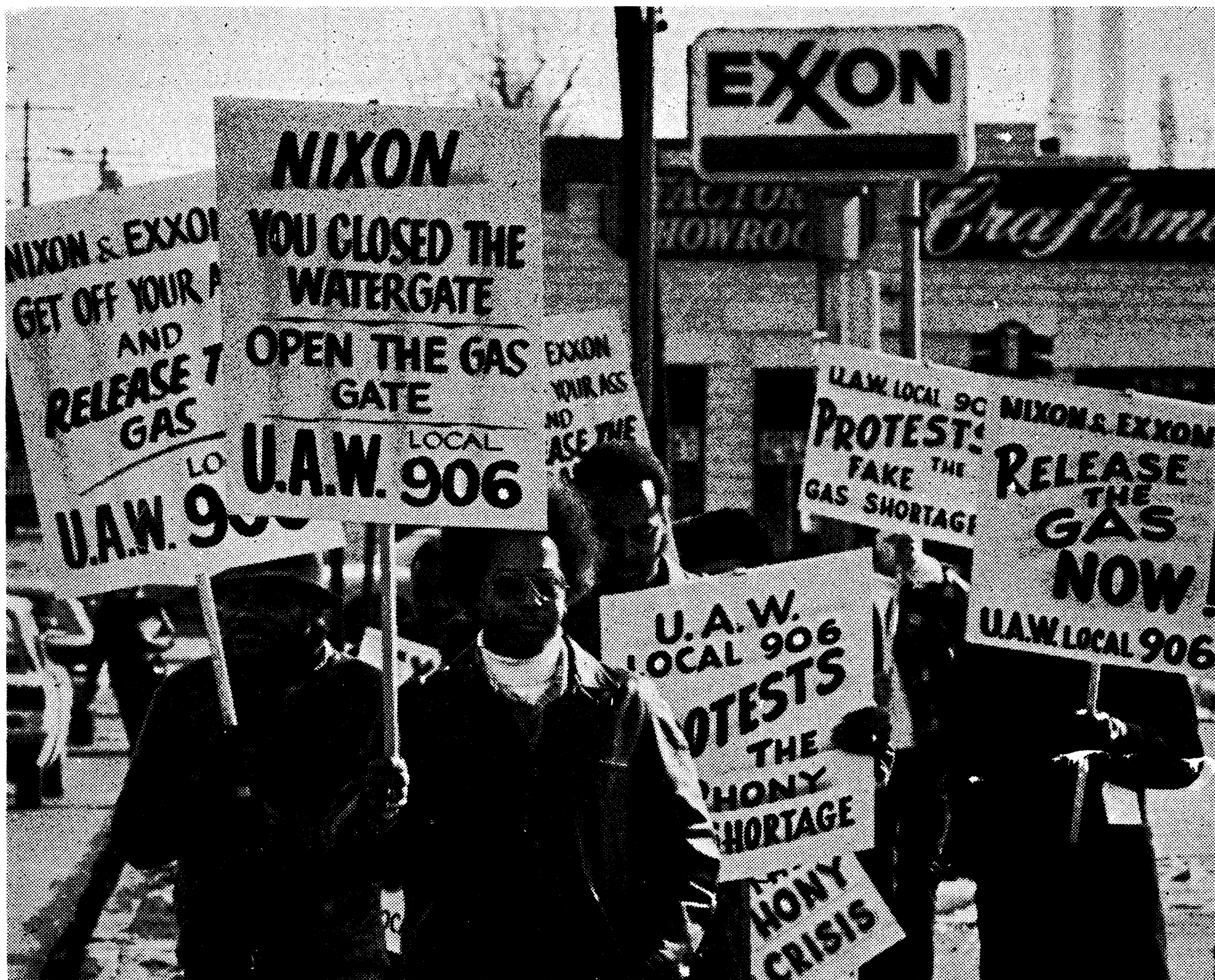


# THE MILITANT

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

## Unions say: 'Stop phony shortages!'



New Jersey unionists picket Exxon office Jan. 17 to protest layoffs, price gouging, and profiteering. For coverage of energy crisis, see pages 6 and 7.

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## THE MILITANT

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**BROOKLYN UFW CHALLENGES SHOP-RITE:** Seven members of the United Farm Workers of America and 11 of their supporters went to criminal court in Brooklyn, N.Y., Jan. 17, facing charges of trespassing and disorderly conduct. The Shop-Rite supermarket, which filed the charges, was unable to produce any of its witnesses, and the hearing was rescheduled for Jan. 28.

Business at the food chain outlet has suffered as a result of the UFW pickets. The arrests are clearly an attempt by Shop-Rite to drive the farm workers from the store.

In response to the arrests, the Brooklyn UFW has maintained weekly picketing at the supermarket and has called for supporters to join the picket line at the store starting at 1 p.m. Jan. 26. The Shop-Rite supermarket is located at 3100 Ocean Ave. in Brooklyn.

## San Quentin 6 victory

SAN FRANCISCO—Four Blacks and two Latinos—John Larry Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, Willie Tate, David Johnson, and Luis Talamantez—were charged with murdering three prison guards and three others, including Soledad Brother George Jackson, in an alleged escape attempt from San Quentin prison in August 1971. On Jan. 18, Superior Court Judge Vernon Stoll in San Rafael, Calif., dismissed the indictments because they were handed down by a grand jury that "did not assure a fair representation of the group to which the defendants belonged." Judge Stoll pointed out that the pool from which the Marin County grand jury was chosen excluded Blacks, Latin Americans, blue collar workers, and young people.

The ruling has far-reaching implications. The makeup and the method of selection of the Marin County grand jury are not radically different from those of any other grand jury in the country. Judge Stoll's ruling points out the racist nature of the courts. Thousands of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and others are rotting in America's jails because, among other things, they were tried by juries that "did not assure a fair representation of the group to which the defendants belonged."

The Marin County district attorney, Bruce Bales, intends to appeal Judge Stoll's decision precisely because of these far-reaching implications.

**DOCTOR BLACKLISTED FOR RADICAL ACTIVITY:** Dr. Marc Stretten was an antiwar activist and a member of a radical student group several years ago. He has since been subjected to FBI harassment in the form of inquiries made of his neighbor and false statements about his membership in "violence-oriented" groups to doctors in his department at Wadsworth Veterans Administration Hospital in Los Angeles.

Last August Dr. Stretten was handed a letter from his department head saying he would be dismissed at the end of his first year of residency for being "unsuited for the discipline of pathology." He was also denied his certificate of internship, thereby denying him his California medical license.

A defense committee has been formed to win due process for Dr. Stretten. Recently the committee forced the district court in Los Angeles to grant an injunction barring the VA from firing Stretten without a hearing.

However, Dr. Stretten's fight is not over. The government may appeal the favorable decision or may give him the hearing he has requested and still fire him.

Dr. Stretten's case is another example of how the government's secret-police apparatus, revealed in the Watergate investigations, is used against radicals. The "national security" fraud offered by Nixon as the reason for having this secret-police apparatus is also used as cover for the victimization of government employees like Stretten. A victory for Dr. Stretten would be, as he told *The Militant*, "a victory for all VA employees and all government employees."

**SOCIALIST STUDENT ARRESTED FOR 'TRESPASSING':** Lee Artz, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a student at Wayne State University in Detroit, was arrested on Jan. 15 for trespassing on university property. Artz was arrested while staffing a table for the YSA, a recognized campus organization.

The arrest brings to a head a long-simmering dispute between the administration and student organizations. Last February the university announced a ban on the right of student groups to set up literature tables in any university building. The pretext for the ban was a fire law prohibiting obstruction of building exits. At the time of Artz's arrest, the literature table was within the regulations of the fire law. The fact that Artz was charged with criminal trespassing and not violation of the fire code shows the charges for what they are—a frame-up.

The demand for the administration to drop the charges against Artz and recognize the right of student groups to set up literature tables is getting significant support on the campus. Supporters include the student government, the head of the Black studies program, and the chairman of the Association of Black Students.

**FOOD INDUSTRY STRIKE SETTLED IN LOS ANGELES:** An agreement ending the month-long strike in Southern California's retail food industry was ratified by union members Jan. 5.

A coalition of unions, including Teamsters, Butchers, Operating Engineers, and Machinists, representing 22,000 workers, struck three leading supermarket chains on Dec. 3. In retaliation, members of the antiunion Food Employers Council locked out members of striking unions at all its member stores. This affected the jobs of an estimated 100,000 workers.

Members of the different unions got different settlements out of the strike. These included wage increases, raises in pension fund contributions, and—for Teamsters—an end to compulsory overtime for 25 percent of its membership. Meat Cutters, Teamsters, and Operating Engineers also won a modified escalator clause.

A key issue for the Meat Cutters was the "new methods clause." The jobs of thousands of butchers have been jeopardized by the introduction of machinery to speed up production. While maintaining the right to strike over this question in Northern California, the butchers failed in efforts to get this provision extended to contracts in Southern California.

**400 HAITIANS FACE DEPORTATION FROM U.S.:** In the last 13 months 400 Haitians have come to the U.S. seeking political asylum. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has responded by jailing 100 of them and moving to deport the rest.

Protests against the jailings and proposed deportation have pointed out that the refugees face death if they are forced to return to Haiti.

The government contends that since Jean-Claude Duvalier ("Baby Doc") became president of Haiti, conditions have improved. The Immigration and Naturalization Service also claims that the refugees were not active politically while in Haiti and therefore have no right to asylum.

Neal Sonnett, defense attorney for 250 of the Haitians, says of the government position, "What it boils down to is that the United States is unwilling to accept the fact that people who come from right-wing countries are oppressed." A recent example of this is the United States' refusal to admit refugees fleeing the military dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile.

On the other hand, the U.S. is more than willing to accept refugees fleeing workers states. Thousands of right-wing Cubans have been admitted to the country. Just last month, 59 Cuban refugees arrived in New York and another 47 in Miami. Attorney General Robert Bork was willing to use special "humanitarian" provisions of the law to allow these refugees to live in the U.S. The question being asked by Haitian exiles seeking asylum from the dictatorship of "Baby Doc" is, Why Cubans and not Haitians?

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Watergate spurs radicalization, shatters myth of Nixon 'mandate'

By CINDY JAQUITH

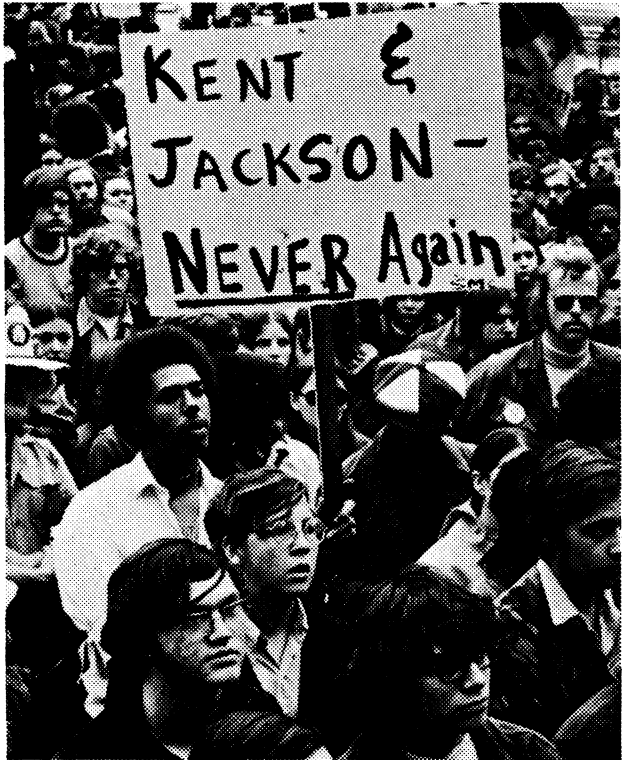
"When a candidate runs a law-and-order campaign today, people think: 'chances are he'll turn out to be a crook,'" pollster Louis Harris observed in a recent interview with the *New York Times*.

"In 1967, substantial majorities of our sample—60 to 75 percent—thought the following people were 'dangerous or harmful to the country:' people who didn't believe in God, black militants, student demonstrators, prostitutes, homosexuals. In the fall of 1973 we couldn't find a majority to say that any one of those groups was dangerous.

"Today," Harris explained, "the people considered 'dangerous' by a majority of Americans are these: people who hire political spies (52 per cent); generals who conduct secret bombing raids (67 per cent); politicians who engage in secret wiretapping (71 per cent); businessmen who make illegal political contributions (81 per cent); and politicians who try to use the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Secret Service for political purposes or try to restrict freedom (88 per cent). That is what has happened in America."

## 'New majority'?

But how did it happen? In 1972, Nixon claimed that his landslide victory over McGovern signified



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Student demonstrators are no longer considered 'dangerous' by U.S. public. Generals and corporation executives are.

the consolidation of a "new majority" behind the Nixonite program. "The new majority was what this election was all about," the president boasted.

The capitalist press reported that voters had made a turn to the right, and their columnists began talking of the "mandate" Nixon had received to carry out his reactionary program of cuts in social spending, turning back the clock on civil rights and civil liberties, and "tough" stands toward protest movements.

When the Watergate crisis began intensifying, Nixon sought shelter in the "mandate." Those who wanted him ousted from office, he claimed last August, were "people who did not accept the mandate of '72, who do not want the strong America that I want to build. . . ."

Vice-president Ford, in a speech echoing Agnew's rhetoric, repeated this argument Jan. 15, when he denounced the AFL-CIO, liberals, and others campaigning for impeachment. "Their aim is total victory for themselves, and the total defeat not only of President Nixon, but of the policies for which he stands," Ford charged.

But the impact of Watergate on political consciousness in the U.S. has ripped this mandate myth to shreds.

Far from representing a "new majority," Nixon's domestic program is running into stiffer and stiffer opposition from the majority of Americans. Far from a conservatizing process taking hold in the U.S., the radicalization that spread throughout the country in the 1960s continues to deepen.

It was the overwhelming desire to end the hated

war in Vietnam that gave Nixon his victory in 1972. As *The Militant* pointed out in its Nov. 17, 1972, issue, Nixon won because he "created an image of himself as a peace candidate. He withdrew more than 500,000 GIs from Vietnam since taking office; he went to Peking and Moscow to hold historic summit meetings and establish closer relations; and he announced his intention to sign a settlement of the Vietnam war."

Louis Harris also attributes the Nixon victory to his "peace candidate" image. The Jan. 21 *New York Times* reported Harris "is sure that the Nixon majority in 1972 was never the 'new majority' as described. Mr. Nixon's strongest appeal, the Harris surveys found, was in foreign policy, where the emphasis of Mr. Nixon's trip to China and détente with the Russians was change, not conservatism."

"On economics and the 'social issue,' including forced school busing, Mr. Nixon did not have majority approval at election time, Mr. Harris asserts."

The *Times* itself concedes that "the new majority appears shattered," and points out that Nixon's drop in popularity "is steepest among the new-majority groups he courted and won in 1972."

Members of labor unions and their families, for example, many of whom supported the president in 1972, went from 60 percent approval of Nixon last year to 20 percent this year. Catholic backing for the president dropped from 71 percent to 22 percent during the same period.

One result is that only 24 percent of voters now identify themselves as Republicans, the narrowest support for either the GOP or the Democrats in this century.

## '73 elections

The results of the 1973 municipal elections further demonstrated how fast Nixon's "mandate" melted. The "law-and-order" candidates most closely associated with Nixon and his racist, anti-social-welfare policies were rejected at the polls. Voters elected Black candidates for mayor in several cities, including Los Angeles, Atlanta, and Detroit.

Public opinion polls, such as the one cited by Harris, show that Watergate has eroded credibility in virtually every institution of capitalist society.

The basis for this shattering of confidence was laid during the Vietnam war, when millions realized that the government was lying about its real aims in Southeast Asia. The massive antiwar movement that grew up in response, along with the inspiration provided by the Black liberation struggle, served to radicalize hundreds of thousands of young people.

In the late 1960s, the development of the Chicano struggle and the women's movement deepened and broadened the impact of the radicalization.

It was the fear that this radicalization would permeate the working class—the decisive social force in capitalist society—that prompted Nixon to step up the police-state measures that later were uncovered in the Watergate scandal.

Now, with the exposure of how the capitalist candidates really finance their campaigns, of how the FBI spies on anyone who disagrees with White House policies, and of how the U.S. government serves the interests of big business through CIA-organized coups abroad, more people are questioning the methods of capitalist rule than ever before.

Far from identifying with the America Nixon says



FORD & NIXON: Their 'new majority' never really existed.



Nixon-blessed 'law and order' candidates lost in '73 elections.

he wants to build, the latest polls show that most people have less confidence in the president than ever. A Harris survey conducted just as the abortive "Operation Candor" was drawing to a close showed Nixon at an all-time low of 30 percent approval for the way he is handling his job, and an abysmal 17 percent support for "inspiring confidence personally in the White House."

## 'Worse shape than ever'

"... Nixon is in worse shape than ever before with American public opinion," Harris concluded. "The public still is deeply interested in the issue [Watergate], and with the passage of time, Nixon appears to be in more, rather than less, trouble."

Despite the popular conviction that Nixon is a crook, surveys still find that less than half the population supports impeachment. Those still desperately clinging to a Nixon comeback point to these figures as proof of support for his remaining in office. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak made a more realistic assessment of this mood in the Jan. 21 *Washington Post*.

"Underlying this seeming contradiction," they wrote, "is pervasive, deepening skepticism that any successor to Mr. Nixon would improve things much. Consequently, nothing short of proven criminal conduct is likely to inflame public opinion in favor of the President's removal."

They added, there "is a cynical belief that removal of Mr. Nixon would be an act of futility. 'Nobody is likely to do a better job anyway,' says one McGovern voter, so Mr. Nixon might as well finish."

This attitude of distrust for both Republicans and Democrats has the politicians deeply worried. The American political system is built on the widespread illusion that the problems created by one capitalist party in power can be solved by throwing that party out and putting the other capitalist party in.

If this foundation of faith in the "two-party system" cracks, the entire structure can begin to collapse. It is precisely to maintain the illusions in "the system" that influential sections of the ruling class want to get rid of Nixon in the least painful way; then they can claim that "the system works."

But as the radicalization continues, and millions of Americans confront new threats to their standard of living and their rights, more and more will see that the way to end Watergate politics cannot be found in either the Republican or Democratic parties. Both are firmly wedded to maintaining the rule of the rich through more wars, racism, spying, and corruption. Working people themselves will have to organize to throw these capitalist crooks out.

# Socialists demand Nixon spy plan tapes

Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are demanding that Richard Nixon turn over as evidence three White House tapes of discussions of the 1970 secret spy plan. The president has until Feb. 25 to produce the tapes and other documents relating to the White House "counterintelligence" plan.

The socialist suit, filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, charges that the government used tactics outlined in the 1970 plan to victimize the plaintiffs. Such methods include wiretapping, mail tampering, use of informants, and "surreptitious entry"—i.e., burglary.

New corroboration of the mail tampering charges has come in the government's release of several documents concerning a mail cover on the SWP's national headquarters. These documents had been requested by attorneys for the suit.

One of these papers, a letter from L. Patrick Gray to the assistant postmaster general, authorized a secret inspection of all first-class mail to the SWP during the period of January to May 1973.

The new evidence sought from Nixon includes tapes of the June 5, 1970, meeting where the president discussed intensifying domestic intelligence activities against the Black Panthers, antiwar activists, and other protesters. Participating in the meeting were White House aides H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Tom Charles Huston, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, and the heads of several other "intelligence" agencies.

As a result of this meeting, Huston drew up

the recommendations that became known as the 1970 secret spy plan.

The second tape requested from Nixon is the recording of the meeting between himself and H. R. Haldeman in mid-July 1970, when the president approved the Huston plan.

In addition, attorneys for the socialists have demanded all tapes and other documents related to the Huston project up to December 31, 1970. Such tapes, if produced, would demonstrate whether the White House actually did rescind its approval of the plan, as it has claimed.

The socialists charge that aspects of the plan have been used against them and their supporters before and after 1970. Their suit cites examples of burglary, mail interception, and wiretaps which occurred after July 1970.

The government, in the meantime, has filed a motion for dismissal of the charges against Nixon on grounds of "presidential immunity." A memorandum opposing this motion has been filed by attorneys for the SWP and YSA, who note the wealth of evidence of Nixon's personal involvement in illegal counterintelligence projects.

The attorneys point out that "executive privilege" arguments to the contrary, "No constitutional or statutory provision authorizes the President to participate in secret plans to use admittedly illegal tactics to violate the rights of citizens. . . ."

Publicity and fund raising for the Watergate suit is being coordinated by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

CONFIDENTIAL

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535  
BY COURIER SERVICE

Date: January 11, 1973  
To: Assistant Postmaster General  
Inspection Service  
U. S. Postal Service  
Washington, D. C. 20260  
Attention: Mr. Leon Carrier, Room 6421  
From: L. Patrick Gray, III, Acting Director  
Subject: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST (TROTSKYIST)

It is requested that confidential arrangements be made through your office to institute a mail cover on the national headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, for a period of 120 days.

The Socialist Workers Party is the largest Communist-Trotskyist organization in the United States with a membership of approximately 1100. It has been designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Coverage is desired on all first class mail received at the above address. It is believed this coverage will provide valuable information to this Bureau in connection with our internal security responsibilities.

There is no indictment pending against the Socialist Workers Party or members of this organization in New York nor is there anyone known to be residing at the above address who is under indictment.

It is requested that the results of this mail cover be forwarded to Mr. Andrew J. Decker, Special Agent in Charge, Security Division, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 201 East 69th Street, New York, New York 10021.

Approved: [Signature] Chief Inspector  
Date: Jan 18 1973  
Classified by: [Signature]  
Exempt from GDS, Category: [Signature]  
Date of Declassification: [Signature]

Text of L. Patrick Gray's letter authorizing spying on mail sent to Socialist Workers Party. In response to SWP suit against such illegal practices, government was forced to release this document as well as others outlining 'confidential' mail cover.

## How the FBI investigates 'subversives'

Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, is causing the FBI considerable embarrassment. Last February she wrote to the Socialist Workers Party to get information for a school project. Her letter was intercepted by the FBI, which maintains a "mail cover" on the SWP's national headquarters. The agency then launched an elaborate investigation of Paton to see if she was involved in any "subversive activities."

This 16-year-old woman is one of the thousands who have corresponded with the SWP or the Young Socialist

investigation. Their testimony provides an insight into the methods the FBI uses in its attempts to isolate socialists and to discourage potential supporters of socialist ideas.

FBI agents Peter McDede and John Devlin were interrogated under oath in November by Frank Askin, Paton's ACLU attorney. A Justice Department lawyer, Earl Kaplan, accompanied the two agents and intervened frequently during the interrogation to make sure no "privileged" information slipped out.

McDede, under questioning by Askin, revealed that he heads up a special unit in the Newark FBI office called "Security Squad 2," which has 15 men. In the following exchange, McDede explains how Security Squad 2 dealt with the report last February that Lori Paton had sent a letter to the SWP:

ASKIN: "What did you do with [the report] at that time. . . ?"

McDEDE: "Put it in a file."

ASKIN: "'In a file.' What kind of a file?"

McDEDE: (No response) . . . "I don't think I should answer. . . ."

ASKIN: ". . . I want to know what the nature of the file was. . . ."

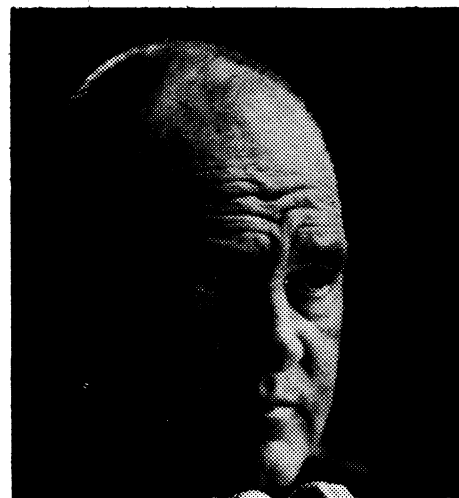
McDEDE: "I put it into the Socialist Workers Party file."

ASKIN: "Is there someone in charge of the Socialist Workers Party file, one of your agents?"

McDEDE: "Yes. . . . At that time it was John Bryan."

Bryan checked the Newark FBI index to see if Paton was listed. She wasn't. So he sent a memo to Agent Devlin, who works out of Paterson, N.J., closer to Paton's home. The memo instructed Devlin to "contact sources and conduct criminal investigation regarding Lori Paton, Mile Drive, to determine if she is involved in subversive activity."

During his testimony, Devlin described the rather curious approach he took to "investigating" Paton. Since he had her address, he could have



GRAY: Ordered mail cover on SWP that resulted in interception of Paton's letter.

visited her home or called her up. But instead, he chose to inquire about her at the Credit Bureau, the local police department, and finally at her high school. In addition, he consulted with FBI "informants" who keep an eye on SWP activities. But he never talked to Paton herself.

"The thing that disturbed me most was that they were doing it behind my back," Paton commented later. The obvious intent of Devlin's interviews was not to "identify" Paton but to discredit her and her family by attaching the stigma of "FBI investigation" to her name.

But in his testimony Devlin defended his investigation on the basis that the SWP is a "subversive" organization:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation [is] charged with, among other things, investigation of violations of statutes, in particular, one dealing with revolution, insurrection, subversive conspiracy, violent overthrow of the government and also . . . investigating those organizations which have been cited by the attorney general . . .," he testified.

But which statute had Paton (or the SWP) "violated"? How did Paton engage in a "subversive conspiracy"? Is the simple act of writing to or-

ganizations on the attorney general's list a crime? Agent McDede practically conceded that it is in the view of the FBI:

ASKIN: "Now, Agent McDede, can you define for me what subversive activity is in the eyes of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. . . ?"

McDEDE: "The fact that she was in contact with the Socialist Workers Party. The Socialist Workers Party has been cited by the attorney general under Executive Order 10450."

ASKIN: "Is it your testimony then that communication with the Socialist Workers Party makes a person suspect, that they are involved in subversive activity?"

KAPLAN: "The witness did not answer that way. . . . the witness never testified that the writing of a letter to the Socialist Workers Party was a subversive activity. As the memo indicates it was to see if she were involved in subversive activity after they identified her. . . ."

Despite this fancy footwork by the Justice Department lawyer, agent McDede later admitted that Paton's name remains in the Newark FBI files, although she has never been charged with, let alone convicted of, any crime.

Moreover, he said, as a result of her filing suit, "her name would also be on an index card in Washington at the Bureau headquarters."

Agent Devlin described a bit more about whose names go into the Newark files:

". . . Anybody who has contacted the Newark office for any reason, somebody writes in and would like to have a speaker . . . somebody might write in for an applicant applying for a position. . . ."

The following exchange then took place between Askin and Devlin on how the files are used:

ASKIN: "Are you often told to check out a person who has made an application for a government job to

Continued on page 30



LORI PATON: Letter to socialists prompted 'criminal investigation' by FBI.

Alliance every year. Her case attracted national attention because she filed suit against the FBI's illegal surveillance. The announcement of her action came just a week after the SWP and YSA launched their own suit against government mail tampering and other victimization of their supporters.

As a result of Paton's suit, the FBI agents involved in her case have been forced to testify under oath about their



## Kolis, Bohmer on 'local enemies list'

# San Diego forum hears frame-up victims

By SARAH JAMES

SAN DIEGO—Two victims of political persecution spoke at the Militant Forum here Jan. 18. Salm Kolis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, began her remarks by saying, "My name and Peter Bohmer's name appear on the San Diego version of Nixon's enemies list."

Both Kolis and Bohmer have been convicted on trumped-up charges relating to their political activity. Kolis was an SWP candidate for the San Diego city council in the fall election. The district attorney prosecuted her for allegedly putting a wrong address on her election filing form.

Kolis told the audience, "Not only am I innocent of the charge, but this is the only time that the DA's office has ever enforced the residency law in San Diego. Twenty-two other candidates in that election violated provisions of the election code, but the only candidate prosecuted was a socialist. The case against me is just an attempt to keep San Diego safe for reactionaries."

Kolis was released from the county jail pending her appeal after receiving a sentence of five days' imprisonment, a \$500 fine, and three years' probation. The trial judge, Douglas Woodworth, refused bail but was overruled by a higher court the next day. As Kolis put it, "This was a slap on the wrist for Woodworth. The appellate court responded to the public outrage at my sentence, and he was

forced to back down. I was released on my own recognizance."

Discussing some facts from the trial, Kolis said, "In his summary to the jury the DA tried to blame Watergate on me. He said perhaps the whole Watergate scandal could have been avoided if somewhere along the line someone had been prosecuted for telling a lie. That's what they're trying to do with my case—spread around the blame for Watergate."

The Kolis trial had obvious political overtones. An FBI informer was discovered in the defense camp, but Woodworth denied a defense motion to uncover what information he had given to the DA. A gag order was issued to prevent Kolis and her attorney from speaking to the press during the trial.

Kolis said, "The use of informers was a tactic used in the Bohmer case also. The government will not hesitate to use illegal means to frame political opponents."

Peter Bohmer is a well-known San Diego activist and former professor at San Diego State University who was convicted of obstructing railroad tracks at an antiwar demonstration in Del Mar in 1972. Although he was not present at the disruption, he was convicted of a felony based on an 1880s California statute from the days when Jesse James was robbing the railroads.

In June 1973 a police informer, Wayne McCracken, admitted that he infiltrated antiwar groups and at-

tended Bohmer's defense committee meetings. Bohmer is appealing the case on the grounds that McCracken violated the attorney-client privilege.

At the forum Bohmer made some analogies between Watergate and his case, known locally as "San Diego's Watergate." He said, "McCracken was paid to give names and addresses to the police. This is the local 'enemies list.' The General Intelligence Unit worked against me the way the 'plumbers' unit spied on others. Three informants besides McCracken were following me."

The best analogy with Watergate is the fact that every relevant report and tape recording made by McCracken is now declared "missing" by the local police department.

A more ominous incident occurred last week when Bohmer's attorney, Peter Young, walked out of Bohmer's house. He was surrounded by five San Diego policemen, one of whom held a gun to the back of Young's neck. Young has filed a declaration in court and has demanded an investigation.

The meeting was an example of political solidarity. Kolis explained that "between now and the triumph of socialism political frame-ups like mine and Peter's will continue to come up. What is needed is for the entire movement to join in defending every political activist who is victimized by the government."

She reported that her defense com-

mittee is preparing an appeal of her conviction, which will include a motion that the DA turn over wiretap logs and secret files that may have a bearing on her case. Mary Lipman, secretary of the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, urged every-



Militant/Dennis Scarlo

BOHMER & KOLIS: Frame-ups 'an attempt to keep San Diego safe for reactionaries.'

one to take an active part in defending civil liberties.

Endorsements and contributions can be sent to the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis, P. O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105. Peter Bohmer can be reached c/o the Center for Radical Education, 5071 College Ave., San Diego, Calif. 92115.

## 'Atmosphere of terror,' defense charges

# Wounded Knee witnesses afraid to testify

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Key witnesses for the defense in the Wounded Knee trial are afraid to testify because of the "atmosphere of terror" that exists on the Pine Ridge Reservation, Mark

**Hear Wounded Knee defendants Russell Means and Dennis Banks, and defense attorney Mark Lane.**

**Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m., 25 University Ave. S.E., in Minneapolis. Sponsored by Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.**

Lane, defense attorney, told *The Militant*.

Lane said that scores of Indians approached by the defense to be witnesses "are afraid of losing their jobs, of being beat up or shot by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) or beat up by Dick Wilson's goon squad."

Wilson is Pine Ridge tribal chairman.

Russell Means, a defendant in the trial, told *The Militant* that the terror campaign has been stepped up in recent weeks.

Among those afraid to testify, Means said, are members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization, the group that invited the American Indian Movement to Wounded Knee last year.

Members of the civil rights group have been threatened by the FBI with prosecution, Means said.

Convinced a fair trial is impossible, Lane said he hopes to have a hearing to stop the prosecution of the Wounded Knee defendants before the

actual trial gets under way.

Means and Dennis Banks face 10 felony counts each as part of a frame-up concocted by the federal government following the Wounded Knee occupation last year.

Jury selection ended its third week in St. Paul with 25 tentative jurors selected.

A total of 36 jurors will be chosen, with the number pared to 12 with six alternates after challenges by the defense and prosecution.

It was not until Jan. 21 that the first potential Black juror, a college student, was interviewed. All 61 other candidates for the jury have been white.

But it was unclear whether she would be seated.

Security precautions remain tight

around the federal court building in St. Paul. All persons entering the building are searched.

Defense attorney William Kunstler agreed with this reporter that the extent of security was "incredible" after marshals frisked Kunstler and made him empty his pockets of change.

Elsewhere, the defense was winning some legal skirmishes.

The United States Court of Appeals in St. Louis reversed the lower court contempt judgment Jan. 16 that would have sent Paul Boe, a Lutheran official, to jail. Boe had earlier refused to testify against Indians who had occupied Wounded Knee.

The appeals court ruled that Boe had not been given adequate time to present his defense to a lower court federal district judge.



Iroquois delegation leaving Wounded Knee at end of occupation last year

Lane termed the appeals decision "a tremendous victory."

At a meeting to organize defense work Jan. 21, new plans were discussed to broaden support for the defendants.

Banks emphasized to the committee "the importance of generating support nationwide."

Students at the University of Minnesota reported on plans for a noon rally Feb. 27, on the first anniversary of the beginning of the Wounded Knee occupation.

Banks announced that AIM is launching a campaign around the demands that Congress reexamine all Indian treaties, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs be detached from the Interior Department, and that a 1934 federal law outlining how tribal governments are organized be "repealed or reexamined."

The Wounded Knee Offense/Defense Committee in St. Paul continues to be alive with activity, with dozens of supporters visiting the headquarters daily.

The Wounded Knee Defense/Offense Committee is sending out speakers across the country to help spread the truth about the Wounded Knee occupation and trial.

The committee hopes to get substantial honoraria to help pay defense costs and also needs to be assured that travel expenses are paid.

Speakers available include Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, Vernon Bellecourt, Russell Means, William Kunstler, Mark Lane, and others.

For complete information, write Native American Speakers Bureau, Room 605, 333 Sibley Ave., St. Paul, Minn. 55101, or call (612) 224-5631.

# 'Excess profits' tax a hoax

# Congress oil hearings: another cover-up

By CAROLINE LUND

"Let's face it, we've got a terrible credibility problem in this country today, and we've got a mood in this country where people really don't believe the institutions of government, it seems. That's why I look forward to these dialogues that are going to be held in Congress, to get the facts and figures on the table."—Federal energy administrator William Simon in a Jan. 18 interview with the *New York Times*.

But as Congress reconvened Jan. 21, and as several hearings on the energy crisis got into full swing, the "facts and figures" on the fuel situation were still nowhere to be seen.

The real concern of both the legislators and the oil executives was what to do about this "terrible credibility problem," not what to do to solve the energy crisis in the interests of the majority of Americans.

With the energy crisis, as previously with the Vietnam war, Congress is a place where Democratic and Republican party politicians can make a lot of vote-catching speeches, while discreetly scuttling any effective action.

Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) outlined the problem when he said, "The American people want to know if this so-called energy crisis is only a pretext, a cover to eliminate the major source of price competition—the independents—to raise prices, to repeal environmental laws, and to force adoption of new tax subsidies."

But the testimony at the congressional hearings thus far has only documented the unity of purpose between the capitalist hustler politicians and the profit-hungry giant corporations who own and control both political parties and both houses of Congress.

Now, in response to mounting outrage from millions of people, they are staging a show to convince the public they are going to "tell the truth"

about energy supplies and put limits on the gargantuan profits the oil barons are raking in. Like Nixon's "Operation Candor," this performance is a total fraud.

One thing Senator Jackson's subcommittee found, for example, is that the figures on oil imports provided by the American Petroleum Institute (API) differ widely from those of the U.S. Bureau of Customs. In November, for example, the API figure was 19.6 percent lower than the customs bureau figure.

The API is the organization representing the oil industry. The government depends on it for its information on the extent of the fuel shortage.

But even API figures, and the supplementary figures now being provided with a fanfare by the individual oil companies, show that the amount of oil on hand now is comparable or greater to the stocks on hand at the beginning of last year. They also show that oil wells in this country are operating at 16 percent less than their capacity.

## There is—there isn't

As Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill.) put it, "We are told that there is no gas, but there is gas, no oil, but there is oil."

The congressional hearings are highlighting the fact that the government has been secretly cooperating with the oil monopolies for years to give them the power they now hold over the country.

Hearings by the House Select Small Business subcommittee brought to light, for example, that government-owned lands containing 80 percent of domestic fuel reserves have been leased to oil companies at ridiculously low prices.

According to a report in the Jan. 18 *Washington Post*, the Interior Department "can't prove or disprove charges made for years that wells on

government lands have been capped as a device to drive up oil and gas prices."

Neither Congress nor Nixon is about to do anything to curb the profiteering of the oil monopolies. Just as the oil companies have bought control of Nixon with their \$5-million contributions, so they have also taken out insurance among the ranks of Congress.

Big business, through its control of the capitalist parties, has packed Congress with people who think along the same lines they do—lawyers, bankers, and executives. There are no representatives in Congress of working people, who are footing the bill for the energy crisis.

## Friendly to oil

Thus we find that the two congressional committees now considering legislation to restrict "excess" profits of the oil companies—the House Ways and Means Committee and the Senate Finance Committee—are both "regarded as essentially friendly to the oil industry," as even the *New York Times* admits.

The so-called windfall profits tax legislation being pushed by the Nixon administration in these committees is, as the *New York Times* conceded editorially Jan. 21, "a mere slap on the wrist to the oil industry."

The proposed legislation is a public relations gimmick full of loopholes:

- It would tax only crude-oil production—not operations in the refining and marketing spheres.
- It would not be based on profits at all, but on the price of crude oil.
- The tax would be decreased progressively over five years.
- The tax would be given back to any oil company that promised to invest it in new energy facilities. Since the main oil monopolies, for their own reasons, spent about \$6-billion for development in 1972, and since Nixon's proposal is estimated to amount to only about \$2-billion in taxes, this "tax" really amounts to no tax at all. Just another joke on the public!

In its editorial, the *New York Times* pointed to the ineffectiveness of any tax on profits, given the freedom for deception that flows from business secrecy. The *Times* noted that "such a tax would simply cause the oil producers to boost all sorts of their capital and operating expenditures in order to minimize reported profits."

While the capitalist politicians talk out of one side of their mouth about taxing "excess" profits, from the other side they are assuring those profits by approving gigantic price increases for oil. The Cost of Living Council—set up under the Economic Stabilization Act by both Democrats and Republicans in Congress—voted in December to approve an increase in the price of domestic crude oil that will bring the oil companies a bonanza of \$13-million per day!

## 'Embarrassment of riches'

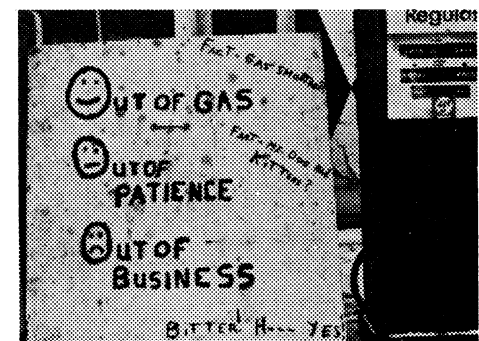
In fact Exxon is so embarrassed to reveal the glut of profits raked in during 1973 that for the first time in its history it has called a press conference to announce them and try to justify them. The *Wall Street Journal* called it "an embarrassment of riches." Estimates are that Exxon's profit gains over 1972 were 46 percent, and Gulf Oil's were 86 percent!

Reacting to the public outrage against their parasitic profits, one oil executive complained, "Our present

energy crisis is being seized upon by some extremists in our society as the vehicle to move aggressively toward nationalization" of the industry.

The major oil companies have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on newspaper and TV advertising trying to do a snow job on the American people in regard to their profits. They say the oil industry needs a high profit rate in order to attract investment and to finance research and exploration for new energy sources.

But the oil industry has been reaping gigantic profits all along, and where did they get us?—into the energy crisis. The oil monopolies did not reinvest in ways that were beneficial



to, and served the needs of, the majority of people in this country. They reinvested in ways that would bring still greater and greater profits.

This meant contriving a shortage in order to jack up prices; ducking environmental preservation measures; refusing to develop alternative sources of energy other than the fossil fuels; maintaining imperialist control over the Arab peoples, who live in a condition of poverty and degradation; and squeezing the most out of workers, through speedup, unsafe working conditions, and inadequate wages.

Decisions on all these matters are made by the oil barons and other multimillionaires from the standpoint of private profits, not human welfare. And because these capitalists hold the economic power, they also hold the political power.

## 'They run the country'

"They run the country . . ." said one worker to *Newsweek* magazine. He had been laid off because of the energy crisis. "Oil. Insurance. All the big outfits. They got enough money to buy everything."

The energy crisis shows that working people not only need trade unions to protect their living standards; they also need their own political party. The answers to the energy crisis are political answers.

A labor party based on the trade unions could spearhead a powerful movement, drawing in Black organizations, the unemployed, women's groups, students, the elderly. It could fight for real solutions to the problems of today—a shortening of the workweek to spread the jobs to all; cost-of-living escalator clauses for all wages; no wage controls; an end to racist and sexist discrimination; and a crash program of public works to build needed housing, schools, hospitals.

A representative of the working class in Congress could propose forthright measures that go right to the heart of the fuel shortage crisis. He or she would propose a bill declaring the books and records of the oil monopolies public information.

Such a labor representative would also introduce a proposal for immediate nationalization of the energy industry so that this vital sector of the economy can be rationally planned and run under workers control in the interests of the majority of the American people.

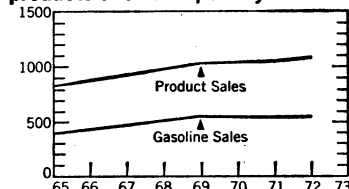
## The President of Shell speaks out on Shell's profits - where they come from, how big they actually are, and what Shell does with them.



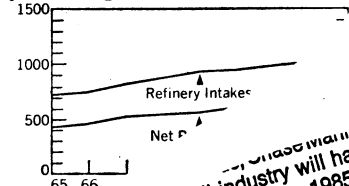
H. Bridges, Shell President

Amidst all the talk about the Energy Crisis there are frequently recurring themes which can be summarized by the headlines we often see in our daily newspapers, such as "Oil Industry's Huge Profits" and "Growing Mood to 'Get Oil' in Congress." In Shell we think that these themes are grossly unfair and should be looked with more realism.

Thousands of barrels of refined products Shell sold per day\*



Thousands of barrels per day of crude oil and other liquid processing intakes.\*



Shell's capital investments of \$565 billion by 1985. Last year, the net incomes of many oil companies rose significantly over the depressed earnings of previous years. Those higher profits are vital. Oil companies must have adequate earnings to afford the capital investments required to meet the energy needs of America and the rest of the free world.



The oil monopolies are spending huge sums on a Madison Avenue job to try to justify their profiteering.



# Union pickets say: 'Stop phony shortages!'

By BAXTER SMITH

Three major New Jersey labor unions have followed the example of angry truckers who took the initiative in December to protest the effects of the fuel shortage. The unions demonstrated in Linden, N.J., Jan. 17 against the inconveniences, layoffs, and other economic hardships caused by the energy crisis.

Undaunted by bitterly cold wind, 1,000 unionists picketed the Exxon research center at Linden to protest the drive of the oil companies for profits at the expense of working people.

The action was called by area United Auto Workers locals, District 3 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), and the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, AFL-CIO. Delegations from the Garment, Textile, and Communications Workers unions also turned out in support.

A large number of retired workers took part. In addition, five buses brought in demonstrators of all ages from surrounding areas.

Signs bearing such slogans as "Nixon and Exxon—Get off your ass and release the gas," "Nixon: You closed the Watergate, open the gas gate," "Nixon helps Exxon. God help us," and "Stop the layoffs" danced over the heads of protesters, many of whom were Black.

One UAW member told a Newark *Star-Ledger* reporter: "I'm out of a job because of this gas shortage. I think they have plenty of gas. They're just holding it back for higher prices." Another's sign stated that half his General Motors local was out of work.

The demonstrators passed out a leaflet headlined "STOP THE PHONY FUEL SHORTAGES."

"We are demonstrating here, today," the leaflet said, "to express the outrage of the American people against the phony shortage of gasoline and fuel, which has been contrived by EXXON and the other giant oil corporations in order to force the public to pay outrageous prices for gas and oil. . . .

"The oil monopolies know they can count on their huge contributions to the Nixon Re-election Campaign to enable them to get away with highway robbery, while the President urges

the American people to 'sacrifice' in cold homes, on long lines at gas stations and with the loss of their jobs.

"EXXON profits are now 81% higher than they were at the same time a year ago, and during 1973, were 59% higher than the year before."

Slogans at the top of the leaflet demanded:

"Stop the layoffs;

"Stop the price gouging on gas and oil;

"Stop the profiteering;

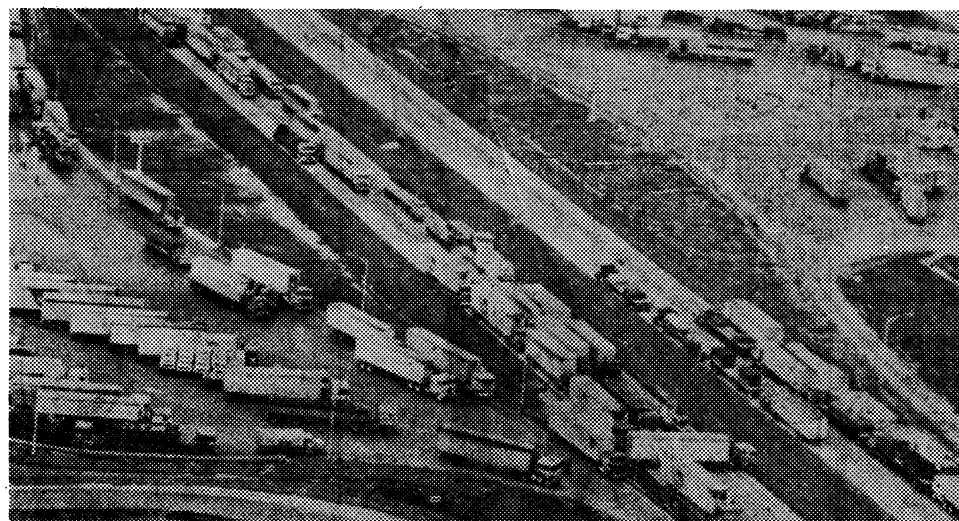
"Give us the fuel we need for our jobs, our homes and our cars."

On the back of the leaflet was a chart reporting 1973 profits of the oil trusts, including the fact that Exxon profits were up 59 percent in the first nine months of the year.

"Did your wages go up 59% in 1973??? Exxon's profits did . . . and now they're squeezing us for more!" declared the leaflet.

Exxon officials, in response to the protest, tried to shrug off charges that they are profiteering. They issued a statement claiming their profits had only increased "approximately 15 percent" in 1973 over the previous year. They claimed the increase was due not to profiteering, but to "maximum refinery runs and sales efforts."

Exxon officials were also grumpy when the unionists chose to picket the research center. The company said the Linden center was involved in research, not in the supply, allocation, or pricing of fuel.



Truckers' protest on Ohio turnpike last December. New Jersey unionists see their demonstration as 'a catalyst' to spark further labor action.

Why picket at Linden? According to the *Star-Ledger*, one company official said it was "ironic" that the unions "would pick the location that is trying to find alternative solutions to the fuel problem."

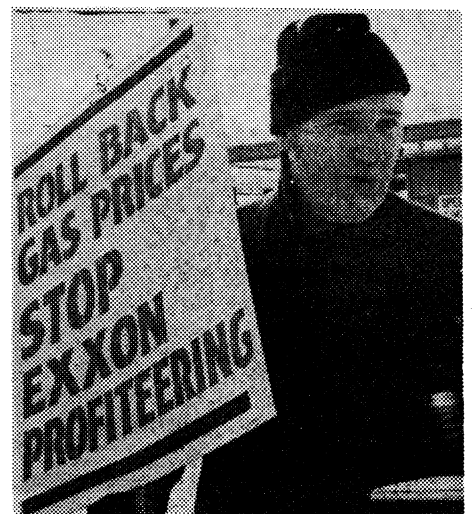
A gas station attendant who watched the protesters from behind locked doors was more realistic. He told the reporter, "I don't blame them. It's going to get to the point where people get nasty. It can only get worse."

Citing Exxon's whopping profits last year, one unionist declared, "Imagine if our union had gone in and asked for a 60 percent pay raise. They'd run us out of the country."

Prior to the demonstration, union officials had invited the 17 New Jersey congressmen to a breakfast meeting at the Region 9 headquarters to hear the unionists' grievances. Only four attended.

According to Joel Jacobson, director of community affairs for Region 9 UAW, approximately 5,000 UAW members in the region have recently been laid off because of production cutbacks. The entire second shift at the Linden, N.J., plant is out of work, he said in an interview with *The Militant* at the Region 9 headquarters.

William Bywater, president of District 3 of the IUE, and Archer Cole, vice-president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, told *The Militant* that 2,000 IUE members will be laid off because of production cut-



William Bywater of the IUE favors 'a continuing fight' by whole labor movement against energy crisis hardships.

backs caused by the energy crisis. An entire plant in Rochester, N.Y., will be closed for a week or two. A General Electric plant in Newark will be closed a week each month.

Expressing outrage over the energy crisis, Bywater said, "There is slightly more oil on hand now, but they're withholding it. When they get a dollar a gallon, then you can get all the gas you want."

"No one was doing anything and we had to start something," explained Archer Cole at the IUE office. He stated they hoped to broaden the protest nationally. "We want to be a catalyst," he said.

Bywater said he supported the idea of a labor march on Washington. But he added, "it can't be a one-shot deal. That's too much like a mardi gras. We say it's got to be a continuing fight."

Bywater said he had spoken to Paul Jennings, international president of the IUE and a member of the AFL-CIO executive council, about the idea of labor undertaking a united action against the energy crisis. Jennings told Bywater he would raise the idea with George Meany.

"I'd be in favor of all of labor doing something," Bywater added.

Jacobson reported that plans were being considered by the three unions for protests in Camden, N.J., and Rochester and Buffalo, N.Y., similar to the one in Linden.

## Prices up 8.8% in '73; worst is yet to come

In one of his speeches designed to show he is leading the country rather than sliding down the Watergate drain, President Nixon stated Jan. 19, "The sacrifices made by the American people in the energy crisis must be for the benefit of all the people and not just for the benefit of big business."

Nixon went on to say: "Scare stories that the American people will soon be paying a dollar for a gallon of gas are just as ridiculous as the stories that will say that we will be paying a dollar for a loaf of bread."

Many working people, listening to this crook who became a millionaire in office, would have liked to ask, "Are they just as ridiculous as those 'scare' stories about having to pay a dollar for a dozen eggs—stories that soon became a reality?"

A few days after Nixon's speech, Exxon and the other oil monopolies announced gigantic profit gains for 1973, bigger than ever before. And on Jan. 22, the Labor Department revealed that consumer prices in 1973 rose 8.8 percent—more than double

the rate of 1971 and 1972, and higher than the peak inflation of the Vietnam war years.

Profits and prices—Up. Workers' living standards—Down. That's what Nixon's "equality of sacrifice" means.

What's more, a congressional staff study released Jan. 13 shows that the inflation squeeze is hardest on low-income families—which include a high percentage of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

These families must pay a greater proportion of their income for housing, food, and fuel. The highest inflation rates were for these essentials, so the poor bore the greatest burden of rising prices.

A family making \$12,614 had to pay \$1,168 more last year to maintain its 1972 living standard. A family earning only \$8,116 to pay \$730 to keep pace—three times as great a proportional increase, because inflation has primarily affected prices of essentials.

The report directly contradicted the arrogant statement by Nixon's chief

economic adviser Herbert Stein last August. Stein said housewives were "exaggerating" the inflation problem, since, he claimed, wages were rising faster than prices.

In response to the report, Senator Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) predicted, "Things will be even worse in 1974, as the energy crisis takes its toll of jobs, economic growth, and price stability."

Meanwhile, a secret governmental study dug up by columnist Jack Anderson warns that the fuel shortage could mean death for many citizens in case of a sudden cold spell. This study, prepared for antipoverty chief Alvin Arnett, points out that people on welfare, Social Security, and other small fixed incomes aren't making enough to pay for both adequate food and heat.

"There can be no debate about one fact of the energy crisis," it states. "The poor and the near-poor will suffer the most extreme deprivation and severe hardships. . . ."

To the vast majority of Americans, suffering from the effects of the energy

crisis, Nixon's words sounded hollow indeed: "Private profiteering at the expense of public sacrifice must never be tolerated in a free country."



"You've Got To Realize, Getting Everything You Want Isn't Everything"

# Tombs prisoners win investigation of 'intolerable & inhuman' conditions

By BAXTER SMITH

NEW YORK—Schoolchildren are told that individual rights are guaranteed by the Constitution and a person accused of a crime is presumed innocent until found guilty.

Some people, though, have never been convinced. Four prisoners at the Manhattan House of Detention for Men—better known as the Tombs—filed a class action suit in September 1970 claiming that the institution, for pretrial detainees, violated their presumption of innocence, right to due process, right to equal protection under the law, and constituted cruel and unusual punishment.

Two weeks ago, in an 118-page opinion, U.S. District Court Judge Morris Lasker agreed with them, stating that conditions at the Tombs would "shock the conscience of any citizen who knew of them." He set Jan. 25 for hearings on implementing reforms.

Built during the Depression to house 900 men, the 12-story building in Lower Manhattan has sometimes been jammed with close to 1,400.

In October 1970, the jail was wracked by revolt.

Overcrowding, poor sanitation, lack of light and air, excessive noise, brutality by guards, inadequate medical care, lack of recreation, and restrictive visiting and mail privileges are documented in the suit.

The suit was handled by a group of Legal Aid Society lawyers, who gathered a panel of individuals—Tombs prisoners and nonprisoner prison experts—to examine and present testimony on the jail's conditions. Their findings, compiled in a legal brief, explain why the Tombs is said to be one of the worst jails in the country:

**MAXIMUM SECURITY AND VISITATION:** All prisoners are held under maximum security conditions, locked in 16 hours a day. During their eight hours out, they simply mill around because of lack of activity.

Before the 1970 rebellion, a prison-

er could receive visits five days a week. Today, visits are limited to two days a week.

For a visit, a prisoner is locked into a visitation booth the size of a telephone booth. He is separated from his visitors by a steel wall and a pane of bulletproof glass. Voice communication is mostly by sound-powered telephone.

Noted psychiatrist Dr. Karl Menninger, who was one of the panel members, termed the booths a "viola-

tion of ordinary principles of humanity." He said they are the "most unpleasant and most disturbing detail in the whole prison."

One prisoner-panelist was once told by a guard that he "blew the visit" after the prisoner spent his entire 30-minute time allotted for a visit searching for a working phone.

**ENVIRONMENT:** One prisoner described the noise level at the Tombs as "unbearable." Another stated he must stay up late at night to enjoy

the comfort of quiet.

Panelists testified that the ventilation and heating aspects of the Tombs are atrocious. On a hot summer day, the mercury sometimes climbs above 100 degrees in the cells, and the only fans are in the guards' areas. One panelist stated that last summer "our team sat down and considered coming in bathing suits at times because of the heat."

In the winter the heat does not come on until noon or 1 p.m. and until then prisoners must wear overcoats or wrap themselves in blankets, the brief says.

Air vents in the cells are useless. One prisoner testified that the only draft wafting through his vent carried the odor of the toilets.

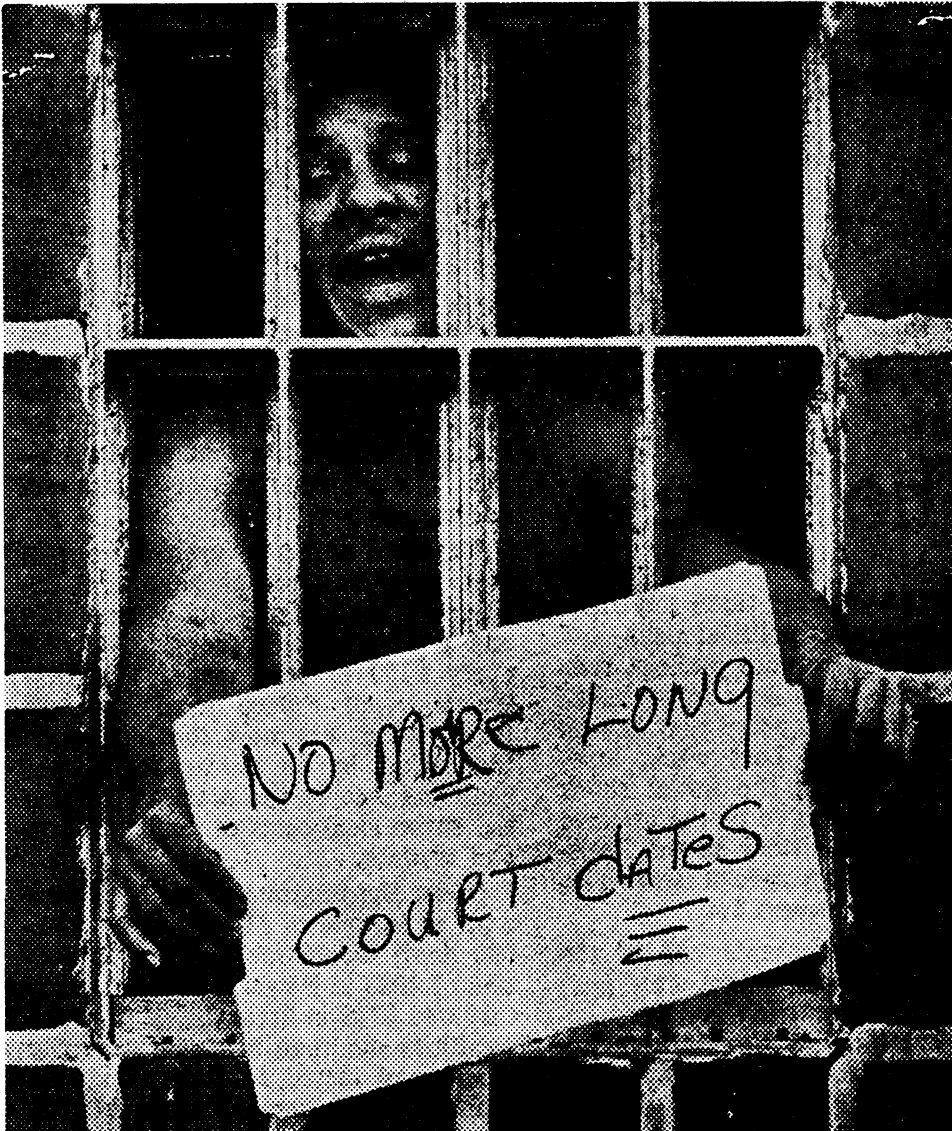
Panelists objected to the small translucent—not transparent—windows in the Tombs, many of which are bolted shut. With translucent windows, people begin losing orientation as to what time of the day or season it is, the brief states.

Prison officials had objected to transparent windows, claiming they would violate prisoner privacy. With the design of the Tombs, however, only a voyeur in a hovering helicopter could invade prisoner privacy, according to the brief.

**GUARD BRUTALITY:** Panelists testified about the brutality and callousness of the guards. One panelist told of a cellmate who was so distraught after being jailed that he talked to himself and scratched his face until it bled. The guards showed no concern, and the man eventually attempted suicide.

Another panelist testified that he was kicked, struck by sticks, and burned by guards putting out cigarettes and cigars on his body.

Finally, a prisoner testified that he saw another prisoner in a "basement pen of the Tombs, naked, handcuffed to the bars. When he returned from court more than 12 hours later, the man was still chained to the bars in the same position as before."



The Tombs holds prisoners for months, sometimes more than a year, before they even have a trial.

## U. of Wash. workers fight layoffs, pay cuts

By CLAIRE FRAENZEL

SEATTLE—The Higher Education Personnel Board (HEPB) of the state of Washington has been forced to partly back off in its reclassification scheme because of protests by the staff in the Washington higher education system.

In October 1973 the HEPB attempted to demote 2,600 employees and freeze the wages of another 30 percent of the 14,000 staff members beginning Jan. 1 under the guise of implementing a uniform statewide classification system.

The plan also called for lowering entry level wages by as much as 20 percent. Hardest hit were women and minority employees.

A demonstration of 2,500 employees on Nov. 16 and other protest activities forced the HEPB to rescind its plan to lower entry level wages; most clerical staff workers were restored to their former job classifications; and money was "found" to give most employees a 5 percent pay increase.

Despite these concessions, the HEPB is still pushing a plan containing many features that would intensify discrimination against women and minorities,

who remain in the lowest paying positions.

For instance, the plan doesn't include affirmative action provisions for women and minority employees. The reclassification plan also increases the gap between wages paid to male and female employees.

In addition, on Jan. 7, the University of Washington, which employs half of the workers affected by the HEPB rules, sent a directive to all deans, chairmen, and unit directors that authorizes them to cut work hours and opens the door for further lowering of classification.

This directive makes it clear that the university doesn't intend to abandon its plans to cut costs at the expense of its employees. HEPB rules allow the university to lay off employees if the new wage scale makes it impossible to cover the increased wage costs with current funds.

Unfortunately, the Staff Rights Organizing Committee (SROC), which organized some initial protest actions, has lost its authority and ability to organize effective protests as a result of an unsuccessful "strike" by a handful of SROC members.

The "strike" was called by the SROC

leadership at a meeting last November attended by 300 people, despite strong opposition expressed by many at the meeting. Opponents of the strike call pointed out that the meeting, which dwindled to 150, was not representative and could not call a strike with any authority.

A vote was taken and the SROC leaders claimed the vote was 2 to 1 in favor of the strike, but this has been widely disputed. Three of 17 SROC steering committee members resigned in protest, and two were expelled for opposing the strike.

Ignoring the lack of support, the SROC leadership called the strike anyway. Approximately 35 people went out on Dec. 18.

In the second week of January, 15 members of SROC, which has changed its name to United Workers' Union—Independent, staged a sit-in at the University of Washington personnel office demanding the rehiring of one of their members fired for participating in the strike. The member has since been reinstated.

Despite SROC's default, several developments open new possibilities for continuing the struggle against the

university and the HEPB plan. The department of Health, Education and Welfare has ordered the University of Washington to present an affirmative action plan for women and minorities by Jan. 11 or face government action barring university access to federal funds.

The university response has not yet been made public.

Last December, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO) announced plans to submit a bill to the state legislature allocating funds to upgrade the wages of women employees to the level of male employees performing equal work.

AFSCME's plans have received wide coverage in the news media. It should be noted, however, that under present law women are entitled to equal pay, and money must be "found" to pay women equally whether or not the AFSCME-sponsored legislation is enacted.

Public opposition to the reclassification plan has forced Governor Daniel Evans to order a preliminary study to determine the amount of funds required to achieve equal pay for equal work for all state employees.



# Palestinians denounce accords

# Mideast deal a setback for Arab peoples

By TONY THOMAS

A military disengagement agreement between Egypt and Israel was announced Jan. 17.

Egypt's president, Anwar Sadat, hailed the agreement. In a joint news conference with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Sadat claimed the accords were a result of Richard Nixon's "wise guidance" and stated that Kissinger was "not only my friend but my brother."

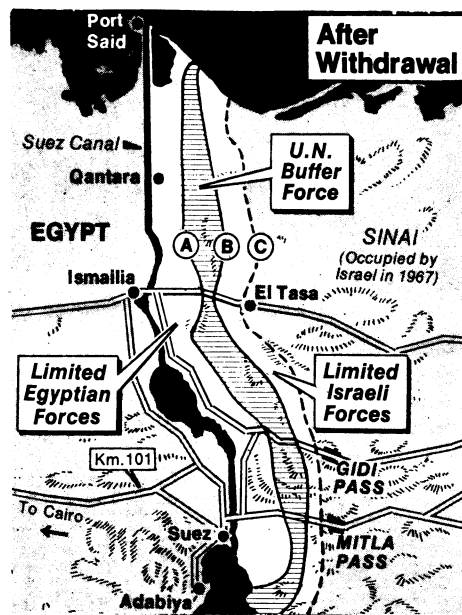
The bureaucratic rulers of the Soviet Union took credit for the accords. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko declared the settlement had been achieved primarily because of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Egypt.

In fact, this settlement, like the Vietnam accords signed almost exactly one year earlier, was imposed on the Arab peoples by U.S. imperialism with the help of the Kremlin. The settlement serves to legitimize the existence of the settler-colonial state of Israel. It favors the Zionist state's aggressive policies against Egypt and the other Arab peoples. Far from bringing "a lasting peace," the accords guarantee more war—sooner or later.

Those with the most to lose from a deal by the Arab rulers with Israel and its imperialist backers are the Palestinian people, who are fighting to regain their homeland. Not surprisingly, important sections of the Palestinian resistance movement have opposed this deal.

The Jan. 23 *New York Times* reported from Beirut that the newspaper of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO—a coalition of the major Palestinian resistance groups) "voices strong criticism of the agreement in an editorial slated for publication tomorrow [Jan. 23]."

"Palestinian students, including those belonging to Al Fateh itself, have called for a strike at Lebanese universities tomorrow against the Egyptian-Israeli disengagement agreement,



Disengagement pact leaves Israel in control of almost all of Sinai.

which a student circular has described as a serious blow to the Palestinian cause."

The PLO executive committee, meeting without Yasir Arafat, leader of Fateh and the PLO, condemned the accords. Arafat has reportedly dismissed all PLO criticisms of the settlement as "illegal." Arafat collaborated with Sadat in his negotiations with Kissinger and supports the establishment of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan River, a position the PLO had previously condemned as a sellout to Israel.

The *Washington Post* reports that Abu Maher, a representative of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, said the agreement amounted to surrender to U.S. plans. The *New York Times* reported that a representative of the Popular Front on the PLO executive had said the committee never approved of the establishment of a coordination committee with Egypt, which *Al Ahram*, an authoritative Egyptian daily, said Arafat had formed.

Sadat and Kissinger visited Damascus immediately after the signing of the accords to pressure the Syrian rulers to back off from their initial criticism of the deal. Syria had demanded the return of the Golan Heights, seized by Israel in 1967, and the return of territory occupied by Israel in 1973. Syria had also opposed a separate settlement between Egypt and Israel.

Kissinger reports that negotiations will begin between Israel and Syria with the help of American "mediation."

While much of the Israel-Egypt agreement remains secret, the public terms recognize, in practice, the right of Israel to occupy the bulk of the Sinai Peninsula, while weakening Egypt's ability to mobilize forces to oust the Israeli army.

The basic terms as far as they are known call for: 1) evacuation of Israeli positions on the west bank of the Suez Canal; 2) establishment of an Egyptian-held zone between five and eight miles wide on the east bank of the canal; 3) establishment of a zone controlled by UN forces between that zone and the Israeli-held territory; 4) establishment of a zone of reduced military strength by the Israeli forces from three to five miles wide next to the UN zone.

Under the terms of this agreement, Egypt will be allowed to station only 7,000 troops and 30 tanks in its roughly 100-mile-long strip on its own territory on the east bank of the canal (this is less than the number in the bridgeheads on the east bank now held by the Egyptians). Egypt will also be forced to withdraw heavy artillery and missiles stationed on the west bank to a distance that would put them out of range of the Israeli forces that are also stationed on Egyptian land.

The UN "security" force would be stationed—again on Egypt's own territory—to prevent any military action between Egypt and Israel. Washington

has stated that this force cannot be removed from Egypt without approval of the UN Security Council, over which the U.S. has veto power.

This agreement grants Israel clear military control of the bulk of the Sinai, including the Gidi and Mitla passes, which are essential to penetration of the Sinai, the Mediterranean coast of the Sinai, and the entire Red Sea coast of that peninsula. There is no concrete proposal that Israel withdraw from these areas, although that is to be the subject of future negotiations.

Egypt's ability to use military pressure to force Israeli withdrawal or to assist other Arab peoples in defense against Israeli aggression is eliminated under the terms of the treaty.

The Jan. 22 *Washington Post* reported "diplomatic sources" had said that among the secret "assurances" involved in the settlement was a U.S. promise "to maintain an arms balance in the area that will help protect Israel's security."

The *Post* reported that Kissinger assured congressional leaders that the agreements contained "no new commitments or guarantees of deeper American involvement . . . beyond the 'existing framework of U.S. policy.'" Since the "existing framework of U.S. policy" included preparation for a nuclear conflagration last October to maintain "an arms balance in the area that will help protect Israel's security," Kissinger's disclaimers are meaningless.

Thus, the results of these initial Mideast accords will serve to maintain the status quo: oppression of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples by the Israeli settler-colonialist state, which has been the root of the Arab-Israeli wars that have taken place over the last 25 years. The accords have also heightened the danger of U.S. intervention in the Arab East should the Arab peoples attempt to overturn these oppressive relations.

## Reply to Communist Party

## Why socialists oppose partition of Palestine

By DAVE FRANKEL

Some people are genuinely confused by the complexity of the conflict in the Mideast. Others take advantage of the complexities for reasons of their own. We will let our readers judge for themselves which is true in the case of Tom Foley.

In the Jan. 12 *Daily World* Foley purports to answer two articles by me criticizing the Communist Party's position on the Palestinian struggle and Israel. His thesis, which is repeated over and over again, is clear enough. In Foley's view, it is a fundamental right of the Israelis to maintain their own separate state in Palestine.

Foley claims that my articles "deny in effect that there is any Israeli nation or ever was one. Therefore, under the Trotskyite plan for a new Palestine, which would incorporate the present Israeli state and abolish it, the Israelis would have no national rights, including the right to self-determination, because the Trotskyites do not consider them to be a nation."

This argument contains one lie and one debater's trick. The lie is that the Socialist Workers Party is in favor of the Israelis having "no national rights." As I pointed out in my Jan.

11 article, "the SWP supports the right of the Israeli settlers to remain in Palestine, to maintain their own language and culture, to participate in the politics of the area, and to have the same democratic rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly as others." The rights of a separate language and culture are both national rights.

The debater's trick is the attempt to shift the discussion to whether or not the Israeli Jews represent a na-

tion in their own right. In my opinion they do, but *this has nothing whatever to do with the question of whether the Israelis should have the right to set up and maintain their own state on the land of the Palestinians.*

Foley's syllogism is that *all* nationalities have an equal right to self-determination; the Israeli Jews are a nation; therefore, they have the right to their own state.

By *assuming* that *all* nationalities have an equal right to self-determina-

tion, Foley ducks the whole argument. And this false equation between nationality and self-determination is made by Foley repeatedly, as when he says that in a unitary Palestine the Israelis "will be denied the basic democratic right of being considered a nation; they will not have the right to self-determination."

The establishment of equality among nations is one of the goals of socialism. Such equality does not exist today. Marxists seek to push forward the process of eliminating national oppression through supporting the democratic demands of oppressed nationalities. The relation of self-determination to nationality was explained as follows in the Jan. 11 *Militant*:

"It is the Jewish settlers who have oppressed the Palestinians. The form of this oppression—the expulsion of the native population—dictates the specific character of the struggle, which is for the right of the Palestinians to return and establish their own state. This is central to the question of which nation should have the right to self-determination in Palestine."

"This right originated as a demand

Continued on page 30



Israeli troops. Communist Party defends right of Zionists to maintain their own state on land stolen from Palestinians.

## Corruption also a target

# Indonesian youth protest Tanaka's visit

On the last leg of his tour of five Southeast Asian nations, Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka was greeted in Jakarta by thousands of youths protesting Tokyo's economic domination of Indonesia.

On Tanaka's arrival at the airport on Jan. 14, 800 students attempted to reach the airport terminal but were forced back by troops with automatic weapons.

The next day tens of thousands of students and young slum dwellers poured into the streets. *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran wrote on Jan. 16, "From late morning until late at night, despite a curfew declared by the Government, high-school and university students roamed large sections of this sprawling city burning automobiles, trucks and motor bikes that were made in Japan. They built bonfires and fed them with furniture tossed out of Japanese office buildings.

"Buildings with Japanese signs were attacked, flags were ripped down and stores were looted during the demonstrations. . . ."

The biggest clash that day occurred when army troops firing over the heads of demonstrators drove 10,000 youths away from the President Hotel, which is jointly owned by the Indonesian government and the Japanese firm Mitsui. Bands of up to 500 demonstrators continued to roam the streets. Some ethnic Chinese businessmen were also attacked.

*Washington Post* correspondent Don Oberdorfer, in a Jan. 18 dispatch, called the demonstrations "the most serious disorder here in more than seven years"—that is, since the dev-

astating defeat of the workers and peasants in 1965, when at least half a million were slaughtered on suspicion of being communists.

The response by troops and police was generally reported to be restrained at first, but official statistics said that 11 people were killed and 101 injured. Many of the casualties came in clashes with soldiers.

The government crackdown spread after Tanaka's departure, as troops occupied the University of Indonesia and authorities announced that anyone who tried to destroy Japanese-made products would be shot.

Oberdorfer's report also said, "A wave of arrests, including those of intellectuals and critics, continued here today. . . ." Harriman Siregar, chairman of the student council at the University of Indonesia, and several professors were among those jailed. The government told a student group it had a list of 410 people to be arrested. New restrictions on the press and campus activity were also decreed.

A UPI dispatch said that military authorities closed a newspaper and two radio stations, one of them student run, on Jan. 17.

Student demonstrations, though on a much smaller scale, had been building up for several months against Japanese economic domination and flagrant corruption in government. Some reports speculated that currents in the Indonesian military or other powerful groups might be giving backhanded support to these protests. No doubt some sections of the Indonesian ruling class saw in the anti-Japanese sentiment an opportunity to

pressure Japanese capital for more favorable terms in various business dealings.

It should also be noted that in 1965 the student movement was on the extreme right wing in the struggle in Indonesia. It organized mass demonstrations and paramilitary units that spearheaded the anticommunist bloodbath.

The dynamic of the current protests, however, had apparently been to broaden from an anti-Japanese to an anti-government stance, and to spread

beyond the control of the initiating groups. Oberdorfer reported on Jan. 16 that "The legitimate students with a coherent program have all but disappeared from the streets and young toughs from slum areas have taken over."

And the *New York Times* wrote on Jan. 20, "It was clear in Jakarta that more than anti-Japanese feelings had brought thousands of demonstrators into the streets: They were also protesting the policies of their own government, and Mr. Tanaka's visit gave them the excuse to do so."



Soldiers attack demonstrator in Jakarta

# New death sentences handed down in Iran

The trial of 12 writers, filmmakers, and journalists began Jan. 6 in a military court in Tehran. After four days, seven of the defendants were given death sentences.

The 12 were accused of plotting to assassinate the shah and kidnap his wife, his son, and his granddaughter, keeping them as hostages in exchange for the release of political prisoners. The kidnappings, according to the military prosecutor, would have taken place during the ceremonies of a children's film festival fully one year after the imprisonment of the 12!

According to the Jan. 12 issue of the Tehran weekly *Kayhan*, all of the defendants except Manouchehr Moghadam-Salimi denied the charges against them at the beginning of the trial. Salimi, a painter, was one of those condemned to death.

*Ettelaat*, a Tehran daily, reported that the military prosecutor insisted during the trial that the defendants had all accepted the charges. As proof he pointed to their written confessions in the files. These files were prepared by the secret police (SAVAK) after having had access to the defendants and to all means of torture for more than a year.

The mockery of this trial was such that the court-appointed military lawyers competed with each other to incriminate each others' clients. The military tribunal had overruled the objections of the defendants that theirs was a political trial, deciding that it was an ordinary criminal case against the state, and that it could be tried by a military court.

Two of the other defendants condemned to death, Khosrow Golsorkhi, a poet and writer, and Karamat Da-

neshian, an accountant, proclaimed themselves Marxists and defended their ideas in their last speeches before the court. The shah's press did not elaborate on this point.

The others condemned to death were Tyfour Bathaie, a filmmaker; Abbas-Ali Samakar, a camera man; Reza Allamezadeh, a director; and Rahmat-Allah Jamshidi, a writer.

Sentences of five years were given to Maryam Etehadieh, a journalist, and Morteza Syahpoush, a printer. Three-year sentences were given to Shokouh Farhang, a writer; Ebrahim Farhang, an insurance clerk; and Farhad Ghysari, a student.

The World Confederation of Iranian Students organized demonstrations in Europe and the U.S. on behalf of the 12, and with the participation of other groups it helped to bring



THE SHAH: Torture and death sentences all part of a day's work.

the facts of the case to public attention. The international publicity around the case forced the shah to open the trial to international observers and reporters.

Continuation and broadening of these defense efforts will be necessary to stop the seven executions planned by the shah. Such international publicity, helped by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, was instrumental recently in freeing Reza Baraheni, another of the shah's victims.

Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic, was arrested in September after an article by him entitled "The Culture of the Oppressor and the Culture of the Oppressed" passed through the censors and was published in *Ettelaat*. In that article Baraheni, who is from Azerbaijan, criticized the policy of cultural suppression, and in particular called for the legalization of the Azerbaijani language.

This is an explosive question in Iran. The shah's regime is based on the oppression of the minority nationalities in Iran, which include the Azerbaijanis, Arabs, Baluchis, and Kurds, and which together form the majority of the population.

The only other writer who publicly expressed ideas similar to those of Baraheni was Samad Behrangi, also from Azerbaijan. Five years ago Behrangi was mysteriously drowned in the Aras River, an "accident" that is widely believed to be the work of SAVAK agents.

Upon his release from prison, Baraheni wrote an article that he read before Tehran TV cameras and that the Tehran dailies serialized in the same issues that reported the trial of

the 12. The article contains some of Baraheni's earlier ideas opposing the mania for Westernization, and, uncharacteristically, a sharp criticism of Marxism, along with support to Islamic ideology. The article also praised the Persian language and culture, but did not mention Azerbaijan.

*The Brooklyn, N.Y., Militant Forum will sponsor a meeting on "The Fight Against Repression in Iran" at 8 p.m., Fri., Feb. 1. Speakers will be Bahram Atai, secretary of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, and Babak Zahraie, former president of the Foreign Students Council at the U. of Washington in Seattle. The meeting will be at 136 Lawrence St., B'klyn. For more information call (212) 596-2849.*

It is clear that Baraheni was forced by SAVAK to write this article, and that the government is trying to discredit both him and Marxism.

In another case of political repression, Iranian opposition papers have reported that Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a sociologist at the University of Tehran, was given a seven-year prison term late last year by a secret military court. She was kidnapped in July 1972 by SAVAK agents while driving home in Tehran. After being taken to Evin prison she was severely tortured.

Tabrizi was engaged in research on the living conditions of Iran's peasant population. Following her arrest five other sociologists were also arrested. Their fate is not known.



## Protests hit U.S., Japanese role

# Thai demonstrations demand 'CIA out!'

By ANDY ROSE

Widespread opposition to the activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency by Thai students and workers, expressed in large demonstrations in January, has forced responses from both the Thai and U.S. governments.

The Thai foreign ministry issued an official protest to the U.S. on Jan. 17 against the "general behavior of CIA units," demanding "that the United States stop all actions of interference in the internal affairs of Thailand."

The next day officials in Washington announced that CIA operations in Thailand would be "sharply reduced" soon.

The protests were triggered by the revelation that a CIA agent had forged a letter to the Thai premier, in the name of a Communist guerrilla leader, asking for negotiations and offering a cease-fire. The agent supposedly hoped to provoke dissension among the guerrillas and cause defections from their forces.

A demonstration of 4,000 students, professors, and others was held outside the U.S. embassy in Bangkok on Jan. 9, demanding that the CIA and U.S. Ambassador William Kintner get out of the country. Kintner, a former CIA agent, has been the target of student protests since he was appointed ambassador last fall. This demonstration coincided with protests against the visit of Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka.

The anti-U.S. demonstrations in January reportedly took place not only in Bangkok but also in the cities of Chiang Mai and Udon. This indicates that the political ferment and radicalism unleashed by the student and worker revolt last October—which was largely confined to Bangkok—have been spreading throughout the country. Udon is a major U.S. and CIA

base near the border with Laos. The demonstrations there were reportedly joined by Thai employees of Air America, the CIA-owned airline.

The forged-letter incident has highlighted the extensive U.S. military presence in Thailand. With 35,000 U.S. troops and 575 aircraft at half a dozen bases, Thailand is the major U.S. fortress in Southeast Asia. In addition there are at least several hundred Americans—including CIA agents—involved in "counterinsurgency" attacks against guerrilla groups, which are active on three separate fronts in the north, northeast, and south.

The present civilian Thai government, which came to power after the old military dictatorship was ousted last October, is firmly proimperialist and has no intention of ordering the U.S. out. It hopes through its verbal protests to maintain credibility with the Thai masses. At the same time, the Thai rulers are making overtures to the Soviet Union and China, trying to take advantage of the world détente to gain some room to maneuver.

In a major address Jan. 16, the Thai foreign minister "invited the Soviet Union to assume a key role in establishing peace in Southeast Asia," reported the *New York Times*. And through increasingly warm relations with Peking, the government is looking for help in undercutting the pro-Maoist guerrillas.

In exchange for diplomatic ties with Bangkok, Mao and Chou En-lai are evidently willing to overlook Thailand's role as a staging area for U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary operations. According to Scott Thompson in the Jan. 16 *Christian Science Monitor*, "The Chinese told a Thai delegation in Peking last month that the American bases were no problem."



Bangkok. Thais burned models of Japanese imports during protests against visit by Premier Tanaka.

Meanwhile, the militancy of the Thai students and workers has not abated. The anti-Tanaka actions on Jan. 9 were reported to be the largest demonstrations since October, as several thousand students protested Japanese exploitation of Thai labor, pollution of the Thai environment, and domination of the Thai economy.

*Newsweek* magazine gave this description: "As the Japanese Prime Minister stepped off his plane last week for a state visit to Thailand, thousands of Bangkok students set up a derisive chant of 'Tanaka, Go Home!'. . . . They milled about in the street outside his hotel, exploding firecrackers and setting afire papier-maché models of Japanese-made autos, cameras and TV sets. And in a final insulting gesture, they burned an effigy of the Prime Minister, whom they dubbed 'the yellow Yankee.'"

The action was all the more significant because the largest Thai student organization, which now closely works with the government, had called for a moratorium on demonstrations. According to the Jan. 3 Tokyo English-language *Daily Yomiuri*, the National Student Center of Thailand called on all student groups to refrain from "any unreasonable protests" during Tanaka's visit.

Instead of demonstrations, the NSCT leaders called for focusing attention on a meeting they were to hold with Tanaka on Jan. 10 to explain Thais' grievances.

The Thai labor upsurge, fueled by rampant inflation, is apparently continuing as well. In mid-December a strike by 6,000 longshoremen tied up the port of Bangkok. The strikers were demanding a 100 percent pay increase.

## U.S. Stalinists parrot slanders

# Kremlin launches smear attack on Solzhenitsyn

By DAVE FRANKEL

Charging that Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was "literally choking with pathological hatred for the country where he was born . . . and for the Soviet people," the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, launched a full-scale campaign against Solzhenitsyn and his latest book on Jan. 14.

According to *Pravda*, Solzhenitsyn's account of the Stalinist penal system and purges in *The Gulag Archipelago*, 1918-1956, is "stuffed with cynical falsifications, concocted to serve the forces of imperialist reaction."

The next day, in a proposal similar to those of the right wingers who used to urge antiwar demonstrators in the U.S. to "go back to Russia," the chairman of the board of the Writers Union for the Russian Republic called on Solzhenitsyn in a radio broadcast "to find a place for himself in a society in which he and his works will serve the struggle against socialism. . . ."

Also on Jan. 15, a new attack in the Writers Union weekly, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, was revealed. Charging him with "overtly bestial hatred for everything that is Soviet," according to the Jan. 16 *Washington Post*, the article added that "Solzhenitsyn quite often resorts to slander and to the most hideous allegations and parallels."

These official attacks have coincided with a deluge of threatening telephone



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

calls to Solzhenitsyn's family, reported the Jan. 16 *New York Times*.

On Jan. 18 Solzhenitsyn issued a statement denouncing the campaign against him. "The full ferocity of the press campaign conceals the main point from the Soviet reader: What is this book about? . . . *Pravda* asserts that in our country there has been 'uncompromising criticism' of the period up to 1956. Well then, let them show their uncompromising criticism. I have given them a wealth of factual material. . . ."

"In publishing 'The Archipelago,' I certainly did not realize how far they would repudiate their own previous weak admissions. The line chosen by our propaganda organs is one of pure animal fear of exposure. It shows how tenaciously they cling here to the bloody past and want to drag it along with them, sealed up, into the future so as not to utter a word of moral condemnation, let alone pronounce sentence upon any of the hangmen, inquisitors or informers."

To the charges that he had slandered the Russian people, Solzhenitsyn replied: "Cite the pages, liars!"

The fear of the Soviet bureaucracy was indicated Jan. 16 when they started jamming West German radio broadcasts of *The Gulag Archipelago*. The bureaucrats had stopped the jamming of Western radio broadcasts in September as part of their policy of détente.

Leading Soviet dissidents have rallied to Solzhenitsyn's defense, defying the bureaucracy's attempt to isolate him. On Jan. 6 five prominent intellectuals came out in support of Solzhenitsyn's rights. A public statement in his behalf was signed by Andrei Sakharov, the physicist who played a key role in the development of the Soviet H-bomb; Igor Shafarevich, a Moscow University

mathematician; and three writers, Vladimir Maksimov, Aleksandr Galich, and Vladimir Voinovich.

The five answered the charges of slander against Solzhenitsyn, pointing out that "it is surely impossible to deny that there actually were mass arrests, tortures, executions, forced labor, inhuman conditions, conscious extermination of millions of people in the camps."

On Jan. 9 the Moscow Writers Union expelled Lidiya Chukovskaya, a 66-year-old writer. Hedrick Smith reported in the Jan. 16 *New York Times* that Solzhenitsyn had explained the expulsion of Chukovskaya "as 'revenge' for her willingness to let him work at her country house in the writers' colony of Peredelkino, outside Moscow."

Although the U.S. Communist Party has maintained its record of slavish support to the Kremlin bureaucrats in the latest campaign against those demanding democratic rights in the USSR, other pro-Moscow parties have been feeling pressure to dissociate themselves from the cruder aspects of bureaucratic control. On Jan. 14 representatives of the Swiss, Italian, French, and Spanish Communist parties told a news conference in Geneva that they were "hostile" to administrative measures preventing the publication of Solzhenitsyn's works inside the USSR.

## Now it's 'thinkable'

"Limited nuclear war has become thinkable under a U.S. defense plan now in force," reported the wireservices recently.

*Thinkable!* A "little" nuclear war could be "thinkable" only to the atom-maniacs who run this country.

Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger explained this new policy last month in Washington. "He apparently hoped the Russians would get the message," observed one reporter.

Schlesinger emphasized that the Soviet Union "should never have any doubt about the will of the U.S. government to use nuclear weapons," the report continued.

A "generation of peace?" An "era of detente?" Nixon's slick slogans are exposed as pure sham by Schlesinger's statements.

The real policy of the capitalist rulers in Washington was made plain in recent weeks with Nixon's proposed new military budget and announcement of the "new" nuclear strategy that would bring nuclear holocaust one step closer.

Nixon proposes to spend \$99-billion of our tax money to further expand U.S. war-making potential, including big increases to develop and stockpile new nuclear weapons.

Nixon—the Watergate crook and Mad Bomber of Southeast Asia—wasn't satisfied with the previous "options" to unleash nuclear destruction. Previously, we are told, both Washington and Moscow based their nuclear strategy on the principle of deterrence—also known as "mutual assured destruction" (MAD, for short). This strategy was designed to virtually wipe out both the population and military potential of both countries, making nuclear warfare literally suicidal.

With his new targeting system, allowing a strike centered on Soviet military installations, Nixon now publicly claims the option of *launching* a nuclear war, rather than just *detering* one. This newly announced strategy entails spending billions on new, more accurate missiles, beginning a whole new round in the arms race.

The casual way in which the capitalist rulers are debating these grisly alternatives shows their utter depravity and ruthlessness.

As they add to the nuclear buttons at Nixon's fingertips, their only thought is to defend their monstrous system of exploitation by any means necessary. This comes before any concern over the human consequences of nuclear war today.

Their willingness to actually use this awesome military might was demonstrated in the military alert ordered during the October Mideast war; in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962; and in the savage bombing of Vietnam.

Nixon's bomb rattling shows that the "detente" will not bring peace. The system of imperialism will always generate a war drive against the socialized property relations of the Soviet Union, and against oppressed people struggling for national liberation and socialism.

The deals imposed by Washington and the Kremlin in both the Mideast and Vietnam are not the road to world peace. These deals meant blows to the liberation struggles of the Vietnamese and Arab masses, and served only to *embolden* the imperialists in Washington.

There is only one way for humanity to escape the barbaric horror of nuclear annihilation. The nuclear arsenal, along with their political and economic power, must be taken out of the hands of the capitalists. The system of competition and wars over profits must be replaced with a world socialist system of cooperation, democracy, and planned production for human need.

## Militant sales drive

This week's *Militant* is a special 32-page issue to kick off our spring circulation drive. Our goals are to obtain 7,500 new subscribers and increase regular street sales to 10,000 copies each week. (See story, page 29.)

This week the regular World Outlook section has been omitted to help provide space for the features on Marxism versus terrorism and the issues facing the teachers unions. We are also continuing our extensive coverage of the energy crisis, Watergate, international struggles, and other developments.

This wide range of issues gives an indication of the broad appeal of *The Militant*. With the spring sales and subscription drive we aim to reach thousands more people with news telling the truth about the struggles of the oppressed, and the socialist program for carrying these struggles forward. With distrust of the government and corporations at an all-time high, we expect to find a receptive audience.

We urge all *Militant* readers to participate in making this drive a success.

### Good source of info

I worked this summer for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee in King City, Calif. (You send *The Militant* to them there.) It is good that you do that because it is one of the good sources of info for people in rural areas like King City.

R. F.  
Davis, Calif.

### Writes the truth

I've been buying your paper for more than three years. It has no reason to be propagandistic like the *S. F. Examiner* or *Chronicle* or any other capitalist newspaper because you're an independent paper that writes the truth about Chile, Greece, and especially the Zionist aggression on the Arab masses.

The reason why the other papers don't write all the truth on the Mideast problem is because the papers are run by big businessmen and get money for what they write. But when will people realize it?

B. N.  
San Francisco, Calif.

### Gogol's 'Dead Souls'

The more I hear about Watergate the more it sounds like a garbled translation of Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Nixon paid a high price for his share of the graveyard, but I object when he insists on passing the expense along to poor slob like myself.

Robert Lefkowitz  
New York, N. Y.

### Critical analysis of Chile

I've received several issues of my first subscription to *The Militant*. I would like to say that I now consider it the most well-informed and valuable newspaper I've ever read. I especially appreciate the critical analysis of the struggles, particularly of Chile.

A. M.  
Los Angeles, Calif.

### Everybody's nobody

Nixon has frequently referred to his "gang" as "the team," and his efforts to run this corrupt administration like a football game is becoming more apparent. I recently learned that Gerald Ford was an outstanding center for Michigan in the 1930s. Tricky Dick's nomination of "Everybody's Nobody" for vice-president was very shrewd indeed. Whoever heard of a center taking a quarterback's job?

Gary Watkins  
Winnipeg, Canada

### 'Ask The Militant'

Just received *Rosa Luxemburg Speaks* edited by Mary-Alice Waters. I'm looking forward to some wonderful reading.

Please continue my subscription to *The Militant*. There is no equal. I've noticed that *The Militant* has earned a reputation for having done its homework well. I've heard it said, "if you don't believe it, ask *The Militant*."

A prisoner  
Kansas

### Thai struggles

Sometimes, particularly after I had read my first two or three issues of your paper, I think your view on something is kind of one-sided. However, this has been improved much. One thing I think you've done well is the reliability of the information. Since I am a Thai, I know that the articles or news about Thai students' struggles in October that you printed were absolutely free from distortion.

A reader  
Stanford, Calif.

### Biased on Mideast

Your coverage is completely biased on the war in the Middle East. You say nothing about the hundreds of POW's or MIA's and how they are being treated.

Why did the Arabs need such a small piece of earth for so great a loss in human life? Your support of these pigs completely destroyed any of the expectations I might have had for your paper. I have found my college newspaper far more sufficient than *The Militant*.

Toni Strong  
East Lansing, Mich.

### On those cancellations

I have noticed a large number of persons canceling subscriptions because of disagreement on one subject, mostly Israel. I do not always agree with everything you all print, but *The Militant* is the closest thing I have found to my line of thinking. Keep up the good work.

J. H.  
Houston, Tex.

### Palestinian women

When Linda Jenness spoke of Arab women in the Jan. 11 issue of *The Militant*, she made the same serious mistake the Arab regimes have made in underestimating the Palestinian force and disregarding its presence in the Arab world. In Jenness's case, she completely overlooked Palestine's fine contribution to womanhood.

Today, these women are playing a decisive role in occupied Palestine. With militant demonstrations, protests, strikes, bombs, and grenades, they are showing the world just how effective and necessary women are in a protracted battle of liberation.

The feminine names of Arab freedom fighters like Fatma Birnawi, Shadia Abu Ghazalleh, Asysha Odeh, and Layla Khaled should not be forgotten. Especially in an article entitled "Women in the Arab world."

Nancy Sharp  
Fresno, Calif.

### Boycott Guild Liquor

Whenever you publicize the boycotts for the United Farm Workers, you forget the Guild Liquor (brandy and wine) boycott.

The 40 strikers from White Rivers Farm, Delano, Calif., who have been in the Midwest for more than a year publicizing this boycott, ask that you include them.

As the boycott becomes more and more effective in the Midwest, Guild will look for new markets in other major cities, so it is important that supporters are aware that Guild is scab.

Barbara Luetke  
Minneapolis, Minn.





### Cantu's reply to Gutierrez

#### Joining up

Years back I used to march down Peachtree Street in Atlanta, Ga., with Linda Jenness. While I was opposed to the cowardly, illegal, and unconstitutional war in Southeast Asia and "into the movement," I have never really been a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

However, after reading yesterday's newspaper where the FBI admitted spying on the SWP and "disrupting" your right to organize people, I am seriously thinking about joining up.

Can you mail me some material on the SWP?

R.W.

Reno, Nev.

#### I. F. Stone

One of the things that makes *The Militant* the best paper in the country today is features like Michael Smith's review of I.F. Stone's *Weekly*. Smith not only gave an excellent review but a sketch of one of the greatest human beings of our time.

Sheldon Lawrence

New York, N.Y.

#### The Watergate boys

I want to assure you that I desire and must have *The Militant* each week. It is not only read by me but by scores of other inmates and guards here. Take the Watergate boys, just a bunch of gangsters busted, simple as that. Now all those big subtle lawyers and other government men are going to get them out either uninjured or slightly injured. . . . *The Militant* makes it easy to understand.

A prisoner

Louisiana

#### From Harlan County

We don't know what it is going to take to get a UMWA contract, but whatever it takes that is what we are ready to do. We cannot let scabs work the Brookside mines. No contract, no work. Us union people are not moving. We are like a tree planted by the water, we shall not be moved.

The company will pay gun thugs to keep the union people from their jobs, but they don't want to pay the royalty on our black gold in eastern Kentucky mountains.

Harlan County is UMWA Country.

Gussie Mills

Evarts, Ky.

[Gussie Mills is president of the Brookside Women's Club.]

#### Holiday splurge

I splurged for the holiday season and sent out five subscriptions to *The Militant* for friends and parents. My father, who has spent 20 years of his life working in a factory of a worldwide corporation, is very enthusiastic about the broader understanding he is grasping via your publication.

M.B.

Oakland, Calif.

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

In the Dec. 28, 1973, *Militant* I wrote a reply to an open letter by José Angel Gutiérrez that had been widely circulated in the Chicano movement. Gutiérrez is a Texas Raza Unida Party leader based in Crystal City, Texas, who was elected chairman of the Congreso de Aztlán, a leadership body set up at the national convention of Raza Unida parties in 1972.

Expressing a narrow viewpoint in his letter, Gutiérrez argued that international questions are over the heads of most Chicanos. He is opposed to the Raza Unida Party becoming involved in such issues.

Gutiérrez also implies that there is no room in the *partido* for socialists and others who do advocate such involvement. He stated that as chairman of the Congreso, he intends to ignore present RUP groupings in Colorado, California, New Mexico, Illinois, and Nebraska—those he has been at odds with.

Another reply to Gutiérrez was written by Mario Cantú, a Chicano leader in San Antonio. Cantú heads the antideportation organization TU-CASA. His reply was published in Spanish in the Dec. 7-21 *Chicano Times*. I think *Militant* readers will be interested in the following excerpts that indicate Cantú's views. (The translation is by *The Militant*.)

"According to his [Gutiérrez's] statements, the Chicano people 'understand little and care less' about the political situations of other peoples of the Americas.

"We ask—did it not demonstrate interest when the United Farm Workers of César Chávez passed resolutions at their first national convention in solidarity with the people of Chile?

"Did it not demonstrate interest when support was given to the heroic Vietnamese people by thousands of Chicanos who marched in Los Angeles in 1970 [in the Chicano Moratorium]?"

"Did it not demonstrate interest and political un-

derstanding when Chicanos mounted protests against president Luis Echeverría regarding the political prisoners in Mexico?

"The support the New Mexico and Colorado Chicanos gave to the Indian movement during the confrontation at Wounded Knee, is this not taking an interest?"

"Is it not interest, the struggle that is being carried out in Los Angeles and Texas by Chicanos in defending the rights of the Mexican and Latin American immigrants?"

"Is it not interest, the acts of solidarity by Antonio Orendain and the farm workers in the [Rio Grande] valley with their brothers, the peasants in Mexico?"

"All this you call 'understanding little,' 'not knowing what's going on,' and 'armchair revolutionaries.'"

"The Raza Unida Party governs Crystal City but it does not control, because on an economic level the power remains in the state and federal agencies. We know all too well that Crystal depends on funds from outside the city for its sustenance.

"It is here that José Angel manipulates and compromises the interests of the Chicano movement for benefits that favor only Crystal. These compromises help the government that controls the funds for the programs, be they those for the health clinic, or in the case of president Luis Echeverría, 500 books for the library in Crystal, a statue of Juárez, and 17 scholarships for Chicanos picked by him.

"The price he [Gutiérrez] has to pay is to hold back from taking clear and radical positions.

"In your letter you define yourself in favor of changes of a reformist nature. It is plain to everyone that you exhibit symptoms of egoism in taking the decision to kick out of the party the entire movement in five states. You do not seek to explain your position with clarity or to carry on the dialogue in good faith."

### National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



### Albert Shanker's 'enemies list'

The number one vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Albert Shanker, is properly recognized in the Teachers union and in the teaching profession as a vindictive and malicious character. On this account he is feared in some circles and despised in others.

His vindictiveness was recently displayed in a series of attacks by him against those on his own private "enemies list." These include Luis Fuentes, superintendent in New York School District 1; David Selden, AFT president; Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Dr. Marilyn Gittell, newly named associate provost and assistant vice-president at Brooklyn College.

The full list of Shanker "enemies" is known only to himself and expands according to his whims, but it is known to include several other AFT vice-presidents and numerous presidents of AFT locals around the country. In the AFT he is more feared than revered, and this accounts for the initial success of his effort to purge AFT President Selden.

Beyond the limits of the Teachers union, Shanker is held more in contempt than awe. His determination to drive Superintendent Fuentes from the largely Puerto Rican School District 1 on Manhattan's Lower East Side met a severe setback recently when the courts found that a white-dominated Shankerite school board in the district was fraudulently elected.

His attempted raid on AFSCME School Employees Local 372 is being challenged. Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME District Council 37, says, "This is the beginning of the rollback of Al Shanker."

Even Shanker's purge inside the AFT has been blocked temporarily by Selden's announced intention to fight back and by the general uneasiness among officials of several big-city AFT locals.

The most telling blow against Shanker came with the appointment of Dr. Marilyn Gittell to her high position at Brooklyn College. He had tried to prevent this last November by appearing before the board of higher education and charging that her appointment would "threaten the entire relation that

exists between our union and the City University."

Shanker opposes Dr. Gittell solely because she strongly advocates community control of schools in areas, like District 1, where Blacks and Puerto Ricans predominate. Shanker calls this "racism in reverse," and claims that any recognition of Dr. Gittell's high academic qualifications is "the equivalent of the appointment of George Wallace as head of the Brooklyn College Education Department."

Such outrageous charges were soundly denounced by union members in the university system. Albert Gorvine and Henry Morton, chairmen of the political science departments at Brooklyn College and Queens College, wrote a lengthy letter to the *New York Times*. They said, "As dues-paying members of the Professional Staff Congress, A.F.L.-C.I.O., we greatly deplore Mr. Shanker's misuse of union funds to ventilate his personal animus against a colleague who does not have the use of a weekly column paid for by union members to defend herself."

Shanker still seeks to punish all those who, like Dr. Gittell, opposed his openly racist strike in 1968 against Black community control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, New York. He hopes to impose the policy of that strike on the Teachers union.

For this reason he fears the present merger negotiations between the national AFT and the National Education Association (NEA) and hopes to prevent the unification of two million teachers into a single union.

His bureaucratic actions and racist policies are becoming widely recognized. He is beginning to sense that he cannot win much sympathy among teacher unionists around the country for the racism he preaches.

Consequently, Shanker uses his present organizational control of the New York Teachers union as a bludgeon against his "enemies list" inside and outside the AFT. The latest results have further exposed Shanker's self-serving goals and vindictive methods, and this will encourage opposition to him in the AFT.



Harry Ring is currently in New Zealand at the invitation of the Socialist Action League, the Trotskyist organization in New Zealand.

**Social change**—New Zealand's recently elected Labor prime minister, Norman Kirk, announced major changes in the order of precedence—the order in which leading citizens line up on official and ceremonial occasions. The governor-general and prime minister remain Numbers 1 and 2 respectively. The speaker of parliament is raised from eighth to third spot. Former prime ministers dropped from eleventh place to fourteenth.

**Sheepish report**—The Wellington Dominion reports that British prison inmates are being reached by New

Zealand Meat Board promotional films, including **50 Million for Lunch** and **N.Z. Meat Processing and Inspection**. The paper notes that the board's report on the showings to Her Majesty's prisoners "does not include comment on their reaction to the films." Nor, it added, "does it say whether New Zealand lamb is on the prison menu."

**Easy rider**—The Queen of England had her Phantom 6 Rolls Royce packed in a specially designed crate and shipped to New Zealand for her royal visit here.

**Concerned keepers**—A bit of a stir was created when two New Zealand prisoners were found helping a prison

official clear some of his property 35 miles from the jail. However, the director of prisons assured it has long been normal policy to permit minimum-security prisoners to help with odd jobs at the homes of officials. He explained that inviting an inmate into an official's home tends to foster good relations between them.

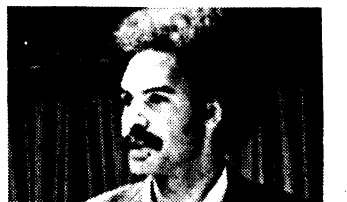
**Department dep't**—The following item is from the Wellington Evening Post: "David Ellis Colinge, 17, salesman, was fined \$15 with costs when he appeared in the Lower Hutt Magistrate's Court, before Mr. M.S. Hobbs, S.M., pleading guilty to a charge that at Lower Hutt on Jan. 5 he behaved in an insulting manner."



## By Any Means Necessary

### Issues facing the Black press

Baxter Smith



All the way down tobacco road from Boston's Roxbury district, through Chicago's South Side, to "Easy Town" in Baton Rouge, and beyond, reporters for the Black press race to news breaks, parry with police officials, pore over city statistics, and poke through court records to ferret out the news.

Today there are more than 300 Black-oriented newspapers. Only four are dailies, most are weeklies, and some are published less often than that. A few were founded before the turn of the century.

Most of these 300 are establishment-type papers and are meant to appeal to diverse elements within the Black community.

Of all the Black papers, the Black Muslims' *Muhammad Speaks* has the largest circulation, with more than 600,000 copies sold weekly. It is circulated nationally.

The others have circulations ranging from 15,000 to 75,000. During the mid-1940s, though, a half-dozen Black newspapers had circulations of at least 100,000.

Most of the papers today are largely conservative in their editorial policy. A handful, how-

ever, appeal to radicalized elements with news and social analysis that establishment papers generally avoid.

Most establishment papers stick to local news in a given city. Personal windfalls or misfortunes, spectacular murders, sensational robberies and "crimes," society gossip, the world of Black entertainers, and church events provide ready grist for their news staffs.

They generally rely on the National Black News Service, in addition to United Press International or Associated Press, for national news coverage.

Talks with editors and others knowledgeable in the production of Black newspapers reveal that several factors have hampered the growth of the Black press.

Rising costs of production and news gathering coupled with declining income from advertisers are some. But a conservative editorial policy has been one of the main factors hamstringing the establishment papers. Dwindling circulation—since the all-time highs of the 1940s—has been the result. Many establishment papers are run by men in

their late fifties who deprecate the Black radicalization. Down the line, these editors and publishers are tied to the capitalist parties and tend to shun critical reporting of maneuvers by the Democrats and Republicans.

During the elections, whole pages are sometimes devoted to Democrats while editorials remind voters of the "virtues" of this or that capitalist politician.

When the Watergate exposures broke, the best many of these papers could muster were feature stories on the Black guard who nabbed the "plumbers" inside the Watergate complex.

Even as the revelations appeared on the FBI's bugging of and plotting against Dr. Martin Luther King, many papers remained hushed. This columnist recalls searching in vain among the many establishment Black newspapers for editorials and news protesting the plot.

But the winds of change—in the form of the radicalization—have influenced some reporters, who have written critical articles. Next week we will delve more into this and other issues facing the Black press.

## Women In Revolt

### ERA and the Communist Party

Linda Jenness



On Jan. 18 Maine became the thirty-first state to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. With only seven more states needed to ratify the amendment before it becomes law, women have stepped up the campaign for its passage.

On Jan. 12 in Columbus, Ohio, 1,000 people gathered in support of the ERA. On the same day another 1,000 marched down Peachtree Street in Atlanta, Ga.

One radical group that was absent from these activities was the Communist Party. It wasn't to be seen because it *opposes* the ERA. Is that hard to believe? Well, apparently it is, even for some members of the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League.

Last March there were signs of dissension within the CP over their anti-ERA position. Judy Baston, writing in the March 31 *People's World* (the West Coast publication of the CP), called for a "new ERA strategy." She was answered with a firm reiteration of the CP's stand against the ERA in the June 9 *Daily World*.

After the AFL-CIO voted at its October convention to endorse the ERA, many people, including some members of the CP, assumed it would have an effect on the CP's position.

George Morris, in the Nov. 17 *Daily World*, reported on the new AFL-CIO stand in such a confusing manner that even members of the CP couldn't figure out from the article whether the

CP had changed its stand or not—maybe Morris didn't know yet.

A CP member from Brooklyn finally wrote to the editors of the *Daily World* on Dec. 18 and asked them. "George Morris wrote a fine column. . .," writes A.B. "But he did not sum up his position on the amendment. . . . Do we still oppose it?" A.B. asks.

We certainly do, answered the editors, "we cannot support the ERA in its present form."

Embarrassment about this reactionary stand must be causing some CP members to chafe. Morris felt compelled to write yet another column in the Jan. 12 *Daily World*. This one is a bit clearer; at least he got the CP line straight. But it won't lessen the embarrassment. In fact, I would be surprised if some members of the CP, and especially the Young Workers Liberation League, don't gag on it.

While agreeing that equal pay and job opportunities for women are necessary, Morris goes back to the old argument that protective legislation for women will be lost if the ERA passes. The CP uses this as its excuse for opposing the ERA.

"Why shouldn't we have special laws guaranteeing women disability during pregnancy and for post-childbirth periods? Why not legal requirements to provide child care for working women? Why not protection in the form of setting a limit on

weight lifting? Why not protection of a woman's job if, because of family responsibilities, she refuses to work nights or overtime?"

Morris just doesn't get it. Protective legislation that is good for women is good for men as well. The fight should center on extending the truly beneficial laws to men. That fight will be made *easier* with passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

There are other laws, under the guise of "protection," that have traditionally been used to discriminate against women by denying them jobs in certain areas. The weight-lifting requirements are among the most notorious. Those laws we can do without.

The truth is that Morris has a very limited image of women's role in society. This becomes clear later on in his column when he shudders at the image of women working in a coal mine. Surely there are "more agreeable" jobs women could fight for, he says.

The last thing we need right now is for the Stalinists to tell women which jobs are "agreeable" for us, or "proper," or "wouldn't distract from our family responsibilities." We've heard about that kind of "protection" before. We hear it every day from the bosses and the reactionaries.

What we want is *equal rights, equal protection*, and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would be a step in the right direction.

By DICK ROBERTS

Who owns and controls U.S. corporations? This has always been a hotly contested subject in the debate between Marxist and bourgeois sociology. It has taken on particular interest as the energy crisis focuses more and more attention on the central role of the oil trusts.

A 419-page study released Jan. 6 by the U.S. Senate Committee on Government Operations goes farther toward answering this question than any comparable study conducted in the postwar period. Entitled "Disclosure of Corporate Ownership," the study was compiled by two subcommittees of the Senate Operations Committee, one headed by Senator Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) and the other by Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Maine).

The Metcalf-Muskie report shows that a handful of trust departments of the major Eastern banks and brokerage houses hold dominant or controlling interests in most major U.S. corporations. These include not only manufacturing industries but transportation, retailing, "public" utilities, in-

capitalism.

Two previous major studies of corporate ownership in this country came to the same conclusions as the Metcalf-Muskie study. The most thorough, which has not yet been duplicated, was the Senate Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) investigation, just before World War II. This inquiry reflected the pressure of mass radical sentiment in the country at that time.

The TNEC found that among 8.5 million shareholders in 1,710 major companies as of 1937-39, 4 percent of all common stockholders held 74.9 percent of the stock. The TNEC emphasized the pivotal power of the Rockefeller, duPont, Mellon, and Ford interests.

Ferdinand Lundberg's *The Rich and the Super-Rich* (1968) is largely an extrapolation of the TNEC findings to the mid-1960s.

But following World War II, especially as the conservatizing influence of the cold war deepened, it became fashionable to deny the power of the plutocrats, to insist that corporate control was increasingly falling into the hands of managers, and even to deny the existence of the ruling class at all. Unfortunately some Marxists fell into this

looked only at stockholdings of 5 percent or higher and thereby overlooked the many huge and decisive blocs of stock control that individually amount to less than 5 percent of the total shares.

## The ruling class

Perhaps the most important value of the new study, however, is its reaffirmation of the spectacular wealth of the American ruling class. For (and this is a point that has mainly been overlooked in the Sweezy-Fitch-Oppenheimer debate on banks and industry) it is not the banks per se, but the trust departments of the banks, that have the stocks.

These trust funds hold most of the shares owned by the ruling class. In fact, individual families of the ruling class may have a number of different trust funds, each one of which, in turn, holds the shares of a number of corporations.

The banks simply manage these trust funds, and in some cases the trust funds are managed by brokerage houses instead of banks, notably Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, which manages several of the most important ruling-class trust funds.

But the actual ruling-class families who own the stocks in the trust funds are still hidden from public view, and their holdings could not be penetrated by the congressional investigating committees. These trust funds are identified in financial matters by "street names." Thus, the Metcalf-Muskie report found that 2.7 percent of the shares of First National City Bank are held by trust funds called Cudd & Company, Kane & Company, and Egger & Company.

They are names that most people never heard of! Yet they are the largest holders of corporate stock and consequently the most decisive centers of power in the U.S. economy. The same three obscurely named trust funds, Cudd, Kane, and Egger, hold the giant \$295-million bloc of AT&T shares already mentioned. Industrial corporations and the banks themselves are owned by these trust funds.

In the case of Cudd, Kane, and Egger, the weight of historical evidence says that they are trust funds of the Rockefeller family.

The Metcalf-Muskie study indicates that far from disappearing, the dominant sectors of the ruling class grew richer and more powerful in the postwar period. Karl Marx long ago emphasized a basic law of nature as applied to political science: The big fish eat the little fish. This fundamental principle of capitalism is more than upheld by the latest findings.

## Burlington Northern

The case of the giant Burlington Northern Railway of the northwest is another illustration. In one of the celebrated "antitrust" moves of the first decade of this century, President Theodore Roosevelt helped to block formation of this trust.

Ferdinand Lundberg wrote in *America's Sixty Families* (1937), "The Northern Securities Company, incorporated . . . by J.P. Morgan and Company, represented an ambitious plan to consolidate the Northern Pacific, Great Northern, and Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroads. On the day of incorporation there was a conference in the Morgan offices attended by the weighty parties to the transaction, who were George F. Baker, E.H. Harriman, James J. Hill, James Stillman, William Rockefeller, and C.S. Mellen, Morgan deputy in charge of the New Haven Railroad.

"J.P. Morgan was said to have been thunderstruck by Roosevelt's fiat."

But precisely the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, the Northern Pacific, and the Great Northern were finally merged in 1970 into the Burlington Northern, which now has, across the western United States, the longest track in the country.

The Metcalf-Muskie report shows that the Burlington Northern is 21.7 percent owned by the big seven New York banks. The most notable shift is that the Rockefeller trusts own proportionally more of it today than the Morgan trusts,

*Continued on page 30*

# Senate committee reveals wealth of U.S. ruling class



Militant/Ed Weaver

New Senate study confirms fact that controlling interest in corporate stock is held by handful of American families

insurance companies, and the banks themselves. For example:

- Safeway Stores is 10.5 percent owned by trust departments of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the central financial pillar of the Rockefeller empire. An additional 3 percent of Safeway shares are held by New York's Morgan Guaranty bank. Including the five others of the "big seven" New York banks (First National City, Bankers Trust, Manufacturer's Hanover, Bank of New York, and U.S. Trust Company), 17.8 percent of Safeway shares are held by the trust funds of the big New York banks.

This information should be particularly valuable in the United Farm Workers' struggle against this third largest retailing chain in the country. It illustrates how the California growers are backed up on a national scale by the most powerful sectors of Eastern finance capital.

- Mobil Oil, the second largest U.S. oil trust, is 17 percent owned by the big seven New York bank trust departments. Here the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan and First National City banks hold 6.4 percent of the stock.

- American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T), by asset value the largest corporation in the world, is 2.9 percent held by the big New York trust departments. Chase Manhattan is again largest with 1.1 percent of the stock.

The figure may seem small until it is remembered that AT&T has issued 549,310,000 shares of stock, so that 1.1 percent adds up to 5,906,510 shares! On Monday, Jan. 15, that holding would have traded on the New York Stock Exchange for roughly \$295-million. Many people own a few shares of AT&T, but they are far from owning even a fraction of the Chase Manhattan trust holdings.

In fact, the declining percentage of total stock that it is necessary to hold in order to control a corporation is a permanent tendency of monopoly

way of thinking, most notably Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy in *Monopoly Capital* (1966).

## Key role of banks

Subsequent to the publication of *Monopoly Capital* a debate developed in Marxist circles around the question of whether banks (as V.I. Lenin, Rudolf Hilferding, and other Marxists had contended in the first decades of the century) remained the central powerhouses of the capitalist economy, or whether this role had been overtaken by the giant industrial corporations, as Baran and Sweezy contended. A series of articles by Robert Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer in *Socialist Revolution* during 1970 to 1972 blasted away at Sweezy's thesis.

The basic points, Fitch and Oppenheimer argued, are the huge amounts of liquid capital available to the biggest banks, their relative immunity to fluctuations in the business cycle, and their numerous interconnections over time with all other sectors of the economy (access to financial data, interlocking directorships, etc.).

Moreover, the big banks have historically been the central pillars of the financial empires of the ruling class.

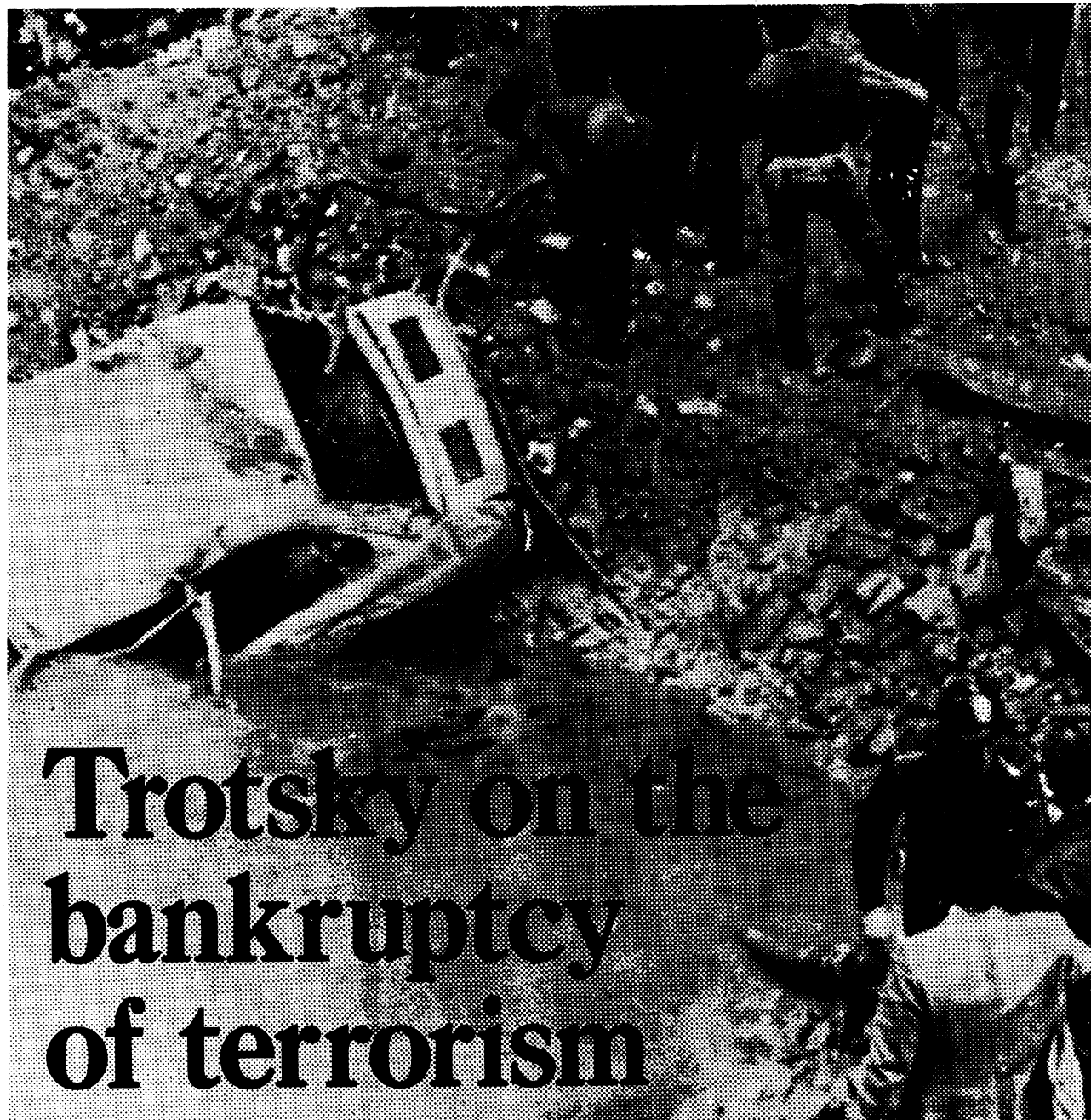
These points were supported by the second major examination of corporate ownership before the Metcalf-Muskie report, namely, "Commercial Banks and their Trust Activities," U.S. Subcommittee on Domestic Finance of the House Committee on Banking and Currency (1968), headed by Representative Wright Patman (D-Texas).

Patman's report showed that by far the largest holders of stocks were the bank trust departments, which silently wielded a much bigger influence on corporations through stock ownership than the more highly publicized mutual funds and life insurance companies. The weakness of the Patman report, which is now partially corrected by the Metcalf-Muskie study, is that Patman's report



ROCKEFELLER: His family's banks hold dominant shares in Safeway stores, Mobil Oil, and AT&T, to name a few.





## Trotsky on the bankruptcy of terrorism

We are publishing here for the first time in English an article by Leon Trotsky against the strategy of terrorism as practiced by the Russian Social Revolutionaries (SRs) during the last decades of the tsarist empire. It was originally published in May 1909 in the Polish *Social Democratic Review* under the title "The Collapse of Terror and its Party (On the Azef Affair)."

The article has particular relevance because of the new rise in terrorist actions today—from the operations of the Tupamaros in Uruguay, to the Sallustro kidnapping and other actions by the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) in Argentina,

### Introduction

to the Munich events, to the Lod Airport killings, to the actions of the Provisional IRA in Ireland.

Just last December another spectacular terrorist act hit the headlines. In Spain a bomb ripped apart a car holding the premier and probable successor to Franco, Luis Carrero Blanco. The Basque nationalist group ETA(V) has taken credit for the assassination.

The resurgence of terrorism today has meant the tragic loss of lives of many militants and the disorientation of a whole section of the new generation of revolutionary-minded youth on a world scale.

Trotsky's writings on terrorism reveal that this perspective is nothing new and has in fact been tried and found wanting in the rich experience of past generations of revolutionists. His articles on this subject are an invaluable contribution to the current debates and searchings for an effective revolutionary strategy by militants around the world.

The following article was written on the occasion of the sensational exposures concerning Yevno Azef, a top leader of the terrorist Combat Organization of the SR Party. In early 1909 Azef was exposed as an agent of the Okhrana, the tsarist secret police. It turned out that in the course of his work as a provocateur, he was responsible for the assassination of the minister at the head of the very department that employed him as an agent.

The revelations surrounding the Azef case ab-

sorbed the attention of the Duma (parliament), as well as much of the Russian and world press, for several months in early 1909.

The Azef revelations, as Trotsky's article indicates, were a lesson in the ineffectiveness of the strategy of terrorism. They demonstrated how government agents will seek to provoke militants into terrorist activity to discredit them, victimize them, and isolate them from the masses.

Trotsky's article is especially timely because of the dramatic exposures of the same truth through the Watergate scandal in the United States and other similar revelations in numerous countries around the world. One of the Watergate-related exposures was that an FBI provocateur, Larry Grathwohl, was a central inspirer of the Weathermen bombings in 1969-70. Many frame-up trials of antiwar and Black activists have also demonstrated the role of provocateurs in urging and initiating terrorist activity, such as the Berrigan case, the Camden 28, the Gainesville 8, the Panther 21, and the Statue of Liberty case.

Last fall there was the affair of Kenneth Littlejohn in England—a British intelligence agent who organized bombings and assassinations in Ireland as part of both the Official and Provisional IRAs. In Sweden recently, journalists revealed the existence of a secret government spy network including agent provocateur Gunnar Ekberg, who operated in the Palestinian support movement and advocated blowing up Israeli airliners.

For Trotsky and the revolutionary Marxist movement, the strategy of terrorism—whether through bombings, bank robberies, assassinations, or the "new" techniques of kidnappings and hijackings—only plays into the hands of the capitalist rulers. First, terrorist acts can only eliminate individual members of the ruling class, not capitalist-class rule itself. Second, terrorism is an attempt to substitute technical feats by a small group for the necessary social movement of the masses themselves.

As Trotsky put it in another unpublished article on terrorism, "The revolution has nothing to do with laboratories or chemicals. . . . It is natural and genuine, of the people and in the streets."

Third, terrorism gives the ruling class a handle to brand the revolutionary movement as hooligan-like, mercenary, and impotent—thus shifting the attention of the masses away from the capitalists' own violence, corruption, and minority rule.

The following article contains many references to the particulars of Russian politics in the wake of the 1905 revolution. A brief review of the main events of 1905-1907 in Russia will help place the article in the context of these events.

The revolution erupted with "Bloody Sunday" (Jan. 9, 1905), the violent suppression of a massive workers' demonstration in St. Petersburg. That event produced an explosion of mass actions, strikes, and social struggles culminating in October 1905 in an empire-wide general strike and the formation of the first soviets (workers' councils).

The October general strike forced the tsar to issue a manifesto granting a constitution. Not satisfied with the limited concessions contained in that document, the workers attempted an armed uprising in December, but it was not successful in overthrowing the monarchy.

In 1906 the revolution began to subside. The autocracy guided the still quite turbulent discontent into parliamentary channels by allowing elections for a Duma, first convened in April 1906. This first Duma was dissolved in July of the same year, amid an upsurge of peasant seizures of land and burning of landlords' estates.

A second Duma was convened in February 1907 and lasted until the notorious date of June 3, 1907, when the tsarist government carried out a coup—arresting the socialist deputies, dissolving the Duma, and introducing a new election law, which Lenin described as the most reactionary in Europe.

Nevertheless, in the third Duma, convened in November 1907 and lasting until June 1912, the Social Democrats elected 14 deputies (the Social Democrats consisted of two public factions, the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks). It is these 14 deputies who introduced the interpellation on the Azef case, referred to in Trotsky's article. Interpellation is a parliamentary procedure by which deputies can demand formal governmental explanations of a policy or action.

Two other parties are referred to in the article. The *Norodnaya Volya* (People's Freedom) was a populist party formed in 1879. Its goal was to overthrow the autocracy by means of a terrorist struggle against the tsar and his principal functionaries. Its leaders were executed by the regime after succeeding in assassinating Tsar Alexander II.

In 1886 a new People's Freedom group arose, which intended to assassinate Alexander III, but the group was crushed by the government before it was able to accomplish this goal.

The Cadet, or Constitutional Democratic Party was a bourgeois party dedicated to a constitutional monarchy. Led by Miliukov, a professor of history, it consisted of progressive landlords, middle bourgeoisie, and bourgeois intellectuals.

This article was translated by Marilyn Vogt from Volume 4 of Trotsky's *Sochinenia* (Works), published in Russian by the Soviet government in 1926. This article and two others on the Azef case were printed in that volume under the overall heading "The Degeneration of Terrorism."

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### By Leon Trotsky

For a whole month, the attention of everyone who was able to read and reflect at all, both in Russia and throughout the world, has been focused on Azef. His "case" is known to one and all from the legal newspapers and from accounts of the Duma debates over the demand raised by Duma deputies for an interpellation about Azef.

Now Azef has had time to recede into the background. His name appears less and less frequently in the newspapers. However, before once and for all heaving Azef to the garbage heap of history, we think it necessary to sum up the main political lessons—not as regards the machinations of the Azef types *per se*, but with regard to terrorism as a whole, and to the attitude toward it held by the main political parties in the country.

\* \* \*

Individual terror as a method for political revolution is our Russian "national" contribution.

Of course, the killing of "tyrants" is almost as old as the institution of "tyranny" itself; and poets of all centuries have composed more than a few hymns in honor of the liberating dagger.

But systematic terror, taking as its task the elimination of satrap after satrap, minister after minister, monarch after monarch—"Sashka after Sashka" [a diminutive referring to the two tsars Alexander II and III], as an 1880s *Narodnaya Volya* member familiarly formulated the program

for terror—this kind of terror, adjusting itself to absolutism's bureaucratic hierarchy and creating its own revolutionary bureaucracy, is the product of the unique creative powers of the Russian intelligentsia.

Of course, there must be deep-seated reasons for this—and we should seek them, first, in the nature of the Russian autocracy and, second, in the nature of the Russian intelligentsia.

Before the very idea of destroying absolutism by mechanical means could acquire popularity, the state apparatus had to be seen as a purely external organ of coercion, having no roots in the social organization itself. And this is precisely how the Russian autocracy appeared to the revolutionary intelligentsia.

This illusion had its own historical basis. Tsarism took shape under the pressure of the more culturally advanced states of the West. In order to hold its own in competition, it had to bleed the popular masses dry, and in so doing it cut the economic ground from under the feet of even the privileged classes. And these classes were not able to raise themselves to the high political level at-

## 'The revolvers of individual heroes instead of the people's cudgels and pitchforks; bombs instead of barricades—that is the real formula of terrorism.'

tained by the privileged classes in the West.

To this, in the nineteenth century, was added the powerful pressure of the European stock exchange. The greater the sums it loaned to the tsarist regime, the less tsarism depended directly upon the economic relations within the country.

By means of European capital, it armed itself with European military technology, and it thus grew into a "self-sufficient" (in a relative sense, of course) organization, elevating itself *above all classes of society*.

Such a situation could naturally give rise to the idea of blasting this extraneous superstructure into the air with dynamite.

The intelligentsia felt called upon to carry out this work. Like the state, the intelligentsia had developed under the direct and immediate pressure of the West; like their enemy, the state, they rushed ahead of the country's level of economic development—the state, *technologically*; the intelligentsia, *ideologically*.

Whereas in the older bourgeois societies of Europe revolutionary *ideas* developed more or less parallel with the development of the broad revolutionary *forces*, in Russia the intelligentsia gained access to the ready-made cultural and political ideas of the West and had their thinking revolutionized before the economic development of the country had given birth to serious revolutionary classes from which they could get support.

Under these conditions, nothing remained for the intelligentsia but to multiply their revolutionary enthusiasm by the explosive force of nitroglycerin. So arose the classical terrorism of the Narodnaya Volya.

It reached its zenith in two or three years and after that was quickly reduced to nothing, having rapidly consumed in its fiery struggle all the combat reserves that the numerically weak intelligentsia could supply.

The terror of the Social Revolutionaries was by and large a product of those same historical factors: the "self-sufficient" despotism of the Russian state, on the one hand, and the "self-sufficient" Russian revolutionary intelligentsia on the other.

### 'Outdated by history'

But two decades did not go by without having some effect, and by the time the terrorists of the second wave appear, they do so as *epigones*, marked with the stamp "outdated by history."

The epoch of capitalist "Sturm und Drang" (storm and stress) of the 1880s and 1890s produced and consolidated a large industrial proletariat, making serious inroads into the economic isolation of the countryside and linking it more closely with the factory and the city.

Behind the Narodnaya Volya, there really *was* no revolutionary class. The Social Revolutionaries simply did not *want* to see the revolutionary prole-

tariat; at least they were not able to appreciate its full historical significance.

Of course, one can easily collect a dozen odd quotations from Social Revolutionary literature stating that they pose terror not *instead* of the mass struggle but *together with* it. But these quotations bear witness only to the struggle the ideologists of terror have had to conduct against the Marxists—the theoreticians of mass struggle.

But this does not change matters. By its very essence terrorist work demands such concentrated energy for "the great moment," such an overestimation of the significance of individual heroism, and finally, such a "hermetic" conspiracy, that—if not logically, then psychologically—it totally excludes agitational and organizational work among the masses.

For terrorists, in the entire field of politics there exist only two central focuses: the government and the combat organization. "The government is ready to temporarily reconcile itself to the existence of all the other currents," Gershuni [a founder of the Combat Organization of the SRs] wrote to his comrades at a time when he was facing the death sentence, "but it has decided to direct all its blows toward crushing the Social Revolutionary Party."

"I sincerely trust," said Kalyaev [another SR terrorist], writing at a similar moment, "that our generation, *headed by the Combat Organization*, will do away with the autocracy."

Everything that is outside the framework of terror is only the setting for the struggle; at best, an auxiliary means. In the blinding flash of exploding bombs, the contours of political parties and the dividing lines of the class struggle disappear without a trace.

And we heard the voice of that greatest of romantics and the best practitioner of the new terrorism, Gershuni, urging his comrades to "avoid a break with not only the ranks of the revolutionaries, but even a break with the opposition parties in general."

"Not *instead* of the masses, but *together with* them." However, terrorism is too "absolute" a form of struggle to be content with a limited and subordinate role in the party.

Engendered by the absence of a revolutionary class, regenerated later by a lack of confidence in the revolutionary masses, terrorism can maintain itself only by exploiting the weakness and disorganization of the masses, minimizing their conquests, and exaggerating their defeats.

"They see that it is impossible, given the nature of modern armaments, for the popular masses to use pitchforks and cudgels—those age-old weapons of the people—to destroy the Bastilles of modern times," defense attorney Zhdanov said of the terrorists during the trial of Kalyaev.

"After January 9 [the 'Bloody Sunday' massacre, which marked the start of the 1905 revolution], they saw very well what was involved; and they answered the machine gun and rapid-firing rifle with the revolver and the bomb; such are the barricades of the twentieth century."

The revolvers of individual heroes *instead* of the people's cudgels and pitchforks; bombs *instead* of barricades—that is the real formula of terrorism.

And no matter what sort of subordinate role terror is relegated to by the "synthetic" theoreticians of the party, it always occupies a special place of honor in fact. And the Combat Organization, which the official party hierarchy places *under* the Central Committee, inevitably turns out to be



Hooded members of Basque terrorist organization ETA (V) claim credit for assassination of Carrero Blanco at press conference. Behind them are photos of Basque nationalists murdered at hands of Franco regime.

*above* it, *above* the party and all its work—until cruel fate places it *under* the police department.

And that is precisely why the collapse of the Combat Organization as a result of a police conspiracy inevitably means the political collapse of the party as well.

## II.

Epigones, despite all their veneration for the classics, never repeat them, since they live in another time and must accommodate themselves to it. The spirit of epigonism is *eclecticism*, and in its form it is a *compilation*.



TROTSKY: 'By its very essence terrorist work . . . totally excludes agitational and organizational work among the masses.'

The Social Revolutionaries were not only forced to abandon the romantic name Narodnaya Volya—for the sake of a more European-sounding one—and not only were they forced to place the sacred letters B.O. [Boevaya Organizatsia—Combat Organization] under the political control of the Central Committee. The entire five-to-six year history of the SR Party has been a process of adaptation by the revolutionary intelligentsia, with its astounding flexibility—adaptation, first of all, to the class struggle of the proletariat and, after that, to the spontaneous movement of the peasantry.

And, all the while, the intelligentsia kept terror in reserve as its own method—the guarantee of its own political self-preservation. While relying in practice on the strength of its terrorist organization and ideologically on the subjective method—on the philosophy of individual initiative—the intelligentsia tried to adopt and subordinate to itself the movements of the proletariat and the peasantry.

### Political synthesis?

The intelligentsia plus terror, the proletariat plus the "subjectively" ennobled class struggle, the peasantry plus the socialization of land—this is the kind of triad the eclectic compilation of the Social Revolutionaries boils down to. And to them it seemed a higher political synthesis.

However, this compilation—like the SR view on the "supraclass" nature of absolutism—has its own historical basis. In essence, the SRs only wanted to formulate, in the "subjective" jargon of the revolutionary intelligentsia—which was trying to preserve its independence—the *historically determined need for revolutionary collaboration between the proletariat and the peasantry*.

The dictatorship of the intelligentsia over the proletariat and the peasantry did not collapse because of Azef, of course. The events of the revolution and the counterrevolution, which filled many algebraic formulas with live political content, split the SR's synthetic compilation apart at the seams.

At the very first glimmerings of a parliamentary system, a broad group of intellectuals broke with the SRs, feeling much more comfortable in the lawyer's rostrum, the professor's chair, or at the editor's desk than in the terrorist's laboratory. (These were the so-called Popular Socialists.)

The Maximalist group broke off from the opposite flank. This group thought to overcome not only the political resistance of the tsar but also the economic resistance of the counterrevolution by a larger dose of dynamite. The representatives of the peasantry, the Trudoviks of the first two

*Continued on following page*



## ...whether underground or in parliament, the task

Continued from preceding page

Dumas, almost totally absorbed the parliamentary Social Revolutionaries, which nevertheless did not save them from the political shapelessness that caused them to vacillate between the Cadets and the Social Democrats on every major question.

The overwhelming mass of the proletariat, throughout the entire revolution, followed the lead of Social Democracy.

Thus, the social basis of the SR Party in time of trial proved extremely unstable. The centrifugal forces inside it tore the party apart. And when upon this soil of disintegration and uncertainty there fell the revelations about Azef, which con-

Our party has always been totally irreconcilable in its attitude toward the Social Revolutionaries. This irreconcilability was all the more inevitable and acute because the leading cadres of Social Democracy itself came in the beginning from the same revolutionary intelligentsia, but from those with a Marxist view of the world.

Struggling against terrorism, the Marxist intelligentsia defended its right, or rather its duty, not to abandon the working-class districts for the sake of tunneling under grand ducal and tsarist palaces. Struggling against the all-embracing programmatic and organizational "synthesis," the Marxist intelligentsia fought its way out of the general demo-

SRs worked hand in hand with the Social Democrats. We must not forget this for one moment.

At the present time—when the SR intelligentsia has become totally prostrate—the SR workers, it is reported, continue to stand firm, with that supreme organizational stubbornness that distinguishes the working class in general.

To apply the old methods of irreconcilable struggle with respect to the *proletarian* elements would mean to lapse into an absurd anachronism. Such doctrinairism could only push them down the road toward anarchism. Meanwhile, an intelligent organizational policy will make it possible to secure their merger with our party in a very short time.

### III.

The deep-going differentiation taking place within the bourgeois "nation" in our age of revolution—with the atmosphere created by the mighty growth of the international working-class movement—has driven the left wing of the Russian bourgeois intelligentsia into the socialist camp.

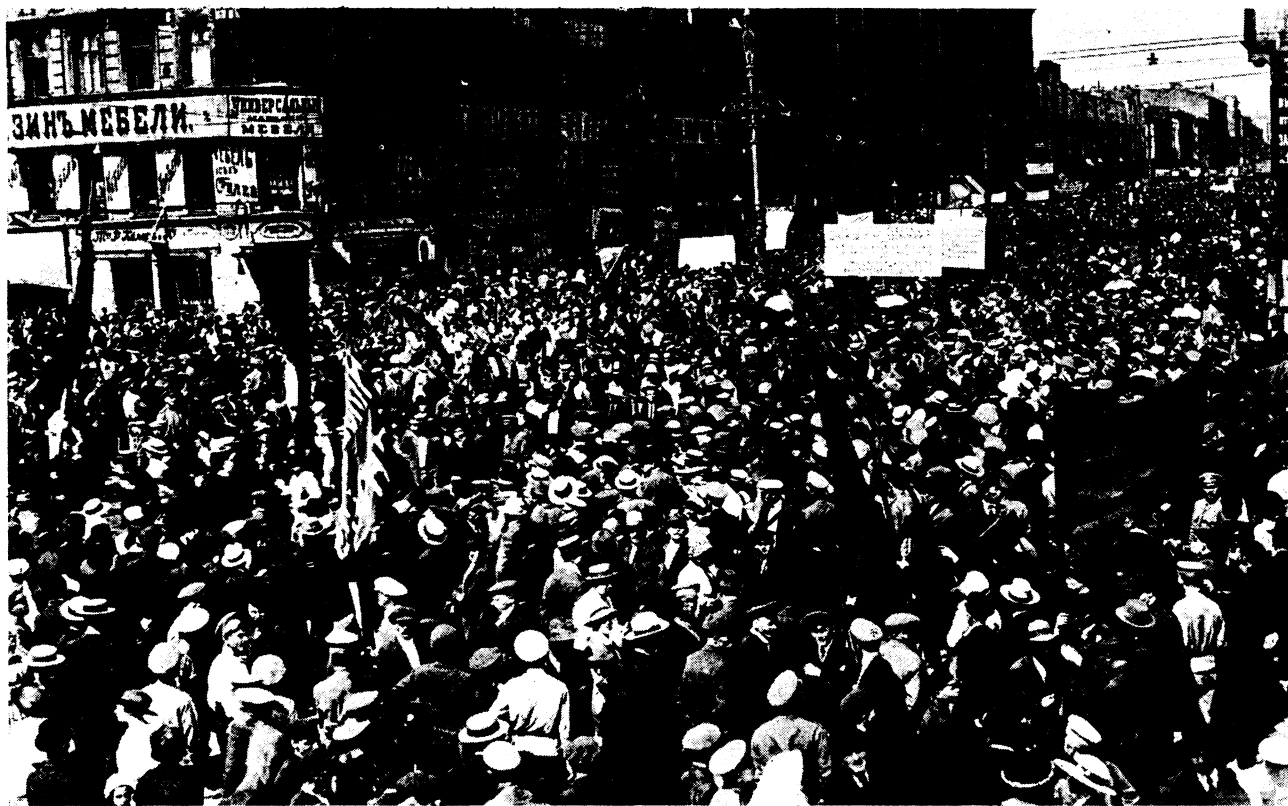
But the more the terrorist wing of this intelligentsia asserted its ideological independence from proletarian-class socialism, the less it was able to defend its political independence from bourgeois liberalism. Since its inception as a party, the SRs have naturally tended to become transformed into the military wing of the legal opposition—both objectively and subjectively (see the quotation above from Gershuni's letter).

The liberals understood this very well. They in no way concealed their sympathy for terror and manifested this in the way most natural for them: financial assistance to the Combat Organization.

"Sipyagin's [a tsarist interior minister] death," wrote one of *Osvobozhdenie's* Petersburg correspondents, "was met with astounding, unanimous joy. . . ." And the editor of this Stuttgart organ, Mr. Struve himself [a Russian ex-Social Democrat who went over to liberalism, at that time an emigre living in Stuttgart], without a moment's hesitation, acknowledged "the popularity of political murder in Russia" (No. 2, July 2, 1902).

"Politically and psychologically this murder was inevitable," he wrote, more than two years later, in connection with Plehve's [another tsarist interior minister] murder, and with still more decisiveness he appealed to the "public atmosphere of indignation and anger which produces, out of the ranks of Russian society, one avenger after another" (No. 52, July 19, 1904).

"We will be frank, gentlemen," one of the contributors wrote in that same issue, "There is moral solidarity, full and beyond doubt, between that physical individual whose hand cuts short the criminal life of an all-powerful minister, and his countrymen numbering, if not in the millions, then in any case in the hundreds of thousands."



Mass demonstration in Petrograd, July 1917. After the example of the Russian revolution, achieved through mass action, terrorism of today is even more outdated than at the time Trotsky wrote this article.

formed so strikingly, even astoundingly, to the general historical laws, panic reigned in the SR camp, and the franker ones among them saw that they were compelled to declare: "The Social Revolutionary party no longer exists as an organization" (*Revolutsionnaya Mysl*, No. 4).

Terrorism in Russia is dead. And if Bakai!—that revolutionary-Okhrana-terrorist Anabaptist, who in Warsaw helped to convert terrorists into corpses and now, with his godfather Burtsev,<sup>2</sup> is trying to galvanize the corpse of terrorism—if he is able to create the conditions for a second Azef-type epic, it will have at best one-tenth the impact of the first.

Revolutionary terror has migrated to the East—to the provinces of Punjab and Bengal. There, the slow political awakening of a nation of three hundred million will create a favorable atmosphere for it.

There, the political regime seems more absolute than ever in its despotism "above the rest of society" and even more "accidental" and extraneous, inasmuch as the military-police apparatus of East India has been imported from England together with cotton and account ledgers.

And that is why the Indian intelligentsia, used to the ideas of Locke, Bentham, and Mill from its school days, and, outpacing the political development of the country in its ideological evolution, is naturally predisposed to look to the bottom of the alchemist's retort for the forces it is lacking.

It may be that in other countries of the Orient, terrorism is still destined to thrive for a certain period of time. But in Russia, it is already a part of the legacy of history.

cratic chaos which threatened to swallow it up.

The subsequent course of events justified the actions of the Marxist intelligentsia, and by the time it had begun its general flight from the very party it had created, it was readily replaced by the workers who in the meantime had become socialists. . . .

At present, however, our concern is no longer to "draw the ideological lines" between us and the Social Revolutionaries but to politically absorb the proletarian elements from that party. Theoretical polemics served for accomplishing the previous aim of drawing the lines. Our present needs require above all an intelligent organizational policy.

A party's nature is not determined by its program alone, and still less by the writings of party theoreticians and publicists. The *social composition of a party* is what determines its specific gravity and predetermines its political orbit.

If the SRs were by composition exclusively or predominantly a *proletarian* party, then our task would have been from the beginning not to drive the wedge of theoretical disagreements as deeply as possible between us and them; but, on the contrary, to seek paths for a rapprochement in political practice, paths that would have helped the SR workers get rid of their theoretical prejudices in the least painful way.

But the fact of the matter is that the class outlines of this party have always been extremely chaotic and it was always impossible to say with certainty whether we were talking about an amalgamation of workers and "toiling" peasant proprietors or of zemstvo doctors [zemstvos were local administrative bodies dominated by landlords and nobility] and provincial literati.

In relation to the different class elements in this party, one and the same program took on totally different meanings. While the representatives of the zemstvo intelligentsia and the SRs coming from the plow expressed their confused and contradictory petty-bourgeois interests in formulas favoring socialism of a cloudy class nature, the SRs from the factory floor were, on the contrary, pouring their own distinct proletarian interests into the molds of petty-bourgeois utopian formulations.

In the general strikes, Soviets of Workers' Deputies, and trade unions [of 1905], the proletarian



Police agent Azef. Trotsky wrote: 'the Combat Organization, which the official party hierarchy places under the central committee, inevitably turns out to be above it . . . until cruel fate places it under the police department.'

1. Bakai was an Okhrana agent, at one time the assistant head of the Warsaw Okhrana. While serving in the Okhrana he turned over the names of agents provocateurs in the SR to Burtsev. In 1907 he was arrested and while in transit to penal exile in Siberia, he escaped across the border. While abroad, working with Burtsev he exposed Azef and other provocateurs.

2. Burtsev was an old member of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), who before the first world war specialized in exposing provocateurs. During the war Burtsev became an ardent social patriot, and after October openly passed over to the White Guard camp.

# of Marxists is to educate and unite the workers

The liberals could not help but understand that, insofar as terror introduces disorganization and demoralization into the ranks of the government (N. B. — at the price of disorganization and demoralization in the ranks of the revolutionaries), it plays into the hands of none other than the liberals themselves.

Terror, as distinguished from the mass movement, is a form of revolutionary struggle that can be steered like an automobile. The terrorists arouse fears and the liberals propose an agreement—guaranteeing to put a halt to the terror.

**'The tactics of both terror and parliamentary opportunism shift the center of gravity from the masses to the parliamentary representatives....'**

While the SRs stalked the ministers, they gave the tsar time for reflection, declaring that the tsar "for the present" was out of the range of fire. Struve, relying on the success of terror and on its temporary "self-restraint," appealed to those on high: "Remember, gentlemen, you are playing a very risky game at the expense of the supreme power and the vehicles of that power" (*Osvobozhdenie*, No. 2).

At the beginning of the "spring" of Svyatopolk-Mirsky, at the Paris conference (fall 1904),<sup>3</sup> the liberals united all the non-Social Democratic organizations around the "minimal," i.e., their own, platform. And while the zemstvo congress and the liberal press were laying down their conditions to Prince Svyatopolk, behind the backs of the liberals stood the terrorists, awaiting the outcome of negotiations.

Later, when the First Duma was in session and the Cadets demanded that "the executive power be subordinated to the legislative power," the Social Revolutionaries again temporarily suspended terror.

## Revolutionary masses

The role of terror, as an instrument serving liberalism, would have emerged even more clearly if those two-sided negotiations—Miliukov with Chernov and Azef (see Stolypin's Duma speech), and that same Miliukov with Trepov and Stolypin (see *Rech*, No. 46)—if those negotiations had not been disrupted by the revolutionary masses, who burst onto the scene and blurred all the outlines.

In the first period of the [1905] revolution, which ended with the great October strike, the liberals were sympathetic toward the mass movement, and it was only the most inert or, on the contrary, the most astute for whom this sympathy was overshadowed by troubled premonitions.

As long as the actions of the working masses retained a semi-spontaneous character and remained politically and organizationally unformed, they served—as terror had, but to an in-

comparably greater degree—to shake the foundations of absolutism, and to push the liberals forward as the natural contenders for power.

But by the time of the October strike, when the revolution rapidly began to organize itself *from within* (the Soviets of Deputies, the Peasant's Union, the Railway Union, and others), liberalism saw itself cast aside and clearly felt by this time that the subsequent development of the revolution could come about not only at the expense of tsarism but at its own expense.

If during 1905, especially after January 9, liberalism was buoyantly gambling on its (extremely illusory) ties with the revolution and as late as the end of 1904 in Paris had dared to seal this bond with a document, by the end of 1905, it was more and more sharply dissociating itself from the revolution, gambling henceforth on the old familiar monarchism and on love for "order."

The former illegal ties became burdensome and compromising. Their friends on the left became their enemies on the left, the red banner turned into the "red rag," and liberalism, in Miliukov's words, solemnly refused "to carry a donkey on its back."

As the liberals' hostility toward the revolution grows, their erstwhile sympathies for terror are lost in the shuffle, since terror failed to deliver what was promised—it has not replaced the mass movement, but instead has been dissolved in it. The Cadets now take every opportunity to condemn "the violence of the left," and the debates over Azef give them a suitable opportunity to present a balance sheet of their struggle on two



Drawing of assassination attack on Tsar Alexander II by terrorists of People's Will in 1886. Social Revolutionaries tried to revive the same discredited strategy, only modifying the verbiage in order to contend with the Marxists, the theoreticians of mass struggle.

fronts: their performance of the service of a respectable "opposition" to tsarism and their maliciously slanderous attacks on the revolution.

Miliukov summed it all up with his own peculiar crudeness. His speech was so self-ruinously expressive that we think it necessary to reproduce its main arguments here:

"We, who are accused of being in league and friendship with the revolution," said the leader of the Cadet party, "we have always been regarded and designated by the most intelligent of the revolutionaries as their very worst enemies."

"The government's measures not only failed to guarantee an end to the revolution, but on the contrary, were based on the notion that it could not be defeated. . . . We, the Cadets, had the hope that it could be."

"What did we seek in siding with the revolutionary forces. . . ? We hoped to fill in the chasm between Russian society and the government. . . ."

"We saw the legal struggle as the sole salvation for the time then at hand; and for the sake of this still vague possibility, gentlemen, we risked our popularity—and we lost it with lightning speed. . . ."

"I have told you why we proved weak. . . . Not because you (the right wing) were against us. You came on the scene only later; at the crucial time you were sitting home. . . . We were left all alone because that very left wing, which you accuse us of leading, moved away from us. . . ."

"We were invited into the cabinet as long as we

were thought to have the red forces behind us. . . . We were respected so long as we were regarded as revolutionaries. But since we have turned out to be only a strictly (!) constitutional party, we have been found useless."

Thus spoke Miliukov in the February 13 session of the Duma. He blamed the revolutionaries because they did not believe in the sincerity of the government's concessions nor in the legal struggle as the sole salvation. And he blamed the government because it had not been sincere in its concessions and made the legal struggle impossible.

Tsarism was declared guilty because it did not accept the Cadets' methods for a guaranteed victory over the revolution. And the revolutionary forces were declared guilty because they did not accept the Cadets' methods for the struggle against tsarism. And as a result of the combined crimes of the tsarist government and the revolutionary parties, the Cadets ended up impotent, insignificant, and despised by both sides.

Thus, the Cadet leader's speech of apologia takes on the features—correct in substance but all too cruel in form—of a satire on Russian liberalism.

## IV.

An interpellation concerning Azef was introduced in the Duma on the initiative of our [Social Democratic] fraction. At the same time, the Cadets introduced their own interpellation which they made less principled in form, the more they hoped for its outcome to be direct and miracle working.

They were mistaken. Their interpellation, like

ours, was unanimously rejected by the Duma majority after the premier's "brilliant" speech. And even as these lines are being written, the liberal press is pathetically whining about the "failure" of the Azef inquiry, on which it had placed such hopes.

But the Social Democrats are no more disturbed by this official failure than they were by the failure of the tactic of terror.

The uncompromising attitude of Russian Social Democrats toward the bureaucratized terror of the revolution, as a means of struggle against the terrorist bureaucracy of tsarism, has met with bewilderment and condemnation not only among Russian liberals, but among European socialists. How many times the SRs quoted the *Vorwärts* of Kurt Eisner's time, of *l'Humanite*, or *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung* [the organs of the German Social Democratic Party, the United Socialist Party of France, and the Austrian Social Democratic Party] against us.

Now it is hardly necessary to prove our correctness, our political, living, and utterly concrete correctness: political developments afforded us a revenge too convincing in its cruelty.

But it is interesting to note something else. It seems almost touching that precisely those Western comrades who have the least in common with the bloodthirsty devourers of ministers and monarchs in their own native lands are the ones who believe that, nevertheless, in Russia a canister filled with

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3. The "spring" of Svyatopolk-Mirsky refers to the period in office of Prince Svyatopolk-Mirsky as minister of the interior. The prince, who was considered a "liberal," took over when Plehve, the former interior minister, was assassinated by terrorists in 1904. The reactionary press hailed his appointment as ushering in a new period of rapprochement between the authorities and the people.

The so-called spring came to an end with "Bloody Sunday" on Jan. 9, 1905, and several days after this brutal massacre, Svyatopolk-Mirsky had to resign.

The Paris Conference, held soon after the murder of Plehve, involved the SRs, the Polish Socialist Party, the Latvian Social Democratic Revolutionaries, the Georgian Socialist Federation of Revolutionaries, and several other national groups and right socialist parties. The Social Democrats refused to participate.

The conference called itself the Conference of Oppositional and Revolutionary Parties for the Elaboration of a Common Militant Platform. The minimum platform, on which the conference participants agreed, amounted to recognition of the need to undermine the autocracy and reconstruct the state on democratic principles and to resolve the national question in the spirit of national self-determination.



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dynamite is the best political argument.

It would be insufficient to explain this fact by reference to the psychology of Goethe's burgher who on Sundays and holidays so willingly listens to stories about war and martial hubbub—going on somewhere in Turkey—and thus gives vent to his romanticism, which dozes peacefully on week-days.

*Dann kehrt man abends froh nach Haus'*

*Und segnet Fried' und Friedenszeiten.*

(Then happily one homeward wends. And blesses peace and peaceful times.)

## Millerandism and Azefism

In fact, the connection between socialist opportunism and the revolutionary adventurism of terror is rooted much more deeply than this. The first, like the second, tries to present a bill to history before it is due. Striving to artificially hasten delivery, both bring about miscarriages—Millerandism<sup>4</sup> or, of all things, Azefism.

And the tactics of both terror and parliamentary opportunism shift the center of gravity from the masses to the parliamentary representatives, upon whose adroitness, heroism, energy, or tact all success depends.

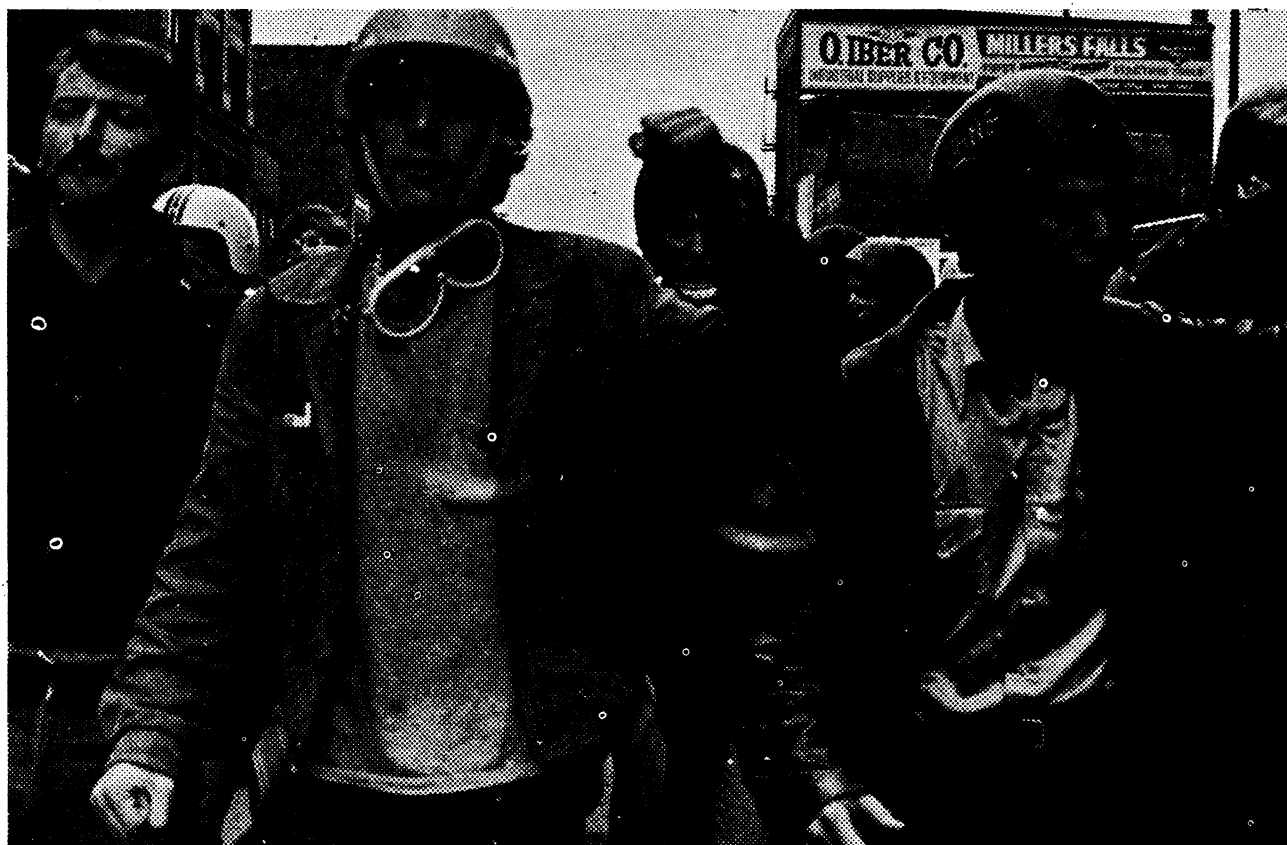
In both cases, heavy screens are needed, which separate the leaders from the masses. At one extreme is the Combat Organization, shrouded in mysticism; at the other are the secret deals of parliamentarians with the aim of doing the slow-witted party masses a favor in spite of themselves.

The political-psychological affinity between opportunism and terrorism, however, goes still further. Those who go out hunting for a ministerial portfolio (with the purest of intentions) or, more modestly, for the favor or sympathy of a "progressive" minister, as well as those who, clasp an infernal machine beneath a cloak, go hunting the

4. Millerandism refers to a policy of striving for coalition governments between working-class parties and parties of the capitalist class. Alexandre Millerand was a French socialist who, in 1899, became the first in social democratic history to enter the cabinet of a capitalist government. He was subsequently expelled from the French Socialist Party and became president of the French Republic from 1920 to 1924.



Boyd Douglas, agent provocateur used by U.S. government to frame Harrisburg Seven.



October 1969 trashing demonstration by Weathermen in Chicago. FBI agent later admitted central role in Weathermen terrorist tactics.

minister himself must equally *overestimate* the minister—his personality and his post.

For them the system itself disappears or recedes into the background. There remains only the individual invested with power.

One, in order to dispose a minister toward his point of view, votes for the minister's police budget; the other, hiding from the police, puts a Browning to the minister's temple. The technique is different, but both have as their goal to directly influence the minister, bypassing the masses.

And it goes further. If the socialist deputies go to the castle to hear the king's speech, which of course will not make them any smarter, then it would be too cheap a criticism to say that by so doing they are merely violating our democratic etiquette. What is involved here is not a *symbol*, but a *symptom*. Is there something prompting them to favor monarchist etiquette over revolutionary etiquette?

What is going on is clear: they hope by their appearance to "give encouragement" to the well-disposed but timid monarch; or, on the contrary, they want to give his successor a warning to the effect that unless he follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, he will have to abandon once and for all any ambitious hope of seeing real, live socialists in his home once every five years.

Because the Russian socialists are deprived of these subtle means for exerting "moral" influence, they have to conclude that their only recourse is the cobblestones of physical terror. But in both cases what is involved is the "consciousness" of the monarch, not the consciousness of the proletariat.

In countries with a mild political climate it is enough for socialists to walk behind the coffin of the dead monarch in order to win the heart

of his successor, who undeniably functions with the perspective of sometime or other seeing socialists behind his coffin. But if the natural succession of monarchs does not turn out favorably enough, shouldn't it occur to a person—in countries with a harsh climate—to *corriger la fortune*, to improve on fate, and introduce the conscious corrective of dynamite where only the blind laws of heredity and degeneration hold sway?

Pedagogy is familiar with the stick of punishment as well as the carrot of reward. And if one is to raise socialist policy to the refined art of training monarchs, then such varied activities as courtly bows and the throwing of bombs end up as components of one and the same system.

Meanwhile, it goes without saying that it is better, when the terrorist form of pedagogy is being applied, to observe the process, with all due sympathy, from the other side of the border.

Whatever mistakes our party has made, it has always, to its credit, remained equally removed from both forms of utopianism: the opportunist and the adventurist. In the underground it did not stake its hopes on Azef, the terrorist, as the SRs did. Likewise, in the Duma it did not gamble on Azef, the provocateur, as did the Cadets.

It never tried to eliminate or frighten ministers by means of Azef-type dynamite and it never aimed at undermining or reeducating Stolypin by an interpellation regarding Azef. And therefore, it did not suffer from the general hangover after both failures.

In the underground and in the Duma, the Russian Social Democrats perform one and the same task: to educate and unite the workers. It may do this better or worse from instance to instance. But one thing is beyond doubt: there may be mistakes along this road, but it can never end in bankruptcy.

# Marxism vs. terrorism

Trotsky polemicized against terrorism at various times throughout his life. Below are listed five works by Trotsky, and one by American Marxist George Novack, which include substantial sections on the Marxist view of terrorism. Chapters or page numbers refer to the sections on terrorism.

THE CASE OF LEON TROTSKY: The Verbatim Transcript of Leon Trotsky's Testimony Before the Dewey Commission, pp. 488-494, cloth sale price \$3.95 (reg. \$10)

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# N.Y. trade-union women meet

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK—Six hundred and fifty trade unionists attended the First New York Women's Trade Union Conference here Jan. 19. The women, representing 111 local unions and 48 international unions, met at the headquarters of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union.

The conference was sponsored by Cornell University and the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor. It received the endorsement of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO; the Long Island Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO; and 28 independent and AFL-CIO unions.

The conference brochure stated that the goal was to "share our experiences as trade union women; encourage women members to seek leadership at all levels of trade union activity; discuss organizing unorganized women; and explore how union machinery can accomplish women's goals."

Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen gave the keynote address. She explained why the trade-union movement is necessary for women in achieving economic, political, and social changes.

Wyatt also discussed some of the main concerns of union women that are being expressed at meetings of trade-union women around the country. They include equal pay, equal job opportunities, equal hiring and promotional practices, maternity benefits, child care, unemployment and layoffs, and organizing the 30 million unorganized female workers.

As one of the national coordinators of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Wyatt called on trade-union women to come to the national conference of CLUW March 23-24 in Chicago. This national conference is to discuss and decide on a program around which trade-union women can organize.

Presentations were also given by

Margie Albert, District 65, Distributive Workers of America; Maria Portaladin, United Federation of Teachers; Eleanor Tilson, United Storeworkers; and Robbie Cagnina, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

During the discussion from the floor, Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the United Farm Workers, spoke about the national boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and the UFW members' struggle to maintain their union. She received a standing ovation, and the audience initiated a collection for the farm workers.

Speakers from District 65 and the Communications Workers of America discussed their current organizing efforts among clerical workers and telephone employees. Other issues brought up in the floor discussion were day care, pensions, and independent labor action. Representative Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) brought greetings to the conference.

Workshops were held in the afternoon. Much of the discussion revolved around how to encourage women to become more active in their unions.

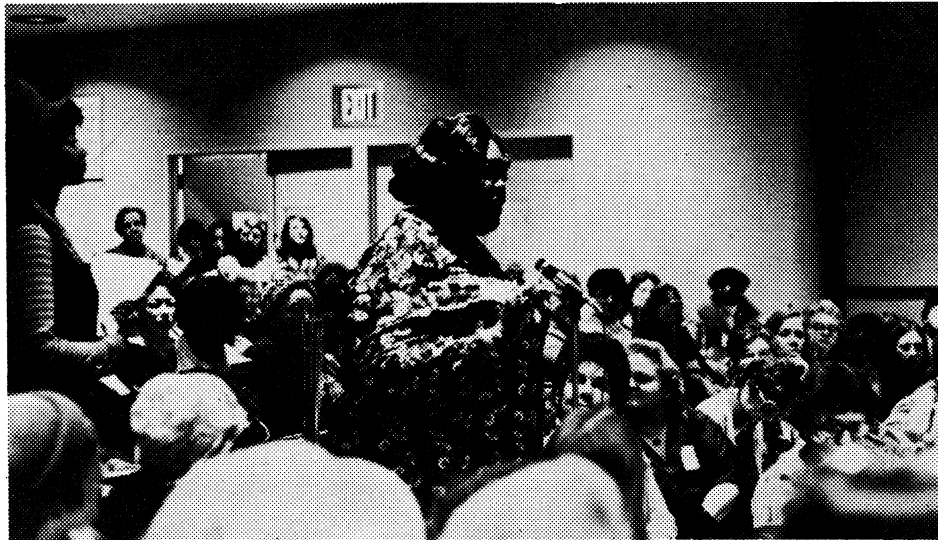
There was also discussion of the national conference of CLUW and how

to get wide participation. Women signed up to work on the gathering, and recommendations were made to the conference organizers that they distribute literature and actively publicize the conference.

The CLUW conference is being publicized around the country. A statewide meeting of the Virginia Coalition of Labor Union Women has been called for Jan. 26. This meeting is being organized by several Virginia women who had attended the Dec. 8 regional planning meeting of CLUW in Philadelphia and were inspired by the possibilities of bringing women to the national conference.

At the end of the New York conference, participants joined a demonstration in support of the Farah strike. They formed picket lines in front of Macy's, which sells Farah pants. With signs reading, "New York Trade Union Women Support the Farah Boycott," hundreds of women, including many leading officials of New York City unions, picketed and chanted their support for the strike. Passersby were leafleted and encouraged to join the picket line.

The conference and the demonstration were a successful start for action around the needs of women unionists.



Six hundred women unionists discussed how to further their goals

Militant/Ruthann Miller

# Chicanos discuss deportation fight

By MIGUEL PENDAS

CHICAGO—Nearly 200 people attended the "Raza Si—Migra No" conference here the weekend of Jan. 18-20. The conference, called by the Illinois Raza Unida Party, discussed establishing an ongoing movement in the Midwest to fight deportations and racist immigration laws.

It has been estimated that as many as 500,000 Chicanos live in Illinois, and conference organizers say a substantial number of them are undocumented workers—"illegal aliens."

Keynote speeches were given by anti-deportation leaders Bert Corona of CASA in Los Angeles and Mario Cantú of TU-CASA in San Antonio. Cantú also introduced a film on Chicanos made by Mexican students titled *Viva La Raza*.

Activists came from such places as Holland, Mich.; Davenport, Iowa; South Bend, Ind.; and Kansas City.

The conference received support from Chicano community organizations and the United Farm Workers.

The conference was conducted in Spanish.

Corona remarked that the "illegal" status of people without visas or work permits is used to deny them justice at every level. This serves the interests of the employers but extends also to the trade-union bureaucrats.

"Unions say all workers are equal when it comes to paying dues," said Corona. But, he said, when it comes to fighting for the rights of an undocumented worker, they say, "There's nothing we can do for you;

you're 'illegal.'"

Cantú said that the word "immigrant" should not be used to refer to undocumented Raza workers because it implies that they are "foreigners." "Mexicanos are not foreigners in Aztlán," he said.

He further explained that it is imperialist exploitation of Mexico that is directly responsible for driving people to the U.S. to escape poverty. "They [the imperialists] don't respect the borders. Why should we?" Cantú asked.

Also addressing the conference were Maria Piedra representing CLAN (Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America) from New York; Antonio Rodríguez, attorney for Los Tres del Barrio; and a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Sandra Martin from the Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA) explained the plight of Haitian refugees from the dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier. The U.S. government is threatening to deport them to an almost certain death in Haiti.

Illinois Raza Unida leader Arturo Vázquez told *The Militant* the conference had been called with the intent of countering an effort by Spanish-surnamed opportunists and capitalist politicians to cash in on the immigration question.

These elements have been collecting money from people without papers by raising false hopes for an easy solution to their problems he said;

they have been negotiating with government officials behind closed doors for "amnesty" for the "aliens."

"Amnesty" is not the issue, says Vázquez, because "the undocumented person is not a criminal."

And recently, the Democratic administration of Governor Daniel Walker made a statement that it would do something for undocumented workers. "We don't see it as anything but a political ploy for the votes of the Latinos," said Vázquez.

## SWP candidate backs struggle

A statement by Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois, was distributed at the conference. It said in part

The Democratic and Republican parties are equally responsible for maintaining the social system that degrades and exploits undocumented workers and all of La Raza—capitalism.

The Socialist Workers Party is fighting for a socialist society—a society in which La Raza will not be treated like "aliens" in Aztlán. SWP candidates are in full solidarity with the anti-deportation movement and will campaign to build opposition to the racist immigration laws.

# Student conference will build UFW boycott

CHICAGO—Student supporters of the United Farm Workers are building a conference to be held here Feb. 8-10 that will organize students to build the boycott movement in the Midwest.

A rally featuring Marcos Muñoz, Illinois boycott director, is planned for Friday, Feb. 8, at 8 p.m.

The student conference is the result of collaboration between UFW organizers and student support groups on various campuses in the Chicago area. A need was seen to coordinate the work among the various high school and college student groups.

On Dec. 17 a meeting was held to launch a Midwest Student Support Committee for the United Farm Workers (MSSC). The group has begun to publish a newsletter with information on what school support groups can do to contribute to the overall boycott effort and news of campus victories and national boycott developments.

Among the campus UFW support groups building the conference is the one at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. This group recently carried out a successful campaign to remove scab lettuce from the school cafeteria.

Students circulated petitions, spoke to classes of sympathetic professors, held rallies, and won the support of the student government. Then a delegation of 50 students, faculty members, and farm workers and their children jammed into a meeting of the school administration body that runs the cafeteria. The overwhelming support for the boycotters forced the administration to stop buying scab lettuce.

Through the student conference the MSSC hopes to duplicate this kind of success throughout the Midwest.

The rally and conference will be held at 10 N. Wells in Chicago. Sessions on Saturday, Feb. 9, will begin at 10 a.m. and go until 8 p.m. On Sunday, Feb. 10, there will be a picket at 1931 W. Cermak Rd. at the Jewel supermarket.



Militant/Harry Ring

Student support has been important to striking farm workers like these.



# School workers' strike wins wage gain

NEW YORK—A three-day strike by 5,000 school maintenance and cleaning workers here succeeded in winning wage increases beyond the federal government's 5.5 percent guideline.

Schools reopened Jan. 21 after the 4,000 cleaning workers of Service Employees International Union Local 74 and the 1,000 operating engineers and firemen of International Union of Operating Engineers Local 94 voted to ratify new three-year contracts.

The two unions, which represent some of the lowest-paid city workers in New York, had been working without a contract since last July 1.

All members of Local 74 will reportedly get \$1.05 an hour more over three years, with 30 cents the first year. The first-year gain amounts to a 7.6 percent increase in their \$3.96 an hour wage. The new contract also specifies equal wages for men and women cleaners. Previously the women, classified as "matrons," got only \$3.79.

Local 94 members will receive a total of \$1.38 an hour more, with the first installment of 40 cents retroactive to last July 1. Firemen had received \$5.20 an hour and engineers \$6.33, so the first-year gain is between 6.3 and 7.7 percent.

Peter Darlington, business manager of Local 94, said every effort would be made to head off any challenge by the government pay board.

This was the first strike in the history of Local 74. In recent years its membership composition has changed from predominantly German, Irish, Polish, and Italian to about 70 percent Black and Puerto Rican. These workers have become increasingly militant in the face of worsening in-



School maintenance workers demonstrate outside board of education offices on Jan. 16

flation.

Both unions operate under a degrading system of employment. Although they negotiate contracts with the city board of education, they are not official employees of New York City. Rather, they are hired and paid by the chief custodian in each school. As employees of the custodians, they do not receive benefits comparable to those of other city workers.

Although School Chancellor Irving Anker vowed to keep the schools open, by the third day of the strike 730 of the city's 947 schools were closed, and 80 percent of the 1.1 million students were out of class. Most parents and teachers refused the central school board's pleas to do the work of the strikers.

The official position of the United

Federation of Teachers, led by Albert Shanker, was that the UFT supported the cleaners, would honor a request not to do the strikers' work, would urge teachers to join the picket lines before and after school, and would defend teachers who honored the strike for reasons of conscience.

However, many teachers throughout the city were confused by Shanker's refusal to give a clear answer to whether teachers should cross the picket lines. UFT chapter chairmen led hesitant teachers through the picket lines, and in some cases district union representatives ordered teachers to enter school.

Claudio Tavarez, a paraprofessional in District 1, told *The Militant*, "The District 1 union representative,

Abe Ruda, told the teachers they must go into the schools."

In Brooklyn, District 15 union representative Ronnie Jones threatened teachers at PS 1 that the Taylor Law might be invoked against them if they failed to cross the strike picket lines. The New York state Taylor Law penalizes striking public employees with heavy fines or imprisonment.

Some teachers ignored these orders and honored the picket lines. Individual chapters like PS 3 in Manhattan voted in front of their schools to stay out. At PS 115 in Washington Heights, teachers boarded up the school's front doors. Tacked to the main entrance was a sign "UFT Supports Strikes of Engineers and Cleaners."

The leadership of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which represents school aides and lunchroom workers, took the same equivocal position as the UFT leadership.

The strikers received support from students. Many students marched on picket lines at Stuyvesant and Washington Irving high schools. Student support was so great at Stuyvesant that the principal was forced to shut the school on the first day of the strike.

The Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in District 1, who have been fighting for control of their schools, were vocal in their support of the strikes.

Georgina Hoggard, a leader of the community-control struggle, said, "This is a strike by Black and Puerto Rican community people who are doing important work in our schools. They deserve better wages."

## Some teachers join protest

# District 1 parents denounce budget cuts

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER and RICHARD ARIZA

NEW YORK—Several hundred parents from School District 1 turned out Jan. 21 for the first public school board meeting held by the temporary three-member board appointed by the chancellor of the city-wide school system, Irving Anker.

A federal judge overturned last May's local school board election in the Lower East Side district on the grounds that it had been racially discriminatory.

The parents turned out for the meeting to confront the trustee board on its plans to slash the district's already insufficient budget. The city is attempting to cut out as many as 120 teachers and other staff.

The parents were joined in their protest by some teachers from the district, including a contingent of 35 teachers

from one junior high school. One teacher noted that there had been rumors for weeks that many teachers will lose their jobs and said that it's hard to go home to a family each night not knowing if you would have a job the next day.

Albert Shanker, the racist president of New York's United Federation of Teachers, has made one of his goals the division of parents and teachers in the district. A constant theme of his rabid campaign against community control has been that the parents are "antiunion" and "anti-teacher."

This theme was an integral part of the UFT campaign in the school board elections last May. A racist slate backed by Shanker won the election through fraud, racial discrimination, and a campaign of hysteria in which the district's Puerto Rican superintendent, Luis Fuentes, was smeared as "anti-Semitic" and a "union-buster."

UFT-slate campaign literature aimed at teachers warned of a minority "take-over" and a "purge" of teachers if the community-control slate won.

But it is the city government through its cutbacks, not the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities, that is "purging" teachers. And Shanker is doing nothing to protect them.

Teachers are important potential allies of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities in the Lower East Side. Shanker fears any such alliance because he sees it—correctly—as a threat to the UFT bureaucracy's privileged position and its

efforts to maintain the union as a white job trust.

At the Jan. 21 meeting, Ellen Bradley, a leading Black activist in the community, challenged the trustee board, saying, "We dare you to take one penny from this district!"

Parent leader Miriam Gonzalez added, "We know about boycotts now. They are a hardship on parents, but if you fire one teacher in this district, the schools will be closed."

Ethel Lobman, another parent in the district, said, "Tonight is a victorious night. The racist board is gone. [Shankerite board chairman] Adolph Rorer is gone, because we stuck together."

Addressing herself to the trustee board, Lobman said, "We know well your methods to try to divide us. This meeting gives the lie to the claim that we are anti-teacher. Albert Shanker has betrayed the young, new teachers. We will defend them."

"The budget cuts will not start with poor people in this district," Lobman said. "We will not be the ones to pay!"

Community activists reminded the three Anker-appointed trustees of something the judge had "overlooked": the city board of education was a defendant in the successful suit against the elections. Yet the trustees were appointed by that very body, against the demands of the parents that the Presidents' Council—the presidents of the parent associations in the district's 20 schools—govern the district until the new school board election.

"You lost the suit!" one activist said.

"Come down from the stage and let the Presidents' Council take their rightful place."

The community's militant response to the fraudulent election last May and to the actions of the Shankerite board was of decisive importance in winning the lawsuit. Repeated pickets and demonstrations, culminating in a successful school boycott in response to the suspension of Luis Fuentes, were the key to winning that phase of the fight. And Albert Shanker, the city board of education, and the federal judge know it.

Continued mobilization of the community in militant struggle will likewise be the key to winning the parents' demands for community control.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Militant actions of community were key to forcing overturn of racist school board.

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# Puerto Rican teacher looks at Shanker

By CATARINO GARZA

NEW YORK—Those who follow developments in the United Federation of Teachers and the struggle of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents for community control of schools in District 1 will be interested in some recent developments in the UFT reflected in the *New York State Teacher*, official publication of the New York State United Teachers.

Two articles, in the Dec. 23 and Jan. 6 issues, seem to be trying to

*Catarino Garza is a bilingual teacher and a member of the United Federation of Teachers.*

repair UFT President Albert Shanker's racist image among Puerto Ricans in New York City, or attempting to counteract that image among teachers throughout the state who are questioning Shanker's opposition to the struggle in District 1.

In the first article, Felix Rodriguez of the 5,000-member Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers is quoted as saying, "Puerto Rican teachers believe Shanker is the best candidate for AFT [American Federation of Teachers] president." This refers to Shanker's move to oust David Selden as head of the national union and take over himself.

Rodriguez came to New York City to request aid from the UFT for efforts of Puerto Rican teachers to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement, and support for a possible

strike action for better wages.

The government of Puerto Rico runs the school system. If there is any question about its attitude toward strikes, the mobilization of the National Guard against striking public employees last summer indicates that teachers in Puerto Rico face a tough fight. They will need all the help they can get.

But it doesn't serve the interests of Puerto Rican teachers to try to win this support by dressing Shanker up as a friend of the Puerto Rican people.

The second article refers to another group that makes the same error. Called the Spanish American Workers Action Committee, it honored Shanker at a ceremony held at the UFT headquarters Dec. 17. Shanker was hailed as a "tireless champion of bilingual education . . . while at the same time rejecting attempts to narrow education along ethnically chauvinist lines." The award was presented by Angel de la Torre, president of the committee.

Puerto Rican parents in New York City, or teachers who work in the schools here will wonder if Rodriguez and de la Torre are talking about the same Albert Shanker they know. Shanker is the one who led the 1968 strike against Black community control in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, using the vilest and most racist propaganda imaginable.

And of course the Shanker known to New Yorkers is the Shanker who has led the fight in District 1 against

the pro-community-control parents, who are trying to establish bilingual education for Puerto Rican and Chinese children.

The argument Shanker has developed is that he opposes "racism in reverse" or "racism in any form." For him this means that the attempt to provide students with teachers who speak their language is "racism."

Shanker is opposed to "quotas." In practice this means that until enough Spanish-speaking teachers pass the biased tests of the board of examiners, and until enough non-Spanish-speaking teachers retire or die, Spanish-speaking children will just have to wait.

Even then there is no guarantee. The number of Spanish-speaking stu-

dents who get into colleges and graduate is still so small that even if they were all to become teachers and were all to obtain jobs, they would still be a small minority of the teachers in New York City.

In other words, Shanker's position is really one of perpetuating the current situation—a situation in which Puerto Rican children are taught by people who can't speak their language or relate to their experiences.

The stories in the union newspaper should alert teachers and parents that Shanker is feeling the weakness of his position and is launching a campaign to cover up the hostility he has earned from the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents in New York City.



Shanker (front, second from left) leading demonstration against Black community control during racist 1968 teachers' strike.

## Phila. Black students demand new school

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—Students walked out of their classrooms at Thomas Edison High School in North Philadelphia Jan. 21 and joined parents picketing in protest of the school's unsafe conditions.

The demonstration was called by the District 5 Community Coalition as a one-day boycott of classes demanding immediate construction of a new school and quality education for students.

Eighty percent of the students at Edison are Black; most of the rest are Puerto Rican.

The fight for a new school has been going on some time. Fire department officials agree that the 71-year-old building is a firetrap. When it rains outside, it rains inside. The floors

flood. Plaster falls from the ceilings. Since late December conditions have deteriorated even further; a classroom wall collapsed Jan. 4.

In response to this situation, parents and the Community Coalition wrote letters of protest to the school's principal, the district superintendent, and the president and vice-president of the school board. The parents demanded that the school be closed and the students transferred temporarily to other schools while a new school is built.

Mary Rouse, a spokeswoman for the Community Coalition, said in an interview with *The Militant* that the purpose of the one-day boycott was to prove that the parents and students could close down the school. The coalition called more than 1,300 parents to ask them not to send their

children to school. Only 40 percent of the students attended and more than half of those walked out.

The coalition is asking that a new school be built on state land at Second and Luzerne streets (a site that the state has agreed to sell to the school board and that the school board itself recommended for that purpose in 1969), and that additional funds be allocated to the district to improve the quality of education.

The response of the board has been to stall while giving verbal approval to plans for a new school. According to an article in the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, pressure from the predominantly white community around the site and "opposition from the city planning commission caused the board to abandon the site." Mayor Frank Rizzo,

the racist ex-cop turned politician, claimed that a school on the site would "ruin the stability of the neighborhood."

At the demonstration Stanley Davis, student body president at Edison, told the news media, "We'll return when we have the assurance of a new school. It won't be for us, but it will be for our younger brothers and sisters. We want their safety assured."

In spite of intimidation by school principal Albert Glassman and Philadelphia mounted police, the parents and students marched for several blocks through the community to win support for their demands.

The coalition plans to file suit against the school board if they do not receive a satisfactory response by Feb. 4.

## Chi. teachers sign contract, get 6.3% raise

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO—The 25,000 member Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) has voted overwhelmingly to accept a new contract negotiated with the Chicago board of education.

The union won a salary increase of 6.3 to 6.5 percent for teachers with two or more years on the job. First year teachers will receive only a 2 percent raise.

The CTU also won an increase in elementary school teacher preparation time from four to six periods a week; additional teacher supply money; improvements in fringe benefits; and extension of the high school maximum class size of 28 to all subjects.

This contract runs only eight months, expiring Aug. 30. The reason for this is to allow future union

contracts to coincide with the school board's budget, shifting from a calendar year to a fiscal year.

The salary increase was seen as the most important issue. The salary gain plus the shortness of the contract were factors that persuaded teachers to accept the dropping of other important demands such as a maximum class size of 28 for all classes, and no class closings—with the corresponding loss of jobs—after the twentieth school day each year.

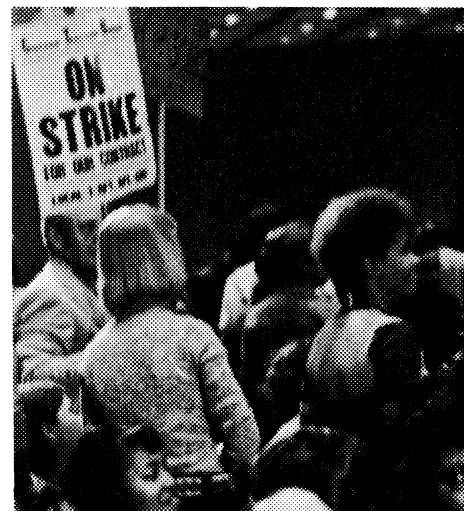
Although the union house of representatives voted unanimously to accept the new contract, it was obvious from the discussion that teachers expect a more aggressive fight against inflation in September. All CTU constituencies will be expecting their special demands to be met next time

around.

To combat inflation the union will need to press for a cost-of-living escalator clause. This is one of the stated goals of the CTU.

Continued reduction of class size is needed, especially in the elementary schools. This will help provide jobs for unemployed teachers as well as better education for students.

The CTU should insist that all teacher assignments be made before the school year starts, so that students do not end up with three or four teachers in a year. In addition, the board should not be given a free hand to "reorganize" schools whenever enrollment decreases. Such demands can help prevent the board from eliminating teachers' jobs.



Militant/Bob Kissinger

Chicago teachers on strike one year ago. Teachers expect an aggressive fight in September when new contract expires.



# Activists draw lessons of recent

Thirty thousand teachers marched on the Ontario provincial legislature in Toronto Dec. 18 to protest union-busting legislation—Bill 274—introduced by the Tory government. This broadly supported action—the largest political demonstration ever held in Ontario—was spearheaded by militant teachers organized in the Toronto Teachers' Caucus.

The march followed a rally at Maple Leaf Gardens that was addressed by leaders of the teachers and other unions. The Toronto action drew teachers from across Ontario. In addition, demonstrations were organized in other cities—7,000 in Ottawa, 2,000 in Sudbury, and 1,500 in Windsor.

The demonstration was seen by most teachers as not only against Bill 274, but also against Bill 275, long-range legislation designed to stifle teacher unionism. The terms of both measures are explained below. Although the teachers' militant action forced the government to table Bill 274 for the time being, the fight against both bills continues.

The issues raised in this struggle by Canadian teachers are similar to many of those confronting teachers in the United States. Reprinted below are major excerpts from an interview with Liz Barkley, who was chief marshal of the Toronto demonstration. The interview was published in *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian revolutionary socialist biweekly.

Barkley is a member of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) District 13 (North York). She addressed the Dec. 18 rally, reading messages of solidarity from organizations across the country. Barkley is well known not only as a teacher militant, but also as an activist in the antiwar and women's liberation movements, and as a fighter for socialist policies in the NDP (New Democratic Party—the labor party in Canada).

**Question: What do you see as the significance of the Dec. 18 action?**

**Answer:** This was the most massive and inspiring teacher action in Canadian history—a one-day strike by nearly all of Ontario's 105,000 teachers, and in Toronto, the largest demonstration against the Ontario government in labor history.

This action was organized against the government's attempt to pass legislation—Bill 274—designed to hold the government-established ceilings on teacher salaries by taking away the teachers' only effective means of self-defense; that is, the right to hand in resignations en masse.

The largest, most militant sector of the high school teachers had just been sold out by their leaders in negotiations in Metro Toronto. The government felt this was a perfect opportunity to move against the teachers in the remaining 16 districts in Ontario that had not settled, and who were prepared to close the schools in January if necessary to obtain an equitable settlement.

But the government totally misjudged the situation, the militancy of teachers, and our ability to move out in a massive, united response to this reactionary legislation. And what a response!

I was on the coordinating committee of the Dec. 18 action and the support we received was overwhelming. All the major labor federations and major unions supported us. And the NDP, the Liberals, and a whole number of



Thirty thousand teachers marched on Ontario legislature Dec. 18 to demand that government withdraw repressive bills

Labor Challenge

other organizations.

The government was politically isolated by this action as it never had been since William Davis's Tories came to power.

It was a shot in the arm to the whole union movement in Ontario.

What an experience! Teachers, who have been traditionally divided into several parochial affiliates, uniting for the first time in a common struggle against this attack on their standard of living.

And they looked to, and felt solidarity with, the trade-union movement and the NDP. At the rally at Maple Leaf Gardens (Liberal Party leader) Robert Nixon received polite applause. But (NDP leader) Stephen Lewis was the man of the hour and received a long, standing ovation. Teachers identified strongly with the NDP, and with its opposition to Bill 274 in the legislature.

On the demonstration the teachers chanted, "Down with the Tories!" and "Remember B.C.!" (British Columbia), where the teachers played an important role in electing the NDP government.

More than anything else, teachers learned the power of united mass action. They could do more to defend their interests, and those of their students, with one mass action, than could be accomplished by dozens of negotiating sessions between the government and the federation leaders. That is a lesson teachers won't soon forget.

**Q. The attack on teachers' right to collective bargaining, free of state interference, is part of the government's effort to cut back spending on education and social services in general. What has been the impact of cutbacks in education spending, and how have teachers and students responded?**

**A.** In 1971 the Tories were elected on a program of cutting back on education spending, of cutting back on other social services.

The leadership of the teachers federation acquiesced to the education cutbacks. They began to work with the Boards of Education for some amicable allocation of funds within the government-imposed "ceilings." But it was not long before the cutbacks became unbearable.

Teachers' work loads began to increase. Class sizes were increased. There were shortages of necessary equipment. By 1972, more than 100 teaching positions were eliminated in

Toronto. By 1973, 300 positions were eliminated. Probationary teachers were laid off.

In the face of these cutbacks, teachers and students began to resist. There were student walkouts in 1971 and 1972, and again this fall. University students also organized protests against cutbacks in higher education.

The first real mass action of teachers against the cutbacks was held in May last year, when 6,000 teachers demonstrated at Queen's Park. Initiative for the action came from rank-and-file teachers in North York, District 13.

**Q. You referred earlier to the recent settlement reached between OSSTF negotiators and the Toronto Board of Education as "a sellout." How did rank-and-file teachers generally view it?**

**A.** Last summer, in response to pressure from the rank and file, the federation made plans to work to rule on a province-wide basis. But the provincial leadership backed down on implementing the tactic.

Teachers in my district, North York, opposed the retreat by the OSSTF leadership, and worked to rule anyway. As the negotiations began to heat up, the work-to-rule tactic spread throughout Metro Toronto.

Militants went along with the work-to-rule campaign. But we were critical of it. We argued that it hurt the students, whose support we should be mobilizing behind us. And we counterposed instead, direct mass action against the government.

On Nov. 8 a mass meeting of 5,000 Metro high-school teachers was held at which the OSSTF leaders explained the objectives of the campaign: to win the right to negotiate working conditions, a cost-of-living escalator clause, restoration of teaching positions lost last year by cutbacks, and salary increases in line with gains made in the past.

Following the meeting over 90 percent of the teachers indicated their willingness to resign en masse in an effort to win those objectives. The leadership could not have been in a better position to fight the boards and the government. But what happened instead?

Without advance notice, one day before teachers were planning to hand in their resignations, a compromise was reached between the Board and our negotiators—to the teachers' disadvantage. The settlement was put before the membership, to be voted on within 24 hours, with most teachers having

no opportunity to study its terms—terms which sold out every one of our demands.

The focal point of opposition to the sellout was District 15, under the leadership of a new militant executive. The two District 15 negotiators fought the leadership's efforts to sell out the teachers' objectives every step of the way—then publicly disassociated themselves from the package. In the short time available militants in District 15, and in other districts which supported the position of the District 15 executive, attempted to mobilize opposition to the settlement.

The overall Metro Toronto vote was 52 percent in favor of the settlement, with 48 percent opposed.

A number of us got together to discuss what to do in the face of the sellout. We put out a leaflet explaining the extent of the betrayal, and calling for a meeting of teachers to hear the point of view of militants opposed to the settlement.

Response to the leaflet was inspiring, with some 200 teachers attending the meeting. Among them were militants from the District 15 executive, North York, York, Scarborough and Etobicoke. The meeting showed a very conscious, determined, militant opposition to the leadership in OSSTF, based on the experience of the Metro settlement, and the leaders' reluctance, or unwillingness, to carry a concerted campaign against the education cutbacks.

A call for a militant teachers' caucus was introduced into the meeting. We saw the necessity of a caucus uniting all the militants who were willing to fight for teachers' goals.

**Q. Can you tell us something about the nature of the teachers' federations?**

**A.** The Ontario Teachers' Federation is an umbrella organization, loosely uniting five separate federations.

Its leadership attempts to foster the notion that teachers are "professionals," distinctly superior to "ordinary workers" who belong to unions.

With expansion of the school system, government cutbacks in education spending, and the influx of young teachers into the federations—many of them radicalized through experiences in the university student movement—the federation has been forced to bargain for teachers' needs, and to resort to the use of sanctions as a bargaining lever.

The federation was forced to act like a union, even though it's a professional, company-union outfit, with no union rights.

# teachers' upsurge in Canada

When Bill 274 was introduced into the legislature on Dec. 10, the OSSTF leadership raised the possibility of closing the schools on Dec. 18. But they did so only to bolster their bargaining position with the government—I don't think they really believed an action would be necessary. And they made no definite plans.

Then the ranks began to move. If the provincial brass was not going to call for action, we were. The North York Council voted unanimously to close the schools on Dec. 18, and if that didn't force the government to back down, to close them in January as well.

At that meeting I proposed that North York initiate a march on Queen's Park for the 18th. The proposal was unanimously accepted, and I was elected chief marshal and organizer. That's how the march of 30,000 originated.

The militants had to push the leadership along all the way. At one point, when no information on the action was coming from the leadership of the federation—the press was doing a better job of publicizing the action—various militants phoned the president of North York and told her that a definite stand had to be taken. The executive of District 15 took a similar initiative.

Within hours, telegrams arrived in the schools stating that the action was going ahead, that the federation was organizing it, asking all teachers to build it, and making it clear that the federation would protect any and all

teachers against victimization as a result of the action.

From that point on, the support of the action spread rapidly across the province, eventually drawing in all the affiliates making up the 105,000-strong Ontario Teachers' Federation.

**Q. What is the attitude of teachers toward the federation?**

**A.** Some militants argue that the OSSTF and the other federations are



Liz Barkley (center foreground) was chief marshal for Dec. 18 demonstration.

incapable of being transformed into effective organizations for defending teachers' interests. Some of them argue that we should break from the federation now to launch a union.

But one of the lessons most militants learned from the Dec. 18 demonstration is the adherence and support of the vast majority of Ontario teachers to the federation, and even to its leadership. The ranks could not abandon the only organization they had when they were under attack, or refuse to support the leadership when it finally took a stand.

The militant minority, who on the basis of past experience have no confidence in the leadership, did not stand aside. They played the leading role in defending the federation from government attacks, trusting to rank-and-file action to defend rank-and-file needs.

So our perspective is one of building the Toronto Teachers' Caucus on the basis of a few demands which express the immediate needs of teachers and can lead the struggle forward. It will be in the course of that struggle that the question as to whether the OSSTF, or other teachers' federations, can be transformed into real unions will be decided.

**Q. What is the program of the Toronto Teachers' Caucus, and where do you see it going from here?**

**A.** The call for formation of a caucus was based on five programmatic points: stop the cutbacks in education spending and lift the ceilings; win bargaining rights—union rights for

teachers; defend all teaching positions from the threat of layoffs; promote mass involvement and mass action by teachers to defend their interests; and finally, explore the various alternative organizational structures which might be most useful in defending teachers' interests.

The caucus is already well off the ground, with contacts in some 70 Toronto schools. We're planning to launch a caucus newspaper, which should substantially expand the caucus's influence, and draw more militants into it.

Right now, Bill 274 is still hanging over the heads of teachers who are in negotiation. Teachers in York County, for example, are presently threatened with a declassification, which would cut sharply into their salaries. Some areas may be forced to walk out of the schools at the end of January to strengthen their bargaining position. And the government might then attempt to reintroduce Bill 274.

Then there's Bill 275, which the government will probably introduce in March. The federation leadership, it seems, considers this totally reactionary piece of legislation amendable. We say—militants say—that this bill must be defeated, as a whole. It can't be amended. It's reactionary anti-teacher legislation from beginning to end.

And we will fight for the adoption of a mass action strategy, the mobilization of teachers all across Ontario, to fight this legislation.

## What next for Canadian teachers?

The following are excerpts from an editorial statement on the tasks facing Ontario teachers published in the Jan. 21 issue of *Labor Challenge*, bi-weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

In spite of the impressive blow struck at the Tory government of Ontario by the massive Dec. 18 walkout and demonstrations of 30,000 teachers in Toronto and 7,000 in Ottawa, the Davis cabinet is forging ahead with its anti-teacher campaign. The chief government threat to teachers is Bill 275, introduced into the legislature in December, and then tabled for committee discussion.

The purpose and content of this bill is simply to deny labor rights to teachers—in fact, to take away the few rights teachers now have. The bill is unamendable and must be rejected completely. A brief look at its contents shows why.

- The bill takes away the right of teachers to resign en masse from their jobs, the very issue that provoked the Dec. 18 walkout.

- It imposes a rigid timetable of 10 weeks of negotiation and mediation followed by compulsory and binding arbitration.

- It provides for fines of \$500 per day for individual teachers and \$5,000 per day for federations which violate these repressive procedures.

- It establishes an Educational Relations Committee which would police the enforcement of the bill and which

would be stacked against teachers from the outset.

- This board reserves the final right to appoint mediators and arbitrators, guaranteeing in advance that at every step, the teachers will lose out.

- Bill 275 does *not* grant teachers the right to bargain for working conditions, a desired and necessary aim of teachers. If they do not wish to negotiate working conditions, the boards can simply refer it to arbitration—and the arbitrators have the power to reject it out of hand.

- Bill 275 denies the right for teachers themselves to choose their own bargaining agent. It dictates by law that teachers, whether or not they wish to change their bargaining agent in the future, will be represented by the Ontario Teachers' Federation. Workers, not bosses or boss governments, must have the sole right to choose their own representatives.

What can teachers do to fight Bill 275? First they must have the opportunity to study and discuss the bill collectively. The Metro Toronto Teachers Caucus has raised the idea of mass teacher assemblies in each district across Ontario. At such assemblies, the federation leaderships could explain the consultative process by which they became involved in drafting this treacherous bill and why they think it is amendable. Teachers could judge the bill for themselves.

Such assemblies could map out an action campaign to defeat the bill drawing on the lessons of Dec. 18. Such a campaign could include wide publicity about the repressive terms



'Support is best galvanized when teachers use their massive rank-and-file power to stop the bill.' Above, demonstration of 7,000 in Ottawa on Dec. 18.

of the bill to win support from labor, students, parents, professional groups and the NDP—further isolating the government in the process.

But, as Dec. 18 showed, such support is best galvanized when the teachers themselves are clearly committed to use their massive rank-and-file power to stop the bill. This can take various forms. Mass demonstrations, massive walkouts, cross-province study days in which the schools are turned over to the community to discuss this problem and its implications for all working people, to name a few.

The immediate problem for teachers

is to defend what rights they now have, limited as they are. This is the first step towards winning full labor rights, including the right to bargain for better working conditions and the right to strike.

It can also be an important step in a process already begun—the development of teacher involvement in political action through mass teacher mobilizations and through mass support for the NDP. An important step in this process will be the direct affiliation of the teachers federations to the NDP, ending the official "neutrality" of the federations, and opening doors for teachers to use their numbers to push the NDP to a clear and unequivocal stand against cutbacks, a policy they have not yet adopted.

In the course of this fight, a significant number of teachers have begun to pose wider questions about the nature of the Tory government, its ties with big business and its antiteacher, antilabor record. As a League for Socialist Action leaflet distributed to teachers on Dec. 18 said: "No wage gains and no union rights can be secure so long as the economy and society are controlled by the tiny minority of corporate bums and run in their interests."

"A government of working people must be established which will place the corporate wealth in the hands of the immense majority—the working people—to serve their needs. Then, and only then, will quality education be a right and not a faucet to be turned on or off to meet big business needs. This is the goal of the League for Socialist Action."



# HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

## STALINISM AND THE VICTORY

Last of a series

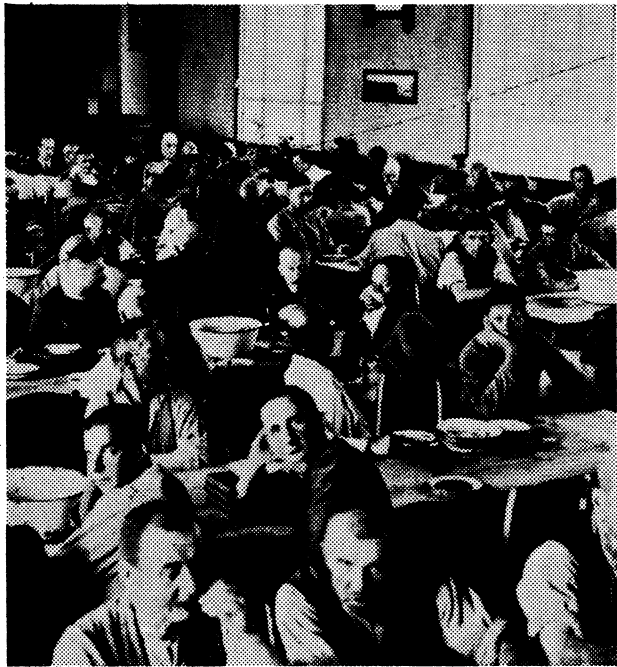
By DAVE FRANKEL

The promulgation by the Comintern of the notion that the Social Democracy was merely a wing of fascism was in full swing when the worldwide economic crisis hit Germany at the end of 1929.

Unemployment skyrocketed to three million in 1930 and more than four million in 1931. In 1930 the coalition government of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), the Catholic Center Party, and the People's Party fell, and Heinrich Brüning of the Center Party was appointed chancellor.

Unable to get a parliamentary majority, Brüning ruled by decree. Reflecting the determination of the German capitalists to make the workers pay for the crisis, he cut expenditures on social insurance, dismissed government employees en masse, reduced wages and salaries, and raised taxes. In the elections held in September 1930 the Nazis increased their vote to 6.4 million, up from 810,000 in 1928. By the end of 1930 Hitler's storm troops numbered 100,000.

The Communist Party vote grew from 3.2 mil-



Unemployed workers eat at a public kitchen in 1930

lion to 4.5 million. *Rote Fahne*, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), wrote the day after the election: "Yesterday was Herr Hitler's 'great day,' but the so-called electoral victory of the Nazis is only the beginning of their end." The KPD exulted in its gains, and the Comintern reaffirmed its policy: "concentrate fire on the Social-Fascists."

In contrast to this assessment, Trotsky warned right after the elections that "the gain of the party (the KPD) pales completely beside the leap of fascism. . . ." He stressed that "*fascism in Germany has become a real danger*." Calling the fascist movement "a razor in the hands of the class enemy," Trotsky demanded "a policy of closing ranks with the majority of the German working class and forming a united front with the Social Democratic and nonparty workers against the fascist threat."

"Denying this threat, belittling it, failing to take it seriously is the greatest crime that can be committed today against the proletarian revolution in Germany."

### The united front

Trotsky's call for a united front with the Social Democrats was not based on any confidence in the ability of the SPD leaders to mount an effective fight against Hitler. On the contrary, Trotsky believed that the masses of enraged people who followed the Nazis—bankrupt shopkeepers and small businessmen, unemployed youth, students, frightened civil servants, and some workers—were in revolt against a status quo that had become intolerable.

By refusing to mobilize the workers against capitalism, by identifying the workers movement with the Weimar Republic—the symbol of the status quo—the SPD leaders were helping to prepare

the way for Hitler.

Nevertheless, without a correct policy toward the SPD no revolution was possible in Germany. The SPD was the largest single party in the country, drawing more than twice as many votes as its closest competitor in May 1928. In the last election held after Hitler came to power, the SPD still drew more than seven million votes. It dominated the German trade-union movement, and it ran the government of Prussia—with two-thirds of the country's population—almost without interruption from 1920 to 1932. For much of this time the SPD was also part of the central government.

The masses of Social Democratic workers, comprising the majority of the working class, wanted to fight the Nazis. They didn't understand that their leaders were prepared to risk the victory of Hitler rather than mobilize them in a confrontation that threatened to end in civil war. The accusation that the SPD leaders were "social-fascists" gave these reformist misleaders a perfect excuse for avoiding any united front with the KPD.

With the working class divided in different parties, such a united front was necessary for the physical defense of headquarters, meetings, strikes, and demonstrations—and even of the elementary right of the workers to sell their newspapers on the streets. At the same time, the only way to win the rank and file of the SPD away from its reformist leadership was in the course of common activity, which would expose the reluctance of the SPD leaders to organize and fight against the Nazis.

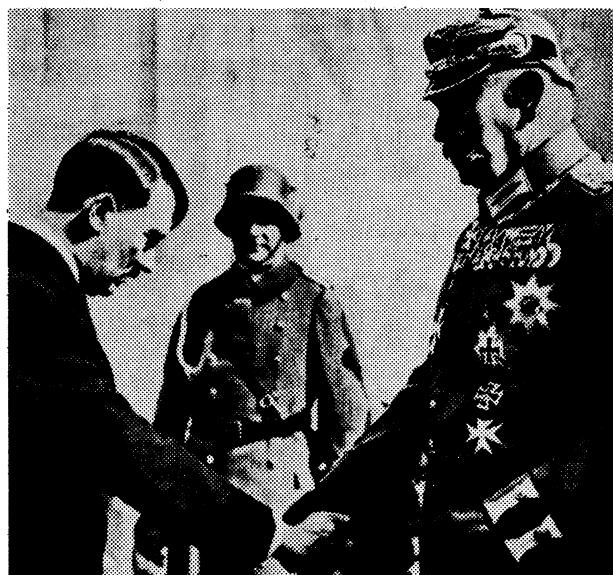
### The fascist threat

Trotsky explained that what distinguishes fascism from other forms of capitalist reaction is its character as a mass movement. Using radical-sounding demagoguery, the fascists were able to mobilize masses of people driven to desperation by the social crisis. Such a mass movement, if it came to power, would carry out not simply repression but the pulverization of the working-class organizations—both Communist and Social Democratic.

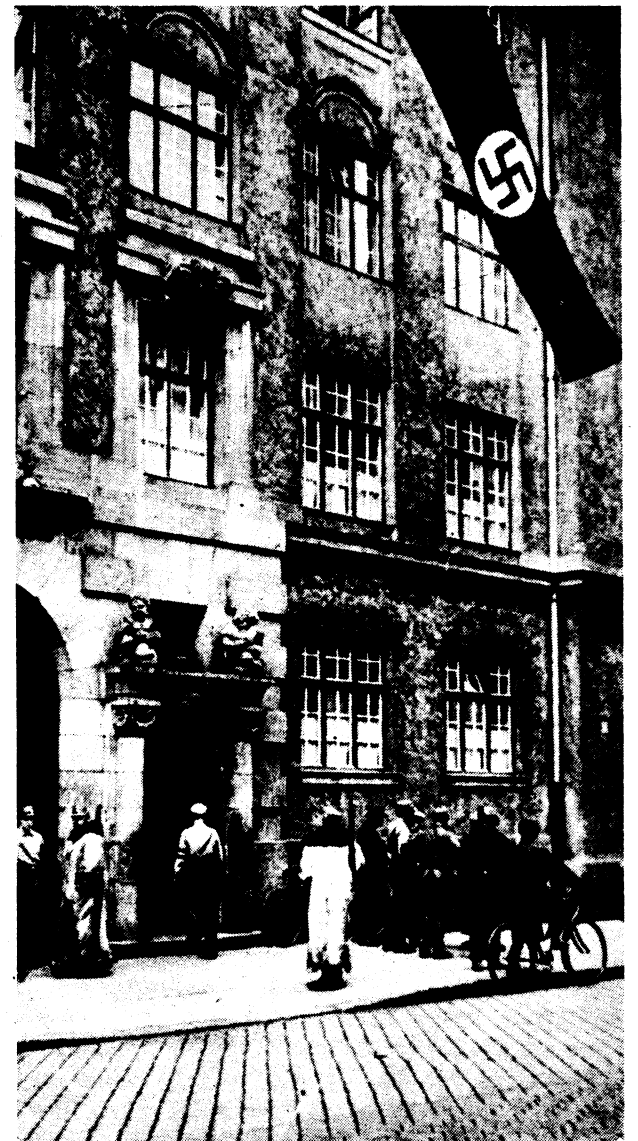
The only force in the German working class that could resolve the crisis was the KPD. Together with the German section of the International Left Opposition, Trotsky bent all his efforts toward rousing the KPD and the Comintern to the danger confronting them.

"The coming to power of the National Socialists," wrote Trotsky in November 1931, "would mean first of all the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the destruction of its organizations, the eradication of its belief in itself and in its future. Considering the far greater maturity and acuteness of the social contradictions in Germany, the hellish work of Italian fascism would probably appear as a pale and almost humane experiment in comparison with the work of the German National Socialists."

Two weeks later Trotsky again warned, "Germany is now passing through one of those great historic hours upon which the fate of the German



HITLER & HINDENBURG: Social Democrats hoped that Hindenburg would help them stop fascism by parliamentary means.



Munich, 1933. A Nazi-occupied trade-union headquarters.

people, the fate of Europe, and in significant measure the fate of all humanity, will depend for decades."

The Stalinists claimed that the assumption of power by Hitler would make little difference to the working class. "As regards 'the class content' there are no distinctions between democracy and fascism," lectured one Stalinist journalist.

*Rote Fahne* complained that "to Trotsky, only the National Socialists are fascists. The declaration of the state of emergency [by Brüning], the dictatorial wage reductions, the effective prohibition of strikes . . . all this is not fascism to Trotsky."

Trotsky replied, "The wisecracks who boast that they do not recognize any difference 'between Brüning and Hitler,' are saying in reality: it makes no difference whether our organizations exist, or are already destroyed. Beneath this pseudoradical phraseology there hides the most sordid passivity. . . ."

### The crisis deepens

As the crisis in Germany progressed, it became ever clearer that a stable government could no longer be achieved within the confines of capitalist democracy. The impasse could only be solved by a socialist revolution or by the triumph of fascism.

In the course of 1931 Hitler's storm troops grew from 100,000 to 400,000. Bloody street battles between workers and Nazi goons occurred daily. Unemployment rose to five million in 1932, and wages and jobless benefits were further slashed.

Millions were looking for a way out. In the presidential runoff election held in April 1932 the Nazi vote reached 13.4 million—more than double the figure of 18 months earlier. The SPD attempted to appease the enraged middle class by supporting the conservative militarist incumbent, Hindenburg, who won 19.3 million votes.

However, the search of the SPD leaders for a procapitalist figure who would serve as a bulwark against Hitler was in vain. Immediately after his reelection, Hindenburg forced Brüning to resign as head of the government, largely because

# OF FASCISM IN GERMANY

Bruening had made a halfhearted attempt to ban Hitler's storm troops.

Bruening's replacement, Franz von Papen, rescinded the ban. Then, on July 20, 1932, Papen dissolved the Social Democratic government of Prussia under the pretext that it could not maintain "law and order." Papen appointed himself head of the Prussian government.

The SPD had sworn to defend the republic against any coup, from the right or the left, but the SPD leaders refused to take action. The workers waited in vain for a call to battle; they were told that the coup would be appealed in the courts.

In the parliamentary elections held less than two weeks after this bitter defeat, the Nazis polled 13.7 million votes. They were now the largest party in the Reichstag, with 37.4 percent of the vote. The SPD polled 7.9 million, and the KPD won 5.3 million votes. The workers parties were marking time in the face of the Nazi threat.

When the Reichstag convened in September, almost all parties voted to censure the Papen government—the Nazis because they were not included in it, the SPD because of the July 20 coup, and the KPD because, "the Papen government . . . has set itself the aim of the immediate establishment of the fascist dictatorship." New elections were called for November.

## 'We are not afraid'

Through all this the KPD continued to insist that the destruction of the influence of Social Democracy was a *precondition* for the defeat of fascism. In September 1932 Ernst Thaelmann, the main leader of the KPD, elaborated on the refusal to form a united front at a session of the Comintern executive:

"In his pamphlet on how National Socialism is to be defeated, Trotsky gives one answer only, and it is this: the German Communist Party must join hands with the Social Democratic Party. . . . This, according to Trotsky, is the only way in which the German working class can save itself from fascism. Either, says he, the Communist party makes common cause with the Social Democrats, or the German working class is lost for ten or twenty years. This is the theory of an utterly bankrupt Fascist and counter-revolutionary. This is indeed the worst, the most dangerous, and the most criminal theory that Trotsky has constructed in these last years of his counter-revolutionary propaganda."

What would the KPD do to prevent Hitler's triumph? Hermann Remmele, one of the three top leaders of the KPD, said in the Reichstag on Oct. 14, 1931, "once they [the fascists] are in power, then the united front of the proletariat will be established and it will make a clean sweep of everything. . . ."

Remmele continued: "We are the victors of the coming day. . . . We are not afraid of the fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government."

Behind this bravado was capitulation and paralysis. "'We are not afraid' of Hitler's assuming power. What is this," asked Trotsky, "if not the formula of cowardice turned inside out. 'We' don't consider ourselves capable of keeping Hitler from assuming power; worse yet: we, the bureaucrats, have so degenerated as not to dare think seriously of fighting Hitler. Therefore, 'we are not afraid.'"

## Hitler comes to power

In the elections held in November 1932 the Nazis lost two million votes; Hitler's maneuvers to gain power with a "legal" cover had aroused skepticism among some of his followers. But the capitalist rulers had already made up their minds that a resolution to the social crisis was impossible without Hitler.

On Dec. 2 General Kurt von Schleicher succeeded Papen as chancellor, and less than two months later, on Jan. 30, 1933, Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor of a coalition cabinet in which Papen was vice-chancellor.

Hitler moved rapidly to consolidate his position.

On Feb. 27 the Nazis staged a fire in the Reichstag and blamed it on the KPD. The next day Hindenburg signed a decree suspending the sections of the constitution guaranteeing freedom of expression, press, assembly, association, and other civil liberties.

This was only the first step in a reign of terror that was to destroy in a matter of months the rights and organizations gained by the German working class over the whole previous century.

In summing up the lessons of the defeat, Trotsky

our subsequent work," wrote Trotsky in July 1933, "it is necessary to take as our point of departure the historical collapse of the official Communist International."

While reaffirming the need to defend the socialist forms of property established in the Soviet Union by the revolution, Trotsky maintained that "only the creation of the Marxist International, completely independent of the Stalinist bureaucracy and counterposed politically to it, can save the USSR from collapse by binding its destiny with



Nazi storm troopers marching on the offices of the Communist Party's newspaper

wrote: "It is undoubtedly true that the Social Democracy, like fascism, stands to defend the bourgeois regime against the proletarian revolution. But the methods of the two parties are entirely different. The Social Democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in trade unions. The mission of fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive union of Communists and the Social Democrats should have been based on this antagonism. But blind leaders refused to take this approach. The workers were left divided, defenseless, without plans or prospects before the attacking enemy."

The catastrophe of Hitler's victory was made worse by the fact that it was accomplished without a battle. In March 1933 Trotsky wrote, "The official German Communist Party is doomed. From now on it will only decompose, crumble, and melt into the void. German Communism can be reborn only on a new basis and with a new leadership."

## For a Fourth International

The call for a new revolutionary party in Germany was a sharp break with the previous orientation of the ILO for the reform of the KPD. Trotsky explained that "just as a doctor does not leave a patient who still has a breath of life, we had for our task the reform of the party as long as there was the least hope. But it would be criminal to tie oneself to a corpse."

Although the thunder of fascism had proved insufficient to rouse the German party, Trotsky still hoped that the magnitude of the defeat would result in a discussion and reevaluation in the other parties of the Comintern. This hope proved vain. On April 7 the Comintern announced, "The political line . . . of the [KPD] Central Committee, with Thaelmann at its head, was completely correct up to and during Hitler's coup d'etat."

The Comintern had been tested by world-shaking events and it had been found wanting. "In all

the destiny of the world proletarian revolution."

In October 1933, 10 years after Trotsky opened up the fight inside the CPSU, he reached the conclusion that the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR could only be replaced by a political revolution—reform of the CPSU was no more possible than reform of the Comintern.

Although the Left Opposition failed in its struggle to reform the Comintern and the CPSU, and was unable to prevent the disaster in Germany, it did maintain the continuity of revolutionary Marxism. It explained the degeneration of the Third International and the Soviet state, and prepared the foundations of a new world revolutionary party capable of finishing the task begun by Lenin's Bolsheviks in Russia. It is that foundation that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S., and the adherents of the Fourth International throughout the rest of the world, are building on.

## 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



## CHARLIE CHAPLIN'S 'A KING IN NEW YORK'

*A King in New York. Starring Charles Chaplin. A Classic Entertainment, Inc., Release.*

I hate cops. Hollywood's current deluge of movies about them is enough to make anyone sick. We are treated to laughing cops, crooked cops (is there any other kind?), learning cops, and just plain cops on the beat. And all indications are that Hollywood hasn't finished yet.

Recently the New York Film Critics Circle held its thirty-ninth annual poll. Al Pacino, who played the cop with the sensitive soul and puppy-dog eyes in *Serpico*, lost the award for best actor in 1973 by only five votes. Marlon Brando won it for his performance in *Last Tango in Paris*. Neither one should have gotten it.

Charlie Chaplin should have won the award for his performance in *A King in New York*. It would have been one last tribute to a great artist by a country that has burned him more than once.

In 1952 the U.S. attorney general decided to

### Film

beat Joe McCarthy at his own game by barring Chaplin, a British citizen, from the U.S. for "advocating the overthrow of the government." Many people claimed the attorney general would go way down in history as the man who kept Charlie Chaplin out of America. They were wrong. No one remembers James P. McGranery—I got his name from the *Almanac*.

Chaplin received another slap in the face in 1957, when *A King in New York* was not allowed in this country.

In 1973 the film finally opened in New York. Better late than never.

When looked at in its totality, Chaplin's career is a cinematic biography. Chaplin's comedy, like that of Buster Keaton, derives its effect from the relationship between people and objects. But Chaplin's mechanical props became universal symbols. The ballet with a global balloon in *The Great Dictator* is so effective not because of the physical properties of balloons but for the megalomania it symbolizes.

The loss of plasticity in Chaplin's later movies coincided with a loss of humor and a gain of meaning. Eventually Chaplin lost most of his audience and his 1952 movie *Limelight*, in which he dies, is a recognition of this fact.



Chaplin as King Shadhov, just prior to hosing down HUAC.

Much of the criticism of Chaplin's later films, including *A King in New York*, revolves around the fact that he is no longer the Tramp. What these critics are really complaining about is Chaplin's becoming more reflective.

In *A King in New York* Chaplin mimics the McCarthyite hysteria of the 1950s. This is done through the eyes of a dethroned monarch, King Shadhov, played by Chaplin.

Exiled in New York, the king is treated to the insanities of the "American Way of Life." The king, almost broke, degrades himself by becoming involved in the booming advertising business.

While visiting a progressive boys' school, King Shadhov meets an obnoxious 10-year-old, Rupert (Michael Chaplin), who delivers a long monologue on the denial of human freedom. The child ends by saying that all governments are instruments for oppressing the people.

King Shadhov runs into Rupert later in the streets of New York. The boy has run away from school to avoid being questioned by government agents investigating his mother and father, who have been arrested for being members of the Communist Party.

The king shelters Rupert in his hotel suite, where the boy is later arrested. This results in the king being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. Appearing before HUAC, the king, through a set of circumstances I won't enumerate, sprays the committee with a fire hose.

Upon being released, Shadhov decides to return to Europe to wait out America's "passing insanity."

The superficiality of Chaplin's analysis does not lessen its impact. *A King in New York* is permeated with a bitter melancholy. It is a powerful indictment of the witch-hunt hysteria that gripped the country when the film was made.

At the same time, his views, as we see in Rupert's monologue, are too individualistic, too anarchistic, to draw out the social implications of his ideas. Yet, it is precisely this individualistic spirit that makes this a great film.

*A King in New York*, for Chaplin, was not the anti-American jibe it was made out to be by many. Rather, his film portrays America as a fantasy and a delusion, a marvelous world that he may revisit but will never reconquer.

*A King in New York* is a movie that should be seen by all, especially revolutionists who can take Chaplin's spirit of social anger and use it to aid the fight against the system responsible for all the "passing insanities" he despised so much.

— NORMAN OLIVER

## 'DREAM LIFE': NEW CINEMA FROM QUEBEC

*Dream Life. Directed by Mirielle Dansereau. Produced by CO-OP. Quebec, 1973. French with English subtitles.*

*Dream Life* stands as a good example of the type of cinematography that's recently begun to come out of Québec. It's also a rare treat in that it's one of the few professionally made films directed by a woman with women as the principal characters.

Mirielle Dansereau's light and joyful approach explores the interests, aspirations, and fantasies of two young women, Virginia and Isabel. Virginia, who had gone through art school and who had once hoped to become an independent artist, now works as an assistant cartoonist in a film studio, a job that she feels is far below her capabilities.

Isabel also feels that her ambitions have been stifled. Having wanted to become a writer, she now also holds a mediocre job in the film studio

In addition, she feels hampered by her prim and proper family situation, preferring the looser and more independent life that Virginia tries to lead. The growing friendship between these two women sets the dominant tone for the film.

Isabel becomes interested, from a distance, in an older, married man, Jean-Jacques, who looks

### Film

as though he stepped out of an *Esquire* clothing ad. Dansereau uses a number of very effective fantasy sequences to show Isabel's image of what she thinks he's like. When reality catches up to her and he turns out to be about as interesting as a damp rag, Isabel feels no disappointment. Instead, she laughs it off, glad that one more illusion has been deflated.

At one point, Isabel is told she'll have to find another job. Her English-speaking boss first tries to explain it in very bad French, then reverts to English, saying, "I'm sure a girl like you will find a husband." Isabel mentally curses him out.

Besides creating sympathetic and credible portraits of the two women, Dansereau also does an effective job of providing a social atmosphere. Her street scenes of Montréal contrast the expensive, well-kept sections of the city to the poorer French-speaking quarters of the East Side. Children playing in the alleys jeer a policeman who can't get his motorcycle started, while cheering the French-speaking cyclist who tears up the ticket he just got.

Some of the minor characters also come off sharply: the pseudoradical dilettante who quotes Wilhelm Reich but can't relate to anyone in the real world; and Virginia's brother, a Québécois nationalist who refuses to understand anything about women's liberation. — ERNEST HARSCH

## Nationwide campaign begins

# Militant launches sales, subscription effort

By SHARON CABANISS

Beginning with sales of this issue, *The Militant* is launching an ambitious circulation drive to increase regular street sales to 10,000 copies a week. The drive will continue to the end of May.

This nationwide campaign will aim to take *The Militant's* program for fighting back against Watergating, racism, the energy crisis, inflation, and unemployment to thousands of people who are angry at the hardships being imposed on them and ever more distrustful of the government and corporations.

Hundreds of *Militant* supporters, including members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, will participate in the drive. They will concentrate on increasing sales in five key locations:

- on the campuses and surrounding areas;
- in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities;
- in other working-class neighborhoods;
- at plant gates and workplaces; and
- at political meetings and events.



*Militant*/Mary Hendrickson

We also expect many opportunities to try out new sales locations where people may be interested in reading about the socialist alternative. One example is lines of motorists waiting to pay exorbitant prices for their inadequate allowances of gas.

Sales of *The Militant* will also help build support for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1974 state and national elections, since *The Militant* will feature extensive coverage of their activities and statements.

SWP campaign supporters in many cities are already planning to turn Saturdays into major campaigning days, with sidewalk tables throughout the communities as soon as weather permits. Such tables, featuring SWP campaign literature, Marxist books and pamphlets, and *The Militant*, will also be up on campuses throughout the week.

During the early part of the weekly street sales campaign, *The Militant* will also conduct a spring subscription drive to obtain 7,500 new subscribers. This drive will be kicked off by a national "blitz" mobilization the weekend of Feb. 16. That weekend *Militant* supporters will spread out to hundreds of campuses and housing projects, as well as setting up sidewalk tables, to sell a large part of their subscription goals at the beginning of the drive.

The sub drive will then run for four weeks, until March 17, during which supporters will sell subscriptions during street sales, at *Militant* forums, SWP campaign events, and other political activities.

The introductory subscription offer will be \$1 for three months.

*The Militant* sub drive will be combined with a drive by the *International Socialist Review* to sell 1,200 introductory subscriptions. Most of these will be sold by offering new readers the combination of three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *ISR* for \$2.

This spring the *Young Socialist*, monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, will also conduct a drive for 11,000 monthly sales. Sales at high schools will be a special focus of the YSA sales drive.

In addition the YSA is fielding 14 Young So-

cialist teams to travel to scores of campuses throughout the country selling revolutionary socialist literature, speaking at meetings and to news media, winning supporters for the SWP campaigns and the socialist offensive against the Watergate crimes, and encouraging people to join the YSA.

All together these teams will aim to sell more than 1,000 *Militants* and 1,000 *Young Socialists* each week, along with more than 1,500 subscriptions.

This spring's circulation drive follows the highly successful sales drives of spring 1973—when sales averaged 6,500 weekly—and fall 1973—when sales averaged 8,500 and twice topped 10,000. Last fall *The Militant* also completed a subscription drive for 16,769 new readers.

This spring's circulation drive is an opportunity to take another big step toward our goal of becoming a mass circulation socialist weekly. You can help in this campaign by taking a bundle of *The Militant* to sell each week. Just fill out the coupon below and send it to the *Militant* business office.

The first sales scoreboard will be published in our Feb. 22 issue.

## Sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* spring sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a sales quota of \_\_\_\_\_

Send me a weekly bundle of \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

## YSA plans drive to sell Pathfinder books

At the recent convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, \$3,300 worth of literature was purchased from the Pathfinder Press table. This included 132 copies of *Socialism on Trial* and 141 copies of *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, both by James P. Cannon.

Sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets was discussed at the convention as one part of the YSA's national focus on getting out socialist ideas.

In his report to the YSA literature sales work-

### News from Pathfinder

shop, Steve Clark from the YSA national office outlined what is planned this spring. The most important task, he said, is setting up regular literature tables on campus. Special emphasis was placed on two books Pathfinder plans to publish in early spring: *Disaster in Chile: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed* edited and with an introduction by Les Evans, and *Watergate and the Myth of American Democracy* by Les Evans and Allen Myers.

*Disaster in Chile* is a compilation of articles from *The Militant* and *Intercontinental Press* analyzing events in Chile from the rise of the Popular Unity government to its overthrow by the military junta. It explains why the Popular Unity's strategy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie resulted in a tragic defeat for the working class.

Many of the articles were written by Hugo Blanco, the well-known Peruvian revolutionist and peasant organizer. Blanco was living in exile in Chile at the time of the coup and has since found political asylum in Sweden.

*Watergate and the Myth of American Democracy* discusses the far-reaching implications of the Watergate revelations. The authors view the place of Watergate in U.S. history and survey the scope of the crimes: from the accumulation of the vast CREEP fund to the secret plan to suppress dis-

sidents. As more and more information comes to light about government corruption, it becomes increasingly clear that Watergate-type operations are an integral part of capitalist rule.

*Disaster in Chile* (\$10, paper \$2.95) will be available in mid-February; *Watergate and the Myth of American Democracy* (\$9, paper \$2.75) will be available in late February.

At the YSA convention workshop Clark urged YSA locals to order extra quantities of these two books and to feature them in special displays on literature tables. He suggested selling them at all meetings and forums held on campus to discuss either Chile or Watergate.

He pointed out that one good way to maximize distribution of these two books was to visit campus bookstores and ask the buyers to order them.



*Militant*/Michael Baumann

Literature table sales are important part of YSA plans

During the discussion a number of YSA members described their experiences selling literature on campus and to bookstores in the fall. Several mentioned the importance of varying literature tables to make them attractive and interesting. A table could center on a particular political theme of current local or international interest. Hawking Pathfinder's topical pamphlets also met with success in many places.

At a New York rally in support of the farm workers' struggle, 139 copies of *Viva la Huelga! The Struggle of the Farm Workers* by José G. Pérez were sold. Fifty copies of *The Coup in Chile* and *Tragedy in Chile: Lessons of the Revolutionary Upsurge and Its Defeat* were sold at a picket line protesting a benefit concert held by supporters of the junta.

The success of this fall's special sales effort around *Watergate: The View From the Left* underscored the sales potential and importance of books presenting the socialist analysis of current political events and issues. As of Dec. 31, 1973, almost 9,200 copies of that book had been sold. Branches of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA locals ordered 1,460 copies. The fall *Young Socialist* and *Militant* subscription teams sold 284 copies. Pathfinder sales representatives placed 5,505 copies in 434 stores in 50 states.

The fact that 7,148 of the 9,200 copies were sold through the efforts of Pathfinder bookstores, YSA locals, sales representatives, and the teams shows the impact that Pathfinder supporters and readers of *The Militant* can have in distributing Pathfinder literature. The sales effort around the Watergate book introduced thousands of people to socialist ideas, and sales of *Disaster in Chile* and *Watergate and the Myth of American Democracy* can have the same or greater impact this spring.

If you would like to help, contact the bookstore nearest you, listed in the Socialist Directory, or write directly to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. —PEGGY BRUNDY



# Calendar

## BROOKLYN

**THE FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION IN IRAN.** Speakers: Babak Zahraie, former president, Foreign Students Council, Univ. of Washington, Seattle; Bahram Atai, secretary, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## DETROIT

**ATTICA: THE RECENT INDICTMENTS.** Speaker: Brother Alsayah, indicted prisoner from Attica. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES: EAST SIDE

**FARM WORKERS BOYCOTT GALLO.** Speaker: Bobby de la Cruz, assistant UFW boycott director and former Gallo farm worker. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake (at 7th). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**SOLZHENITSYN: DISSENT & REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION.** Speakers: Paul N. Siegel, professor, Long Island Univ. and editor of Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art; Marilyn Vogt, contributor to Intercontinental Press. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.) Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE VIETNAM ACCORDS: ONE YEAR OF DETENTE.** Speaker: George Johnson, contributor to The Militant. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**THE GALLO BOYCOTT AND THE FARM WORKERS' STRUGGLE.** Speaker: Bob Purcell, East Bay UFW boycott coordinator. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.). Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**WOUNDED KNEE ON TRIAL.** Panel: Georgalin Brushbraker and Cheryl Wainer, American Indian Defense Committee; Karen Detamore, National Lawyers Guild. Fri., Feb. 1, 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

**NATIVE AMERICANS VS. DEVELOPERS: THE STRUGGLE FOR LAND AND WATER RIGHTS IN SAN DIEGO COUNTY.** Speakers: Ron Albu, California Indian Legal Services; Fred Rysdale, Native American attorney; other speaker to be announced. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**THE ENERGY CRISIS: BONANZA FOR THE OIL GIANTS.** Speakers: Richard Spohn, director, California Citizens Action Group, affiliated with Ralph Nader's Task Force; Jon Olmsted, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## TWIN CITIES

**HEAR THE WOUNDED KNEE DEFENDANTS.** Speakers: Russell Means and Dennis Banks, defendants; Mark Lane, attorney for the defense. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**ENERGY CRISIS: THE CAUSES & THE SOLUTION.** Speaker: Cliff Conner, associate editor, International Socialist Review. Fri., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...FBI

*Continued from page 4*

make some kind of identity or background check on such a person?"

DEVLIN: "Yes. . . ."

ASKIN: "If Lori Paton applied for a government job, would that name, indexed in the Newark office, be checked as a matter of routine?"

DEVLIN: "I assume so."

All this for one student whose "crime" was seeking information for a school project! Multiply this by thousands of other people who come in contact with the SWP or YSA every year!

This practice of mail tampering and intimidating investigations is now being exposed because people like Lori Paton have decided to fight back. Her suit, along with the suit of the SWP and YSA and similar legal action by other groups, is putting the Watergaters on the defensive.

# ...Palestine

*Continued from page 9*

for democracy, a demand that one nation should not oppress other nations. As such, it only makes sense when it is directed by an oppressed nation against its oppressor.

"If the demand for self-determination were simply based on the right of people to set up a state of their own, then it would make just as much sense to call for self-determination for the whites in South Africa or Zimbabwe as for the Blacks."

Thus, recognizing the fact that an Israeli nation has evolved in the course of the colonization of Palestine does not imply support to the right of the settlers to carve out a state for themselves at the expense

of another people. When two nations both claim the right to set up a state in the same territory, the approach of Marxists is to view the problem in the context of the overall class struggle and ask: Which is the oppressed, and which the oppressor?

As I pointed out in my Jan. 11 article, this was the method of Lenin. "In contrast to Foley, while Lenin insisted on the *general* right of secession, he insisted on each case being analyzed separately from the point of view of who was the oppressor and who the oppressed."

Lenin did not assume that the demand for self-determination was applicable just because of the existence of a nation. He saw the right to form a state as a means for oppressed nationalities to guarantee the end to their oppression. In contrast to Lenin, Foley assumes that in a conflict of national rights between oppressed and oppressor nationalities both should be treated equally. He says:

"The Soviet Union and the international Communist movement, from 1947 until today, have said that *two nations* emerged in Palestine from 1918 on, and that *both nations* must be accorded their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination, to set up their own national state, etc."

What was really involved in the Stalinist policy on Palestine in 1947 was the belief that the Zionist regime would prove friendlier to the USSR, therefore more "progressive," than an Arab state. At that time the Zionists were engaged in a sharp conflict with the British, who wanted to maintain Palestine as a colony. Washington had only begun its drive to replace British imperialism in the Mideast, and it seemed to Stalin that a weakening of British influence could only serve his interests.

Just how far Stalin went in subordinating the rights of the Palestinian people to his immediate foreign policy objectives was indicated by David Ben-Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, in an interview in the *Christian Science Monitor* published Feb. 20, 1971. He said:

"We cannot forget that the Russians were the first people to help us, and before 1948 were the only ones to stand sincerely with us when the United States put an arms embargo on us. . . ."

"They sent us arms through Czech-

oslovakia when we needed them most. I doubt whether we would have been able to defeat the Arabs in 1948 and 1949 without their help."

The demand of the Palestinian liberation movement is for a single state in Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews could live together. The demand of the Zionists is for their own exclusive state there. These demands are mutually contradictory. To support the right of the Israelis to maintain their own state is in practice to oppose the national rights of the Palestinians.

This was clearly pointed out in my previous articles, where it was explained that the Soviet bureaucracy and its supporters in the U.S. were subordinating the rights of the Palestinians to diplomatic deals with U.S. imperialism.

Was Foley too confused to get the point of the articles? I don't think so.

# ...wealth

*Continued from page 15*

who dominated U.S. finance before World War I.

George F. Baker Jr., whose father was a party to the meeting described above, is a director of First National City Bank today, which holds 0.5 percent of Great Northern. James Stillman Rockefeller, whose family descends from two other parties to that meeting, is today chairman of the board of directors of First National City.

The ruling class holds commanding positions in the economy by virtue of the vast fortunes it has accumulated over the decades. So long as private property exists, this accumulation and centralization of ownership in a few hands will continue.

For if anyone has the "right" to own a single share of AT&T it means that someone else, who already has access to hundreds of millions of dollars, will own many more shares, will control the giant corporations, and will reap the lion's share of profits from them.

The capitalist government protects this process. In fact, as these studies show, the ruling class does not even extend to its government the privilege of looking into the secret books of the mighty trust departments that own U.S. banks and industry.

# Socialist Directory

**ARIZONA:** Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 712 Bolton Walk #204, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegler, 1356 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

**KENTUCKY:** Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73 U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists. Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

**MICHIGAN:** Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

**NEW YORK:** Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Geneseo: YSA, State Univ. College at Geneseo, College Student Union Box 85, Geneseo, N.Y. 14454.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

**OHIO:** Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553. YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

**OREGON:** Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel:

(215) WA5-4316.

**Pittsburgh:** SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

**TENNESSEE:** Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213 Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

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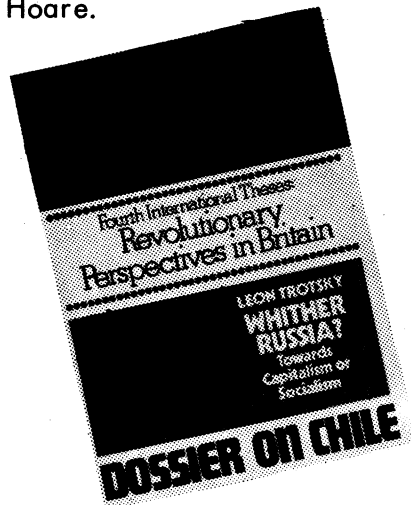
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## Seek massive labor support

# S.F. unions take action to back Sears strikers

By ALEX HARTE

SAN FRANCISCO—Can 300 striking retail clerks defeat the world's largest retail chain store and one of the nation's most powerful corporate giants? Is it possible for a small group of workers to maintain a meaningful collective bargaining contract in two San Francisco Sears stores against this corporation, which has destroyed almost all attempts to organize its other 850 stores?

These are the key questions posed by the current 23-week strike of Local 1100 of the Department Store Employees Union, affiliated with the Retail Clerks International Union, AFL-CIO.

A united meeting of the Bay Area labor movement has been called for Sunday, Feb. 3, in San Francisco at the Orpheum theater.

The meeting, whose purpose is to bring the combined power of the labor movement to the aid of Local 1100, was initiated by the United Labor and Community Committee for the Sears strikers. The broad support and endorsement of the Bay Area labor movement is being actively sought.

This unusual united response of the labor movement in support of a striking union has its roots in the recent history and activity of Local 1100 itself.

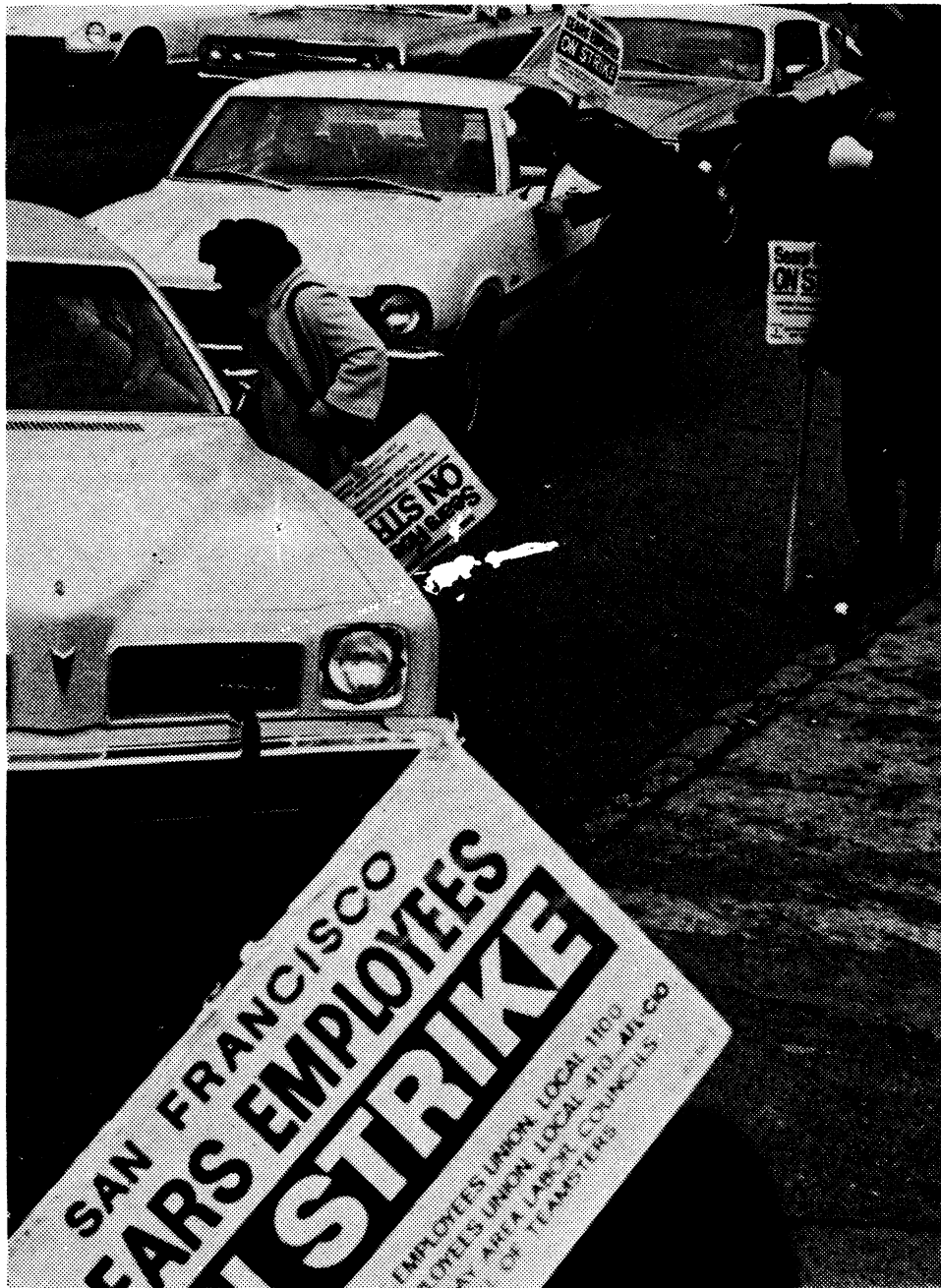
At a time when few in the labor movement dared to speak out against the war in Southeast Asia, Local 1100 supported the antiwar movement. The war was not separate from its concerns as a union. It called on its ranks and affiliate locals to join the fight against the war.

When many in the labor movement chose to ignore the conspiracy of growers and Teamster bureaucrats to destroy the United Farm Workers Union, Local 1100 joined with a few union militants and locals and helped organize a Bay Area car caravan to Delano last summer.

Despite advice in the labor movement to the contrary, Local 1100 organized the first sit-in demonstration in recent years when it called on Bay Area unionists to support its strike last year at the Emporium department store in San Francisco. When thousands of militants joined the sit-in, Bay Area employers were "encouraged" to quickly settle the strike.

When some 30 Black hospital workers in Local 250 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) struck against the West Oakland Health Clinic, Local 1100 brought its ranks to the picket lines to support them.

When striking rank-and-file carpenters organized an unprecedented strike against the government recently because of a wage-control board decision to unilaterally void the third year of their negotiated contract, Local 1100, despite the pressing problems of its own strike, joined the carpenters in a large demonstration at



Pickets explaining strike issues to shoppers at Sears' Geary Street store Jan. 12 after United Labor Action Committee meeting.

the federal building in San Francisco.

Local 1100 took the initiative last year and launched the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC), which mobilized several thousand Bay Area unionists April 28 against unemployment, inflation, and government attacks on the labor movement.

Unfortunately, in these activities the other official bodies of organized labor were all but absent. The Bay Area Central Labor Council, the Building and Construction Trades Council, and the Teamsters Joint Council sometimes mouthed token words of support but most often left the local unions to their own resources.

Despite the best efforts of Local 1100 and a few other locals, including Longshore Local 35 in the Bay Area, the several ad hoc committees hastily put together to bring labor support to striking workers were usually insufficient in and of themselves to prevent defeat. But the idea of labor solidarity spread nonetheless.

Local 1100 has been willing to join with other unions to give concrete meaning to the words "labor soli-

darity." It has sought to mobilize working people in action and to generalize their struggle. The organization last year of the United Labor Action Committee further concretized this development and once again the traditional slogan of working people—"An injury to one is an injury to all"—began to find organized expression, although still on a limited basis.

Local 1100 has now asked the official labor movement to support its strike. Once again, the response has been limited to wordy declarations and resolutions, a few token dollars, but only a rare body on the picket line.

With this in mind, the United Labor Action Committee has been attempting to present the issue of the Sears strike to the entire working class of the Bay Area and to the organized labor movement, without whose support a victory for Local 1100 is unlikely, to say the least.

The Feb. 3 united labor meeting will deal with concrete support to Local 1100. It will be followed by a march of San Francisco workers and

their supporters to the Sears store on Geary Street. The meeting and march will be sponsored by the United Labor and Community Committee to Support the Sears Strikers. This body was formed at a recent meeting of the United Labor Action Committee.

In preparation for the Feb. 3 united labor meeting, tens of thousands of leaflets will be distributed throughout the Bay Area.

Last week representatives from Local 1100 and the United Labor Action Committee spoke at several union and community meetings to encourage participation in Local 1100's picket lines. These have been extended to five Bay Area stores from the original two. An excellent response was received from many unions, including Painters Local 4, Office and Professional Employees Union Local 29, SEIU, Railway Clerks Local 890, Steelworkers, Machinists, several American Federation of Teachers (AFT) locals, Carpenters, Rubber Workers, and others.

Sears workers are the only organized retail employees in San Francisco lacking a health benefit program. All of Local 1100's 6,000 members except the Sears employees have a plan that meets the prevailing union standards for health benefits in San Francisco. Sears refuses to even discuss this question.

Another issue in this strike is the role of the federal government. It is becoming clearer to 1100's members and to the labor movement as a whole that the government, through its agent, the National Labor Relations Board, has sided with Sears in its efforts to break the union.

Despite all the complaints filed with the NLRB, it has yet to rule that Sears has violated any rights of employees. The NLRB has stood by while a corporate giant refused for 20 weeks to even produce a counteroffer to the union proposals.

On Jan. 16 ULAC activists Jeff Mackler of the AFT in Hayward and Derrel Myers of the Painters union were invited to address a membership meeting of Local 1100 to discuss the strike support plans laid out by the United Labor Action Committee.

On Jan. 18 Walter Johnson, executive secretary-treasurer of Local 1100, and Nat Weinstein of the Socialist Workers Party spoke at the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum to an enthusiastic audience of 80 about the issues involved in the strike.

On Jan. 19, 160 rank-and-file militants and officials of the United Labor Action Committee met for the second time to lay further plans for bringing the labor movement into action to defend the strikers of 1100. Five working committees were established and have met to concretize plans for the coming weeks.

As in the past, the meeting was adjourned to spirited picket lines at five Bay Area Sears stores.