oppositionist

Wolf Biermann--poet, balladeer, political activist

[The following has been excerpted from an interview with the East German dissident poet and balladeer Wolf Biermann. The interview was published in the October 22 issue of the West German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Q. You're always referred to as *Biermann the Outcast*. Is that really the way you are? Rejected and cut off?

A. Ever since the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands—Socialist Unity party of Germany, the East German CP] in the winter of 1965, when I was an open proponent of de-Stalinization, I have found that I no longer fit into the landscape. Ever since then I have not been allowed to perform publicly or to publish anything. Even my love poems were cut out of anthologies in the next editions. So far nothing has changed on this score.

Q. But haven't you ever tried to have an informal engagement anywhere before an audience, say with help from friends?

A. Tried, yes. Three young, highly qualified nuclear physicists, all communists, were abruptly fired from the GDR Rossendorf Atomic Center. That happened just before the decision against me was handed down, as a matter of fact. They were fired because they had rented a modest hall in a village near Dresden so that I could give a performance. Anyone who tried that kind of thing again today wouldn't get off so lightly.

Q. And what about during the World Youth Festival? A lot of people gave impromptu performances there. Why didn't you?

A. But I did, in the Alexanderplatz.

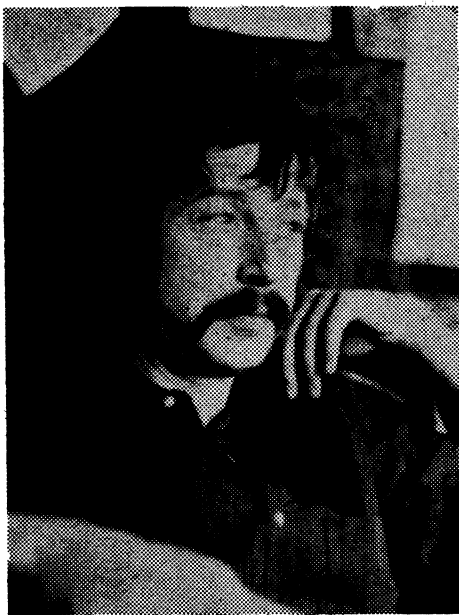
Q. And what happened?

A. Nothing could have happened because no preparations had been made. I was not even prepared myself.

Q. But you just happened to have your guitar with you?

A. No, that's just it. All I had was an umbrella. It was next to last evening of the festival around 11 p.m. in front of the World Clock, where you can see what time it is in all the countries of the world that we're not allowed to visit. I was just hanging around . . .

Q. And of course a crowd gathered that recognized you.



BIERMANN: 'Take the liberty; otherwise you'll never get it.'

A. Right. In no time there was a circle of people around me and they drew me into a conversation. They had found out somewhere about the existence of a song about Che Guevara that I had written especially for the festival. They wanted to hear it. I was scared shitless. I held up my umbrella, to show that I didn't have a guitar with me. But they wouldn't let me go. So with an unsteady voice and my knees shaking, I sang.

Q. What were you afraid of?

A. I was afraid that some graying professional youth in blue shirts who were standing duty around the Alex in a sort of well-organized ideological defense guard might provoke a fistfight.

Q. But nothing came of it?

A. No. This small incident summed up in miniature what my whole situation really amounts to. It's an example of the kind of thing that gets me into trouble.

Q. So, you didn't sing just the one song?

A. Well, first there was a discussion about why I'm not allowed to perform here and when the people will finally be able to hear me again.

Q. They wanted you to answer that question?

A. Yes, it was mainly the people from the West who asked it; people from the East helped answer it. They shouted out over everyone's heads: "Hey, man, he's not allowed to; what kind of a dumb question is that?"

Q. But everybody could see what you could do.

A. Well, I wasn't allowed to do it, but I finally took to heart something I wrote myself: Take the liberty; otherwise you'll never get it.

Q. You weren't molested by Biermann haters?

A. Oh, sure. For example, an older comrade from the GDR suddenly started screeching: "This is how the counterrevolution always begins. It's always the artists, just like in Poland, Hungary, and Prague. We can't let this fellow Biermann perform here. That kind of business shakes the foundations of the whole GDR. You can already see it here on the Alex."

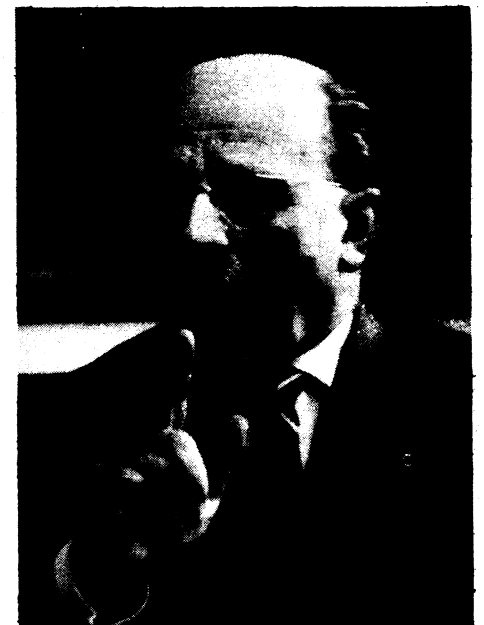
Q. Did the foundations shake?

A. There was a burst of laughter and that took the wind out of his sails. Then an elderly member of the FDJ [Freie Deutsche Jugend—Free German Youth] tried to salvage the situation. "Don't be silly," he said. "It won't shake anything; our republic isn't that weak. On the contrary, if this Biermann were to try to perform anywhere around here, nobody would listen to him." This provoked another salvo of laughter.

Q. How long did all of this go on?

A. Probably close to two and a half

hours. At the end everyone called for an encore of the Che Guevara song. I sang it again, this time without any fear or trembling and with a powerful voice. At that point I realized that it was actually an advantage not to have a guitar, because that would have distorted the political character of the situation and given it a phoney concert-hall atmosphere.



ULBRICHT: East German party boss wasn't as 'flexible' as bourgeois rulers.

Q. That was your first appearance . . .

A. . . . in eight years.

Q. Have you ever promised anyone here that you would make some compromises if the ban against you were lifted?

A. Right after the Eleventh Plenum eight years ago I had a conversation along those lines with Bruno Haid, an old Communist who was later deputy minister of culture. Right after that I put together a manuscript with selections that were certain to be within limits acceptable to my comrades in the government.

Q. And just what are these limits?

A. Well, there was the ballad of the drainpipe layer Fredi Rohsmeisl, which was sometimes permitted and sometimes banned. . . . I left that one out.

Q. It didn't do any good?

A. Of course not. You just have to understand that our society hasn't yet had the practice in governing and that its methods of rule aren't as flexible as in bourgeois societies. Here you don't have the same broad spectrum of half-way measures that bourgeois

Continued on following page



Impromptu concert at World Youth Festival. Biermann wasn't on the agenda.

'I only get as much liberty as I take'

Continued from preceding page
society can draw upon, by which it can let people run around shouting anything they want and ignore them at the same time.

Q. You're supposed to have once sent one of your songs directly to Walter Ulbricht.

A. It was one against the war in Vietnam. I recorded it on tape myself and sent it to him, but that didn't do any good either.

Q. Is it conceivable that the decision to allow Biermann to appear sometime in the near future could be deliberately made by any lower authority?

A. They won't make any formal decision, but they might let a change take place in fact. And I wouldn't be at all opposed to it, if that's how they wanted to ease me back inconspicuously into the so-called cultural life of the GDR.

Q. Have the chances of that happening gotten better now?

A. On the one hand, the conditions for it have improved. On the other, I have to look at my prospects in the light of the overall political process, since this is a political case. It is conditioned, after all, by the relaxation of tensions between West and East, which, in my opinion, is likely to mean a step-up in domestic tensions in both East and West respectively.

Q. Do you mean that your chances have gotten worse?

A. Not necessarily. Perhaps the tensions will increase in a favorable way, in a way that's positive for society. If things move in that direction—which I would call a revolutionary one—then that will bring about conditions in which I will be allowed to sing. Of course, I can very well envision relapses into the darkest periods of our past. I have a very good memory, one that they worked hard on.

Q. Does this mean that you're concerned about your personal safety?

A. My personal safety is a very, very variable factor. When the masses begin to move, as we say over here, the so-called prominent ringleaders receive the honor of being singled out for punishment and made into examples.

Q. Even if that goes against the rule of not making martyrs?

*A. That depends on the political overhead. Incidentally, regarding my personal safety, my case is dangerously deceptive, from a political point of view. People who don't understand things could draw the conclusion that anyone here in our country can shoot off his mouth just like Biermann and still be well-fed and live in a heated apartment and even talk about it with people from *Spiegel*.*

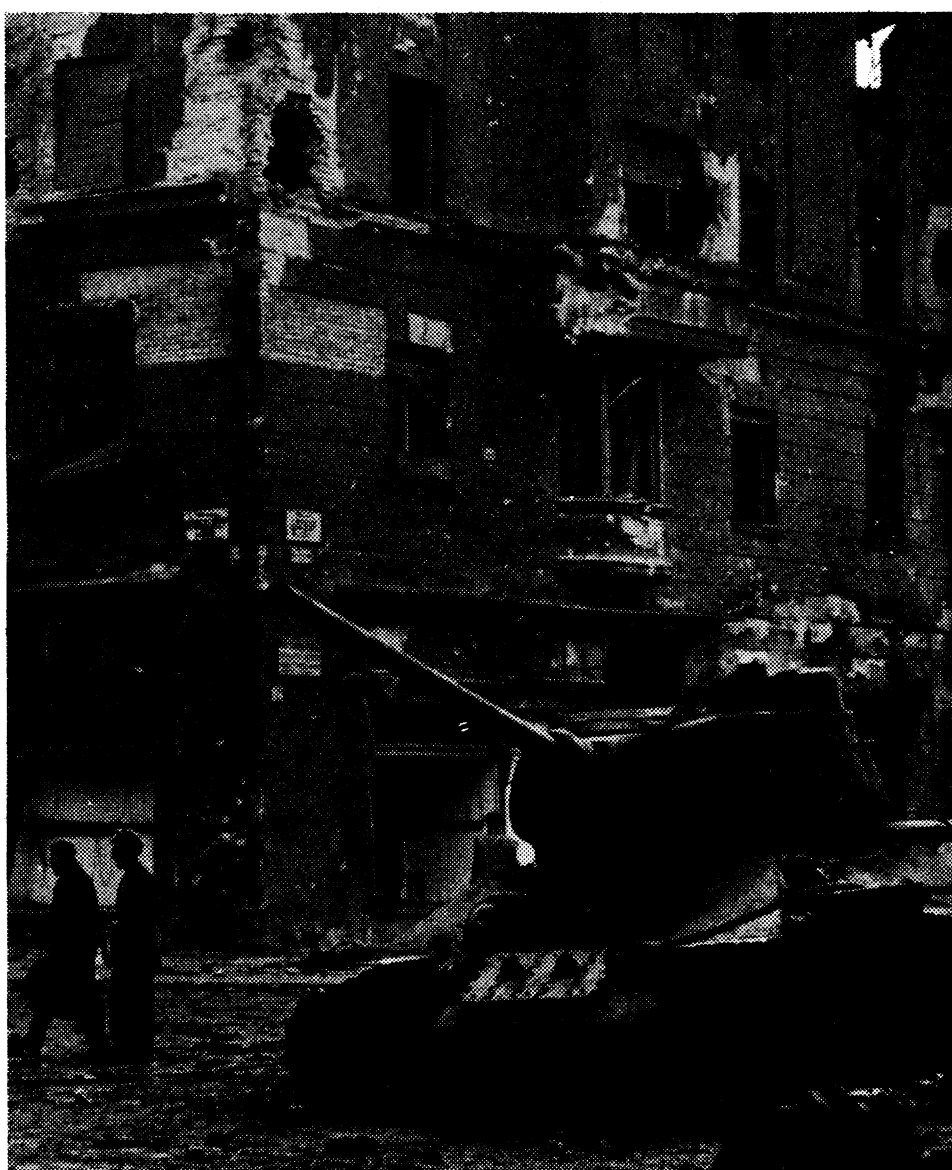
Q. Just what are your differences with the higher-ups in the party today?

A. These differences have nothing

to do with me as a person. They revolve around the heated discussion over the future of socialism. They represent differences inside the communist movement, especially within the countries calling themselves socialist. Class antagonisms, class struggles, are what are being fought out, not only with arguments and slanders . . .

Q. . . but with tanks as well, as we saw in Prague.

A. Yes. In any case it's not the stubbornness of one conceited poet that's causing problems. The problem is that it is not enough for me just to stand on our side, the progressive side, in a posture of classical opposition to



'Class antagonisms, class struggles, are what are being fought out, not only with arguments and slanders. . . ' Above, scene in Budapest during 1956 uprising of Hungarian workers against Stalinist bureaucrats.

the old capitalist order. We arrived long ago at the stage where on the basis of socialist property relations the contradictions between progress and reaction in the society have ripened.

Q. What advantage do you see in remaining in your living room recording songs and writing poetry that will be published only in the West?

A. That's a very one-dimensional way of posing the question. My principal audience lives in the GDR. I believe my songs and poems are circulated here more intensively through manuscripts and tape recordings than they are in the West. Of course, I don't get any money for that.

Q. What do you live on?

A. On the royalties that I get as composer and author from the performance of my songs in many western countries. According to an international agreement these royalties are channeled through the Association for the Protection of Producers' Rights in the GDR, of which I'm a member.

Q. You're one of the privileged few.

A. The same songs that would get any young person here into big trouble, which would get them arrested, to put it bluntly, if they tried to reproduce and circulate them—those same songs are what enable me to go into an Intershop and buy a bottle of Cognac for 14 or 15 marks that

you call it—taken by the GDR is wiped out by the fact that this was done at the expense of all the freedoms that were won in the French Revolution and in the German Revolution of 1848?

A. No. It's true that we don't enjoy the gains made by those bourgeois revolutions. But, then, that isn't what I'm politically concerned about, either. You see, I'm against this thing that Westerners call liberalization in the East. It's a political side-effect of the better and better business deals between the East and the West.

Q. Would you say that liberalization is a purely economic phenomenon?

A. No, I wouldn't put it that way, but I think that modern Stalinism, computerized Stalinism—where you get a hole punched in a card instead of one shot in the back of your neck—has liberalization as its political philosophy.

Q. But isn't it true that the very socialist bureaucracy that you satirize is resisting liberalization with all its might?

A. Actually only in the most superficial way. As I see it, even people like Sakharov and Brezhnev differ only in that they have different conceptions on how far the liberalization should go and how fast—which can be dangerous for Sakharov, these days, of course.

Q. Do you see any better alternative?

A. In my opinion the correct, the progressive, the revolutionary alternative would be what we express by the slogan of socialist democracy. The progress of socialist democracy in the socialist countries will be decisive in determining the chances for anti-imperialist, anticapitalist developments in the West.

Q. The kind of socialism you describe sounds more like Dubcek socialism than anything else. Do you see any similarity between it and the present-day reality in the GDR?

A. The so-called Dubcek disease exists as a revolutionary tendency in all the socialist countries, and therefore in the GDR, too. In this sense the invasion of Czechoslovakia was counterrevolutionary in the most basic, direct sense of the word.

Q. Have you really never—not even because of that—considered returning to the West, as a communist protest singer?

A. My whole sensibility and way of thinking is highly specialized and geared to this phase of the revolution, after the first big step has been taken. I mean I've spent the greater part of my conscious life in this society where the first important, and yet insufficient, step has been taken.

Q. Then it must be quite a disturbing thought for you that someday they may present you forcibly with the freedom to go to the West.

A. That's my only fear. It'd be all over for me. I think I would stop writing altogether.

would cost any other GDR citizen up to 80 marks in a store.

Q. Formally speaking, you're supposed to go through the procedure of obtaining permission from the GDR for everything you release in the West. How does that work?

A. I haven't discussed that topic with the people who issue the permits in ages.

Q. In other words you have the greatest possible latitude regarding what you put out in the West.

A. I get only as much liberty as I take.

Q. Speaking of liberty, don't you think the historic step forward—as

Portugal's African wars helped by U.S. arms, oil

By Tony Hodges

London

Washington is taking new initiatives to strengthen its backing for the Portuguese government's ailing war effort in Africa. On December 18 U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger arrived in Lisbon for talks with Portuguese dictator Marcello Caetano and his foreign secretary, Rui Patricio. A communiqué issued after the discussions by the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon indicated that the talks had been "markedly friendly" and that "large areas of agreement" had been reached.

One objective of the talks was to arrange U.S. support against the total embargo on oil supplies to Portugal, which was imposed by the Arab summit meeting in Algiers in November. Other items under discussion were the Nixon administration's commitment to keeping Guinea-Bissau out of the United Nations, the renegotiation of the 1971 treaty under which Washington has use of the Lajes air base in the Azores, and new U.S. arms deliveries to the Portuguese military.

Under a 1971 treaty, Washington received use of the Lajes air base in return for a loan to Lisbon of \$400 million from the U.S. Export-Import Bank, and a further \$36 million and a survey vessel from the U.S. government. According to the November 15, 1973, London *Guardian*, "the Pentagon also took over from Portugal the costs of the US Military Advisory and Assistance Group (MAAG) in Lisbon."

The 1971 treaty provided Portugal with valuable economic assistance at a time when its economy was feeling the effects of the war. With approximately 170,000 troops in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, the Portuguese government has been spending nearly half of its budget on the military.

The 1971 agreement proved equally

to be seen—in negotiations over the next few months about the renewal of the base agreement which expires in February."

Part of the payoff is the U.S. commitment to keeping the Republic of Guinea-Bissau out of the United Nations. U.S. delegates have hinted that Washington will use its Security Council veto if necessary to accomplish this.

The November 28 *Financial Times* speculated that a new arms deal will also emerge from the present round of U.S.-Portuguese talks. "Reports published in Washington recall the advent of sophisticated ground-to-air missiles being used by the insurgents in Guinea-Bissau. They cite intelligence accounts of deliveries to the FRELIMO in Mozambique of long-range Soviet rockets and other advanced weapons. The implication is that the U.S. will be asked to supply counter-weapons as part of the new deal."

The Nixon administration lobbied heavily to defeat a proposed congressional amendment to the foreign-aid bill that would have prohibited economic or military aid that could provide direct support for the Caetano regime's wars in Africa.

Portugal appears well placed to resist the Arab oil embargo, which was imposed following an appeal from the foreign ministers of thirty-eight African governments. Its Angolan colony produces nearly 9 million tons of crude oil a year, far more than Portugal's annual consumption of around 6.5 million tons.

The largest oil company operating in Angola is Cabinda Gulf Oil, a subsidiary of Gulf Oil Corporation, which first discovered oil in the Cabinda enclave of Angola in 1966 and is now producing about 150,000 barrels a day (7.5 million tons annually). Other companies involved in oil prospecting and production in Angola are Texaco; the French oil monopoly, Total; the Belgian monopoly, Petro-

World news notes

Peruvian junta threatens new repression

General Juan Velasco Alvarado has "bluntly warned" political opponents and revolutionists in Peru that they will be "in for trouble" if they don't stop agitating against his "progressive" military regime, correspondent David Belnap reported from Lima in the December 14 *Los Angeles Times*. Only one group was mentioned by name in the warning: the FIR (Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International), which is headed by Hugo Blanco, now in exile in Sweden.

The threat came as a direct response to the strikes and demonstrations of teachers, students, and trade unionists in November that paralyzed the three major cities in southern Peru and led to clashes with the police. The junta put the death toll at four, but Belnap reported that reliable unofficial accounts placed it at forty.

In 1971, after a similar "unauthorized" teachers strike, a number of leaders of the teachers union were deported by the junta, as was Hugo Blanco, who had supported the strikes. The latest warning expressed concern over the weakening control of the CGTP (Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú—General Federation of Peruvian Workers) over the labor movement. The Peruvian Communist party, which dominates the leadership of the CGTP, openly supports the "progressive" military regime and helps it keep the labor movement in check.

The December 15 issue of the U.S. Communist party's West Coast weekly, the *People's World*, went so far as to identify the November strikes and demonstrations with the right-wing actions in Chile prior to Allende's fall.

A more realistic assessment of the situation was given by "some restless youthful elements" in the Peruvian CP. According to Belnap, they believe the CP leadership "has become stodgy, bureaucratic and nonrevolutionary."

Ramsey Clark on 'justice' under Franco

Adding his voice to the international outcry against the savage sentences of twelve to twenty years in prison handed out to ten Spanish labor leaders, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark exposed the trial of the "Carabanchel 10" in the January 11 issue of the *New York Times*.

Clark, who was one of many international observers at the trial, stated, "There was not a shred of evidence introduced that the defendants had even committed the crime with which they were charged."

Moreover, the defendants were charged "only with a 'struggle to insure that social and economic demands set forth by the workers be met.' No evidence was introduced that the ten had even committed so heinous a crime as to meet or do anything, whatever their concern for the plight of working people."

Protests against the trial included one in which a thousand persons gathered in front of the Ministry of Justice in Madrid in an unsuccessful attempt to deliver a letter of solidarity with the Carabanchel 10. On the same day, 200 to 300 people demonstrated in the Basque city of Bilbao until they were dispersed by the police.

The trial began the same day as the assassination of Franco's designated political heir, Admiral Carrero Blanco. "Not only was the trial overshadowed by the political crisis," commented Marcel Niedergang in the January 1 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, "but the hope for a reduction of the very heavy sentences being asked by the prosecutor had waned."

"The attack against Admiral Carrero Blanco gave the signal for new arrests of leftist militants and priests who are known for their progressive ideas. On December 30 the Supreme Court confirmed a penalty of thirteen years in prison for 'illegal propaganda,' imposed on Martin Nieto, who was found in possession of two copies of the *Tribune Libertaire*."

One person who was unruffled by the political repression being carried out by the Franco regime was Henry Kissinger. As Clark writes, "The day the trial started the papers quoted our Secretary of State as looking to a new North Atlantic Treaty Organization 'relationship' to include Spain, which shared a 'substantial identity of views' with the United States and permitted four major military bases on her soil."

Thai students protest CIA and Tanaka

Several thousand students demonstrated in Bangkok on January 9 to protest a visit by Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka and to demand that the U.S. ambassador and the Central Intelligence Agency get out of Thailand. These actions were among the largest in Thailand since last October's mass worker and student upsurge that toppled the military dictatorship.

Tanaka was met by protests against Japanese economic domination and exploitation of Thailand when he arrived at the airport, and later he was delayed by students who barricaded the entrances to his hotel.

More than 4,000 students, professors, and others massed outside the U.S. embassy. The demonstration followed the admission that a false cease-fire offer made in the name of a Thai Communist guerrilla leader had in fact been sent by a CIA agent. The agent apparently hoped that word of a compromise in the making would increase defections from the insurgent forces.

Protests have specifically focused on U.S. Ambassador William Kintner, himself a former CIA agent.



Portuguese troops in Angola

useful for Washington during the October War in the Arab East, when the Lajes base was used as a refueling stop for the airlift of military supplies to Israel. The November 28 London *Financial Times* reported that "in Lisbon's view the past few weeks have demonstrated very clearly that the Azores base is of critical strategic importance to the US, and must at all costs be maintained. It is probably here that the biggest pay-off is going

to be seen—in negotiations over the next few months about the renewal of the base agreement which expires in February."

The possibility of vast undiscovered oil reserves in Angola has attracted many other would-be prospectors. By the end of 1972, sixteen firms had applied for concessions from the

Continued on following page

Arab and Israeli revolutionists issue joint statement on Mideast war

[The following statement was jointly issued November 20 by the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist) and the Lebanese Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG). Both are supporters of the Fourth International.

[This joint declaration was distributed in Arabic during a 15,000-strong demonstration December 16 protesting the Middle East tour of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The December 28 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly, reports:

"At the end of the demonstration, several minutes after our comrades had begun handing out the declaration, some participants jumped on our comrades to attack them. There was an immediate reaction to this, not only among our own comrades, but also among militants of other Palestinian and Arab organizations who came to their assistance.

"Militants of various revolutionary and Palestinian leftist organizations drew out their automatic weapons and began firing in the air, thus surprising the assailants, who stopped for a moment before responding by also firing in the air. The confusion added to the panic and scuffling.

"One comrade was seriously injured by being kicked; one demonstrator was hit in the face by a shot. Six comrades were arrested, but were released almost immediately thanks to

ing of Arab governments as the sole voice of the Palestinians) are increasingly revealing their acceptance of the 'peaceful solution' and especially the idea of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and in Gaza. . . .

"[The political clarification that is now going on is quite positive, but it entails a heightened risk for leftist currents that oppose the so-called peaceful solution and call it what it is: liquidation of the Palestinian cause. Groups are arising out of Fateh, the DPFLP, and the Arab Liberation Front (the pro-Iraqi-government group) that are after the hides of the oppositionists in order to prevent the crystallization of an opposition that is prepared to denounce their policy of capitulation."

[In a leaflet distributed the day after this incident, the RCG pointed out that "certain circles want to impose their opinions by force of arms, arms that in this case are only an extension of the arms of the capitulationist Arab regimes. . . .

"*These repressive acts will not scare us off. We affirm our resolve to continue pressing our line and to put it forward before the broadest masses. In doing this, we will be no less courageous than our comrades who dare to raise their voices in solidarity with the Arab peoples in the very heart of the Zionist state and against its repressive apparatus. The voice of rev-*

olutionary Marxists are not neutral in the war between the Zionist state and the Arab bourgeoisies. We support the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Zionist state, a colonial phenomenon and the number one bastion of imperialism in the Arab East, an enemy not only of the Arab masses, but also of the Jewish masses, whom it leads into permanent war against the struggle of the Arab peoples for national and social emancipation.

Revolutionary Marxists' support for the war against the Zionist state in no way represents support to the policies of the Arab bourgeoisies. On the contrary, the revolutionary Marxists' duty is to show the Arab masses that in the conflict with the Zionist state, the bourgeoisies of the Arab countries are not aiming at the victory of the Palestinian Arab people's national cause (its right to return to the territory from which it was expelled and to live free of any national oppression), which necessarily implies destruction of the Zionist state. Rather, the Arab bourgeoisies are aiming at creating, behind the backs of the Palestinian masses, the basis for "peaceful coexistence" with the state of Israel.

The whole purpose of the agreement now being worked out through the intervention of American imperialism and with the support of the Soviet bureaucracy is to block the revolutionary process for which the Palestinian cause has been a catalyst. In exchange for an Israeli withdrawal from the territories occupied in June 1967 the bourgeois Arab regimes gathered under the aegis of "Saudi" Arabia, are preparing to recognize the existence of the Zionist state and to hold back the rise of the Arab socialist revolution in alliance with the Zionist state.

The role of the revolutionary Marxists is:

— In the Arab countries: to denounce the maneuvers of the Arab bourgeoisies, their capitulation to imperialism and Zionism, and their betrayal of the Palestinian cause; to make the necessary struggle against the "peaceful solution" a springboard for the general revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses against imperialism, Zionism, and capitalism.

— In Israel: to develop the critical sentiments arising among the masses as a result of the war into an anti-Zionist class consciousness that will allow for the breaking of "holy national unity" and for joining the Jewish workers to the struggle of the Arab masses for a united Socialist Arab Republic, the only way to guarantee not only the security of the Jewish masses but also their national rights and social emancipation.

Complete and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli army from the territories occupied in June 1967!

No to the "peaceful solution"! No to the betrayal of the national cause of the Palestinian Arab people!

For a common revolutionary struggle of Arab and Jewish workers!

Against imperialism, Zionism, and the Arab bourgeoisies!

Long live proletarian internationalism!



Palestinian refugee family. Israel is both an oppressor of the Palestinians and 'the number one bastion of imperialism in the Arab East.'

the very vigorous intervention of leftist Palestinian militants. . . .

"[The initiative in these confrontations was taken by some members of Fateh, or more exactly, of Rasd, Fateh's intelligence and internal police division, and by members of the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP), which has been sliding even further to the right since September 1970. . . .

"[The motivation for this ominous act is quite clear. The leaders of Fateh (that is, the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, which was recognized at the Algiers summit meet-

olutionary Marxists penetrates all repression."

[The text of the Matzpen-Marxist-RCG statement is taken from the December 14 issue of *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

On the occasion of the fourth Arab-Israeli war, we Jewish and Arab revolutionary Marxists, adherents of the Fourth International in the Arab countries and within the Zionist state itself, are determined to express jointly our viewpoint, which is that of proletarian internationalism.

...Portugal

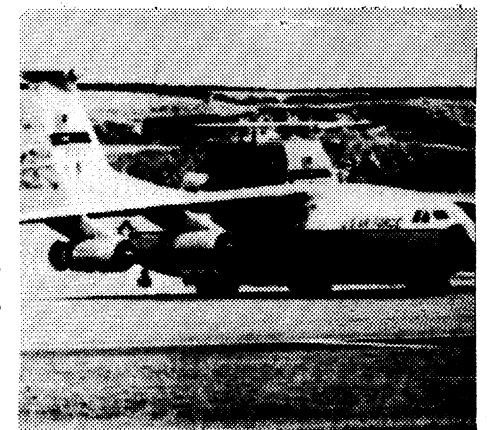
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Portuguese government. The November issue of the *Standard Bank Review* considered that "because of developments in the Middle East considerable interest is expected to be shown in the regions of Angola where oil is known to exist but where concessions have not yet been granted."

But Portugal has been unable to import much Angolan oil because of its usually high wax content, which makes it unsuitable for Portuguese refineries. In 1972, while Cabinda Gulf exported almost all its oil to Canada, the United States, and Japan, most of Portugal's oil imports came from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Abu Dhabi. Only 7.7 percent of Cabinda Gulf's exports went to Portugal.

The Nixon administration is therefore expected to exchange U.S. oil for that from Cabinda, according to the November 28 *Financial Times*:

"Informed speculation is that as part



U.S. transport on stopover at Azores during arms airlift to Israel.

of the Azores airlift deal the Cabinda oil is being taken by the U. S. in direct exchange for crude that is more suitable for Lisbon's refinery needs. (This is already to some extent a requirement of the standing agreement between Gulf and the Portuguese Government.) Hence Lisbon's confidence despite the reported threat of a 'total trade boycott' by Arab countries."

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HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

THE COMINTERN'S ULTRALEFT BINGE

Fourth of a series

By DAVE FRANKEL

Up until 1928 both the domestic and international policies of the Stalinist leadership in the USSR were characterized by opportunism. The wild swing to economic adventurism that began in 1928 was the bureaucracy's panicked reaction to the economic crisis it had created.

The same year also saw the beginning of a new policy in the Comintern, an ultraleft policy that was to hold sway for nearly six years. The ultraleft turn in the Comintern began after the defeat of the Chinese revolution of 1925-27.

Stalin had been closely identified with the policy in China, and his reaction to the defeat there was the same as his reaction to the defeat in Germany in 1923. Instead of trying to draw the lessons of the Chinese experience, educate the ranks of the Comintern about the events there, and correct his errors, Stalin tried to minimize the setback, denying that a decisive defeat had occurred.

The result of this policy was the announcement that the revolution in China was now entering its highest stage, and that the formation of workers and peasants councils and the struggle for power were on the agenda. The Chinese Communist Party was ordered to launch armed insurrections, such as the Canton Commune of December 1927. These were bloodily suppressed, and the lives of thousands of Communists and other workers were needlessly sacrificed.

At the same time, a search for scapegoats was initiated. Although the leaders of the Chinese CP had followed the instructions of the Comintern at each stage of the revolution—sometimes against their own better judgment—they were accused of not having properly implemented a correct policy.

'The right danger'

The policy of scapegoatism and ultraleftism was exemplified by V.V. Lominadze, a Comintern functionary who had played one of the principal roles in preparing the ill-fated Canton uprising. At the fifteenth congress of the CPSU in December 1927, Lominadze declared, "If communist parties have committed mistakes in the past two years, they have always committed Right mistakes."

The campaign against "the right danger," although originally intended



Stalin's ultraleft turn was a reaction to the 1927 defeat in China. Above, a Shanghai textile factory in April 1927. The Kuomintang policeman has just executed two workers.

to co-opt the ground of the Left Opposition, also dovetailed with the fight against Bukharin. It was under the rubric of this campaign that Bukharin's supporters were replaced in the Comintern apparatus.

The fullest exposition of the new policy was given at the sixth congress of the Comintern in July-September 1928. A thoroughly non-Marxist schema of three periods was outlined: one, from 1917 to 1923, was delineated as a time of sharp revolutionary crises; a second, from 1924 to 1928, as a period of stabilization of capitalism; and a third period, which had supposedly now opened, was seen as one in which the general crisis of capitalism would lead directly and inevitably to revolution.

Although the "third period," as it came to be known, began as a maneuver by Stalin against his opponents in the party, it developed into a sharp and prolonged turn in the whole policy of the Comintern. The extension of this policy internationally was in part a reaction to the diplomatic isolation of the USSR and the fear of a new imperialist attack following the defeat in China and the collapse of the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

The beginning of the world depression in October 1929 gave the ultraleft turn an additional strong impetus, but the main reason for this turn was the "left course" inside the Soviet Union.

There was no way for foreign policy to remain unaffected by domestic policy, which was the main preoccupation

of the Soviet bureaucracy. The announcement of a life-and-death struggle with capitalist forces in the Soviet countryside was extended to the world arena. Similarly, the prokulak policy that had reached its height in 1925 had been a major factor in the Comintern announcement of the "stabilization" of world capitalism on the eve of the Chinese revolution and the British general strike.

Politics of the third period

In spite of Stalin's rhetoric, the third period was only the mirror image of the earlier period of opportunism. Both policies were predicated on building "socialism in one country"—the Soviet Union. The Stalinists saw the solution to the diplomatic isolation of the USSR and the threat of war in terms of building a national fortress *instead of* extending the revolution.

"One Soviet tractor is worth more than ten good foreign Communists." This "was a characteristic remark heard from highly placed Bolsheviks in the days of the first five-year plan," recounts the historian Isaac Deutscher. "The phrase reflected the tenor of the intimate talk about the Comintern in Stalin's entourage."

In answering the third period thesis that there was a worldwide revolutionary situation, Trotsky explained that in addition to the objective social and economic premises for revolution, it was necessary for the different classes in society to become aware of these conditions before a revolution could occur. It was necessary for the workers and the middle class to lose confidence in the old system and look to revolutionary solutions.

In evaluating the psychology of the masses, it was necessary to examine the actual situation in each country. Using Britain as an example, Trotsky explained, "These phenomena will inevitably come. However, they do not exist today. They can come in a short period of time, through the acute crisis. They can arrive in two or three years, or perhaps in a year. But this is a perspective and not a fact today. We must base our policy on the facts of today and not of tomorrow."

The third period in action

A further innovation of the third period was the theory of social fascism. Taking as their starting point Stalin's famous dictum that Social Democracy and fascism "do not contradict but supplement one another. They are not antipodes but twins," the parties of the Comintern de-

nounced the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and refused all cooperation with them. Soon most of those outside of the Comintern were being denounced as fascists of one type or another.

One example of this is an article by Earl Browder from the May 1930 issue of *The Communist*. Browder, then the official leader of the CPUSA, wrote:

"The role of the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party in the development of fascism in the United States was clarified by the Plenum, which corrected a current error in the Party of speaking of the American Federation of Labor as 'social-fascist.' It was pointed out that the A.F. of L. is plainly a fascist organization, without any of the 'protective coloring' of socialist phrases which distinguishes social-fascism. The Socialist Party and its Muste wing are social-fascists. . . .

"This distinction between two forms of fascist development must not be misunderstood as signifying different degrees of fascism. Indeed, it may well happen that the social-fascists, even though disguising themselves with 'socialist' phrases, may be more viciously fascist in action than even the open fascist elements."

Since the existing trade unions were deemed fascist organizations, the Comintern parties initiated the construction of their own "Red" trade unions, and worked to break up the "fascist" unions. The isolation that resulted from the theory of "social fascism" and the line of building red unions came just as the world economic crisis struck and when new revolutionary opportunities were opening up.

In Britain, the Labour Party had come to power in the 1929 elections, but the British Communists had refused to support it and were isolated from its rank and file. In Spain, from 1931 onwards, the question of social revolution was posed, but the Spanish CP played almost no role in the massive radicalization that led up to the Spanish Civil War.

While the Comintern's third period line cut the Communist Parties off from the growing radicalization around the world, it also served as an effective insulation against the criticisms of the Opposition—one of its original purposes. The Stalinist slander campaign characterizing the Trotskyists as "counterrevolutionaries," and then as "social fascists," set the stage for more brutal mea-

Continued on page 22



Members of the Social Democratic Reichsbanner League defend 1930 Berlin rally. During this period Stalin called the Social Democrats 'social fascists,' and insisted they were the main enemy of the working class.

FOR FURTHER READING

The following books by Leon Trotsky, the central leader of the International Left Opposition, explain in greater depth the issues in the fight against Stalinism.

- THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN, 348 pp., \$3.45
- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED: What Is the Soviet Union? Where Is It Going?, 314 pp., \$2.95
- THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION and RESULTS AND PROSPECTS, 282 pp., \$2.75
- THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY, 480 pp., \$3.95

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

Justice Dept. to look into racist N.Y. election districting

By NORMAN OLIVER

Malcolm X used to call the northern United States "Up-South." On Jan. 4, a federal district court made a ruling that corroborates this comment on racism in the North.

The court applied the provisions of the 1970 Voting Rights Act to a northern state for the first time. Its decision held that congressional and legislative districts in three New York City boroughs — Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx—were subject to the scrutiny of the Justice Department for racial fairness.

This ruling was won by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which is now seeking an injunction to bar the holding of elections this year on the present district lines. It is likely that the injunction will be granted, thus forcing the redrafting of district lines for federal and state legislative seats.

The 1970 Voting Rights Act places under federal scrutiny any state, city, or county in which less than 50 percent of the eligible voting population was registered or voted in 1968.

The law is one of the victories won by the civil rights movement. But until now the courts had applied it only to southern states. The NAACP and other civil rights organizations have been fighting for many years for its application to the North.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Blacks are 12 percent of the population but are denied equal representation.

According to the 1970 Census, Black people make up about 12 percent of the American population. Many Blacks feel that this figure is way below the mark; but, even using this government figure, Blacks are still denied equal representation. There is only one Black out of 100 U.S. senators. In the House there are only 16 Blacks, or 3.6 percent of the representatives.

In New York City the situation is no better. The three New York boroughs where the Voting Rights Act applies have 2.2 million Black and Puerto Rican residents. Yet they have only one Puerto Rican and two Black members of the U.S. Congress; one

Puerto Rican and three Black state senators; and three Puerto Rican and nine Black state assemblymen. It's clear that if the racist gerrymandering of district lines were eliminated, these numbers would be a lot higher.

The gerrymandering of election districts in New York exists on a city level as well. Last year the city council had to reapportion the city council districts several times before getting approval from the Lindsay administration. The outcry of Blacks and Puerto Ricans at the public hearings of the city council on this subject forced the council to back down from its blatant gerrymandering. The New York Socialist Workers Party candidates for city office in 1973 actively supported these protests.

St. Louis UFW ends boycott of Schnucks

By PAT HAYES

ST. LOUIS—The St. Louis United Farm Workers boycott committee has agreed to end its six-month battle with Schnucks Markets, Inc., amid conflicting reports over the terms of the settlement. Schnucks is St. Louis's largest independent food chain, with more than 40 stores in the area.

In a statement released Jan. 8, St. Louis UFW boycott coordinator Richard Cook announced that Schnucks had "agreed to stock our (iceberg) lettuce exclusively, as long as it meets Schnucks standards of quality, price, and availability."

Schnucks, however, released a statement denying they had agreed to carry only UFW lettuce.

An aide to owner Don Schnuck told *The Militant* that Schnucks agreed only to "handle union lettuce, including UFW lettuce when competitively available." Schnucks refuses to confirm or deny that it has also agreed to stop carrying scab grapes as part of the settlement.

The agreement came on the heels of the largest picket action in several months. The Dec. 8 action, which drew 80 people despite extreme cold, was held to test a court injunction prohibiting picketing, including informational picketing, of any of the chain's stores. The picketers, who openly violated the injunction, were successful in turning many shoppers away. They were not harassed by either Schnucks security guards or police.

In contrast to this show of solidarity with the struggle of the Farm Workers, the Greater St. Louis Labor Council voted overwhelmingly Dec. 18 to stop supporting the Farm Workers until they called off the Schnucks boycott. The labor council also sent a letter to the national AFL-CIO farm workers committee, saying in part:

"We would certainly like to support them [the Farm Workers] but if they insist on continuing their attacks only on the home-owned chain [Schnucks], we find that we cannot, in good conscience, continue our support as our membership is becoming greatly alarmed at the Farm Workers' tactics."

The letter insisted that Schnucks was "one of the fairest [food chains] to deal with. . . ."

The labor council also complained



Militant/Pat Hayes

Farm workers and supporters in St. Louis

that boycotting an entire store because it carried scab produce was unfair to union members working in the store. Farm workers supporters, however, point out that such a secondary boycott is the only way to effectively force scab produce off the market, and that the active help of unionized supermarket employees would make it much easier to force stores to comply.

Richard Cook told *The Militant* that the UFW would "continue to use the boycott" in its struggle for union recognition. The St. Louis boycott committee now plans to pick another chain on which to focus the boycott.

Despite near-zero temperatures, Chicago UFW supporters held a large picket line at a Jewel food store for more than six hours on Jan. 12.

The line included up to 300 people at times, marching and chanting in front of the store and parking lot. Frequent cheers were raised as shoppers refused to cross the picket line. At least three would-be shoppers joined the demonstration.

Farm Workers supporters in Chicago are planning a Feb. 8-10 conference to form a student Midwest organizing committee to build the boycott movement. For more information call the United Farm Workers at (312) 752-8521.

In Philadelphia, 75 UFW supporters held a rally at JFK Plaza on Jan. 9 and then marched to the executive offices of A&P, a major purchaser of scab produce. Edward Toohey, president of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO council, addressed the rally.

Cleveland union officials debate scab ad

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—A major controversy exploded onto the floor of a Cleveland Federation of Labor (CFL) delegate meeting Jan. 9.

The executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, Jack Weir, blasted leaders of Meat Cutters Local 427 and Retail Clerks Local 880. Officials of these two locals recently placed a full-page ad in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* attacking the United Farm Workers boycott and calling on farm workers and others to stop picketing the Fisher-Fazio food chain and other stores that sell scab lettuce

and grapes.

In his remarks to the CFL meeting, Weir termed the ad "unheard-of and destructive." He said it "is in flat contradiction to the stated policy of the AFL-CIO of support to the United Farm Workers Union."

Weir expressed amazement that the CFL executive board's response to the ad was limited to a proposal that a letter be sent to AFL-CIO President George Meany requesting a clarification of AFL-CIO policy in regard to the Farm Workers. He quoted a recent statement by Meany sharply castigating Teamsters leaders for their raids on the UFW. Weir's remarks were applauded by a sizable minority of those in attendance.

Bob Bresnahan, a delegate from AFSCME Local 1746, pointed out that the claim used to justify the ad—that the boycott has led to the layoffs of clerks and meat cutters—is simply not true. "Between Sept. 1 and Nov. 3, 1973," Bresnahan reported, "Fisher-Fazio hired about 200 apprentice meat cutters off the street. This company has been undergoing a major expansion." It was hiring apprentice meat cutters as recently as one week prior to the CFL meeting, he said.

UFW supporters at the CFL meeting pointed out that layoffs are not the issue. The real issue is that the growers and Teamsters officials—with the help of the giant food chains—are out to destroy the fledgling union. Under these circumstances, elementary trade-union solidarity dictates that other unions go all out in support of the UFW. The *Plain Dealer* ad is a strikebreaking instrument whose only result is to take the heat off the food chains and the growers.

Although it appeared that most of the prominent officials in the liberal wing of the CFL were irritated with the Meat Cutters and Clerks officials for publicly attacking the Farm Workers, the CFL did not resolve to condemn their strikebreaking action.

In a related development, Eliseo Medina, a UFW vice-president and coordinator of the boycott in Ohio, released copies of a letter he had sent to Teamsters International Vice-president William Presser. Presser, based in Cleveland, was held responsible for placing a full-page ad in the Jan. 6 *Plain Dealer* in the name of the Teamsters union.

The ad urged shoppers to cross UFW boycott lines and falsely claimed that the phony sweetheart contracts Teamsters officials have signed with growers provided "better representation" for the field workers.

Medina answered the lies in the ad and promised that the UFW would "keep organizing and striking; we will continue to build our worldwide boycott of grapes and lettuce."



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Boycott of Fisher-Fazio's is sabotaged by officials of Clerks and Meat Cutters.

United Farm Workers strike to win back lettuce contracts in Imperial Valley fields

By FRED HALSTEAD

CALEXICO, Calif. — The lettuce-picking season is under way here in the Imperial Valley and the United Farm Workers of America is centering its strike activity against D'Arrigo Brothers, one of the largest growers in this area.

D'Arrigo Brothers used to have a contract with the United Farm Workers but last year signed a sweetheart pact with officials of the Teamsters union to escape having to deal with the real union of the field workers.

The D'Arrigo-Teamsters' contract is one of those declared inoperative last fall by Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons when he was negotiating with AFL-CIO President George Meany and UFW President César Chávez. Those negotiations fell apart when Fitzsimmons continued to allow the Teamsters to be used by the growers as strikebreaking agents.

That Fitzsimmons's word was worth exactly nothing was shown by the fact that both D'Arrigo and the local Teamster officials here still claim that D'Arrigo is operating under a Teamster contract. The D'Arrigo carton still bears the Teamster label. According to César Enríquez, the UFW official in charge of the area where the D'Arrigo main Imperial Valley fields are located, more than three-fourths of the growers in the Valley have signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters to break the UFW here.

"Those contracts provide no security, no conditions. The workers can be fired at the will of the boss without facing a grievance procedure," says Enríquez. "The Teamsters collect monthly dues from the workers and from the growers for a phony health plan that the workers never see. The workers get no union benefits."

The UFW still has contracts with a few growers in the Valley including Inter-Harvest, one of the big vegetable combines. This grower provides about 2,000 jobs, but the UFW has about 5,000 members in the area. Many UFW workers must work on nonunion farms, including those with the phony Teamster contracts.

Since UFW members pay 2 percent of their wages in dues only when working at a union job, the union is in tight financial straits. Enríquez himself is paid only \$20 a week by the union.

Enríquez was born and raised on a farm outside Brawley, where his father worked for 30 years "until he got too old, had rheumatism, and they threw him out for a younger man. No pension, no security, no nothin'."

El Hoyo

Enríquez explained that when D'Arrigo was signed with the UFW, "we had a hiring hall where workers got jobs by seniority without discrimination. Now, D'Arrigo operates through the labor contractors so they can pick among the workers waiting for jobs. 'Not you, you're too old' or 'you're too fat' or 'you're too skinny' or 'I don't want any women on this crew' is what they say. It's a miserable thing to see the workers down there in *El Hoyo* jumping around, raising their hands, trying to attract the attention of the crew bosses, trying to look good for them."

El Hoyo (The Hole) is a place in Calexico just across the border from the Mexican town of Mexicali where the labor contractors come to hire field hands. Almost all the farm work-

ers in *El Hoyo* are "green carders," Mexican citizens who hold a green card permit to cross the border each day to work on the U.S. side.

Until they connect with a crew and become more or less regulars for the season, they must be at *El Hoyo* at 3 a.m. to shape up for work. They are driven to the fields, which may be as far as 60 to 70 miles away, arriving around 6 a.m.

If they are lucky they start work at 7 a.m. Often, however, they must wait for the frost to melt off the outside leaves before they can start picking



Ten years of stoop labor in lettuce fields is about all workers can take

without breaking the lettuce. So they may have to wait until 9 a.m. without pay. Then they put in a long back-breaking day, stooping most of the time, finishing up after dark.

They are then driven back to the border, where they must take a long bus ride (if they aren't lucky enough to get a ride from their friends) back to their homes in Mexicali.

For this, if their field and condition is right, they might make \$30 or even \$40 a day; sometimes \$15 or \$20 a day—in any case more than they could make on the other side of the border. But the work is highly seasonal and the worker can only take it for about 10 years before the rheumatism or some other physical weakness makes it impossible.

'Green carders'

According to Enríquez, almost all of D'Arrigo's workers are "green carders." And probably as many as 50 percent of the workers in all the Valley are, as well—sometimes 75 percent. At the present time, he estimates, 15,000 cross the border each morning and go back each night. Though the lettuce season here has been on for about a month, there are still about a thousand workers shaping up in *El Hoyo* each workday morning.

Angel Quintero, director of the UFW office in Calexico, says that most of the UFW membership in the Imperial Valley are also "green carders." The union organizes the workers no matter which side of the border they live on.

But the crew chiefs on many farms now are telling the green card workers they have to sign cards for the Teamsters and if they don't they will make the government angry and may lose their green card. This, of course, is illegal, but the workers live in fear of the Immigration authorities and the pressure has had its effects. "The Immigration is certainly not on our side," says Quintero.

Most workers support the UFW, Quintero asserts, and if the UFW could

have an election there is no doubt they could win on most of the farms. That's why the growers and the Teamsters won't agree to an election. And since agriculture is exempted from the National Labor Relations Act, the UFW can't force a union election at this time.

'Tough situation'

It's a tough situation right now, says Ricardo Villapando, who is in charge of the D'Arrigo picketing. "The workers are sympathetic to the Farm Workers Union and 90 percent don't go for

that when the UFW got its first contract "the growers thought they'd get the boycott off their backs and that we would just collect dues and drive around in big cars. But we had a real union with real conditions."

"When a worker had a grievance the bosses had to sit down with a worker representative and deal. That really upset them, dealing with 'peons.' So now they're trying to get rid of us by signing with the Teamsters. And that's all they do—collect their money and drive around in big cars. All of a sudden the growers are in love with a union. Can you imagine? Since when did they ever love a union? Just to break the UFW. That's all."

Still the UFW's organizing of strike efforts has paid off for all the farm workers here in many ways. The growers have raised wages in an attempt to keep the UFW out. And certain conditions have also been improved like having toilets in the fields. "They know we're breathing down their necks," says Enríquez.

Villapando is an old hand at farm worker struggles in this valley. He remembers the strikes of the National Farm Labor Union in the late 1940s when he was a teen-ager, and of the AFL Agricultural Organizing Committee in the 1950s. "Some people tell me now we're crazy to tackle this job. They say it will take 20 years to make Imperial Valley a union place. Well, we have a better chance now than we ever had before. And I say that that would be something worth doing—even if it took 20 more years."

Outside the union hall, we picked up a copy of the *Imperial Valley Press*. It carried a notice of the first Imperial Valley Lettuce Ball, sponsored by a growers' club called "Los Vigilantes." On the highway out of town, not far from the border, we passed a blood bank where workers who didn't connect with a job in *El Hoyo* can sell a pint of their blood if they haven't already done so within the last six weeks.



More than half of field workers in Imperial Valley are 'green carders'—Mexican citizens—with little job security.

the Teamster deal. But they have to eat. We aren't strong enough to shut them down. We have pickets at yards where some of the D'Arrigo contractors pick up their laborers, we pass out leaflets, we manage to give the labor contractors a hard time. But at present it's a mini-strike. We're keeping the fight alive and holding on, that's all. For us the boycott is very important."

Villapando says that D'Arrigo is probably losing money on his lettuce now because the price is low. It should be \$2 a box and it has been as low as \$1 recently. The quality is not as high as at Inter-Harvest because of the lower skill of the workers.

But he also attributes the low price of lettuce now to the effects of the boycott. Enríquez and Quintero agree on this point. They know where the shipments go, and the places where the boycott is reportedly most effective, like Boston and New York, are far below normal.

A number of farm workers from the Imperial Valley have gone to the eastern cities to help with the boycott. And all the farm workers here are counting heavily on the effectiveness of the boycott.

Potential power

The UFW is not without potential power here in the Imperial Valley. They have widespread sympathy throughout the Chicano population on the U.S. side of the border. The city council in Calexico, for example, a largely Chicano town, finds it expedient to be friendly toward the union.

On the other side of the border the UFW is highly regarded, and even highly placed Mexican politicians pay certain lip-service to it. The Mexicali Federation of Workers and Peasants, the city's central labor council, has endorsed the UFW and has urged workers across the border to join it.

But the resistance to the UFW on the part of almost all the American growers is bitter. Enríquez pointed out

...AIM

Continued from page 24

the land can be seized by "eminent domain takings or transfers made under the plenary powers of Congress," Garment said.

Thus, the rights of the Indian people are a pure fiction as far as the Nixon administration is concerned.

Meanwhile, jury selection continues, with defense attorneys yet to see a Black, Chicano, or Indian among the potential jurors.

The defense is getting some financial aid from the government under the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act, which permits the defendants to ask for financial aid if it is shown they have no money.

Mark Lane said in a *Militant* interview that the court-appointed defense attorneys will get \$30 an hour during the time spent in court and \$20 an hour for work out of court. That means the defense could get up to \$1,000 a week, Lane said, but that will be shared among as many as 10 lawyers and four legal workers, as well as other expenses.

"It's not much money," Lane said, when it's added up.

He said that numerous other costs incurred during months of pretrial investigation and costs to date have left the defense committee deeply in debt.

Still, Lane acknowledged, it is unusual that political defendants have gotten even this much money from the government during a trial.

To aid the work of the defense contact the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, 333 Sibley St., Suite 605, St. Paul, Minn. 55101.

...Sears

Continued from page 13

● To obtain a full-page newspaper ad to tell the truth about the strike and announce the rally.

● To launch a massive leafleting campaign to publicize the rally.

● To increase picketing to four more Sears stores in the Bay Area.

● To organize a demonstration of Sears strikers' families at the home of

a Sears executive.

A number of unionists then spoke on how these proposals could be implemented. Jim Gallagher of AFSCME Local 101 offered part of the front page of his local's newspaper for the duration of the strike.

Dean Reed of Carpenters Local 22 said that six rank-and-file carpenters were present and ready to help.

Morris Evenson, secretary-treasurer of Painters Local 4, announced that the Painters district council was donating \$500. He proposed that a group be set up to get other officials moving.

Emerson Street, representing the Santa Clara Central Labor Council, pledged a phone campaign and press coverage to help get people out.

Joanne Landy of AFSCME Local 1695 at U.C. at Berkeley noted that "60 percent of the strikers are women, a fact that should be publicized."

Nat Weinstein of Painters Local 4 announced that Painters officials would raise money at the building trades council and the San Francisco Central Labor Council, and would set up a strike support committee in the Painters local. He said, "These are steps to developing the necessary unity and strength to win."

The meeting ended by forming the Sears Strike Coalition and adjourning to the Sears picket lines.

...Mideast

Continued from page 18

U.S. oil executives assured *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt that things in the Mideast wouldn't reach that point. "As they put it," Schmidt wrote Jan. 11, "King Faisal and the petroleum officials of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait 'are no fools' and will 'know when to lay off.'"

Nevertheless, the possibility of U.S. military intervention in the Mideast has been raised repeatedly during the last few months. The Aug. 27 *U.S. News & World Report* wrote that U.S. Marines have "a new assignment—be prepared, if ever needed, to fight in the desert . . . presumably in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean.

There is where U.S. oil interests are great . . ."

Nixon himself, on Oct. 15, warned that U.S. policy in the Mideast was "like the policy we followed in 1958 when Lebanon was involved; it is like the policy we followed in 1970 when Jordan was involved."

In 1958 Lebanon was invaded by 5,000 U.S. Marines as a result of a revolutionary upsurge there. In 1970 Nixon mobilized the Sixth Fleet and U.S. troops in bases from Germany to Kentucky in order to prevent the overthrow of King Hussein in Jordan.

Nixon's statement was followed by the nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union on Oct. 25. On Nov. 21 Henry Kissinger said of the Arab oil embargo that "it is clear that if the pressure continues unreasonably and indefinitely that then the United States will have to consider what countermeasures it may have to take. We would do this with enormous reluctance and we are still hopeful it will not reach this point."

Despite Kissinger's use of "creative ambiguity," the threat was clear. A direct U.S. military intervention remains a constant danger in the Mideast. This danger, flowing from the imperialist need to dominate sources of raw materials and markets, will continue regardless of any agreements reached at the Geneva "peace" talks.

...left opp.

Continued from page 19

sures.

For a Communist Party member to attend a meeting of the Opposition, buy its literature, or even talk to its members, was grounds for expulsion from the party. This wall of ostracism was reinforced by physical attacks on meetings and on individual Trotskyists. The campaign was encouraged by Stalin himself, who, at the end of 1929, ordered the execution of Jacob Blumkin. Blumkin, an official in the Soviet intelligence service, was shot on a charge of treason because he had visited Trotsky.

More important to the Opposition

than the attempts at terrorizing it was the political effect of the third period. Large numbers of Communists who had serious doubts about the opportunist policies of the Comintern in the earlier period took Stalin's left turn for good coin. Many thought he was carrying out the program of the Left Opposition and could not understand its continued criticisms. The industrialization of the Soviet Union in the midst of the capitalist crisis created a wave of enthusiasm abroad, and further isolated the International Left Opposition (ILO).

In addition to all this, the ILO was placed in the position of criticizing Stalin from the right. Although it made clear its opposition to the policies of the right wing in the Communist movement, the ILO had to concentrate its fire on the Stalin faction. Stalin and his supporters were the official leadership of the Comintern and the Soviet state. They bore the responsibility for previous defeats, and their policies were preparing new ones.

This also caused internal problems within the Opposition. In Italy, for example, the followers of Amadeo Bordiga, who had identified with the Left Opposition as long as it fought against Stalin's opportunism, began to move away from the Opposition after Stalin's ultraleft turn. They themselves were ultraleftists and agreed with some of Stalin's policies in the third period.

However, the necessity of the ILO's struggle against the ultraleftism of the third period was demonstrated all too soon. Unfortunately the proof of how wrong Stalin's third period line was came at the expense of the workers of Germany and the entire world. This will be the subject of our next article.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The *Militant* is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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Calendar

BOSTON

CHINA: DEVELOPMENTS AT TENTH CONGRESS; MEANING OF THE DETENTE; IS MAO A REVOLUTIONARY? Speaker: Les Evans, editor of the International Socialist Review. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (near South Sta.) Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

THE TRUTH ON THE ENERGY CRISIS. Panel: Rod Holt, engineer, member of Socialist Workers Party; Bruce Kimball, member of Young Socialist Alliance; Tom Jenkins, physicist; Paul Swenson, environmental engineer. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

THE MIDDLE EAST—WILL THE ACCORDS BRING PEACE? Speakers: Robin Maisel, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

STEWARDESSES VS. THE AIRLINES INDUSTRY. Speaker: representative from the Transportation Workers Union. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE GALLO BOYCOTT AND THE FARM WORKERS' STRUGGLE. Speaker: Bob Purcell, East Bay UFW boycott coordinator. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

ENERGY CRISIS: MYTH OR FACT? Speakers: Roberto Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania; Michael Aucott, Ecology Action Group; others. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN DIEGO

THE ENERGY CRISIS: NIXON'S LATEST FRAUD. Speakers: Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party; other speaker to be announced. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CASE OF THE SAN QUENTIN SIX. Speakers: Doree Friedman, San Quentin Six Defense Committee; Howard Moore, civil liberties lawyer and one of the attorneys for the six. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

CHILE IN STRUGGLE—TWO FILMS: 'When the People Awake' and 'Compamanto.' Speaker from the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Jan. 25, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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THE MILITANT

Demand dismissal of charges

Wounded Knee defense cites gov't attacks

By GREG CORNELL
ST. PAUL, Minn. — Defense attorneys for the American Indian Movement last week filed a motion to dismiss all charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks, defendants in the Wounded Knee trial here. The motion, some 200 pages in length, cites a long list of criminal actions by government authorities against Wounded Kneesupporters and participants, ranging from terrorization and intimidation to murder.

Defense attorney Mark Lane says the federal government has "created and continued an atmosphere of terror in which the truth could not possibly be presented to the jury." He

said Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation are fearful of testifying truthfully and says the charges should be dismissed because "it is impossible for the defendants to receive a fair trial."

Below are some of the highlights of the evidence presented in the defense motion for dismissal:

SHOOTING: Mary Ann Little Bear, nine-year-old resident of Wounded Knee, was shot in the eye by "known leaders of Dick Wilson's goon squad" on Aug. 25, 1973. Wilson is tribal chairman at Pine Ridge. His indiscriminate action against Indians was a factor in the Wounded Knee occupation last year. AIM attorneys say the FBI and Bureau of Indian Affairs

have refused to investigate the shooting.

POLITICAL DISMISSAL: Three staff members of the community health program on the reservation were fired from their jobs April 4, 1973, by the Oglala Sioux tribe's executive committee for participating in demonstrations on the reservation in February and March and for circulating a petition calling for the impeachment of Wilson.

POLITICAL DISMISSAL: Edward White Dress was fired from his job in the tribal work experience program on the reservation May 15, 1973. The affidavit says he was informed he was being fired "for having remained in Wounded Knee during the 71 day liberation." The affidavit continues: "He explained he lived in Wounded Knee all of his life. He was told he was being fired for being 'an AIM supporter.'"

HARASSMENT: Edward White Dress's house and most of his possessions "had been severely damaged by the BIA police, FBI agents, and U.S. marshals on the day that the liberation of Wounded Knee terminated," the affidavit said.

MEANS ATTACK: In early 1973, Russell Means was physically assaulted by the same "goon squad" in Pine Ridge. A witness saw Elmer Fudd Winters attack Means. But the witness told the FBI he was afraid to testify for fear of retaliation. The affidavit reports that subsequently, Sidney Witt, the tribal prosecutor, who declined to prosecute Winters, was quoted as saying: "I sure envy Elmer Fudd (Winters). He sure busted Russell Means up and I wish I was the one that beat him." Later the witness was beaten up despite remaining silent, the affidavit says.

MURDER: On Oct. 17, 1973, Pedro Bissonette, one of the seven defendants faced with the 11-count indictment in the Wounded Knee trials, was shot and killed by BIA officer Joe Clifford. The BIA claims Bissonette held a rifle and that Clifford killed him in self-defense. A Pine Ridge police officer has a different story. He says: "They wanted Pedro to testify against AIM. He should have done it. Then they wouldn't have had to kill him." The affidavit says that "from the way the pellets entered his right hand and his chest, it would have been physically impossible for Bissonette to have been holding a rifle; more likely his hands were covering his chest protectively. . . ."

ILLEGAL BREAK-IN: The affidavit lists five illegal break-ins at the Pine Ridge Reservation on May 8, 9, and 10 by police units from the BIA, federal marshals, and the FBI. All the victims had participated in the Wounded Knee occupation. Most found their property destroyed and items stolen.

PROPERTY DESTRUCTION: The affidavit says that homes of many persons in Wounded Knee considered by the government to be AIM supporters were ransacked, their windows broken and items stolen, immediately after the occupation ended. The affidavit says that after the destruction of the homes, the press were invited in and told by federal police that "AIM members have destroyed the homes of Indian residents of Wounded Knee."

HARASSMENT OF ATTORNEYS: Mark Lane, a defense attorney, says he was kicked and beaten by U.S. marshals when he asked permission to inspect the Hollow Horn house. When he reported the assault to two Department of Justice attorneys, they both laughed, Lane said.

FBI 'visits' press on trial news

ST. PAUL — The Wounded Knee trial entered its second week here with the federal government giving every indication that it would attempt to circumvent justice by any means necessary.

Attorneys for the Wounded Knee defendants charged Jan. 11 that the FBI had attempted to influence the *St. Paul Dispatch* and *Pioneer Press* in their coverage of the trial. According to William Kunstler, one defense attorney, the head of the local FBI bureau and two other agents visited four executives of the two local papers the day the trial opened.

John Finnegan, executive editor of the two papers, said the agents only wanted to inform him that they were ready to respond to any accusations made about the FBI's conduct during last year's Wounded Knee occupation.

That, of course, was not how the

defense looked at it.

Kenneth Tilsen, a defense attorney, told *The Militant* the FBI visit was an attempt to influence the newspapers' coverage by intimidation.

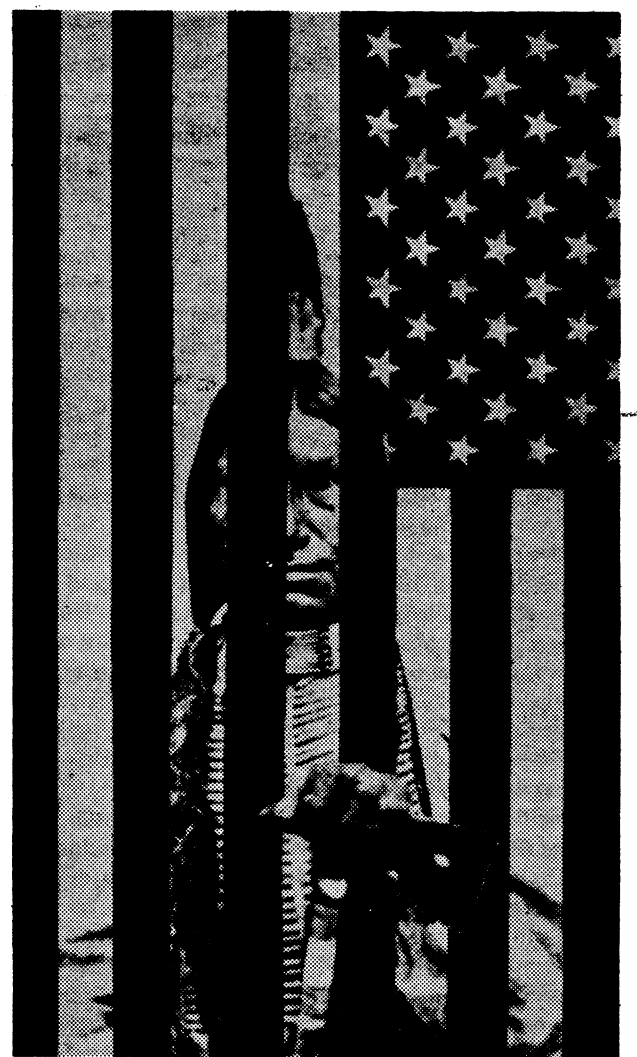
"It was an implied type of threat," Tilsen said.

In a separate development, Leonard Garment, a White House legal aide, issued a statement to the press giving the Nixon view of the 1868 treaty that the Wounded Knee defendants argue gives the Sioux sovereign rights over their territory.

In characteristic White House doubletalk, Garment wrote that the "1868 treaty is still a valid legal document," and then added, in effect, that the most important aspects of the treaty no longer hold.

The government, not the Indians, has ultimate jurisdiction over the land and tribes, Garment maintained. And

Continued on page 22



SF unions unite to aid Sears strike/ 13
Demand oil companies open books/ 15
UFW strikes Calif. lettuce growers/ 21
