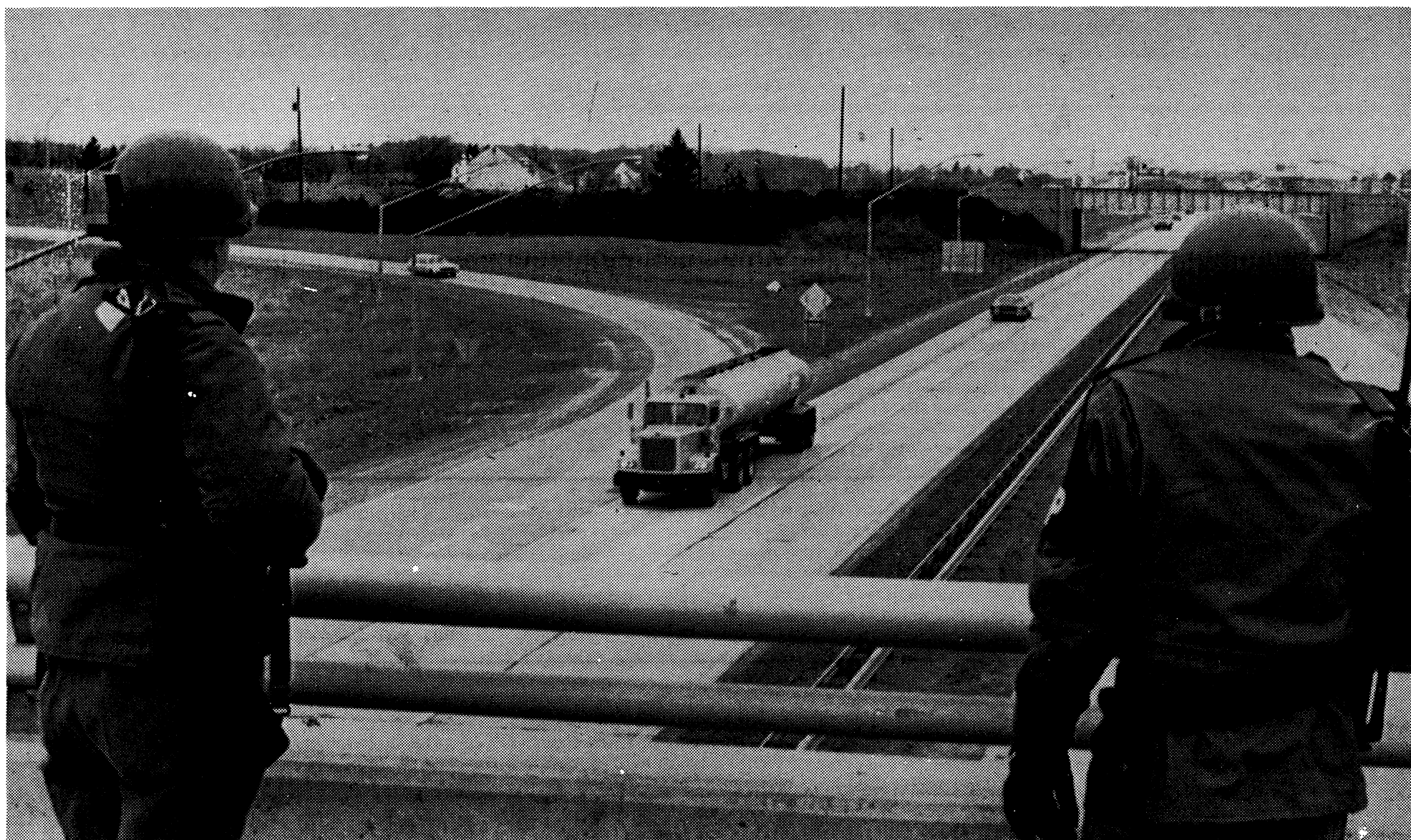

THE MILITANT

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

Strike sets example

Truckers say 'No' to Nixon, oil trusts



Striking truckers ran into opposition from federal gov't., National Guard, and even Teamsters President Fitzsimmons. Here guardsmen patrol overpass in Pennsylvania. For articles on truck strike and economy, see pages 3-5.

Hit FBI spying in Wounded Knee case/6

SWP campaigns open in N.Y., Mass./14

Price hikes spark upsurge in Bolivia/17

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

INDICTED ATTICA BROTHER TOURS MICHIGAN: Rahaam Karanja toured Michigan the week of Jan. 28 through Feb. 1. He is under indictment for his participation in the 1971 Attica prison revolt. Karanja spoke to nearly 700 people and raised \$940 in honoraria and collections for the Attica defendants.

The tour was organized by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Militant Forum in Detroit. Twenty-five other groups lent their support to the meetings.

Karanja's tour was designed to get out the truth about the rebellion and the charges against 63 of the men who were Attica inmates at the time of the rebellion.

A speakers' bureau has been organized to provide interested organizations, schools, and community groups with speakers on the defense case. Indicted Attica prisoners and lawyers working on the case are available for engagements.

Also available is the color film *Attica*, a powerful indictment of the mass murder ordered by New York's governor at the time, Nelson Rockefeller.

For more information contact Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 1370 Main St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14209. Telephone: (716) 884-4423.

CALIFORNIA ELECTION LAWS CHALLENGED: Several groups are challenging the California election laws, which are the harshest in the country for independent parties seeking ballot status. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit last July on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, La Raza Unida Party, and others to strike down the requirement that third parties collect more than 663,340 signatures. This case is pending in the courts.

Another group, the Voters Choice Initiative (VCI), has recently been formed to knock down the same election code. The VCI has launched a petition campaign to place on the ballot a referendum that would change the requirement from 10 percent to 1 percent for third parties. The VCI will have to collect 325,000 valid signatures by May to have its initiative placed on the ballot.

Help sell Militant subs

Beginning Friday, Feb. 15, hundreds of Militant supporters around the country will participate in the national subscription blitz weekend. This mobilization will kick off our spring subscription drive.

The Militant is offering an introductory three-month subscription for \$1.

All Militant readers and supporters are encouraged to participate in the blitz weekend. For more information contact the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance in your city (see Socialist Directory on page 22 for phone number and address).

ARTISTS TO HOLD CHILE EMERGENCY EXHIBITION: In response to the right-wing coup in Chile and the junta's repression, an ad hoc committee of New York artists has organized the Chile Emergency Exhibition. The art exhibition will be held at 383 West Broadway from March 2 through March 16.

The gallery space will be filled with the work of more than 200 internationally known artists. Money raised from the exhibition will be used to aid the victims of the Chilean junta. The ad hoc committee will turn the money over to the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) for this purpose.

For more information on this and other activities in defense of the political prisoners in Chile contact: USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone (212) 691-2880.

UNIONISTS ARRESTED AT BOSSES' DANCE: On Jan. 25, police arrested 50 union pickets outside a Madison Heights, Mich., dinner and dance sponsored by the Metropolitan Detroit Chapter of the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), a notorious open-shop organization that has been waging war on the construction unions.

Madison Heights is a small suburb of Detroit. In an attempt to prevent union pickets from confronting the ABC, the Madison Heights police utilized an aid pact with other cities in the county to mobilize 80 cops. The cops arrested the pickets for loitering.

Far from loitering, the pickets, members of locals in the Greater Detroit Building Trades Council, were protesting ABC's moves to drive down their wages and knock down hard-won benefits.

About 25 pickets remained at the dinner all through the evening. Fat cats attending the ABC dance were greeted with such signs as "Union Forever, Scabs Never!"

PHILADELPHIANS COMMEMORATE BLOODY SUNDAY: More than 40 people picketed the Philadelphia offices of British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC) Feb. 2 to protest British occupation of Northern Ireland. The demonstration also commemorated the 13 civil rights activists murdered on Jan. 31, 1972—Bloody Sunday—in Derry, Northern Ireland. Picket signs demanded "End Internment Now!," "British Troops Out of Ireland!," and "Remember Bloody Sunday!"

The demonstration was sponsored by the Philadelphia Irish Republican Clubs.

Speakers at the rally included Denis Cassin, national secretary of the IRC, and Cathal Saunders, former editor of *Drithlog*.

GAYS WIN VICTORY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE: A federal court ruled Jan. 16 in favor of the Gay Student Organization in a suit the group brought against the University of New Hampshire and Governor Meldrim Thomson.

U.S. District Court Judge Hugh Bownes ordered the university to cease its discriminatory practices against the gay group. He instructed the trustees to lift all prohibitions and restrictions on the group's on-campus functions.

PITTSBURGH MILITANT FORUM SERIES BEGINS: The Pittsburgh Militant Forum series was launched on Friday evening, Jan. 25, with a discussion of "United Farm Workers: the strategy for victory."

The speakers were Frank Ortiz of the United Farm Workers of America; William Patterson of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; and Dan Rosenheim of the Socialist Workers Party.

More than 50 people packed into the Socialist Workers Party hall at 304 S. Bouquet St. to hear the speakers and participate in the discussion.

During the discussion period stress was given to the need for labor solidarity and for increased involvement of students and others in support of the farm workers. A collection was taken up for the UFW.

Upcoming forums in Pittsburgh will deal with the energy crisis, the situation in Vietnam, the revolutionary legacy of Malcolm X, feminism, and other topics.

INDIANA FARM WORKERS SUPPORTERS MEET: One hundred and ninety-five people registered for the Indiana Boycott Conference held Jan. 26 in Gary. Participants came from boycott committees all over the state, including Lafayette, Plymouth, the Calumet region, Bloomington, and Indianapolis.

Speakers included Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, who has officially supported the boycott of grapes and lettuce; representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Ray Olivas, director of the Indiana boycott; and Marcos Munoz, Illinois boycott director. Others spoke on the importance of students in the boycott and the role of unions.

One topic of discussion at the conference was the formation of a regional network that would include the publishing of a statewide newsletter, sponsoring a tour of United Farm Worker director Cesar Chavez through four major cities in Indiana, and the possibility of a mass demonstration.

— NORMAN OLIVER

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ENERGY CRISIS: What's behind the gas shortage? *The Militant* tells the truth about the energy crisis and offers a program for working people to fight back. For weekly, in-depth coverage, subscribe now.

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Democrats no alternative to Nixon

Soaring prices, layoffs show the real State of the Union

By ANDY ROSE

The you-never-had-it-so-good rhetoric of Nixon's State of the Union message was far out of touch with reality for most working people in this country.

Nixon declared that peace and prosperity reign throughout the land, and that "Americans are living more abundantly than ever before."

Twenty-four hours later, tens of thousands of independent truckers began a nationwide strike to defend their standard of living, which is threatened by fuel price increases and reduced speed limits.

Unimpressed by Nixon's sugary promises, and without waiting for some other Republican or Democratic politician to solve their problems, the truckers decided to take action on their own.

Of all the humbug in Nixon's speech, the flat proclamation that "there will be no recession in the United States of America" seemed the wildest.

Just a few days after he spoke, the latest Harris poll results were released, showing that 54 percent of the people *already* "feel the country is in a recession." Moreover, 61 percent expect to be in a recession a year from now.

Question of definition?

Capitalist economists technically define "recession" as two consecutive quarters of decline in real gross national product. Nixon's advisers, fearing that even this restrictive standard may be breached next year, have rushed to their boss's defense by insisting that a "more sophisticated analysis is required."

Treasury Secretary George Shultz smilingly assured reporters, "I'm sure the president will turn out to be right, particularly as we define it."

The real extent of the economic downturn was highlighted by the Labor Department's announcement that official unemployment rose from 4.8 percent last December to 5.2 percent in January—the biggest monthly jump in four years. Black unemployment reached 9.4 percent.

Since the government figures leave out those who can find only part-time work and those who have become discouraged and stopped looking for jobs, this means there are *nearly six million people* out of work.

For them it is not a question of how to define "recession," but of how to feed, clothe, and house themselves and their families.

Even the annual report by Nixon's own Council of Economic Advisers contradicted his pie-in-the-sky promises. The council forecast a "slow rate of economic expansion, and possibly a decline, with rising unemployment"



MANSFIELD: Promises to 'scrutinize' profits.



Laid-off workers in Detroit line up at 7:30 a.m. to apply for unemployment benefits. Unemployment is increasing despite Nixon's rosy picture of economy.

and inflation averaging 7 percent next year.

In a nationally televised speech Feb. 1, Senator Mike Mansfield responded to the State of the Union address on behalf of the Democratic majority in Congress.

Those who expected the Democrats to provide a stinging rebuttal to Nixon's lies must have been sorely disappointed.

"Reluctantly" dealing with Watergate, Mansfield said the criminal investigations and impeachment inquiry would have to go on. He praised Congress for halting "the erosion of the system of checks and balances."

But on the whole Mansfield was conciliatory, promising "full and cooperative consideration" for Nixon's empty

For The Militant's view of Nixon's war budget, see editorial, page 10.

proposals. The Democratic leader was unable to pose any alternative course for resolving the energy crisis, inflation or unemployment.

Mansfield called for "a fair minimum wage." He did not comment on the fact that Congress sustained Nixon's veto of a minimum wage increase last year.

The Democratic leader boldly staked out a position in favor of national health insurance, pension reform, and aid to education and housing—all of which Nixon also claims to support.

Mansfield advocated tax reform, observing that the present tax structure—legislated by Congress—"favors, too much, those who have more, over those who have less." Nixon is also in favor of paying less taxes. In fact, he does it himself.

But Nixon had also warned, "taxation should not depress productive investment by unduly burdening its return. We should not indulge in demagogic and shortsighted attacks upon profits."

Perhaps inspired by news of the truckers' protests, Mansfield reached almost breathtaking heights of militancy when he declared, "Surely the tax benefits [of the oil companies]

... as well as excessive oil profits, will be scrutinized by the Congress." Surely!

In his entire 50-minute speech, Mansfield, like Nixon, managed to avoid even mentioning the problems of racial oppression faced by Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. He had not one word to say in support of women struggling against sexist discrimination.

No inflation remedy

How do the Democrats and Republicans propose to deal with the spiraling cost of living? Nixon vowed, "if this Congress cooperates in our efforts to hold down the cost of government, we shall win our fight to hold down the cost of living for the American people."

Nixon's own budget proposal made these words laughable. He called for the highest military expenditures in history, which will be paid for by government deficit spending that could easily reach \$20-billion. This war budget will provoke even worse inflation.

Mansfield called for reducing Nixon's budget; he neglected to mention where he would cut. Will Congress make more than token cuts in the bloated war budget? Not likely. Or will it further reduce spending for social services, already cut to the bone?

Implicit in both Nixon's and Mansfield's speech was the admission that government "price controls" are a fraud. Inflation has gotten worse with each successive "phase" of Nixon's controls. The real aim of the controls—holding down wage increases—has been more successfully accomplished.

But if inflation is supposed to be reduced by holding down federal spending, how is the impending recession to be staved off? Only by *increasing* federal spending! "If we have to bust the budget to prevent it [a recession], we'll bust the budget," said a Nixon aide.

Capitalist dilemma

The truth is that both inflation and periodic recessions are endemic to modern capitalism. The most any

capitalist government can do is tinker with its budget and monetary policies to try to ameliorate their effects.

With the end of the long post-World War II economic boom, and the growing competition among the world capitalist powers, this tinkering is becoming less and less effective.

A Feb. 6 article by *New York Times* economic analyst Leonard Silk explains this dilemma from the capitalists' point of view. He writes, "The conservatives insist that unless the country is willing to take a recession to break the back of inflation, the United States—and other leading industrialized countries—will 'go Brazilian,' with high inflation accepted as a way of life."

"Liberals contend, on the contrary, that trying to end the inflation by recession, in the existing political climate, is likely to have perverse effects. . . . They see the danger of labor's getting out of hand if job insecurity is added to the rising cost of living."

Silk continues, "The truck drivers of Pennsylvania and Ohio, as well as the coal miners of England and Wales, they argue, are showing what can happen when labor's relative tranquility and passivity are shattered by too aggressive an assault on inflation by the Government."

Class interests

The talk about inflation and recession as "the nation's" problems conceals the fact that there are two different and opposing class interests at work.

Nixon's and Mansfield's first concerns are safeguarding the profits of U. S. corporations and improving the position of U. S. capitalism vis-à-vis its rivals. This requires such measures as holding down wages to make American goods more competitive on the world market, and stimulating higher productivity through automation and speedup.

The interests of working people run in just the opposite direction, and cannot be defended by relying on the Democratic and Republican parties.

Whatever promises Nixon or Con-

Continued on page 22

The energy crisis

'Spectacular' year for oil monopolies

By DAVE FRANKEL

"One of the most spectacular fourth quarters that any industry has ever reported," was the verdict of *New York Times* reporter Ernest Holsendolph on oil company profits since October.

The top 21 U.S. oil companies accumulated profits in 1973 estimated at almost \$10-billion, and Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-Wis.) informed his colleagues Jan. 29, "While 1973 profits were spectacular, 1974 profits will be unbelievable. . . . the recent 50 percent increase in oil prices will result in approximately \$24-billion in additional profits."

To top off the profit picture, J. K. Jamieson, chairman of the board of Exxon, assured the Economic Club of Detroit Jan. 28 that the energy

Post, Thomas O'Toole says, "Energy prices are rising at such a rapid rate that Americans will pay at least \$20 billion more for fuel this year than they did in 1973."

"This means most consumers will find their fuel bills increased by more than 25 per cent."

Alex Radin, general manager of the American Public Power Association, says, "Consumers are only beginning to feel the impact on electric rates."

The price of coal has gone up 25 percent since last year, while the average price of interstate gas has gone up 100 percent in the same period. And the profits from all of this go to the same energy monopolies. They own one-third or more of the coal reserves in the U.S. and 55 percent

these corporations hide their profits, or turn them into 'costs,' take many forms.

"For example, the multinationals commonly own the transportation systems that move their oil. A shipping subsidiary might fly a foreign flag for the purpose of taking advantage of that nation's absence of an income tax. Or, a multinational might own foreign producers such as the Aramco Corporation, whose stockholders are Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, and Standard of California.

"These stockholders set the price at which the oil is sold, and since they get back whatever they pay in dividends, they do not care how high the price is. The foreign subsidiary thus can take the profit, while the



EXXON'S JAMIESON: 'Would not be surprised if gasoline went to \$1 a gallon. . . .'

to Milan, and probably even as far away as the U.S. East Coast, are brimful. Says a London-based oil executive: 'The market is flooded with oil products right across the barrel.'

Further revelations

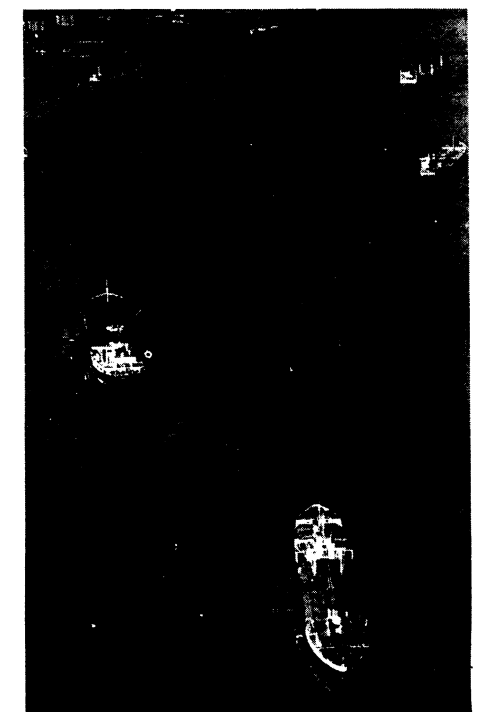
Further revelations have been coming out as a result of the hearings of the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee of the Senate, headed by Frank Church (D-Idaho). The Church committee has released information showing the close working cooperation of the U.S. government and the oil companies in the Mideast over the last 25 years.

Church explained that the tax write-off by which U.S. oil companies are enabled to deduct the bulk of their overseas expenses from their taxes in the U.S. was devised with the cooperation of the Treasury Department and the State Department in 1950.

"Wall Street lawyers were sent to the Middle East to help these countries rewrite their laws to bring them within the purview of the tax credit provisions of the United States Internal Revenue Code," Church revealed.

The oil companies increased their profits, and the government was able to channel hidden subsidies to pro-U.S. regimes.

One thing has emerged clearly from the speculation and the bits of information that have come out about the operations of the oil trusts as a result of the energy crisis. That is, regardless of whether the energy crisis was directly contrived by the oil companies, or if it just happened as a result of their "normal" operations, the oil corporations are the beneficiaries. The system ensures that they will be able to drive up prices, gain government subsidies, eliminate smaller competitors, gain new tax gimmicks, and roll back environmental gains.



Tankers waiting to unload in New York harbor. Oil tanks 'are brimful,' says *Business Week*.



Cars line up for gas in Brooklyn. The Nixon administration says if prices get high enough, lines will get shorter.

crisis "will continue for many years to come." According to the *New York Times*, the Exxon chief "said that the solution to the energy crisis would be long and expensive and . . . he would not be surprised if gasoline went to \$1 a gallon in the near future."

Although the oil corporations seem to be bearing up well under the burden of immense new profits, the reaction among working people prompted a flood of outraged rhetoric in Congress, along with a new rash of hearings.

The Feb. 4 issue of *Time* magazine noted that the oilmen "found themselves under fire for accomplishing what has long been considered the goal of the U.S. economic system: making a high profit."

One mouthpiece for the oil companies, Senator Dewey Bartlett (R-Okla.), lamented, "Unfortunately, there seems to be a fever spreading today that profits are bad."

Bartlett explained, "The reason we are not drilling more wells is easy to see. Profits have been insufficient."

Only the beginning

"Sufficient" profits for the oil monopolies mean hardship for millions. This is most obvious in relation to price rises. On Jan. 26 the outgoing chairman of New York state's Public Service Commission said Con Edison will require rate increases of at least one-third, and possibly as much as 50 percent or more, in the next year because of rising fuel prices. This from the head of the agency supposed to protect the public!

On Feb. 1 the Federal Power Commission, meeting a few hours after getting a telegram from Exxon and the Mallard Exploration Company, approved the highest price in its history for natural gas destined for interstate sale. The price was 22 percent higher than the previous record, set last May.

Writing in the Feb. 3 *Washington*

of the uranium reserves.

The giant oil companies are the almost exclusive holders of the technology and huge amounts of capital needed to develop the synthetic gas, liquefied natural gas, and shale oil industries. The nearly \$2-billion that the federal government plans to spend in the next fiscal year on nuclear power research, coal studies, and other energy projects, is in fact simply an additional subsidy to the oil monopolies. The technology developed with public funds will be turned over to them for free.

Price controls?

Not surprisingly, the Nixon administration came out wholeheartedly for more oil profits. It declared in a Feb. 1 economic report that rising energy costs should be "reflected in the prices paid by consumers to insure that they economize on energy use."

The well-known capitalist principle of letting those who can't pay do without has opened up an opportunity for some politicians to reap political gains by talking about price controls on petroleum products.

Such proposals will most likely remain at the stage of vote-catching talk. In any event, the experience of Nixon's "price controls" over the last year and a half, when prices rose at the highest rate since the mid-1940s, should dispel any illusions about the ability of the capitalist government to check prices.

This general inability is accentuated in the oil industry because of its international character. If domestic prices were held down, the oil monopolies would simply export domestic oil and sell it at the going price on the world market, while importing foreign oil at inflated prices.

Senator Floyd Haskell (D-Colo.) explained, "What price controls . . . cannot do is to effectively control the prices of oil that moves through the hands of the multinational corporations. The processes through which

ultimate corporate stopping point, the U. S. side of the operation, has a higher cost basis for the products it sells to the American people."

Tax proposals

The most cynical proposals from the capitalist politicians in response to the outcry over oil profits and government collusion with the energy monopolies have been the suggestion of tax "reforms" that would actually benefit the trusts.

Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), who is already running hard for the 1976 Democratic Party presidential nomination, has been in the forefront of this pack. On Jan. 27 he appeared on CBS television's "Face the Nation" and said that he "would consider" requiring that taxes saved by the 22 percent oil depletion allowance be used for "new exploration, drilling, new refineries, and so forth."

But the whole effect of the energy crisis has been to make precisely such investment more profitable than ever before. "One analyst of the industry views 1973 this way," wrote Ernest Holsendolph in the Feb. 3 *New York Times*. "'If you regard a refinery as a money making machine, the companies made money last year because they ran the machine as fast as it would go, limited by nothing but the supply of crude.'"

Jackson's proposal would result in more money making machines—something the oil companies are already planning on their own.

The power of the oil monopolies and their control of world markets are so great that many people are wondering whether the oil barons have simply withheld refinery products from the market. *Business Week* reported in its Jan. 26 issue:

"Speculative buyers who scrambled to snap up oil products in the limited 'spot' market late last year are watching those prices come tumbling down all over Europe. The reason is simply that oil storage tanks from Rotterdam

Truck strike spreading despite threats

The nationwide truckers' strike that began Feb. 1 has spread to more than 20 states. Attempts to intimidate the strikers began with the calling out of the National Guard in Pennsylvania, followed by Ohio and Michigan.

On Feb. 3 Attorney General William Saxbe vowed, "This handful of truckers is not going to bring this country to its knees." Support for the anti-trucker campaign came from another quarter as well. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons "came down hard against the strike, urging state governments to start cracking down on the strikers," according to the Feb. 5 Washington Post.

Fitzsimmons urged government officials not to "kow-tow to those who perpetrate violence and lawlessness to gain their goals."

Despite the attacks the strike appears to be spreading. An estimated 50,000 workers have been laid off in Pennsylvania alone, and other states are also beginning to feel the pressure. Below are reports from Militant correspondents in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Western Pa.

By BRETT MERKEY
and JOAN BUCHANAN

BEAVER VALLEY, Pa., — The Beaver Valley Truck Stop, near the Pennsylvania-Ohio border, is a picketing station for striking truckers.

The nationwide truck stoppage, organized by the Council of Independent Truckers and the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers—a group within the Teamsters union—has been most effective in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania Governor Milton Shapp called out the National Guard Feb. 1 to "prevent violence."

The picketers we spoke to, all Teamsters, vehemently objected to Shapp's attempt to lay the blame for violence on them. Ron Bowman put it this way:

"There's been violence all right—but if anyone's to blame it is the police, the freight companies who keep on trying to send trucks through the picket lines, and [Teamsters President Frank] Fitzsimmons, who is encouraging scabs by refusing to support and extend the strike. A scab driver was killed in the '67 strike and they blamed it on us for a year. Eventually it came out that some kids were responsible."

The picketers emphasized that the stoppage has been almost 100 percent effective in the Western Pennsylvania area because drivers are totally behind the strike, not because they fear being attacked. The independent owner-operators are demanding pay raises and the rollback of fuel prices—demands that are in the interests of all truckers.

Inflation has increased to the point that drivers are having trouble making ends meet. Moreover, the Teamster drivers have been working for more than seven months without a contract, during which the companies have not had to contribute to retirement and layoff funds.

Runaway inflation of fuel costs is the central issue in the minds of the strikers. All those interviewed thought fuel prices are being manipulated by the oil monopolies. They called the shortage a fake—a "man-made shortage."

Drivers related their own experiences on the Ohio and Pennsylvania turnpikes. Until the beginning of the work stoppage the Shapp administration claimed it had no way to provide sufficient fuel. Gas purchases on the state highways were restricted by law.



Angry truckers speak at Barberton, Ohio, meeting Jan. 27 at which strike vote was taken.

"But," said one driver, "if you left the highway to get fuel, you could get all you wanted. Only at a higher price. There's plenty of fuel; they just don't want to sell it at a reasonable price."

The phoniness of the fuel shortage was confirmed by Shapp as the strike deadline neared and the truckers stood firm. In a last-minute attempt to cool off the growing trucker militancy, Shapp lifted the restrictions on gas purchases on the highways.

"One day there was a fuel shortage and the next day there wasn't," a striking driver commented.

Carl Leihgeber, a Teamster for 18 years, said, "Why wasn't there any fuel shortage during the Vietnam war? The government was using all that fuel to carry on the war. Now when we finally got those kids out of Vietnam there's suddenly this shortage. It must be a fake."

Leihgeber and others are directing their energy to extending the work stoppage across the nation. Everyone agreed that for truckers, who usually pass through several states on a job, it does no good to win concessions in one state only.

They realize the difficulty of winning their demands on a national level. They point out the bias of the news media against them and the intense harassment by police that began during the last work stoppage in October and November. In fact, several picketers declined to give their names for fear that this would mark them for special attention by the police.

People considered to be leaders have been singled out by the police for arrests on such charges as "dirty license plates" and use of "obscene language." The obscene language charges are particularly irritating to the picketers since name-calling and other verbal harassment have been used frequently by state troopers to provoke confrontations.

There are also indications that the police are beginning to resort to more serious attacks. Recently police "found" Molotov cocktails near the Beaver Valley picketing station and immediately used this as an excuse to verbally and physically harass nearby truckers, attempting to frame them with possession.

The truckers stood their ground. Leihgeber pointed out some facts that did not fit the police interpretation. "They drove up across the lot, parked, and immediately opened up their trunk as if they knew they were going to put something in it."

"Then, in the dark, without any lights, they walked straight over to the place where they claimed to have

'found' the Molotov cocktails. They couldn't have found them at night so fast unless they knew exactly where to look."

In addition, the police have been ignoring all safety rules in order to encourage scabs. Sometimes they even escort unreliable scab rigs onto the highway.

On the question of the picketers' attitude to the Nixon administration, Teamster Morris Freed summed it up this way: "The public, especially truckers, are wondering if there is any honesty left in government. Nixon is totally bought off by the oil companies. The politicians are just like the union tops—once you stick your hand out for the easy money, you can't pull it back."

Eastern Pa.

By ROBERTA SCHERR

ALONG INTERSTATE 78, Pa. — "If the truckers win their case, it will be good for everyone." These were the sentiments of truck drivers interviewed Feb. 2 at a truck plaza between Harrisburg and Allentown, Pa.

The nationwide stoppage of the independent truckers appeared to be very effective. The only trucks this reporter saw running were company

Roberta Scherr is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

rigs from shippers such as Eastern Express.

The first two drivers I spoke with were "temporarily unemployed," as they put it. One was a driver for an independent broker in Bethel, Pa., and the other drove a company rig. (They asked that their names not be used.)

"The fuel prices have got to come down," the first one said. He estimated that fuel prices have risen 30 cents a gallon in the last six months.

I asked them what they thought was behind the energy crisis. "There's no shortage," they both emphasized. The Arab countries are being made into "the scapegoat for everything. It's an alibi. What we need is for the oil companies to make all their records public. Of course they're supposed to be doing that now, but who's to say they don't have one set of books for the public and another for themselves?"

This was the main theme that ran through the conversation. Another driver, from Springfield, Mo., told about a campaign by *Overdrive* magazine to call for a public audit

of the oil trusts.

National Guard jeeps were stationed at most overpasses, and helicopters over the main trucking routes. Many of the drivers I spoke with supported Governor Shapp's action in calling out the Guard. "It makes things safer for the drivers," said one.

"Right now it's open season for anyone who has a thing against truckers. They know that if anyone gets killed the truckers will get blamed."

All the drivers agreed that "the government has to make the move now," to meet the truckers' demands. But they have little faith in the present leaders of this country.

In his State of the Union message, Nixon "said the same things he always says—nothing," said a middle-aged driver from Pennsylvania. The various government investigations "have just shown what everyone already knew—the oil companies are cheating, but the government won't do anything," he went on.

The truckers stressed the justice of their action. "We didn't do this to gain popularity, but if we win it will mean lower fuel prices; there will be lower prices for heating oil, and lower prices generally. Something has got to give, and we're trying to move prices back down," explained the middle-aged driver.

Ohio

By HERMAN KIRSCH
and JIM SARGARD

CLEVELAND—"The government is like an old Mississippi mule. If you want to get his attention, you have to hit him on the head with a baseball bat."

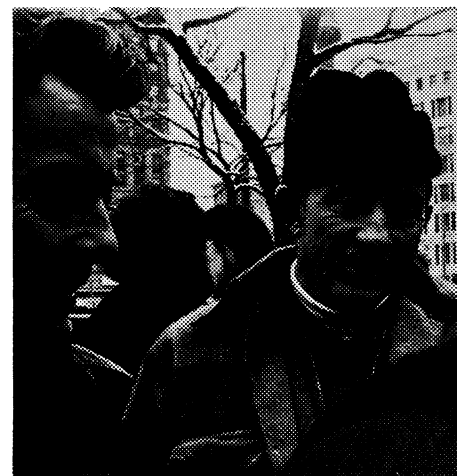
So said Bob Weitzel, area coordinator for the Council of Independent Truckers (CIT) in a rally Feb. 2 at Cleveland's Public Square, where he talked about CIT's futile negotiations with the state and federal governments.

Also speaking at the rally, which was sponsored by *Modern Times*, an underground newspaper, was George Rynn, president of CIT. Rynn told the audience, "The fuel crisis is the biggest ripoff this country has ever had. It makes the Teapot Dome scandal look like child's play."

The Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) also voted to strike against skyrocketing fuel costs and to give full support to CIT. Unlike CIT, which is made up of independent drivers who own their own trucks, FASH is a labor organization with 100 percent membership in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Almost immediately after the strike began, Republic Steel Corporation and Youngstown Sheet and Tube reported that truck movements to and from their plants had dried up.

Continued on page 22



Militant/Herman Kirsch

George Rynn (left), head of the Council of Independent Truckers, and Bob Weitzel, CIT area coordinator.

Dennis Banks, Mark Lane address forum on Wounded Knee struggle & current trial

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Two hundred and twenty-five people packed the weekly Militant Forum here Feb. 1 to hear Dennis Banks, defendant in the Wounded Knee trial, and Mark Lane, a defense attorney.

The forum was one of the largest ever held in the Twin Cities and raised \$150 for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. It attracted considerable attention.

A prison librarian from Montana had earlier called the Twin Cities forum after reading in *The Militant* that Banks and Lane would be speaking. The librarian asked that a tape of the forum be sent to inmates at the prison who belong to the North American Indian League.

Banks began his speech by announcing, "To the North American Indian League, this whole evening will be dedicated to you."

Banks, along with defendant Russell Means, faces a 10-count federal indictment that could send him to prison for life for his leadership role in the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee.

Banks told the forum that last year's



Militant/Greg Cornell

Dennis Banks, leader of American Indian Movement, describes Wounded Knee occupation to crowd of 225 at Minneapolis Militant Forum.

occupation had been preceded by a two-day gathering of headsmen, medicine men, and council members on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

The meeting followed decisions by the U.S. government to allow Dick Wilson, president of Pine Ridge Reservation, to preside over his own impeachment hearing, Banks said. Members of the Oglala Sioux tribe had charged Wilson with 11 crimes, including embezzlement of tribal money, embezzlement of government property, nepotism, and fraud.

"Wilson declared himself innocent of the charges," Banks said, "and leveled charges against three of the tribal council members who dared to impeach him."

Banks said the gathering came at a time when the Sioux faced "constant abuse, constant mistreatment," including murder, compounded by a situation in which the government controlled virtually everything on the reservation.

The Indians, he said, "had reached

a point in history where it was intolerable to continue one day more of that kind of existence."

The meeting, which grew in size, decided to caravan to Porcupine, S.D. "When we got to Wounded Knee, we stopped there for a moment and we suddenly realized that we could go no further," Banks said.

Wounded Knee was the site of an 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians by the U.S. Army.

Banks recalled that during the occupation last year, many came to Wounded Knee to help—"white warriors, Black warriors, Chicano warriors, and the Asian medical team that came from San Francisco."

He said it was important that the occupation included non-Indians who had lived under the same type of corruption, slum conditions, poverty, and mistreatment, and under a government that had also sold them down the river.

"Perhaps," Banks said, "one hundred years from now somebody will pick up a history book and look at Wound-

ed Knee of 1973 and truly recall an era of dark ages, but that a united effort began as a result of Wounded Knee—that all races began to expose the Wounded Knees in the United States of America and the Wounded Knees all across this planet, and that they joined in their final effort to bring about justice, not only for American Indians, but for everybody."

Defense attorney Lane, in his speech, emphasized that contrary to the government's attempts to portray the occupation as an act by "outsiders," the Indian leaders now on trial had been invited to come to Wounded Knee by the Oglala Sioux.

He said that 36 of the 52 families that had been living in Wounded Knee were allowed out of town past the roadblocks during the occupation to go shopping. They were assured by marshals that they would be allowed back in that evening.

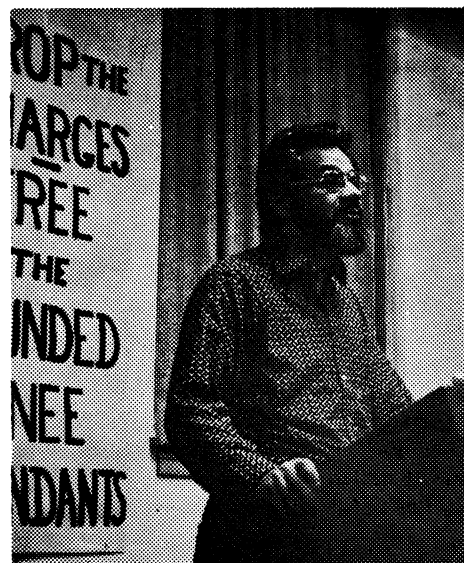
"They came back that evening," Lane said, "and everyone was told by the marshals that they could never get back in again."

Lane said a petition was circulated by the families demanding that the roadblocks set up by Dick Wilson's goon squads be taken down, that the goons be arrested, and that the families be allowed back in. The petition stated support for the American Indian Movement.

The petition was signed by every person over the age of 10 among 35 of the families, according to Lane. He said the thirty-sixth family consisted of one man who did not sign because his home had been burned by the government and he no longer considered himself a Wounded Knee resident.

"To my knowledge," Lane said, "not one word of this information has ever been published anywhere."

Russell Means, also on trial in St. Paul, had been scheduled to speak at the forum, but had to return to the Pine Ridge Reservation for a final week of campaigning in his bid to unseat Dick Wilson for the tribal presidency.



Militant/Greg Cornell

Defense attorney Mark Lane refutes charge that Indian leaders were 'outsiders.'

Jury chosen; defense exposes FBI harassment

ST. PAUL, MINN. — Jury selection in the Wounded Knee trial is nearing completion here, with the government giving every indication that its view of a fair trial is whatever it will take to get a conviction.

Federal District Judge Fred Nichol denied a motion for dismissal of seven of the counts this week. Attorneys for Russell Means and Dennis Banks, the defendants, contended that the Pine Ridge Reservation, rather than the federal government, had jurisdiction over these seven counts. Nichol said he felt otherwise.

Nichol accused defense lawyers of staging arguments in the courtroom for the press, after the defense objected to Nichol's decision not to seat one juror because he was a convicted felon.

Defense counsel William Kunstler objected, telling the judge that the defense's protests were legitimate.

At a Feb. 1 news conference, Kunstler and defense attorney Mark Lane charged that 75 FBI agents had been brought in to screen prospective jurors.

The FBI later denied the charge, but Richard Hurd, a U. S. prosecuting attorney from South Dakota who is representing the government, admitted in a newspaper interview that the U.S. attorney's office in Minnesota had checked out some of the jurors.

At the same news conference, Russell

Means said the FBI had intercepted a letter sent to him by a woman he didn't know who lived in Hollywood, Calif. Means said the woman later informed him that because of the letter the FBI had harassed her and her landlord.

Kunstler told newsmen the case was similar to that of Lori Paton, the 16-year-old New Jersey student who was investigated by the FBI after she sent a letter to the Socialist Workers Party.

In Means's case, the FBI had an answer the same day, a virtual admission of guilt. "It is alleged that the FBI improperly interviewed a Lee Ann Fascio in Hollywood, Calif.," the FBI said in a brief statement. "The truth is that we did have occasion to interview Miss Fascio in connection with an official matter. The agents, however, did not in any way harass or intimidate her during this interview."

In another charge, Dennis Banks, executive director of the American Indian Movement, said the prosecution had furnished the defense with a letter written by Carter Camp, a former AIM official. Banks said the letter, addressed to members of AIM, was intercepted and seized by the FBI last September while Camp was in a South Dakota jail.

Banks said that as a result of the letter, the defense suspected that Camp will testify for the prosecution. In court, Kunstler filed a motion to suppress

the letter; he said it had been held by the U.S. in violation of a court order issued last October that mandated the government to turn over to the defense documents relevant to the case.

Government attorneys said they would oppose suppressing the letter because they might want to use it as evidence. They denied they had asked or expected Camp to testify for the government.

In an Associated Press story, Camp was quoted as saying that he did not intend to testify for the prosecution.

The 12-member jury has been selected, and Nichol was questioning prospective alternate jurors at *Militant* press time. The jury, made up of 11 whites and a Chicano, is expected to begin hearing evidence the week of Feb. 11. A demonstration is scheduled outside the courthouse the day opening statements are heard.

One juror who did not get seated last week was Alton Anderson, an electrical foreman from St. Paul who is part Indian. Anderson told the judge that he felt minorities were treated unfairly, and that he would be very careful before voting for a conviction that could send the defendants to prison.

Anderson was temporarily chosen as an alternate but the next day had an opportunity to serve as a regular juror when one of the 12 original jurors was excused by the court.

The prosecution used its preemptory challenge against Anderson—the only prospective juror with Indian blood out of more than 100 interviewed.

Banks called this "a tragic blow for the defense" and an indication of the kind of justice the American Indian Movement has been receiving from the government.

—G. C.



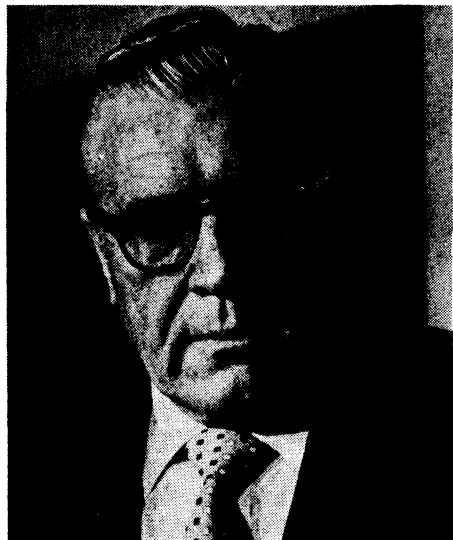
Militant/Harry Ring

SWP & YSA demand that FBI director answer new questions about wiretapping

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

The FBI has been hit with new requests for documents and tapes by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP and YSA are suing the FBI, and other government agencies and officials, for illegal harassment of their members and supporters.

In its initial answer to the socialists' charges, the government admitted to FBI-conducted electronic surveillance of SWP members from 1945 to 1963,



FBI's KELLEY: In hot water for surveillance of socialists.

and to an "SWP Disruption Program."

On the basis of these admissions, attorneys for the SWP and YSA are now demanding that FBI Director Clarence Kelley reply under oath to a series of new questions, or "interrogatories," concerning the FBI's electronic surveillance program. Kelley is asked to supply the following information:

- The plaintiffs who were under surveillance.
- The surveillance devices used and the names of the persons conducting the spying.
- Whether the surveillance was authorized by court warrant.
- If not so authorized, the reason for the surveillance.
- Whether the surveillance continued after 1963.

In addition, the attorneys are demanding all transcripts of taped conversations as a result of this surveillance. A favorable precedent for this request was set Jan. 11, when U.S. District Court Judge Aubrey Robinson ruled that the government must turn over wiretap documents sought in a suit by the Chicago Seven defendants and several other groups.

In addition to admitting electronic surveillance, the FBI acknowledged placing a mail cover on the SWP national headquarters in 1973. The request for documents made by the SWP and YSA includes a demand for all the reports sent to the FBI as a result of this mail cover, and all documents on action taken by the FBI stemming from these reports.

Four other documents requested are presidential directives cited by the government as authorization for FBI policies in "subversive" matters. The directives were issued on Sept. 6, 1939; Jan. 8, 1943; July 24, 1950; and Dec. 15, 1953.

The SWP and YSA have also filed papers asking Kelley to admit that FBI agents obtained the names of persons signing nominating petitions for SWP candidates in Washington, Ohio, and the District of Columbia in 1972 or 1973.

In all three cases, local officials admitted supplying such names to the

FBI as a "routine" matter. This violation of the SWP's rights produced a particularly big outcry in Washington state, where Secretary of State A. Ludlow Kramer admitted giving the FBI the names of persons attending a nominating convention for the SWP. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other organizations have spoken out in protest of this practice.

Another charge made by the SWP and YSA is that the government singles out their members in the Army for discriminatory treatment. The government denied this in its answer to the suit but conceded that members or supporters of the SWP would be subject to "investigation."

In response to this, the SWP and YSA have filed a request that the secretary of defense, James Schlesinger, and the secretary of the Army, Howard Callaway, admit that "Servicemen, who are discharged on the ground that retaining them in the service would not be clearly consistent with the interests of national security, do not receive honorable discharge."

These new requests for information and a parallel suit by a New Jersey high school student, have plunged the FBI in hot water. The latter suit, filed on behalf of Lori Paton, demands redress for an FBI investigation conducted against her solely because she sent a letter to the SWP for a school project.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, *New York Post*, and *Chicago Sun-Times* have all run editorials supporting Paton's suit and condemning the police-state tactics, such as mail covers, used to isolate the SWP and other groups.

The Paton case is also receiving international attention, as indicated by

an article headlined "FBI spies on a schoolgirl" in the Jan. 29 *Melbourne Herald*, in Australia.

The *Nation* reports on the Paton case and on the FBI admissions of spying on the Socialist Workers Party in its Feb. 9 issue.

Constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin is representing the SWP and YSA in this case.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing publicity and fund raising for the suit. To contact the committee send in the coupon on this page.



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

() Please send me more information on this suit.

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

() Enclosed is \$_____to help cover expenses.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

FBI methods revealed in Media, Pa., papers

As part of their suit against government Watergating, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have demanded the papers, tapes, and records on COINTELPRO, the FBI spy project to "disrupt" radical groups, and on a secret FBI conference on the new left held in 1970.

Attorneys for the SWP and YSA have also presented FBI Director Clarence Kelley with a series of questions, or "interrogatories," on the nature of COINTELPRO's "SWP Disruption Program" and on the participants in the 1970 new left conference.

Kelley will have a hard time trying to deny the existence of the documents requested by the socialists, since some FBI reports on these subjects have already been made public. The March 1972 *Win* magazine, for example, printed documents "liberated" from the Media, Pa., FBI office in a 1971 raid by the "Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI."

We are reprinting here portions of the Media FBI documents that discuss the SWP and YSA and the 1970 new left conference.

The following is from a memo on "Security Investigations of Individuals & Organizations" dated Sept. 16, 1970:

"During the recent inspection this office was instructed to separate security matter supervision to create a 'New Left' and an 'Old Left' desk.

"Squad #3 was designated to be the 'Old Left' desk. While retaining espionage and foreign intelligence matters,

it will handle the investigations of all organizations and individuals who fall in the 'Old Left' category. Generally, 'Old Left' means the Communist Party and the various splinter and Trotskyite groups which have been in existence for many years. The youth groups and satellites of the Communist Party and these splinter groups are also to be handled in the 'Old Left' category. . . .

"Squad #4 was designated to handle 'New Left' matters which includes both organizations and individuals. This is a relatively broad term insofar as newly formed organizations with leftist or anarchist connotations. Among other things, desk #4 will be responsible for such matter as SDS, STAG [Student Agitation], underground newspapers, communes, commune investigations, the Resistance. . . ."

The following memo, from the Philadelphia FBI office to the Cincinnati FBI office, concerns an investigation of a woman thought to be in the Young Socialist Alliance. Following her name is the designation "SM-YSA," meaning Subversive Matter-YSA.

". . . A pretext telephone call (pretext of a friend passing through Philadelphia, Pa.) was made to the residence of subject on 11-20-70 by SA [Special Agent] James L. O'Connor. Subject's mother informed that subject is presently working as a receptionist. . . . She further advised that

captioned subject had majored in journalism while at Ohio University. . . .

"LEADS: Cincinnati Division

"At Athens, Ohio

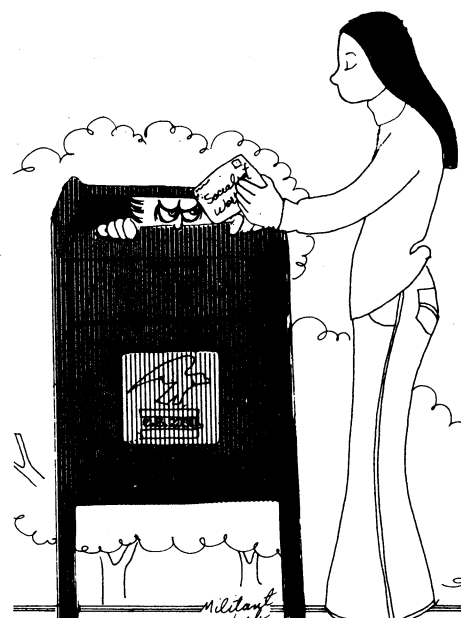
"Will review records at the School of Journalism for background information regarding subject and conduct pertinent investigation as set forth in referenced letters. . . ."

The following item, dated Sept. 16, 1970, was contained in an internal FBI newsletter dubbed 'New Left Notes.' This report deals with the discussion at the FBI conference on the

new left held Sept. 10 and 11, 1970:

". . . There was pretty general consensus that more interviews with these subjects and hangers-on [in the new left] are in order for plenty of reasons, chief of which are it will enhance the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an FBI Agent behind every mailbox. In addition, some will be overcome by the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agent and volunteer to tell all—perhaps on a continuing basis. The Director has okayed PSI's [Potential Security Informants] and SI's [Security Informants] age 18-21. We have been blocked off from this critical age group in the past. Let us take advantage of this opportunity. . . .

"Again on the subject of informants, there have been a few instances where security informants in the New Left got carried away during a demonstration, assaulted police, etc. The key word in informants, according to Bureau supervision, is 'control.' They define this to mean that while our informants should be privy to everything going on and should rise to the maximum level of their ability in the New Left Movement, they should not become the person who carries the gun, throws the bomb, does the robbery or by some specific violative, overt act becomes a deeply involved participant. This is a judgment area and any actions which seem to border on it should be discussed."



'An FBI Agent behind every mailbox'

Speech by Andrew Pulley

'The only way to end Watergating: Take power out of hands of rich'

The following are excerpts from a speech given by Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, to a meeting of 500 students at the University of Connecticut at Storrs on Jan. 30. Pulley appeared on a panel with David Shumacher, ABC-TV's White House correspondent.

The topic of tonight's symposium is "The Constitutional Crisis and the Presidency." I agree that there is a crisis in this country, a very deep-going political crisis for the tiny minority who rule the country.

But I do not agree that the crisis can be understood simply in terms of the Constitution. The debate over whether Nixon has upset the "balance of power" between the executive and legislative branch is merely a reflection of more fundamental social and political problems confronting the masses of Americans.

The growing concentration of power in the executive branch of the capitalist government has been going on for a long time, not only in this country, but in other imperialist countries as well. This concentration of power—strengthening the federal repressive apparatus, growing intervention into the economy, executive authority to make war without even the semblance of democratic discussion—this concentration has been carried out with the approval of the entire capitalist class. Most of the present powers of the president were given to the White House

This is the crisis: the fact that people's respect for politicians and their belief that the government is working in their interests to solve the economic and social problems confronting them have dropped to an all-time low. Growing numbers understand that this is not a democratic government—that it is not run in the interests of the majority of people.

Why Watergate happened

Why were the "plumbers" set up? Why are the FBI and the CIA so busy going around bugging people, harassing them, and infiltrating groups? What was happening in the late '60s that led Nixon to intensify the use of these methods? It was a period of rising protest against the policies of this government, and the government was determined to stop these protests.

Beginning in the 1950s, Black Americans, downtrodden and oppressed for centuries, rose up in mass mobilizations demanding equality and "Freedom Now." With the rise of Black consciousness and the development of militant organizations of Blacks, the government stepped up the use of police-state measures to try to beat back the Black struggle.

In response to the ghetto rebellions, the government used the National Guard and police to crush and terrorize the Black communities. The FBI launched the "Get Martin Luther King" program.

With the escalation of the war against the Vietnamese, the antiwar movement developed. Its persistent mass demonstrations in the streets—along with the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese—forced Washington to alter its military strategy and bring the troops home.

Attempts to beat back the gains of the Black, antiwar, and other progressive social movements were behind Washington's expansion of the secret police apparatuses and operations.

Political assassinations

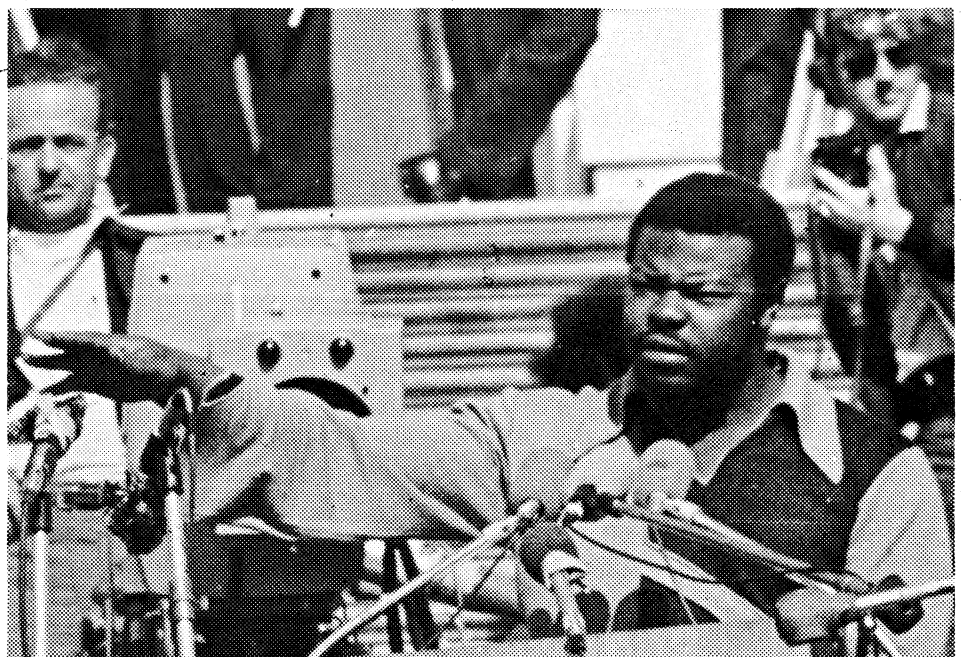
These included political assassinations, such as the gunning down of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton of the Black Panther Party and many other Panthers. These are some of the most pernicious acts of Democratic and Republican Watergating.

There are others. I know because I have been and I am currently a victim of these undemocratic acts.

In high school, because of my militant antiracist views, I was hounded by the school authorities and the state juvenile officials. I was forced to go into the Army to escape imprisonment for my role in an action in my high school protesting the assassination of Martin Luther King.

In the Army, I and seven other GIs ended up in the stockade for our role in building a GI antiwar organization at Fort Jackson. Initially there were nine of us in the stockade. One turned out to be an agent who had tried to get us to do illegal activities. We were freed as a result of a protest movement built in our defense.

I ran for vice-president in 1972 on the Socialist Workers Party ticket along with Linda Jenness. In spite of the fact that our party is a legal



Militant/Len Goodman

Andrew Pulley addressing April 24, 1971, antiwar rally of over half million. Government responded to rise of Black and antiwar movements with organized plans for stepped-up repression.

party and was on the ballot in 23 states, we and our supporters were constantly harassed by the FBI and government agents.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have initiated a suit against Nixon and the rest of the Watergate gang to fight this harassment. As a result of that suit, we have already gotten government documents that *prove* that the government carries out wiretapping, harassment, and mail tampering against us.

The government now claims that all such activities are legal on the grounds that the SWP is "subversive."

It is crucial that every supporter of democratic rights grasp the full meaning of this government response to the SWP's suit. If the government can get away with these violations of our rights, then what about yours?

Our suit charges the government with many other crimes against us, including potentially deadly armed attacks. For example, in 1970 a gang of counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles, known to work hand in glove with the CIA, attacked our campaign headquarters in Los Angeles. Armed with machine guns and pistols, they forced those present to lie on the floor as they poured gasoline all over the place and set it ablaze.

Ervin's cover-up

The Senate Watergate committee has been investigating a lot of different aspects of Watergate.

But what they have not investigated, and what no Senate committee has investigated, is such questions as who conspired with James Earl Ray to kill Martin Luther King? Was his murder linked to the FBI's "Get King" operation?

Who killed Malcolm X? Evidence points toward government involvement. Why doesn't the Senate committee investigate these and other political murders? These are the *real* victims of Watergate crimes.

The Senate Watergate committee has important documents that bear on the SWP and YSA's suit. One is the full text—some 43 pages—of what has been described as an "assessment of

the existing security threat, our current intelligence coverage of this threat, and areas where our coverage is inadequate."

This document was the heart of the notorious 1970 Huston plan. It was the basis for intensifying spying and repression against Black Panthers, antiwar activists, and others.

But Senator Ervin and his committee refuse to make this document and others public on the grounds of "national security"—the same excuse used by Nixon!

Socialist campaigns

The Socialist Workers Party is running candidates throughout the country this year for local, state, and national office.

Among other things, our candidates are demanding an investigation of the murders of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Fred Hampton. We are also demanding an end to harassment of our party and of people who support us or are interested in knowing about socialist ideas.

We believe this harassment occurs precisely because we are posing an alternative to the corrupt policies of the Republicans and Democrats. The government wants to prevent us from reaching the many people who are looking for solutions to government corruption and secrecy, the energy crisis, and the deterioration of their standard of living.

Our party advocates taking the money that now goes to the military and police and using it to build homes, schools, hospitals, child-care centers, and mass transportation systems.

We would open the books of the oil companies for the public to find the truth about the energy crisis. We call for nationalizing the oil and other energy industries and running them under the control of the workers.

We call for increasing workers' wages with each rise in the cost of living. We would move against unemployment by shortening the work-week with no reduction in pay.

We would end the double standard of justice that currently exists: one standard for the super-rich and their

Continued on page 22



KING & MALCOLM X: SWP is demanding investigation into government complicity in assassinations of these Black leaders.

by Congress.

For example, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1965, giving Johnson and Nixon the authority to deploy troops in Vietnam and savagely bomb the Indochinese.

The War Powers Act, passed by Congress last year, permits the president to commit military forces for 90 days before coming to Congress for an OK to continue a war.

The Omnibus Crime Bill, passed by Congress in 1968, permits the police to burst into people's homes without a warrant and without knocking. Congress has been giving the presidents dictatorial powers for a long time.

Well, what is the crisis? According to the latest polls, only 27 percent of the American people are satisfied with Nixon's conduct. Seventy-nine percent agree that he is a crook.

Nixon's war budget

Nixon's real program has been revealed by his new federal budget. It contrasts sharply with the "peace and prosperity" verbiage in his State of the Union address. "War and austerity" would be a more apt description.

Expenditures for war will be the highest in U.S. history. The White House says the Pentagon's share of the budget is "only" \$85.8-billion. But to this must be added \$6.8-billion for long-term Pentagon contracts; \$6.2-billion to "supplement" the current year's appropriation (this includes the \$2.2-billion worth of arms airlifted to Israel during the October war); and \$1.5-billion of the Atomic Energy Commission's appropriation that actually goes for military research.

Neither the detente with Moscow and Peking nor the highly publicized "arms limitation" agreements pose any obstacle to the Pentagon strategists. Billions of dollars are to be poured into developing new bombers, missile submarines, and nuclear warheads. Also included is \$1.45-billion in military aid to the Saigon regime—showcase of Nixon-style "peace."

This total of more than \$100-billion is the cost of policing the world for U.S. imperialism—paid for by taxing the American workers.

The poor, people on welfare, the aged and sick, students, and the growing legions of unemployed get token consideration at best. Demands to increase federal spending for their needs will be denounced as "inflationary."

This Nixon budget, unlike last year's, does not include open declarations that social programs must be slashed. The impact of Watergate and the widespread public rejection of racist anti-social-welfare demagoguery have made that approach politically inexpedient. Now the inadequacy of social spending is more disguised.

For example, the budget shows an increase in funding for job aid and training programs. But through juggling of budget categories and similar sleight of hand, the total actually available for these programs has been *decreased* from \$2.5-billion in fiscal 1973 to \$1.6-billion for fiscal 1975. Only \$350-million is slated to be spent to provide public service jobs.

What Nixon promised would be "the strongest federal commitment ever to the improvement of mass transit" turns out to be a piddling \$1.4-billion. And there is *not one penny* in the budget for his vaunted national health-insurance program.

In opposition to Nixon's budget, the Socialist Workers Party 1974 candidates are demanding an end to all war spending. These billions should be used for massive aid to the impoverished Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, and for a vast public works program to build schools, homes, hospitals, mass transit, and child-care facilities.

Instead of relying on inadequate unemployment benefits, the SWP candidates call for providing jobs for all at union wages through such a public works program and by shortening the workweek at no reduction in pay.

In addition, the entire burden of taxation should be shifted to those who can afford it, by eliminating all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 and imposing a 100 percent tax on all income over \$30,000.

Right to privacy

Somehow Nixon managed to keep a straight face during his State of the Union message when he proposed "a major initiative" to safeguard "the right of personal privacy."

What a fraudulent promise! While spouting phrases about privacy as a "cardinal principle of American liberty," Nixon has sent his henchmen to spy on, wiretap, and burglarize anyone who disagrees with his policies. The prime targets of these acts, which have occurred both under Nixon's and Democratic administrations, have been the socialists, Black activists, antiwar fighters, and other opponents of government policies.

The Nixon administration has admitted, for example, a government campaign of harassment dating back to 1945 against the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, including electronic surveillance, a "disruption program," and mail tampering. These illegal practices have been brought to light through the suit filed against government Watergating by the SWP and YSA.

But the government insists that this spying is *legal* because the Socialist Workers Party is on the attorney general's "subversive" list.

If Nixon really wanted to take "a major initiative" to protect personal privacy, he would start by getting rid of this list and all the police-state tactics that go with it.

Likes energy coverage

Congratulations for your excellent coverage of the "energy crisis."

I would like to call attention to an aspect of energy pricing that is attracting less publicity than it deserves. This is the uneven rate structure for electricity, which allows large buyers to pay approximately one-third the rate paid by small homeowners and renters. There is no reason why consumers should have to pay more than business owners who use a larger share of the nation's electricity.

E. N.

Albuquerque, N. M.

Taxes & parties

Unlike the 1972 federal tax forms, this year you have no option to pick which party you can give \$1 of your tax money to. Last year you could designate not only the two major parties but also the minor parties that ran for president.

When I contacted Representative Robert Kastenmeier's (D-Wis.) office about this problem, all I could find out was that the method of allocation of the Presidential Campaign Fund was not yet determined—it may be the basis of votes.

I feel that this method of pooling the money with no option for the individual to designate where it is going is highly discriminatory. It is mostly aimed at third parties, which are already discriminated against by unfair election laws. Even those who are Democrats, for example, will have part of their money given to the GOP under this plan.

Those who are concerned where their money will go should *not* check the presidential campaign box in line 8 of form 1040.

R. S.

Madison, Wis.

Unyielding on Palestine

The Militant's stand on the Palestine question demonstrates this paper's moral courage and depth of insight. At the present, there is really nothing to be gained materially from supporting the Palestinian people and their cause, who are being betrayed by practically everybody—some of their own leaders, Arab governments, the Soviets and their echoes, and the "free world." I commend this paper's staff and contributors on their unyielding fortitude, and urge every Palestinian to read it regularly, and with care.

H. Selwyn

Kokomo, Ind.

Indonesian student movement

The Feb. 1 *Militant* comments on recent youth protest in Indonesia. "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."

Especially in its generality, I disagree with this statement. The 1965 Indonesian coup should be put in the context of the U.S.-led international capitalist offensive against the colonial revolution. It is fairly well known that the American CIA was working to overthrow the Sukarno government.

Indonesian CIA-hirelings, Indonesian-speaking CIA agents from the Philippines and elsewhere organized a right wing among the students. In the absence of revolutionary leadership they were able to gradually mobilize many students into hysterical, anticommunist actions. The secret international counterrevolutionary agencies of the U.S. ruling class are proud of their role in the Indonesian coup and massacre—let them take the credit for their bloodbath.

Dayne Goodwin

Logan, Utah

Keep the change

I am an old reader of *The Militant*. I have been living in Paris for the past six months, and I have seen *The Militant* frequently. As Malcolm X said, "*The Militant* gets around."

The trouble is that with the latest foul-up of the world capitalist system, the currency crisis, I am not able to figure out the exact amount I should pay. Enclosed is a check for \$20. Could you apply whichever rate is fastest and closest to this sum for four months? Please keep the change for *The Militant*.

M. H.

Paris, France

Helping spread the word

While at a party recently I was handed a copy of *The Militant*. I became more and more interested with the discovery that we share many of the same opinions. Your paper is refreshingly sincere and frank. Congratulations on your courageous journalism.

As I have not yet seen *The Militant* being sold here on the Carnegie-Mellon campus, I am requesting a weekly bundle of 40 *Militants*. Some friends have agreed to help with the sales.

Ralph Shunk

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Antiwar demo in Nashville

Twenty-five people picketed outside the federal courthouse in Nashville, Tenn., on Jan. 26, the day before the anniversary of the signing of the Vietnam peace accords, to protest continued support of the Thieu dictatorship by the U.S. and to demand the release of the more than 200,000 political prisoners held by Saigon. The demonstration was organized by the Nashville Peace Coalition and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Although the two organizations took differing stands on the validity of the peace accords (with the NPC being for them and the YSA against them), they were united in their opposition to the Thieu regime and in support of the political prisoners.

Hal Noyes

Nashville, Tenn.

Incredible stand?

I intend to let my subscription die, expire, or be cancelled, whichever is more convenient for you.

I do not endorse your methods of persuasion, nor do I want a socialist government. Also, your incredible stand on the Arab-Israeli conflict belies belief. Support of a militaristic (who shot first?) nation that is now



Puerto Rican feminists speak out

Of the 25,000 students at the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico in 1970, 60 percent were women. Women constituted a majority in education, humanities, pharmacy, and the social sciences. But even in the "traditionally male" studies, large numbers of women enrolled. In the natural sciences, for instance, there were 708 men and 602 women; in law, 311 men and 126 women.

The large percentage of female university students in Puerto Rico was the subject of an article in the Dec. 24 issue of the magazine *Avance*, published in San Juan. Author Gaspar Bermúdez, however, reported the increase in female students not with pride, but with terror. He refers to the increase as an "invasion," "domination," and "the female offensive." The phenomenon takes on such an ominous character in his mind that Bermúdez continually refers to the 60 percent as "two-thirds."

More important than his mathematical failings, however, are the reasons he puts forward for his alarm. "This imbalance between male and female must have an impact on university problems," he writes. "Problems of fierce female competition, of homosexuality, etc."

A university is headed in the wrong direction, according to Bermúdez, when one section of the student population sees it as a place to "look for husbands" or to kill time until "they grow up."

"From any point of view," he concludes, "it is a very expensive way to entertain a section of the youth."

But some Puerto Rican feminists have a different point of view. In the Jan. 21 issue of *Avance* two Puerto Rican journalists, Norma Valle and Margarita

Babb, take issue with Bermúdez. "Does the author think that women should accept their oppression, accepting the roles imposed on them without aspiring to a university education and equal participation in society? Does the author suggest that the registration of women in the University of Puerto Rico be restricted? Does the author think that women are not human beings with a right to education?" they ask.

Valle and Babb point out that while women are a majority of the students at the U. of Puerto Rico, they certainly don't "dominate" it. The majority of professors are still male and women "have no power within the structure of the university and have not yet used their organized, massive power."

The idea that women go to school to "look for husbands" is absurd, say the feminist authors. Fifty percent of the labor force in manufacturing and public service is female, and 30 percent of the general labor force is female.

"Women, just like men, use their education," write the women authors. "And if they do not use it to a greater extent it is only because patriarchal society prevents their full development as human beings."

As an example of this, they cited a study by the Puerto Rican Commission on Civil Rights that shows that the majority of Puerto Rican women are "under-employed," meaning that they work at jobs that are inferior to their intellectual capacities and academic accomplishments.

Finally, in answer to Bermúdez's statement that public funds are wasted on educating women, Valle and Babb retort, "But we understand that if public funds are *not* spent in educating women, then society has wasted 51 percent of its human resources."

threatening to, indeed has, cut off our oil supply must qualify one for Bellevue. Now that the Arabs are losing, they don't cotton to having a war they can't afford. Neither side seems to be thinking of the people they are "protecting" for a mere strip of land. Ridiculous, isn't it?

Tom Hobbs
Tennessee

Nothing short of robbery

I find most interesting your review of the History of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Union and your concise analysis of the so-called energy crisis, as nothing short of robbery of the American people by the major oil corporations.

John Gutermann
Long Island, N. Y.

No lies

I am renewing my subscription for the fourth time. I have read your paper for three years and have yet to see printed a lie or any misleading information. You have consistently analysed events and presented your readers with clear, logical, revolutionary socialist alternatives. With such a record, I am surprised that the government has not found an excuse to outlaw you.

Jim McLean
Victoria, B. C., Canada

Albert Jenner

The fact that the House Judiciary Committee has Albert Jenner Jr. as a member shows that those congressmen who are considering impeachment of Nixon are not interested in protecting the democratic rights of student demonstrators.

Albert Jenner was the "hearing officer" in the "Jenner hearings," which victimized students at the University of Illinois-Urbana campus after the anti-General Electric demonstrations there in 1970. I was a defendant in those hearings and know that besides protecting the "right" of GE to recruit on campus, the "evidence" against the defendants was based primarily on self-incrimination. Those who did not cooperate in their own prosecution had this taken into account when the sentences were handed down.

For myself, I endorse the suit of the Political Rights Defense Fund. It is using the discontent over Watergate to extend political rights to the movement, rather than tailing after any wing of the capitalist misrulers.

Bill Warren
Minonk, Ill.

Will pass it on

I received my copy of *The Militant*. I'll pass it on for the whole cellblock to read. Thanks much.

A prisoner
Illinois

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.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Steel negotiations begin

On the surface everything was formal and proper when negotiations for a new three-year wage contract in basic steel opened in Washington Jan. 30. The chief negotiators, United Steelworkers of America President I.W. Abel and R. Heath Larry of U.S. Steel, held their customary joint press conference, each in his own way expressing confidence that an agreement would be reached by April.

Both are anxious to prove the merits of their "experimental negotiating agreement," the pact the two of them made last year that outlaws strikes and imposes arbitration.

Neither wants government intervention of any kind during these negotiations nor after their settlement, they said. But their fake protests do not hide the fact that both Abel and Larry are locked in a conspiracy with government agencies to keep wages down and raise prices.

Larry was adamant against the government's economic stabilization program. He said, "If the government was in charge, even crime wouldn't pay," a curious statement that contradicts all known facts about the capitalist government and the Steel Trust. Only last year U.S. Steel alone knocked off \$325.8-million, more than doubling 1972 profits, all with the aid and protection of the government's economic policy. And if anyone thinks there is no crime in this, the number of workers killed and maimed in steel mills every year is stark testimony to the extent and brutality of it.

Official statistics claim the average wage of 400,000 workers in basic steel is \$5.78 an hour. But steelworkers know the vast majority is paid less. Wages today buy 3.3 percent less worth of daily necessities than a year ago, even by government figures, and prices are expected to climb faster this year than last.

Under the Abel-Larry "experimental negotiating agreement," steelworkers are guaranteed a 3 percent annual raise. Abel says this is a floor for this round of bargaining, but Larry disputes this.

Larry believes 3 percent yearly wage raises and 107 percent annual leaps in corporate profits, as shown by the 1973 statistics, are proper and natural.

Steelworkers have no direct voice in these negotiations, which employers and government alike expect to determine wage rates for the next three years.

Some hope the steel settlement, coming a full three months before the Aug. 1 expiration of the present contract, will set a pattern for other industries. About five million workers are covered by union contracts that expire this year, including coal mining, railroad, longshore, aerospace, communications, clothing, and sections of the building trades.

The surface appearance of confidence and harmony in the steel industry negotiations is deceptive and offers no assurance that steelworkers, or workers in any other industry, will accept what is being foisted on them.

There are signs that steelworkers will not take the new contract when the present one expires. The four-day walkout of coke oven workers at Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill in Baltimore, timed to coincide with the opening of steel negotiations, was lightning before the storm.

A few days before Abel and Larry met in Washington a meeting of some of their subjects was held in Chicago at the big USWA Local 65 hall. The purpose of the meeting was "to inform people of what really happened in the last steelworkers election for district director in District 31." It was called by "Steelworkers for Sadlowski."

Ed Sadlowski is a young USWA staff member who is challenging last year's crooked election in the largest district of the United Steelworkers of America. He was counted out of the job as district director. His challenge is in the federal courts.

Those workers who crowded into the Sadlowski rally were there because they are tired of conditions in the mills, fed up with union-management productivity committees, disgusted with the union grievance procedure, and looking for some changes in the conditions of their lives.

There are many thousands of others exactly like them in the giant steel union. Their dissatisfaction with the present union-company setup is growing.

Further efforts to impose the present terrible working conditions and low wages will embitter them more and lead to more determined and better organized struggle against the employers, the government, and all others who try to kick them into line. Steelworkers have been kicked into line too many times, for too long. They are looking for ways to strike back.



The following column was written while Harry Ring was in Australia recently at the invitation of the Socialist Workers League, the Trotskyist organization in Australia.

Class struggle in F sharp—Margaret Jones reports from Peking in the Melbourne Age on the current drive against the "bourgeois idea" that music can be "pure or classless." Beethoven is scored for his notion that "all men are brothers" and Schubert for expressing "depression, vacillation, pessimism and despair." Music without titles is seen as an extreme example of bourgeois decadence. A widely played ditty in China, Ms. Jones reports, is titled "Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention."

Maotsejesus—Francis James, an Australian who was jailed in China for three years and returned an avid par-

tisan of the regime there, recommended to Australians that they study the teachings of Chairman Mao together with the Bible. He said he studied the Chairman's thoughts in prison and "found much that was very worthwhile." But he told the Chinese that Mao's teachings contained "nothing new, as Jesus Christ had expressed the same thoughts . . . in the Gospels of the Bible's New Testament."

Sounds like home—A pollution study showed that 12 of Melbourne's 13 most popular beaches are generally unsafe for swimming. Officials blamed the high bacterial level on the city's inadequate sewage system.

Plain talk dep't—The Sydney Australian commented that Nixon's proposals to promote U. S. oil production at the expense of foreign "comes at a time when a feeling is growing among oil

executives that the much publicized world shortage of oil has been overdone. There is a reasonable chance that the recent higher prices will result in there being enough oil—for those who can afford it."



'Just a small group of activists . . .'

Oliphant

By Any Means Necessary

Blacks and electoral politics

Baxter Smith



In two previous columns I discussed some of the issues facing the Black press.

Struggle! is a monthly Boston newspaper "dedicated to working in the interests of the Afro-American movement for liberation," as its masthead proclaims. It is published by a Black collective, and it covers national, international, and local news of importance to Blacks. It has a radical perspective—"We stand for the defeat of capitalism and imperialism, and the end of human exploitation."

It has reprinted articles from *The Militant* and grapples with the many problems of Black liberation.

The December 1973 issue contains an article that raises important questions about electoral activity of Blacks.

It is pegged around the 1973 municipal elections in Boston where several Blacks were candidates. This article is not only germane to Boston, but has ramifications for Blacks who are contemplating or are now involved in electoral activity elsewhere.

The article is entitled "Why Didn't the Black

Candidates Win?" It asks, "Can we make elections work for us?"

It points out and champions the need for mass action campaigns against the oppression of Blacks and asserts that electoral activity should be only one tool of the mass movement.

It criticizes two Black candidates—Lena Saunders, a Democrat; and Pat Bonner-Lyons, a member of the Young Workers Liberation League—for concentrating too much on electoral activity, and neglecting "self-less community work from day to day." It asserts that their lack of day-to-day organizing around specific issues resulted in their defeat at the polls.

The article concludes: "Thus, to make elections work for us, we must first move away from seeing them as the best or only form of political activity. Our immediate political goal should be to organize and mobilize the poor and working people and the students of our community to fight in all possible ways for basic changes. Then, when we are able to use the elections as just another forum, as one more tool for our community to use in our struggle for freedom and justice, then we will be able to make elections work for us."

The article criticizes candidates who have allowed activity to taper off after the elections are over "when, in fact, the level of work should be heightened and broadened beyond the electoral process."

It continues: "If our goal is gaining control over our community and empowering the large majority of our people, and not just a few, then elections should be viewed as just one tool among many to create the changes our people need and desire."

The authors call for the formation of "independent grassroots organizations which can fight for change in a number of ways, including working on elections when it is necessary."

The article opposes "machine politics," talk about "creating ward committees," and questions the accomplishments as mayors of Carl Stokes, Kenneth Gibson, and Richard Hatcher.

Although many of the points the article makes are quite valid, its shortcoming is its failure to point out the role of the Democratic and Republican parties and their candidates.

Next week we will look into this.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Be a part of the solution

Miguel Pendás



Listening to the radio the other day, I heard a public service announcement by Lonnie Jordan from the rock group War. This group has popularized a number of songs with socially conscious lyrics, such as "The World Is A Ghetto."

Jordan was making an appeal to young Brothers and Sisters to stay away from smack and downers (heroin and barbiturates).

The use of harmful drugs is indeed a tremendous problem among Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano youth. In the high schools and junior high schools of East Los Angeles, reds (barbiturates) float around like candy.

But, however well-intentioned it may be, this kind of abstract appeal to young people to stop taking drugs has no possibility whatever of helping to solve the drug problem.

Drug use is one type of self-destructive behavior that is prevalent in this sick society. It is the alienation, banality, and meaninglessness of life under capitalism that drives young Chicanos and others to look for an escape.

When one considers the conditions in which most Chicanos grow up under capitalism, it is no surprise that drugs are so widespread in the barrio. Chicanos grow up in a world of poverty, malnu-

trition, rats, roaches, and despair. They are constantly made to feel inferior because of their culture and the way they speak and look. If this is the world that's in store for them for the rest of their lives, many Chicanos figure, "Who needs it?"

Under this capitalist society, which perpetuates the oppression of Chicanos and other national minorities, drug abuse will never be eliminated. What is needed is to get rid of this inhuman, antiquated system and replace it with a socialist society in which racism can be eliminated and all can find meaningful work.

By not dealing with the real social roots of the drug problem, abstract appeals to young people to turn away from drugs will inevitably be indistinguishable from the hypocritical propaganda put out by the government. This alone will ensure that these appeals, no matter how sincere, will fall on deaf ears.

The appeal by Lonnie Jordan, for example, is only one of a series of public service announcements on this question. In one of the other announcements, a stern white male voice comes on and says something like: Don't mess around with drugs, because if you get caught, under New York's drug laws, you are going to get nailed with a heavy jail sentence.

As many young people are becoming aware these days, capitalist drug laws are aimed at punishing the victims of drug traffic, not the criminals. Wealthy pushers are never touched by the authorities. In fact, wealthy pushers often turn out to be the authorities.

It's not Rockefeller's drug laws and Nixon's propaganda that are going to reclaim our young people from a life of drugs. Capitalism has nothing to offer them but unemployment, poverty, and racism.

Instead, it's going to be other young Chicanos who are struggling against the system that will be the ones to motivate their *carnales* to turn away from drugs. Many of these people, such as Los Tres del Barrio (the antidrug activists framed up by the government) once used drugs themselves. They are the ones who speak with authority on this question as far as Chicano youth are concerned.

Even though it is true that human beings will not be able to reach their full potential until socialism has been established on a world scale, there is something you can do today that can make life as meaningful as it can get under this system. Devote your life to getting rid of it.

1,500 attend San Francisco labor rally in solidarity with striking Sears workers

By ALEX HARTE

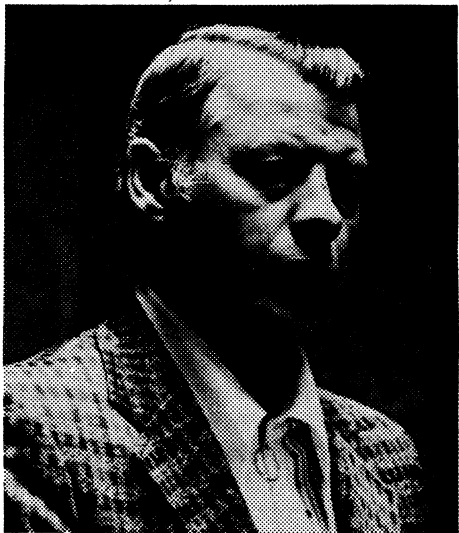
SAN FRANCISCO—"We are gathered here to let the public and Sears know that this is not our fight alone but the fight of the entire labor movement. If Sears wins this one we can only guess who will be next."

With these words, Walter Johnson, executive secretary-treasurer and leader of striking Local 1100 of the San Francisco Retail Clerks union, opened a rally of 1,500 Bay Area working people Feb. 3 here at the Orpheum Theater.

The rally was called by the United Labor-Community Sears Strike Support Coalition. Its purpose was to demonstrate the solidarity of the labor movement in the face of the crude union-busting efforts of America's fourth largest conglomerate, the Sears Corporation.

The Feb. 3 rally was a high point in a series of activities initiated by the United Labor Action Committee (ULAC) geared to winning the broadest possible support of the labor movement for the courageous struggle of Local 1100's 300 striking Sears workers.

The enthusiastic meeting was chaired by Jim Herman, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34. Herman has played an important role in mobilizing the support of area ILWU locals to the strike.



Militant/Howard Petrick

WALTER JOHNSON: 'This is not our fight alone but the fight of the entire labor movement.'

After 25 weeks on strike, the ranks of 1100 are as solid as ever. During the entire course of the strike only four have returned to work.

Expanded strike activity

The past several weeks of expanded strike activity, including the extension of picket lines to Sears stores outside of San Francisco, the distribution of tens of thousands of leaflets describing the issues of the strike throughout the Bay Area, and pressure from Local 1100 and ULAC on many Bay Area local unions, were key elements in compelling many local union officials and politicians to put in at least a token appearance at the spirited rally. Previously their attitude toward the strike had been almost total indifference at best and in some cases open hostility.

Despite their lack of proposals for action when these officials spoke at the Feb. 3 rally, their presence at the event will facilitate efforts to reach the ranks of labor in the near future.

A major problem with reaching the ranks in the past has been the fact that the "learned" opinion of most of the Bay Area labor bureaucracy has been and continues to be that the Sears strike is a loser.

It is inconceivable to these compla-

cent supporters of the status quo that labor can mount an effective battle against the combined forces of Sears and its not-so-hidden ally in this dispute, the U.S. government, operating through the National Labor Relations Board.

For example, one of the speakers, Al Gruhin, president of the California Labor Federation (CLF), the state organization of the AFL-CIO, waving a copy of the CLF state boycott list, informed the assemblage that an appropriate action for them to consider was to stop shopping at Sears stores.

Gruhin's report that two-thirds of California's county labor councils have placed Sears on their "do not patronize" list was the total extent of commitment of the state AFL-CIO to the Sears strikers.

Union 'unfair lists'

But many in attendance were sadly aware that union "unfair lists" are pathetic and inadequate substitutes for the massive, militant, and immediate action required for strike victories.

Jack Crowley, executive secretary-treasurer and top official of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, also addressed the meeting but failed to state any commitment whatever to the Sears strikers.

The top officials of the labor councils of Alameda and Contra Costa counties were also on the speaker's platform but chose not to address the rally at all.

Some San Francisco politicians also felt compelled to express solidarity with Local 1100. State assemblymen Willie Brown and John Burton, State Senator Milton Marks, and a parade of others went to the podium to offer support, but promised little more than to pool their efforts to place an advertisement in a Sacramento newspaper stating their position on the strike.

For the most part these politicians have limited their public pronouncements on Local 1100's battle to innocuous statements calling on Sears or "both sides" to negotiate in good faith.

In a few cases they have promised vague legislation for the distant future.

A high point in the rally was the remarks of Lois Weiner, a representative of the Hayward Federation of Teachers and the chairwoman of that AFT local's women's rights committee.

Role of women strikers

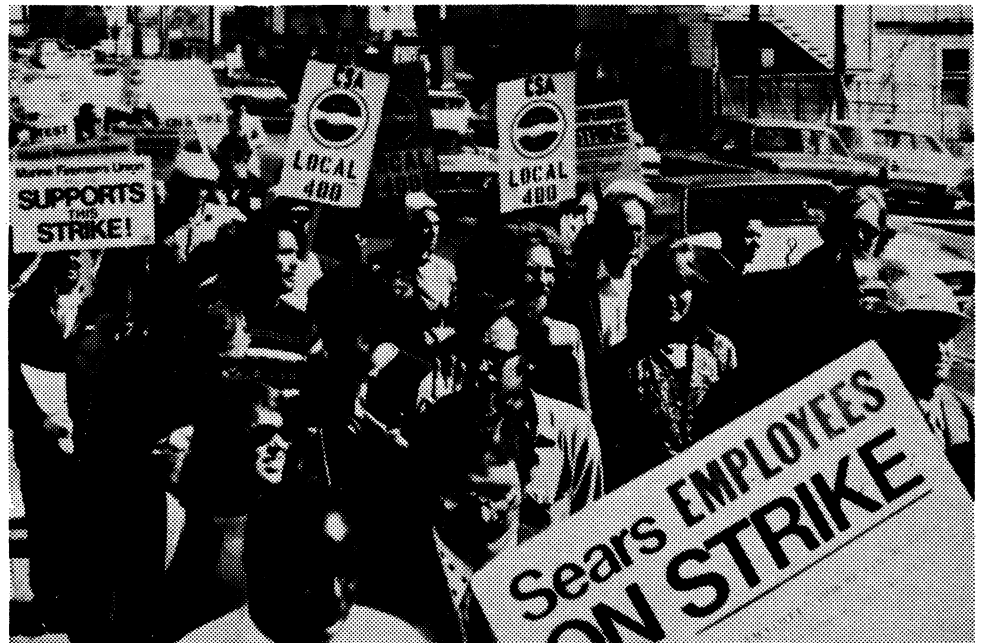
Weiner pointed to the almost total lack of women speakers on the platform and then described the key role played by women in the Sears strike. About two-thirds of the strikers are women, and it has become clear that their efforts have been crucial in maintaining the solidarity and dynamism of the strike.

Weiner's call for the women of Local 1100 to stand up and be honored was greeted by a standing ovation from the entire audience.

She also described a communication received from the state executive council of the California Federation of Teachers, the statewide organization of the American Federation of Teachers, which called on all 240 AFT locals in California to lend their full support to the strike. The CFT also offered to Local 1100 the two-page centerfold of its state newspaper, the *California Teacher*.

AFT locals in Hayward, Richmond, Berkeley, and elsewhere have lent continued support to the picket lines and have done much to publicize the strike.

Jeff Mackler, president of the Alameda County Council of the AFT, also spoke at the rally. He described



Militant/Chris Hildebrand

One of early demonstrations in support of Sears strike. Protests like this have involved hundreds of militants.

how the labor movement could effectively mobilize to defeat the combined forces of Sears and the NLRB.

U.S. gov't not neutral

Mackler pointed out that the U.S. government was not neutral in this union-busting effort. He described the NLRB's almost immediate response to a request by Sears to decertify a Retail Clerks affiliate in Santa Rosa, Calif.

In contrast to this speedy action to benefit the bosses, the NLRB has yet to move on any complaint filed by Local 1100 in the past 18 months.

Mackler hailed the important role played by Local 1100 in reviving San Francisco labor's best traditions of solidarity. He described the numerous strikes of other unions that have been actively defended by Local 1100. These include support to the United Farm Workers of America, Teamsters, Hospital workers, Carpenters, and other unions, as well as the early and continued support of Local 1100 for the U.S. antiwar movement.

"We must begin to rely on our own strength and organization in massive united actions in the streets if we are to effectively mount the kind of power needed to win against opponents like Sears and the U.S. government," said Mackler.

Following the meeting the spirited crowd marched briefly to the site of Local 1100's 24-hour vigil at Civic Center for a short rally. After the rally, supporters joined the picket lines at San Francisco's largest Sears store, on Geary Street.

That evening, Sears strikers and their supporters had a chance to discuss the past week's activity in a more



Militant/Michael Baumann

JEFF MACKLER: 'We must rely on our own strength to win against opponents like Sears and the U.S. government.'

informal setting when ULAC sponsored a large party, attended by 500, at The Village in San Francisco.

The large Sunday rally demonstrated both the strengths and weaknesses of the Sears strike to date. The unprecedented effort to reach the broad rank and file of the labor movement undertaken by Local 1100 and the United Labor Action Committee has undoubtedly met with important, though still limited, success.

ULAC's active speakers committee, its mass leafleting, and continued efforts to reach the Bay Area media have been successful in involving hundreds of militants directly in the activities of the strike, in addition to the Local 1100 strikers themselves.

These new forces have been effective in helping to generate increased strike activities. But it is obvious that these forces must be greatly expanded.

Union bureaucracy

The accomplishment of this goal has been thwarted at almost every turn by the heavy weight of bureaucracy that stifles so much of the labor movement today.

Tied to the Democratic Party, and often corrupt, these bureaucrats have opposed almost every expression of rank-and-file activity for decades. This situation cannot be reversed overnight.

Yet the example of Local 1100 has given an impetus to many militants who have begun to question the role played by their union officials. Thus a few new fighters have begun to emerge, although still with little organization, in their local unions.

Most participants in the Sears strike realize that the struggle of Local 1100 is still far from over. The next concrete task is the mobilization of sufficient forces to further extend the picket lines to all 15 Sears Bay Area stores.

Local 1100 and the United Labor Action Committee took a long step in this direction by building the Feb. 3 rally and reaching out to working people in the Bay Area. The response more than justifies the efforts made.

Last week Local 1100's negotiating team met again with Sears. The company arrogantly offered a few cents more per hour to a portion of the strikers in a further effort to divide the ranks of the union. But as in the past, the strikers rejected this move, and expressed again the determination to keep their union together. Local 1100's fighting example continues to be an inspiration to many in the Bay Area.

Socialist Workers Party launch

Gurewitz hits oil trusts in opening statement

By JOAN PALTRINERI

BOSTON — The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party announced its candidates for the 1974 state elections at a news conference in the press room of the state capitol here Jan. 29.

The candidates are: Donald Gurewitz, a 27-year-old office worker, for governor; David Jerome, 24, a cook, for lieutenant governor; Jeanne Lafferty, 30, a keypunch operator, for attorney general; and Jeannette Tracy Bliss, a 25-year-old student at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, for Congress from the 9th congressional district. The 9th C.D. includes Roxbury, where most of Boston's Black community lives.

The Jan. 31 *Christian Science Moni-*

able the oil industry to steal millions from the American people annually. Even today they continue to allow the oil industry to withhold information about how much oil there actually is. As a first step, the SWP demands the immediate opening of all oil industry books.

"We in Massachusetts must ask, 'What has Governor Sargent done about the energy crisis?' About the only substantial thing has been to lower the pollution standards to enable the use of lower grade coal and oil. In other words, Sargent's solution to the energy crisis is to let us all choke to death."

One of the major issues in Bliss's campaign is the question of police brutality directed against Boston's Black community. As part of its so-called anticrime program, the Boston police department recently set up a special unit called the "Decoy Patrol," which Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia has admitted is patterned after the STRESS unit set up by the Detroit police.

In response to DiGrazia's statement that the Decoy Patrol will not go "overboard" like the STRESS unit, Bliss noted in her statement to the press, "These units have proved to be nothing more than an excuse to go after militants and others in the Black community and institute a reign

my party's democratic rights before the people of Massachusetts. The office of attorney general should be vitally concerned with the civil liberties of every single person in this state."

The news conference was attended by the major media in Boston, and was reported on by all the Boston area television stations, as well as by the *Boston Globe*, *Herald American*, the *Monitor*, and several radio stations.

Finch, Morrison head N.Y. ticket

By JANICE LYNN

ALBANY, N.Y. — Derrick Morrison and Rebecca Finch will head the New York Socialist Workers Party ticket in the 1974 state elections. Morrison is running for governor and Finch for U.S. Senate.

Morrison, 27, is a former writer for *The Militant* and a longtime activist in the Black liberation struggle. Finch, 28, has recently been active in the struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of education in Manhattan's School District 1.

Their campaigns were announced at a news conference here Jan. 30.

The other statewide SWP candidates announced were James Mendieta, 34, a member of the Transport Workers Union, for lieutenant governor; Ray Markey, 33, a member of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930 (New York Library Guild), for attorney general; and Sam Manuel, 24, a Black activist and organizer of the Lower Manhattan Young Socialist Alliance, for controller.

The *New York Times*, covering the news conference, reported, "Announcing a platform favoring working people, the [Socialist Workers] party said the Democrats and Republicans in power had used 'the cloak of fighting inflation' to roll back the standards of living and help business 'reap record profits.'"

At the news conference Finch told reporters, "As candidate for U.S. Senate on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, I will campaign to expose the full extent of the government's conspiracy against the democratic rights of the American people."

"Both Democratic and Republican administrations, nationally and locally, use paid agents and informers, provocateurs, buggings, frame-up

trials, and similar methods to intimidate and harass groups that fight against the policies of the government," she said.

"The erosion of democracy will continue unless we sweep aside the present government and replace it with one that is run by the working people."

Finch said she would welcome the opportunity to debate Republican incumbent Jacob Javits, especially on Watergate, the fuel "shortage," and Javits's all-out support for U.S. military aid to Israel.

Former U. S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, a liberal, has already begun his campaign for the Democratic senatorial nomination. It is rumored that feminist Betty Friedan may also seek the Democratic nomination.

Derrick Morrison's opponent is Republican Governor Malcolm Wilson, Nelson Rockefeller's loyal shadow for 15 years and recent successor.

At a news conference held at the same time as the SWP's, Wilson painted a bleak picture of continued unemployment and energy-related layoffs in New York state. The only measure Wilson announced to deal with this problem was an extension of the eligibility period for unemployment benefits.

In contrast, Morrison told reporters the SWP's solutions to the economic hardships caused for working people by the energy crisis.

"I will campaign for a shorter work-week with no reduction in pay to spread the available work to all who need jobs," Morrison said. "A crash program of public works to build efficient mass transit systems as well as sorely needed housing, schools, and hospitals could provide jobs for all New Yorkers."

Morrison also called for a cost-of-living escalator clause for all wages and social benefits, to protect working people from inflation.

Jane Roland, 1974 New York State Coordinator of Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison, said that young supporters of the SWP ticket planned to bring the socialist campaign to college and high school campuses throughout the state.

To kick off the campaign, Roland and Finch are touring New York state campuses for two-and-a-half weeks in February.

Youth support is already being won for the SWP campaign. After attending the news conference, a student in Albany decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The day after announcing her campaign, Finch spoke to 125 high school students in Maplewood, N.J. Two signed up to work with the Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison.

Finch also visited Barnard College in New York City to express her solidarity with the striking campus workers there.



Massachusetts SWP slate at news conference: (left to right) Jeannette Tracy Bliss, Jeanne Lafferty, Donald Gurewitz, and David Jerome.

tor carried a story on the news conference that said, in part, "The Socialist Workers Party slate aims to make the most of the Watergate scandal and the energy crisis in trying to convince Massachusetts voters to accept the party's candidates as alternatives to Democrats or Republicans."

"The so-called energy crisis provides a graphic example of the absolute need for a socialist reorganization of American society," Mr. Gurewitz contends.

"He wants a 'congress of labor' in Massachusetts 'to deal with the critical issues posed by the energy crisis.' This would include representatives from organized labor, consumers, students, women, blacks and Puerto Ricans."

"The long-range goal would be 'nationalization of the energy industry.'"

In his statement to the press, Gurewitz also attacked the failure of the Democrats and Republicans to provide any solutions to the energy crisis: "The corporations and the rich who today control both our economy and the two major political parties have proved themselves completely incapable of solving the energy crisis."

"In fact, it has now become clear that they actually created it. The Democrats and Republicans allowed the oil giants to create this artificial crisis."

"Over and over again they have approved the oil depletion allowance and all the other tax frauds that en-

of terror. We can expect the same in Boston. The SWP demands that the Decoy Patrol be abolished."

Responding to questions from reporters about ballot status in the 1974 elections, Lafferty denounced the undemocratic election laws in Massachusetts, which are designed to keep independent parties off the ballot.

"In the entire history of Massachusetts," she said, "there have been only three independent parties which have obtained statewide ballot status, including the Socialist Workers Party, which was forced to get over 100,000 signatures in 1972 to get on the ballot. As long as these restrictions exist, the voters in this state will not have a full and meaningful choice of candidates on election day."

To win a spot on the November ballot, the SWP needs 38,000 signatures on nominating petitions. This is 2 percent of the total vote for governor in 1970. But the party is planning a court suit to force the state to place it on the ballot without petitioning, on the grounds that in his 1972 senatorial campaign, Gurewitz polled more than 2 percent of the total vote.

Lafferty also discussed the issues raised by the national suit against Nixon and other government officials filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

"As candidate for attorney general," Lafferty said, "I intend to bring the issue of the government's denial of



Rebecca Finch (left), Derrick Morrison, and Jane Roland announce New York SWP campaign at Albany news conference.

Militant/Janice Lynn

es New York, Mass. campaigns

Convention discusses tasks of N.Y. SWP

NEW YORK—The New York City local of the Socialist Workers Party held its city convention here Jan. 25-26.

The 250 participants heard reports on and discussed the central tasks before the SWP in the next months, including special reports on the 1974 New York state election campaign and the work of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The New York City local includes three SWP branches, in Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and the Upper West Side.

Doug Jenness, New York City SWP organizer, reported on the tasks of the party. He said these tasks flowed from the unprecedented questioning and distrust of the government that began around the Vietnam war and continues with Watergate and the energy crisis.

Jenness said, "In the eyes of the American people, Watergate has become synonymous with much of what's wrong with the capitalist government and capitalist politics. It has deepened the conviction on the part of many working people that this is not their government, that it is a government totally aloof from their lives."

On top of this, Jenness said, "the energy crisis is having a direct and immediate effect on the lives of millions of American workers. Everybody knows the oil monopolies are raking in huge profits while we're asked to sacrifice, to take a cut in our standard of living."

Questions everywhere

Jenness continued, "In more than a generation there have not been so many people asking fundamental questions about the nature and character of this system. Who rules this country? What kind of government should we have? Aren't both the Democratic and Republican parties rotten?"

Jenness then discussed the various aspects of the SWP's response to Watergate. He explained that unlike the antiwar movement, when the SWP helped organize single-issue mass actions around the demand to get the U.S. out of Vietnam, on Watergate there is no "single class-struggle demand or slogan around which a united-front-type coalition can be established."

In particular, he explained, the SWP does not see a campaign around impeachment of Nixon as a rallying cry for the working class against the bipartisan gang of Watergaters in Washington.

The revolutionary response to Watergate, he explained, is a general propaganda offensive to explain the need for a working-class political alternative to the capitalist parties and politicians.

Such a class alternative includes explaining the need for a congress of labor, and a labor party to fight for a workers government and for socialism.

Projecting this class alternative is the central objective of the SWP 1974 election campaigns, which challenge both the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Another crucial component of the SWP response to Watergate is the socialist suit against Nixon, which can help mobilize support for the victims of Watergate, including the SWP and the YSA. This suit is being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

"As victims of Watergate and plaintiffs in the suit, our candidates will be the most vigorous public speakers explaining why the SWP and YSA have sued Nixon and his henchmen," Jenness said.

"Everywhere our candidates go, on every campaign table, and at every meeting, we want to have PRDF literature. At campaign meetings we will want the PRDF to stand up and get names of endorsers."

Jenness also outlined the other important ways of getting the SWP's ideas out, particularly through the sales drive of *The Militant*. New York SWPers plan to experiment with more sales at workplaces and union meetings, and in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The Militant Forums and bookstores, he said, are also tools for explaining and winning support for the SWP's positions.

Struggles in New York

Jenness pointed out that these campaigns and educational activities are tied to the SWP's participation in the different struggles and movements going on in New York and nationally.



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

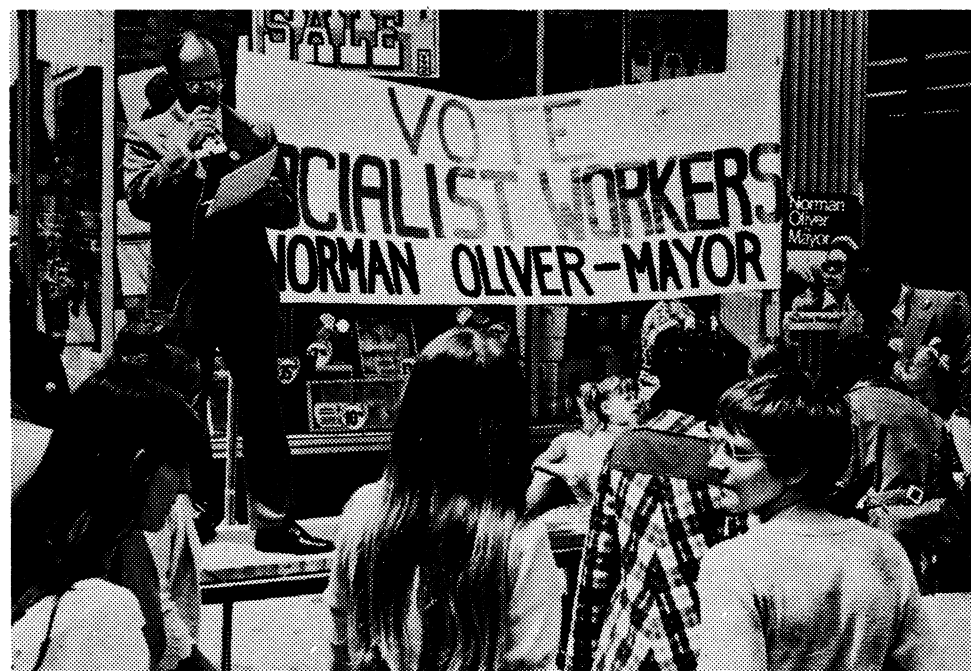
Selling 'The Militant' was set as high priority.

Socialist election campaigns and *Militant* sales help build support for these struggles and explain how to advance them, while special emphasis is put on winning activists in these movements to the socialist perspective.

The discussion after Jenness's report revealed the wide range of activities SWP members are involved in. Speakers reported on the struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in District 1, and the ramifications of this struggle within the United Federation of Teachers.

Others had been involved in the District 65, Distributive Workers of America, organizing drive at Columbia University, trade-union women's meetings, the Drug and Hospital Union, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Many were active in solidarity with international struggles, such as defense of Chilean and Haitian political prisoners, the Irish movement, support for the Arab struggle, African liberation support activities, and de-



Militant/Alan Becker

James Mendieta speaks at Brooklyn street rally during 1973 campaign. Mendieta is now SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of New York.

fense of Iranian political prisoners.

Participation in the United Farm Workers boycott activities, defense of the indicted Attica prisoners, the Black women's liberation movement, the National Organization for Women, Puerto Rican and Dominican activities, and the Gay Activists Alliance were also mentioned.

Statewide election drive

Janice Lynn, New York state campaign director, reported on the plans for the 1974 statewide campaign, including presentation of the SWP's slate of candidates.

In contrast to the wealthy lawyers and businessmen who will be the Democratic and Republican contenders, the SWP candidates are working people, who will be representing the only program that speaks to the needs of workers.

Lynn said the SWP candidates will support and, where possible, participate in the various local struggles and protests, such as union developments and strikes, demonstrations against fuel shortages, Black and Puerto Rican struggles, defense of the Attica brothers and the Wounded Knee defendants.

She said the socialist campaign would relate the problems of New York state to the pressing national and international issues, especially Watergate, the energy crisis, inflation, and unemployment.

"To be most effective," Lynn added, "we want to formulate our program and demands in popular and understandable language, with attractive, easy-to-read campaign materials."

She continued, "We plan to hold a statewide kickoff rally here in New York City on March 1. This event should give a big impetus to our spring election campaign work, and will be tied in with the launching of our spring Young Socialist teams. The next day will be a city-wide campaign blitz, with street rallies, tables, and sales."

Whirlwind tours

Immediately following the kickoff rally, both the senatorial and gubernatorial candidates, Rebecca Finch and Derrick Morrison, will go on a whirlwind tour throughout the entire New York-New Jersey-Connecticut region, Lynn reported.

She said, "We want to pay special attention to having our candidates invited to speak before trade-union meetings, community groups, Black and Puerto Rican organizations, and women's groups."

"They will speak at plant gates, strike rallies, and local demonstrations. They will try to get into the prisons to hold discussions with inmates, and try to inspect Con Edison and other profiteering energy industries."

Lynn said the election campaign will aid the geographical expansion of the SWP and YSA in important areas of the state. Special emphasis will be placed on Buffalo.

"Buffalo is the second largest city in the state. It has a state university with 20,000 students and is also one of the major national industrial centers. This spring Buffalo will be the site of the trials of the 60 indicted Attica brothers, and our campaign will be actively building support for their defense," she reported.

Youth report

The youth report was presented by Geoff Mirelowitz, New York City organizer for the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mirelowitz reported that YSA members were carrying out activities at Brooklyn College, Queens College, New York University, Long Island University, Hunter College, New York City Community College, Brooklyn Polytech, City College of New York, Borough of Manhattan Community College, Bronx Community College, and other campuses.

In addition there are YSA members in several high schools and one junior high school.

Outside of New York City there are eight YSA local chapters in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut region and additional members in cities where chapters have not yet been organized.

One of the central tasks of the YSA, Mirelowitz said, will be campaigning for the SWP candidates. The YSA's regional network of members and local chapters will enable it to campaign actively throughout the state.

"Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison," he said, "will go out aggressively to make contact with large numbers of young people and get them involved in campaign activities."

Geoff Mirelowitz and Jane Roland were proposed and approved as statewide coordinators of Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison.

The final order of business at the convention was the election of a local executive committee, the leadership body of the New York City local between city conventions.

B'klyn brewery workers sit in to protest closing of Rheingold plant and loss of jobs

By **STEPHEN BLOOM**

NEW YORK—Hundreds of workers at the Rheingold brewery in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn conducted a sit-in at the plant Feb. 1-4 to protest the decision to close the facility. Affected by the closing would be 1,500 workers at the plant, one of the largest in the world, capable of producing 12,000 barrels (372,000 gallons) of beer a day.

Most of those employed at the plant are members of Brewery Workers locals 3 and 46, which are affiliated with the Teamsters. The leadership of the unions called for the sit-in to publicize the workers' demands that Pepsico, Inc., which purchased Rheingold a year ago, live up to its contract, which still has two-and-a-half years to run.

Closing the plant would put into jeopardy such things as more than \$2-million of accumulated vacation pay, the continuation of health and welfare benefits, and the rights of workers to their pensions. The union is also demanding that a buyer be sought for the brewery, and that Pepsico pay severance benefits if the workers lose

their jobs.

George Goldstein, a shop steward at the plant, told *The Militant* there was virtually unanimous support by the workers for the sit-in. This was borne out by the spirit of the men during the occupation.

"We'll have to bring in blankets," a brew-house worker stated. "No matter what the decision is, we are going to sit in here for quite a while, until things straighten out," another brewer declared, referring to the court action the union has brought to keep the plant open. Other workers vowed that the only way they will be removed is to be carried out.

The union is trying to get a court order preventing the closing of the brewery until the outstanding disputes have been resolved. A partial victory was won shortly after the sit-in began when Federal District Court Judge John Bartels issued an order prohibiting the closing of the plant before midnight on Monday, Feb. 4. This was later extended to midnight Feb. 8. Five hundred workers participated in a demonstration outside Judge Bartels's court, in addition to those sitting in at the plant.

Pepsico was also forced by a court order to stop disposing of the beer on hand at the plant by dumping it into New York sewers. Two thousand of the 103,000 barrels stored at the brewery had already gone down the drain. The company claims it would be too costly to finish processing the beer, which is worth \$3- to 5-million on the retail level.

Another victory was won by the demonstrating workers when the company agreed Feb. 3 to give them their vacation pay. There is still no agreement on the other demands.

The workers contend that Pepsico purchased Rheingold to secure its soft drink bottling plants and never intended to operate the brewery. They believe the company wants to close the plant and throw away the beer to gain a tax write-off.

"We find it unjustified that Pepsi can just walk away from us and write us off. You know, they can write off all these buildings and machinery as a tax loss, but how can you write off

1,500 people? Where do they fit in on the bookkeeping?" asked one worker, who has been a brewer 22 years.

The workers feel angry that Pepsico, which has many profitable subsidiaries, can find no room for them in its operations and thinks only of its own greatest profits.

They rattled off some of the companies Pepsico controls (someone had obviously done some research): "North American Van Lines, Pepsico Rental (a car and truck rental agency), Wil-

Not one has been a brewer for less than 19 years. The older workers have worked at the trade 30 to 40 years, and some have never done any other work.

Rheingold is one of only two remaining breweries in Brooklyn. At one time there were many, and most of the brewers working at Rheingold saw the closing of other plants where they had previously been employed.

In the past, the union managed to relocate those who lost their jobs in



Militant/Stephen Bloom

Many at Rheingold have worked all their lives as brewers and will find it hard to get new jobs if plant closes.

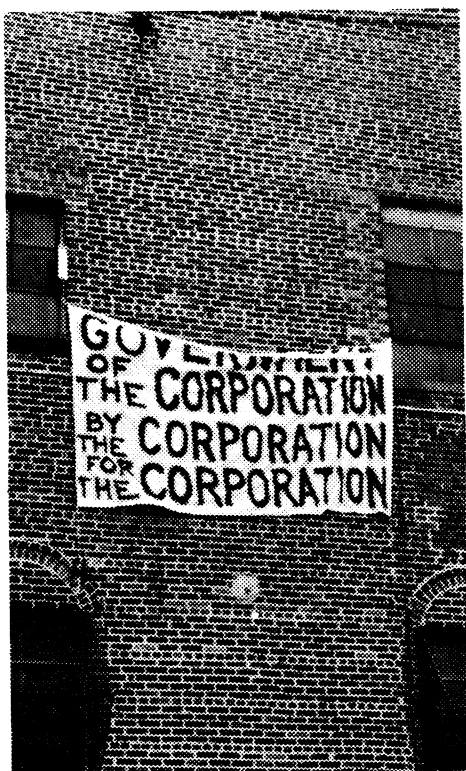
son Sporting Goods, Yago Sangria, Frito-Lay, Monsieur Andre Wines." This is besides its line of soft drinks.

The company claims the brewery is antiquated and that it lost \$9-million last year. But the workers participating in the occupation point to the equipment in the plant, most of which is less than three or four years old. It includes \$4-million of completely new and as yet unused brewing equipment capable of producing three million gallons of beer a day—"without any overtime," the workers add. It would require only a small additional investment to put it into operation.

Most of the brewers employed by the facility would be hard put to find new work if the Rheingold plant closes.

the remaining breweries, through encouraging the retirement of older workers. But this time, the Schaeffer plant, which would be the only one left in New York City, would not be able to absorb those put out on the street by Pepsico.

The workers tried to gain publicity for their cause, inviting the news media into the plant to talk with those participating in the sit-in and to view the facilities. At first they had to sneak reporters into the plant dressed in brewery uniforms because the company had hired security guards, who would throw out reporters who were discovered. The workers' actions have received extensive coverage so far in the press and on television and radio.



Militant/Stephen Bloom

Rheingold workers say companies are looking out only for their own profits.

Dist. 65 Barnard employees win strike

By **TERRY HILLMAN**

NEW YORK—The clerical employees of Barnard College won their week-long strike Feb. 4. They accepted an administration offer of a 7.7 percent wage increase this year and another 7.2 percent next year.

The workers also won a medical plan that covers doctor visits, dental care, eyeglasses, and prescriptions, and a provision stating that no worker will perform personal services for supervisors.

While the university refused to grant a suitable pension plan or salary supplements for day care, the workers voted overwhelmingly to accept the contract, with the option to renegotiate at the end of two years. The Barnard local of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, which won recognition several months ago, represents 75 workers, 60 of whom were on strike.

The strike was an effective one. Despite attempts by Barnard President Martha Peterson to use students and

faculty to perform the duties of the strikers, Barnard's normal functioning had definitely been disrupted.

Maintenance workers refused to cross the picket lines, and the Transport Workers Union refused to make deliveries. One striker saw two top administrators taking out the garbage in the middle of the night last week.

District 65 had asked for a raise in the minimum wage from \$110 to \$130, wage increases to meet the rising cost of living, child care, a decent pension, and other benefits.

The District 65 employees at Barnard are predominantly women, and their strike received support from the feminist movement. Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine, was the featured speaker at a noon rally on Feb. 1.

"I don't know of a single feminist in New York City who doesn't support this strike," Steinem told the rally. State Assemblyman Franz Leichter and State Senator Sydney Von Luther also joined the picket line to express

their support for the strike.

Ironically, Barnard President Martha Peterson has often claimed the feminist label. Striking workers wore placards saying, "Martha Peterson—support your sisters," and pointed out Peterson's hypocrisy in not recognizing the simple rights of women employees to a living wage and child care.

Many Barnard students organized themselves into a strike support committee and picketed, went on dorm drives, put out their own leaflets, and hung banners out of their dorm windows. About 75 students who supported the strike attended a tea given by President Peterson on Jan. 31.

The students wore the green District 65 button and tried to tell Peterson they were concerned about the strike. When one student proposed a toast in honor of the striking workers, Peterson left the tea declaring, "this is a party, and we will not discuss business at a social gathering."

The Barnard administration agreed

to a negotiating session on Feb. 1. At this session they took back their first offer of a 0.5 percent increase and substituted an even smaller one. The union offered to go back to work with arbitration, but even this was too much for the Barnard administration to accept. So the strike continued.

On Feb. 4, however, the lack of food in the cafeteria, the chaos in the offices, the support for the strike among the students and the other campus unions, as well as the bad publicity the college had received, forced the college to offer a wage settlement in line with District 65's demands.

Barnard College is a separate women's college with close ties to Columbia University. The clerical workers at Columbia are involved in a union drive to form a Columbia local of District 65. A successful drive at Columbia, which employs 2,000 clerical workers, will help bring the united power of the Barnard and Columbia workers to bear on the administrations of both schools in the future.

Mass protests hit price rises in Bolivia

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

When it increased the price of staple foods January 21 by more than 100 percent, the Bolivian government touched off a wave of rebellion that quickly spread not only among the workers and the urban poor but among the long conservatized peasantry, threatening to overwhelm the shaky military dictatorship.

The price increases, part of an international trend of rising food costs, came as a particularly cruel blow to one of the poorest countries in the world, where most of the population lives at the level of bare subsistence. Pictures taken in the poor neighborhoods of La Paz on the day of the announcement, reported the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* in its January 23 issue, "showed scenes of grief, weeping, dismay, and condemnation."

Although it launched a crackdown on the unions after overthrowing the labor-supported Torres government in August 1971, the rightist regime failed to break the economic organization or combativity of the workers. This was shown by the mass opposition to the effects of the peso devaluation in November 1972, a little more than a year after the coup, that brought on a series of strikes that forced the government to make major concessions. In the case of this latest attack on the living standard of the masses, the reaction of the workers and the poor was quick and powerful.

"After the announcement," the January 23 *La Opinión* reported, "... the stores shut down and spontaneous protest marches were organized that were dispersed by the police."

"On Monday [January 21], during the night groups of enraged demonstrators, most of them women, tried to throw up barricades in a main street in a poor section of La Paz, but they were rapidly dispersed by the police."

At almost the same time, 15,000 factory workers began a thirty-six

hour strike in protest against the price increases. "The manufacturing workers who denounced the economic measures in the strongest document they have yet issued against the government were dispersed yesterday by tear gas when they tried to assemble in a football field in the industrial section of the city," the *La Opinión* report continued. The miners declared a twenty-four hour strike to begin on January 23.

The protests spread rapidly. "A gigantic wave of protests welled up yesterday against the civilian-military government, which the Bolivian people blame for the marked rise in the cost of living," the January 24 *La Opinión* reported. "A considerable part of the economic life of the country was paralyzed by the strikes of the miners, factory workers, and clerks."

At the same time, the flour workers and builders unions, as well as the La Paz and Cochabamba peasant federations went on an "emergency footing." The La Paz peasant organization issued an appeal to the armed forces "once again, as in the days of Busch and Villarreal, to take the side of the exploited against the exploiters."

When the peasants, the main prop of the conservative counterrevolution in Bolivia, began to join in the protests, the Banzer government apparently became convinced that it faced the threat of a mass uprising throughout the country. It appeared to call on its remaining supporters in the bureaucratized peasant organizations to go on a civil-war footing.

"President Hugo Banzer appealed to the peasants of the country to take up arms to defend 'the nationalist process,' when the Federación de Trabajadores del Agro [Federation of Agricultural Workers] reaffirmed its support for the government and the January 21 measures," the January 25 *La Opinión* reported.

Nonetheless, the revolt continued to gain momentum: "The government of General Hugo Banzer declared a state of siege on Monday, January 28," *Le Monde* of January 30 reported, "while thousands of armed peasants continued to block roads in the Cochabamba region. According to certain reports, the peasants demanded the formation of a new government."

In a radio broadcast to the country on January 28, Banzer claimed that his government was threatened by "an international subversive plot."

The dictator's theme was taken up by his minister of agriculture, Colonel Alberto Busch, who said, according to a January 29 UPI dispatch, that "the peasant leaders in Cochabamba were calling for the establishment of a worker-peasant government and that this proved leftist extremists were behind the action."

But the UPI dispatch went on to describe the development of the events in Cochabamba this way:

"Disturbances erupted in Cochabamba and Quilacollo, a smaller town 10 miles away, five days ago. Since then, troops and factory workers have clashed in the streets, two bridges have been dynamited and Bolivia's major east-west highways have been cut." The day after Banzer's speech, the armed forces attacked the peasants holding the roads in Cochabamba.

"A communiqué issued by the Seventh Army Division indicates that the soldiers intervened to open up the roads after peasants seized General Juan Pérez Tapia, who had gone to the town of Punata to negotiate with the rebels," a Reuters dispatch reported in the January 31 *Le Monde*.

A January 30 dispatch from La Paz in the Buenos Aires daily *La*



Troops confront peasant protesters in Cochabamba

Nación reported: "The Department of Cochabamba, where combined land and air forces carried out an operation to open up the roads blocked by peasants, was declared a 'military zone' by the government hours after bloody clashes occurred. . . ."

"An official communiqué said, referring to the first armed clash between the peasants and the army in the locality of Tolata that the troops were attacked by armed peasants."

The peasants wounded in the clash, however, gave a different account than the Ministry of Information.

"Armed soldiers guarded the Viedma hospital in Cochabamba, where some of the peasants wounded in the clashes



BANZER: Declared 'state of siege' against peasants.

are being treated," the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* reported February 1. "We have no medicine or money. Our families are destitute. It is better for them to come in and kill us here. We don't want to suffer anymore," said one of the wounded peasants, Severino Arévalo Ustarez, the 45-year-old father of seven children. "The military came with their tanks and began firing. We had no weapons. Our wives had stones. . . ."

"In a dark room where at least forty workers are being treated, there are seven of those who were wounded in Sacaba, Cliza, and Tolata—all towns along the Cochabamba-Santa Cruz highway—during the armed actions. Vidal Ríos Cedeno, a 30-year-old peasant, was shot in Tolata. 'There were 3,000 of us peasants protesting against our poverty. We were going off shift to return to our homes, when they told us President Banzer was coming. We went back and found ourselves facing six tanks and eight Crocodiles [military trucks], which opened fire.'"

The peasants' story was confirmed by the military governor of the department, General Juan Pérez Tapia, who denied being taken hostage.

"I was never a prisoner or a hostage. On the contrary, I was treated cordially at all times by the peasants. I feel the same grief for the dead that they do."

Despite the "joint military action," the peasant resistance did not seem broken. "The operations, carried out by troops supported by tanks and airplanes, made it possible to clear away the barriers on the three principal highways linking Cochabamba with the rest of the country," the *Clarín* report continued. "But reports from the rural areas claim that the groups dispersed yesterday by armed force have regrouped and that new barriers have been erected, especially on the road leading to the eastern department of Santa Cruz."

The peasant revolt seemed to mark the culmination of a long process in Bolivia and perhaps a major change in the relationship of social forces in the country.

"Unquestionably the most important step taken in the history of Bolivia," a commentator wrote in the January 31 issue of the Buenos Aires weekly *Panorama*, "was the August 2, 1953, decree that abolished the latifundist system that had kept the peasant masses in the most extreme backwardness."

"But when the potentially revolutionary Indian masses received individual plots of land, they became an extremely poor petty bourgeoisie in which the authorities tried to cultivate a conservative mentality. More and more rightist governments used peasant mobilizations to break the strikes of the combative mine workers. This was done by the last MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] governments that slowly dropped their nationalist aims, starting by reprivatizing oil in 1956 and introducing American advisers into every unit of public administration. It was done by the military dictatorship of General Barrientos."

But in this latest upsurge, it has been precisely the small landholders in the Cochabamba Valley that have spearheaded the revolt against the government.

In any case, in combination with the workers revolt that seems still to be spreading, the peasant actions gravely undermine the Banzer regime. And in the face of these pressures, the splits in the government and military that have been apparent for some time seem to be widening.



Afriqué-Asie

Miners joined protest with 24-hour strike

Muniz enters race for governor

1974 Texas Raza Unida campaign opens

By JEAN SAVAGE

HOUSTON—The Texas Raza Unida Party kicked off its 1974 campaign Jan. 16 when Ramsey Muñiz announced he is entering the race for governor.

Muñiz headed the statewide RUP slate in 1972 as the party's gubernatorial candidate and won an impressive 220,000 votes, 6 percent of the total.

The Texas Socialist Workers Party will announce its candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, and attorney general at a news conference in Houston Feb. 12.

In the 1972 elections, the Texas SWP candidate for governor, Debby Leonard, received 24,000 votes.

Rallies to launch the SWP campaign will be held in Austin on Feb. 23 and in Houston March 1.

This qualified Raza Unida, an independent Chicano party, for a place on this year's ballot.

While a party in Texas is required to get 2 percent of the vote for ballot status, Raza Unida has set out to win 20 percent in 1974. This would enable the party to acquire the same full legal status as the Democrats and Republicans.

Chicanos make up 20 percent of

the state population.

Muñiz announced his campaign in Corpus Christi. Citing Watergate and the Sharpstown scandals that rocked Texas politics in 1971 and 1972, he leveled an attack on the monied interests that maintain a stranglehold over the Democratic and Republican parties.

"Hardly a day passes," he said, "that I am not approached with a familiar story: 'I have been a Democrat or a Republican all my life, and I have nothing to show for it.'"

"I don't sit on any corporate boards," he said. "I have not gotten any huge contributions. . . . My campaign expenses and my voter support will continue to come from individuals who are interested in open and honest government."

"I am seeking this office," he explained, "because Texas is now facing some very tough problems. I feel that I am qualified and able to offer some lasting and modern solutions."

The Raza Unida campaign, he said, will focus on Watergate, taxes, education, mass transportation, medical care, and the oil monopolies.

"When we proposed that the petroleum companies be made a publicly owned monopoly, we were a party in the making, and were not taken seriously," he said. "When we spoke of at least limiting the oil depletion allowance, we were attacked by the



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

MUNIZ: 'Hardly a day passes that I am not approached with the familiar story: "I have been a Democrat or a Republican all my life and I have nothing to show for it."'

oil giants."

Raza Unida candidates have announced campaigns in at least 10 counties, including for the first time Harris County, where Houston is located. Maria Jiménez will be running for state representative from Houston's 87th District. The incumbent is a liberal Mexican-American Democrat, Ben Reyes.

In Zavala County, where the party has had its most significant gains to date, RUP candidates filed for every office. Heading the ticket of six women and two men is José Angel Gutierrez, a founder of the RUP in Crystal City. He is running for county judge.

In an attempt to cut across the ability of Raza Unida to win people away from the two capitalist parties, a wave of attacks has been launched against the Chicano party. The Democrats are trying their best to stem the flow of Chicanos out of their party by branding those who run against Democrats as "in the pay of the Republicans."

Thus there have been accusations linking the RUP with illegal payoffs from the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP). The *Forth Worth Star-Telegram* and the *Houston Post* have carried several articles recently, charging that the RUP made a deal in 1972 with CREEP to withhold support from McGovern.

Gutierrez, Muñiz, and other Raza Unida leaders have denied these charges and have demanded that the Senate Watergate committee allow them to testify.

In another significant development, Mujeres por La Raza Unida (Women for La Raza Unida) decided at the Dec. 28-29 Texas RUP convention to separate from the Texas Women's Political Caucus (TWPC).

Continued on page 22

Denver Chicanos sue newspaper for 'bomb' libel

By JACK MARSH

DENVER—The Crusade for Justice, a Chicano nationalist organization here, announced Jan. 16 that it would file a \$10-million libel suit against the *Rocky Mountain News*, this city's daily morning paper.

The libel suit stems from a Jan. 15 *News* article that attempted to connect a recent bombing attempt on a Denver paint store to the Crusade for Justice.

According to a statement issued by the National Lawyers Guild, which is assisting the Crusade with the suit, "The clear implication (of the story) to thousands of readers was that a connection between the bombing . . . [and the Crusade] had been traced." The statement continued, "The story is an attack on the entire Chicano community and its community organizations dedicated to social change, the interests of their people, and the struggle against racism and injustice."

Support for the Crusade's fight against these scurrilous press attacks has come from a wide range of or-

ganizations, including the Platte Valley Action Center, Servicios la Raza, the Congress of Hispanic Educators, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the Colorado Civil Rights Commission.

The *News* article was a clear continuation of an attempt by Denver media and police to link a recent series of bombings here with the Chicano movement. One victim of this attempt is Chicano activist Francisco Martínez.

Martínez, a lawyer who has defended many Chicano victims of police injustice, has been indicted for allegedly being behind the recent bomb scare here.

In the case of the most recent bombing attempt—the subject of the libelous *News* article—another Chicano activist has become a victim of police frame-up.

On Jan. 16, following the appearance of the *News* article, police arrested Gary Garrison, 33, a tutor at Escuela Tlatelolco, the school run by the Crusade for Justice. Garrison was arrested on suspicion of planting the bomb

in the paint store and charged with assault to commit murder, second-degree assault, first-degree arson, and criminal mischief. He was held on \$100,000 bond. Police have refused to specify what evidence they have against Garrison.

The flimsy nature of the charges against Garrison was indicated, however, when Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley ordered that Garrison be released on his own recognizance pending further investigation. Garrison was released after his bail was reduced to \$7,500. The charges against him have been reduced to simple arson and mischief.

The Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, which is organizing Garrison's defense, asks that letters of protest be sent to District Attorney Dale Tooley, West Side Court Building, Denver, Colo. 80202. Further information on both Garrison's case and the Crusade's libel suit are available from the committee at 1567 Downing St., Denver, Colo. 80218.



Cartoon depicts Chicano lawyer Francisco Martínez, victim along with Crusade for Justice of vicious press campaign.

NY picket line called to defend Haitian refugees

By JAY RESSLER

NEW YORK—To escape the barbaric regime of Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier, many Haitians set out in small boats across the Atlantic for the United States in hope of political asylum and better economic conditions. Many drown in the perilous voyage to the U.S.

Since December 1972 more than 400 Haitians have arrived in Florida, only to find themselves thrown into jail by the U.S. immigration authorities as "illegals."

Nearly all of those who have arrived during the last 14 months have been ordered deported, but legal proceedings have thus far kept the government from carrying out this order.

More than 130 refugees are now being held in "preventive detention" pending deportation. Of these, 50 have recently been transferred from Florida to Texas prisons.

Should the government's attempts to deport the Haitian refugees prove successful, they face torture or death at the hands of Duvalier's personal police force—the infamous Tontons Macoutes—upon their return to Haiti.

The Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees, a recently formed coalition in New York City, is seeking the release of those imprisoned, and asylum for all Haitian refugees.

The Ad Hoc Committee has called an emergency picket line and news

conference for Thursday, Feb. 14, from 11:30 a.m. to 1 p.m., in front of the State Department Passport Office, 630 5th Ave.

Leaflets are being distributed in English, Spanish, and Creole in the Black, Latin, and Haitian communities.

The Ad Hoc Committee is composed of groups from New York City's Haitian community and representatives of trade union, Latin, church, and civil liberties groups.

Prominent endorsers of the demonstration include Professor Noam Chomsky, Nat Hentoff, Jules Feiffer, Judy Collins, I. F. Stone, and Henry Foner, president of the Fur, Leather,

and Machine Workers Union joint board.

Among the sponsoring organizations are the Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA), the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), *Haiti Observateur*, Friends of Haiti, Foundation Toussaint-L'Ouverture, Tanbou Ligè, Mayi Anmè, Casa Betances, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and the Haitian Refugees Information Center, Miami.

For further information, contact the Ad Hoc Committee for Defense of Haitian Refugees, 251 W. 80th St., New York, N.Y. 10024. Telephone (212) 491-6580.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 15, 1974

Marxists oppose individual terror

Spanish Trotskyists view Carrero assassination

[The following statement on the assassination of Spain's Prime Minister Carrero Blanco was issued in January by the Political Bureau of the Spanish Liga Comunista (Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). For the point of view of the LCR/ ETA(VI) (Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/ Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna—Revolutionary Communist League/ Basque Nation and Freedom [Sixth Congress]), the other sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, see *Intercontinental Press*, January 21, 1974. To receive this issue, send 50 cents to Intercontinental Press, Box 116 Village Station, New York, N. Y. 10014. The translation of the Liga Comunista statement is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The assassination of Carrero Blanco on December 20, 1973, by members

of the organization ETA(V) can only be characterized as an act of individual terrorism.

Except in conditions of civil war, Marxists are opposed in principle to individual terrorism.

Marxists oppose individual terrorism because it sows illusions among the masses, lowers their level of consciousness, demobilizes them, and reduces them to passivity.

In the last analysis, terrorism springs from the same source as reformism, which it also promotes. Both terrorists and reformists look to changing the capitalist superstructure, either through deals or by bombs, as a substitute for mass action. "A terrorist is a liberal with a bomb in his hand."

At the present time, needless to say, there is no civil war going on in the Spanish state; and terrorism does not

promote, but rather has negative effects on, the struggle of the workers and the oppressed masses against the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship.

The LCR/ ETA(VI), an organization that claims to be Marxist and Trotskyist, has given total support to the terrorist action carried out by the ETA(V), justifying this with the classical arguments and terminology of petty-bourgeois terrorism: "The disappearance of Carrero Blanco weakens the regime. . . ." "accelerates the crisis of the dictatorship. . . ." and "will constitute an encouragement to extending the struggle against the dictatorship."

In taking such a position, the LCR/ ETA(VI) has clearly broken with the Marxist principles and conceptions regarding terrorism.

In opposition to the position adopted by the LCR/ ETA(VI), in opposi-

tion to terrorism and reformism, the Liga Comunista as a Marxist organization declares its disagreement with the terrorist act carried out by the ETA(V) and its support for mobilizing the masses in direct action, which was always the line of the revolutionary party led by Lenin and Trotsky and has always been the line of the Fourth International.

Between terrorist action and the arguments of its defenders on the one side and the road of mobilizing the masses for direct, independent action on the other, the difference is not one of opinion or tactics; it is one of principle, of class. Terrorism is a petty-bourgeois method; mass action, a proletarian one.

Against the dictatorship, against the Francoist repression and terror, the Liga Comunista calls for unconditional defense of all people's militants.

Impact of Carrero killing on workers movement

[The following are excerpts from an editorial from the Liga Comunista journal *Combate* published after the assassination of Carrero Blanco. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The workers movement, and along with it the movements of the other popular strata struggling against the dictatorship, entered the new year in a situation rather more unfavorable than the one existing only two months ago. The causes for this are not limited to the repercussions of the December 20 assassination.

On previous occasions, we have pointed out the breadth of the counteroffensive undertaken by the broad masses in the past months, the possibilities it opened up, the limitations it had not overcome, and the needs it raised.

The breadth of the counteroffensive was shown above all in a wave of struggles by blue- and white-collar workers throughout the Spanish state for economic demands and against the repression. Asturias, SKF, La Seda, Super-Ser, and Indecasa are only some of the high points of the workers' resistance. Its power was shown by a more pronounced tendency to break out of the channels of the CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Trade-Union Federation, the official fascist industrial organization] and by the use of direct action in scattered battles, and also by the high level of consciousness attained in many of the mobilizations.

This wave of workers struggles was complemented, moreover, by militancy in other strata. The multiplying actions by peasants and stockmen were unprecedented since 1939. At various points, sectors of the new middle strata resumed their struggle. And, in particular, despite the disorientation of the student movement due to the predominance of narrow student-interest politics and legalism, important sections of the student youth once again demonstrated their militancy.

Innumerable times, we Trotskyists have repeated that it was essential

to promote and organize a counteroffensive of the entire working class and all the oppressed against the assault on wages and working conditions, against the general attack on social standards and in particular against the General Education Law, and against repression and all forms of oppression.

Important steps forward were carried out at scattered points, especially in certain areas of Euzkadi. If, in contrast to the general situation in the rest of the state, there was on December 20 a solid general strike in the factories of Pamplona and a

milk strike in the valleys of Navarre, Guipúzcoa, and part of Vizcaya, this reflected the fact that the bypassing of the leaderships had gone beyond the level of isolated factories and schools. As a result, some of the fundamental requirements for organizing a broad action had been met, if only partially.

In fact, the workers in ten of the most important plants in Pamplona, as well as the workers in some localities in Guipúzcoa, agreed to present a joint list of demands.

While the Navarre comisiones obre-

Continued on following page



Bomb-damaged street where Carrero's car was exploded

...Terrorist acts condemn the masses, and first of all

Continued from preceding page
 ras severely limited the scope of the December 12 day of struggle, in the following week the Indecasa workers broke with the CNS and adopted a line of direct action, organizing pickets that brought the workers out at key plants like Super-Ser and Imenasa. The strike in the industrial areas, the demonstration of the Super-Ser workers in the center of the city, and the organized self-defense of the workers against the repressive forces led up to the general strike of December 20.

The lessons of the milk strike were similar. Committees uniting a broad

on the assassination. Moreover, even with this event, if consistent preparatory work had been done, the working class would have had a far greater capacity for putting up strong resistance against 1,001 [the trial of the leaders of the comisiones obreras].

But what is indisputable is that the leadership of the PCE and the comisiones obreras preferred to stand in the way of the needs of the workers and people's movement at every point for the sake of "broadening the front of struggles" through an alliance with "democratic" bourgeois politicians and the Church hierarchy, who in reality are sworn enemies of independent mass action and whom we were very

assassination, and the new cabinet would have had to take over in more difficult conditions.

II

Marxists are not opposed in principle to using terror at any time or in any circumstance. To the contrary, recapitulating a long experience of the workers' movement, the Communist International declared in 1921 in its Third Congress:

"Against the acts of white terrorism and the fury of white justice, the communist party must keep alive in the minds of the proletariat the idea that at the time of insurrection it must

III

Our judgment of terrorist acts, on the other hand, does not depend on the subjective motives or revolutionary intent, but on their relationship to the needs of the mass struggle. In this sense, we consider that the assassination of Carrero Blanco was a clearly negative act from the standpoint of the workers and people's movement.

In the statement it made public taking "responsibility for the attack that caused the death of Señor Carrero Blanco, chairman of the present Spanish cabinet," the ETA(V) said: "Throughout the struggle in south Euzkadi [the part of the Basque country within Spain's boundaries] and throughout the Spanish state, the repressive forces have clearly demonstrated their fascist character, arresting, jailing, torturing, and murdering those who have fought for the liberation of their people. In a very short period, the criminal fascist forces in the service of the Spanish big bourgeoisie have murdered nine of our compañeros: Txabi, Txapela, Xenki, Mikelon, Ibarra, Txikia, Jon, Beltza, and Josué. Likewise, they have murdered other worker militants simply for defending their most elementary rights."

The motivation of ETA(V) is clear — anger against the capitalist terror, against the criminal repression by which the Spanish state maintains its oppression of the Basque people. But this repression is seen only from the narrow point of view of a small group. On this basis, the struggle against the dictatorship might come to mean a "duel" between the mercenaries of the Spanish state and this group, the ETA. On the contrary, the struggle against the capitalist terror requires a clear strategy, capable of sustaining effective action. Clear strategic aims and a fruitful approach are, however, both incompatible with the general political line of the nationalists in ETA and specifically with such terrorist actions.

"The operation the ETA has carried out against the state apparatus of the Spanish oligarchy in the person of Luis Carrero Blanco must be seen as a just revolutionary response by the working class and the entire Basque people to the death of our nine compañeros and of all those who have helped or who are helping to bring about the final liberation of humanity from all exploitation and all oppression.

"Luis Carrero Blanco, a 'hard-liner' with a brutal, repressive attitude, was the kingpin that guaranteed the stability and continuity of the Francoist system. There is no doubt that without him the tensions within the regime (between Opus Dei and the Falange) will mount dangerously.

"We believe that the action we have carried out against the premier of the Spanish cabinet will unquestionably represent a fundamental step forward in the struggle against national oppression, for a socialist Euzkadi, and for the liberation of all oppressed people in the Spanish state.

"Today the workers of all peoples in this state, of Euzkadi, Spain, Catalonia, and Galicia, and all anti-fascist and revolutionary democrats throughout the world have been freed from a major enemy.

"The struggle continues. Forward for national independence and so-



Rouge

Demonstration of workers commissions demands freedom for imprisoned leaders of commissions. Effect of assassination was to dampen mass movement.

vanguard proved their effectiveness, impelling the peasants to organize themselves in assemblies and elected committees, constantly and openly confronting the liquidationist line of the Hermandades de Labradores y Ganaderos [Brotherhoods of Laborers and Stockmen], and calling on the comisiones obreras for support.

Nonetheless, except for these and some other cases, while the workers more and more frequently overrode the divisive attitude of the PCE [Partido Comunista de España — Communist party of Spain], the comisiones obreras, and the other opportunist leaderships, this occurred only on the level of individual plants and isolated centers.

Above all, when these leaderships found themselves forced to call some days of struggle, they put no serious effort into the preparations or building. The December 12 day of struggle was a "clandestine" one as far as the broad masses were concerned. Although in some respects, there was more preparation for December 20, it also was not built with sufficient coordination, adequate agitation, or effective methods. Now these opportunist leaderships will blame the limitations on the assassination of Carrero. Of course, this event played a large part in diminishing the actions.

Nonetheless, how many workers, how many students, how many people went to demonstrate at and around the court building on the morning of December 20? (At that time very few people knew of Carrero's death.) How long had strikes been planned in the plants? This also cannot be blamed

soon to see weeping inconsolably over Carrero.

Thus, the policy of the "Pacto para la Libertad" [Freedom Pact] and other class-collaborationist policies helped the dictatorship keep the counterattack of the masses dispersed. Thereby they created the conditions that permitted the Carrero government in its last month to mount concentrated attacks on the masses. And even before this, these leaderships sabotaged the general struggle that they themselves had called, so that the government was able to impose its decree-laws and sentence Camacho and his companions without encountering any serious resistance from the masses. When, after postponing the case out of fear, the authorities decided to try the representatives of the comisiones obreras, these organizations did not throw one hundredth of their weight into the scales.

This was what was decisive in our black December. The working class and the people held the stage; not the crisis-racked dictatorship, and still less the petty-bourgeois terrorists. But while the proletariat could barely stammer, the petty-bourgeois politicians expressed their incapacity eloquently and big capital spoke with a commanding voice. We are suffering the results and will continue to for some time to come.

If the workers and popular movement had not been reduced to such impotence by the refusal to push for an overall plan of defense and concretely to build the December 12 and 20 actions in a serious way, the bourgeoisie would not have found it so easy to close ranks after Carrero's

not let itself be deluded by the enemy's appeals to its clemency. It will set up people's courts, and with proletarian justice settle accounts with the torturers of the proletariat." 1

To the accusations of the renegade Kautsky against the Russian revolution, Leon Trotsky replied:

"The man who repudiates terrorism in principle — i.e., repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution — must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship. The man who repudiates the dictatorship of the proletariat repudiates the Socialist revolution, and digs the grave of Socialism." 2

We Marxists reject any "moral" judgment of acts such as the assassination of Carrero Blanco. It was Leon Trotsky also who said in *Their Morals and Ours*:

"Is individual terror, for example, permissible or impermissible from the point of view of 'pure morals'? In this abstract form the question does not exist at all for us. Conservative Swiss bourgeois even now render official praise to the terrorist William Tell." 3

So, we denounce the vile hypocrisy with which the bourgeoisie and their spokesmen hide their class interests behind allegedly humanitarian scruples against violence "from whatever source."

We Marxists sympathize completely with the just anger of the oppressed against their oppressors, with the anger of the Basque, Irish, and Palestinian terrorists against the national and political oppression suffered by their peoples.

the workers, to the role of spectators

cialism! Long live a free and socialist Euzkadi!"

This triumphal manifesto is based on a conception of political action always applied by petty-bourgeois politicians to the struggles of oppressed peoples and the working class. Here we have a small organization deciding to sharpen the contradictions in the regime. In other cases, it might say that its aim was to wear out the state, pick off its personnel, and provoke social changes by means of its own conspiratorial activity outside of the mass struggle.

We find the same logic here that inspires the liberal, parliamentarist conceptions of those who claim to act "on behalf of" the proletariat and the people by intervening "directly" in the political superstructure of bourgeois rule, who claim to represent the masses, which they regard as incapable of rising to such lofty tasks. This basic conception stands in complete contradiction to promoting direct and independent mass action, on which Marxist politics are based.

Unlike the liberals, reformists, and terrorists, we Marxists regard the state as the guarantor of the relations of production on which one class bases its rule over other classes. For the ruling class the state is an instrument for systematic oppression of the other classes. Only because of their failure to understand this reality can terrorists overestimate actions against state officials as such, in isolation from the conflicts between the classes.

Thus, the greatest naïveté is revealed in ETA's arguing that Carrero "guaranteed the continuity of the regime." This is really incredible! It is clear that even many spokesmen for the regime did not believe this when they proclaimed it. In the face of the rise of the mass movement (which is a secondary factor for the terrorists), Franco himself could not guarantee the "continuity of the regime," even if he lived forever, as he promises.

Lack of confidence in the ability of the masses to carry their action through to insurrection is common to terrorists, liberals, and reformists (in the last case, contempt for the masses combines with fear). Likewise common to all these is prostration before the stability of the bourgeois order. The ETA(V) communiqué claimed that, thanks to its action, "the tensions within the regime will mount dangerously." As if the crisis of capitalism did not create enough tensions and contradictions! As if you had to help it along! There have been and are more than enough contradictions in the Francoist regime so that if these were decisively aggravated by the blows of the mass struggle, the masses could destroy it. On the other hand, no tension inside the regime will be of any help unless the workers and the people are in a position to exploit it. As long as they are not, the conflicts in the bourgeois apparatus will remain within the framework of the play among the various political forces of capitalism and their agents, of the continual process of greater or lesser readjustments in the front against the working class and the oppressed masses.

IV

What were the real effects of the assassination? For Marxists this is the same as asking: What conse-

quences did it have on the developments of mass action? This is what counts. For a group that wants to be effective, this alone is what is worth working for.

The masses, and first of all the workers, have been condemned to the role of spectators. Some may claim that the assassination had positive aspects because of its "popular impact," or the "sympathy" with which the masses viewed the killing of a prominent figure in the hated regime. We will not even discuss the emotional reactions of the people. Such an effect has no relevance when it comes to judging the supposedly positive political results of the action. At best, it did not help in any way to promote mass action but rather encouraged passivity on the part of the masses.

There is no question but that, despite the hamstringing policy of the reformist leaderships of the workers movement, the mobilizations on December 20 and successive dates would have been larger were it not for the assassination. There was every reason to think that they would have been bigger than the mobilization of December 12; and, in fact, they were smaller.

This retreat by the masses was not the result alone of the opportunist leaderships of the workers movement using the assassination to demobilize the people, which, of course, they did. In large part, this retreat reflected the immediate reaction of the masses, on which the reformist apparatus in turn based themselves. Of course, large-scale mass mobilizations would not

times greater. This would only mean that Marxists would have to make a hundred times greater effort to explain what was wrong with terrorism and discredit it in the eyes of the masses, because it would have a much greater deleterious influence on them. For such an "impact" only sows illusions that later on often bring demoralization that can be capitalized on by legalist reformists.

It is lamentable to have to note once again what the whole history of the workers movement has shown more than abundantly: "Individual acts of terrorism, clear symptoms of revolutionary indignation though they are, and however natural when employed against the lynch justice of the bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lackeys, are in no way fitted to strengthen proletarian discipline and militancy, for they arouse among the masses the illusion that individual acts of terrorism can take the place of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat."⁴

"Whether or not a terrorist attempt, even if 'successful,' introduces confusion in the ruling circles, depends upon the concrete political circumstances. In any case, this confusion can only be of short duration. The capitalist state does not rest upon Ministers, and cannot be destroyed together with them. The classes whom the state serves will always find new men—the mechanism remains intact and continues to function. But much deeper is that confusion which the terrorist attempts to introduce into the ranks of the working masses. If it is enough to arm

onciles them to impotence, and directs their glances and hopes toward the greater avenger and emancipator who will some day come and accomplish his mission." (Emphasis in the original.)⁵

V

One of the most immediate consequences of the retreat and confusion of the masses is that they are in an unfavorable position to face the increased repression that has come in the wake of the terrorist actions.

On this point also, the judgment that we make as Marxists is diametrically opposed to that of both the reformists and the terrorists. The reformists' argument tends to be the following: "The terrorists are provoking repression, unleashing a chain reaction strengthening the influence of the 'hard-liners' and shutting off the openings for the dialogue that we are working for." The reformists are worried that their bourgeois allies will be frightened, and so the PCE has an interest in passing off the assassination as the work of "experienced professionals with powerful protectors." (Statement of the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the PCE, December 1973.)

The terrorists follow the opposite line of reasoning: "By the blows we are dealing the reactionaries, we are sowing disarray and demoralization in their ranks, creating a situation that in the long run will lead to the disintegration of the enemy. This benefits the masses, who are inspired by seeing the hated regime suffer blows. So it doesn't matter if the bourgeoisie reacts by stepping up the repression. On the contrary, this enters into the logic of the spiral of action-repression, repression-action, which in the long run is going to bring us victory."

Once again, equally bourgeois conceptions guide both those who claim that the way to fight repression is by subordinating the mass movement to fawning on bourgeois politicians and those who claim to fight repression by blowing these same politicians sky-high. Both the blandishments and the bombs directed at the hired killers of the bourgeoisie leave out what from a working-class, Marxist, point of view is essential in the struggle against repression (as in all other questions)—impelling the masses to mobilize independently in direct struggle.

We Marxists say that the increased repression for which terrorist acts open the way is important. The stepped-up repression that follows terrorist attacks, unlike that which comes as a response to a rise in the mass struggle, usually has disastrous consequences.

The bourgeoisie does not decide whether or not it will resort to repression on the basis of the pretexts available to it, although it takes advantage of whatever it can use as an excuse for repression and it looks for such pretexts. Nor does this depend on the reformist leaders' "desire for dialogue," although the bourgeoisie exploits such attitudes and seeks to encourage them. What "provokes" repression is the bourgeoisie's need to beat back the workers and people's movement. The only thing that can put a brake on repression is fear of this movement, which in 1970 saved the lives of Izko and his compañeros.

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Carrero (left) with Franco. Trotsky wrote: 'The capitalist state does not rest upon Ministers, and cannot be destroyed together with them.'

have been stopped by Carrero's death. In such a context, the effects of the assassination on the mass movement would have been much less. And therefore, the fundamental responsibility for the failure of these mobilizations still falls on the leaderships of the PCE and the comisiones obreras and their direct collaborators, and not on ETA (V). But the latter organization also cannot wash its hands of responsibility.

What is more, let us suppose that the "popular sympathy" won by the assassination had been a hundred

oneself with a revolver to reach the goal, then to what end are the endeavors of the class struggle? If a pinch of powder and a slug of lead are ample to shoot the enemy through the neck, where is the need of a class organization? If there is any rhyme or reason in scaring titled personages with the noise of an explosion, what need is there for a party? What is the need of meetings, mass agitation, elections, when it is so easy to take aim at the ministerial bench from the parliamentary gallery? Individual terrorism in our eyes is inadmissible precisely for the reason that it *lowers the masses in their consciousness, rec-*

...terrorism

Continued from preceding page

If there is a major strike, the bourgeoisie has a "pretext" for repression. But by their action in such a struggle the masses have raised their fighting spirit to a new level, closed their ranks, and are in a position to wage a vigorous counterattack against repression. As a result, the bourgeoisie weighs its steps, sometimes deciding not to take the "opportunity," and if it does turn to repression, it has to face new onslaughts by the masses.

In the case of terrorist acts, this

ical context. Coming at the time it did, added to other much more decisive factors, Carrero's assassination has had an eminently negative effect.

VI

The consequences of the attack against Carrero have, thus, been graver than in any previous case of this type. It obstructed the fundamental fight for the release of Camacho and his compañeros. A more ambitious terrorist action than the earlier ones, it occurred at a critical moment, at the very culminating point of a series of setbacks for the workers movement.

But the struggle of the masses is undergoing an unquestionable revival.



Fascists mobilized for Carrero's funeral. While assassination shook up the Franco regime, shake-up could only play into hands of factions within ruling class, since masses were not able to intervene.

all changes. The masses are more divided and confused (insofar as they are affected by what the terrorist do), the more vacillating sectors listen to the pacifist whines of the "democrats", and this creates better conditions for big capital to marshal its forces against "disorder," "violence," and "savagery," and in reality to conduct its repression with greater ease.

Thus, in the balance of forces between the classes the weight of individual terrorism comes down on the side of the bourgeoisie. As we have already indicated, this weight may be more or less, depending on the polit-

If they are incorporated in systematic work to develop concrete struggles applying the methods of direct action that saved the lives of Izko and his compañeros—the methods of the Térmica and Pamplona strikes—agitating and mobilizing against the repression can and must renew the strength of the workers' counteroffensive so that it can overcome the obstacles that in recent months have kept it dispersed.

At the same time, in order, among other things, to make this work effective, it is essential to develop the most vigorous debate inside the militant vanguard on the grave lessons of the past months. The confusionism prevailing among the fighters continues to be a serious handicap to carrying out the urgent tasks that face us.

Both through this work and through this debate, we will strive to promote the construction of a revolutionary party that can channel the revolutionary energies that today are being diverted by reformism and terrorism.

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1. "Theses on Tactics," *The Communist International: Documents*, edited by Jane Degras, London: 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 253-254.

2. *Terrorism and Communism*, London: 1935, pp. 23-24.

3. Leon Trotsky, *Their Morals and Ours*, New York: 1966, p. 38.

4. "Theses on Tactics," *The Communist International: Documents*, Vol. 1, p. 254.

5. Quoted, from an article by Leon Trotsky in a 1911 issue of *Der Kampf*, the theoretical organ of the Austrian Social Democratic party, in *The Case of Leon Trotsky: Report of Hearings on the Charges Made Against Him in the Moscow Trials*, New York: 1969, p. 259.

World news notes

Iranian assault on Dhofar

Last month the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf (PFLOAG) held a press conference in Beirut to denounce a new military assault led by Iranian forces against the liberated territories of Dhofar, a southern province of Oman. According to the PFLOAG representative, several thousand Iranian troops are involved, and they are given cooperation by British and Saudi Arabian forces as well as the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

"The Iranian soldiers are now engaged in fierce battles against the revolutionary forces of the PFLOAG as well as massing troops near the border with the Democratic Republic of Yemen," reads the communiqué from PFLOAG. "The Iranian Air Force is continuously and savagely bombing the liberated regions."

PFLOAG sees the new offensive against the liberation forces in Oman as part of U.S. imperialism's general aims in the Middle East "to liquidate the revolutionary movements in the Arab region, the foremost of them being the Palestinian revolution, and . . . to encircle the progressive regime in Democratic Yemen."

"The task of the progressive forces is clear," says the communiqué. "U.S. imperialism, weakened by its defeats in Vietnam and throughout the world, is attempting to defeat revolutions by proxy through 'third' parties such as Iran. Just as we fought direct intervention through exposure, education, and massive struggles against the war in Indochina (which still continues), we must mobilize against the new attacks on the revolution in the Gulf."

Canadian abortion tribunal

The victimization of Dr. Henry Morgentaler by the Canadian government continues. Morgentaler is a Québec physician who has admitted performing thousands of abortions in defiance of Canada's restrictive abortion law. He was tried and acquitted last November on one of thirteen charges relating to illegal performance of an abortion. The government has appealed the acquittal, and proceedings on the appeal began January 29.

The acquittal reflected the widespread support in Canada for the right of women to abortion. Committees to defend Dr. Morgentaler have sprung up across the country. The Toronto defense committee has called for an Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler, to take place in Ottawa on March 9.

"The Tribunal will dispel the myths surrounding abortion and give voice to the tens of thousands of women who daily suffer under the law which is now publicly victimizing Dr. Morgentaler," states the call for the Tribunal.

The Tribunal, which will be simultaneously translated into English and French, will culminate in a march to the Parliament Hill in Ottawa to present the indictments and demands that come out of the Tribunal.

Chilean doctors hunted; Vitale in danger

The savagery of the Chilean junta was dramatized last month with the announcement of the junta's campaign to apprehend doctors accused of "actively participating in the formation of clandestine hospitals." The underground medical facilities were apparently set up to aid the thousands shot, beaten, or tortured by the junta in its ongoing rampage of repression.

Among those already arrested are six internationally known doctors, including a world-renowned nutrition expert, Chile's leading lung specialist, and the former Chilean minister of health. Of the 400 doctors in Valparaiso, Chile's second largest city, sixty are "under investigation," according to the Jan. 13 *New York Times*. More than 200 American physicians purchased a half-page ad in the January 27 *Times* to protest this vicious attack on these doctors.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) called February 4 for emergency protests on behalf of two physicians who are also leaders of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), as well as for Marxist scholar Luis Vitale. The two MIR leaders, Bautista Van Schowen Vasey and Alejandro Romero Gusman, have been condemned to death, and are currently in a military hospital in Santiago after undergoing severe torture.

USLA spokesman Frank Grinnon told *The Militant* that the committee had just received word from Chile that Vitale has also been badly tortured and is now in a military hospital in Santiago. Since Vitale is an older person and in bad health, his life is especially endangered by torture. The author of a six-volume Marxist history of Chile, Vitale has long been a leading figure in the Chilean working class and trade-union movement.

USLA urges people to send telegrams or letters demanding the release and safe conduct out of Chile for Vitale, Van Schowen, and Romero. Protests should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1736 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, with copies to USLA at 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Iranian pickets demand halt to executions

By FARHAD FARZAD

NEW YORK — On Jan. 25, 150 to 200 persons picketed Iranian Ambassador Ardeshtir Zahedi at a two-day conference of Near Eastern studies scholars at New York University. This was one of the latest efforts to focus world attention on the case of 12 Iranian writers, journalists, and artists facing death or harsh prison terms at the hands of the shah.

Fifty scholars from the United States, Iran, Turkey, Britain, India, and Pakistan attended the conference to discuss the works of two classical Iranian mystical poets, Rumi and Biruni.

The emergency picket was called to demand a stop to the execution of five of the 12 Iranians and a halt to political repression in Iran. Earlier, seven of the 12 had been condemned to death.

However, on Jan. 23, in an apparent response to international protests, a Tehran military appeals court suspended the death sentences of 40-year-old artist Manouchehr Moghadam-Salimi and 27-year-old writer Rahmat-Allah Jamshidi. They were re-sentenced to prison terms of 15 and 10 years, respectively.

The five who remain at the shah's mercy have 10 days to appeal to a higher court. The allowance for a second appeal is regarded as an unusual procedure in the Iranian military court system.

The military appeals court also either confirmed or reduced the prison sentences of the remaining five defendants, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Tehran in the Jan. 25 *Le Monde*.

In addition to demanding that the executions be stayed, the picket protested the Iranian embassy's refusal to renew the passports of 41 Iranian students in Northern California and

the situation of others whose legal status in the United States is threatened.

Among the chants and placards carried by the demonstrators were "Stop the execution of the five," "Stop harassing Iranian students abroad, Renew all their passports!," "Stop political repression in Iran," and "U.S. out of Iran." The chant "Down with the shah" rang out when the shah's emissary, Ambassador Zahedi, appeared.

Organizations sponsoring or participating in the picket included the Iranian Students Association (ISA), the Ethiopian Students Association, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), Attica Brigade, Peoples Democratic Association, *Guardian*, and the North American Anti-Imperialist Coalition.

On the second day of the literary conference the scholars voted to allow a representative of the Iranian Students Association to address them on the situation of persecuted artists and intellectuals in Iran. Earlier, when an ISA member had requested time to speak he was bodily removed from the hall by several SAVAK (Iranian secret police) agents.

It was clear that the scholars' decision was influenced by the large quantity of literature on the situation in Iran distributed to them and by discussions during intermissions. The hearing gained by the democratic forces was also due to the efforts of the international professional writers association PEN, in focusing world attention on the violation of civil liberties in Iran.

In close collaboration with the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, PEN played an important role in winning the release of the eminent poet Reza Baraheni,

renowned as Iran's Solzhenitsyn.

That PEN has mounted a determined campaign to guarantee freedom of expression in Iran was further evidenced in a public message made by one of its members, 1971 Pulitzer Prize winner W. H. Merwin, at an evening of Persian poetry and music highlighting the conference. The performing artists—classical musicians, TV and film personalities—were especially flown in for the officially sponsored event, attended by 500.

Merwin prefaced his poetry reading with an appeal from PEN for the 12 prominent writers, journalists, and artists. He stated that PEN had been attempting to collect information on the 12 Iranians for three months and announced the availability of litera-

ture in the hall.

Merwin had barely mentioned "the 12" when a SAVAK agent, conspicuously planted near the stage, leaped to his feet and brusquely proclaimed to possess the "truth" about the 12, which he offered to shed light on when the program was over.

Although booed down for his initial interruption, the agent, undaunted by the spectacle he had already made, insisted on mounting the stage to denounce the 12 as conspirators, even after the performance was adjourned.

Despite constant SAVAK attempts to harass and intimidate ISA members and CAIFI supporters throughout the conference, the end result was to arouse interest and concern for the situation of dissidents in Iran.



Iranian political prisoners on trial in Tehran. Five are facing death sentences

N.J. postal workers close job site

By MICHAEL LUX

The New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center in Jersey City, N.J., was effectively shut down for four days beginning Jan. 21 in a spontaneous action by postal workers against an arbitrary change of shift schedules by the United States Postal Service.

As of Feb. 4, after more than a week of negotiations following the walkout, the leadership of the 26,000-member Metropolitan Area Postal Union was still engaged in talks with representatives of the Postal Service.

The work action quickly spread to the Meadows Facility in Kearny, N.J., where seven pickets were arrested by police. The arrests were the result of U.S. Postal Service efforts to divert truckloads of mail from Jersey City to the Kearny plant.

The spontaneous action occurred as

postal workers reported on the job at their regular 7 a.m. starting time on Monday, Jan. 21, but were locked out by plant guards who cited the changed tour schedules.

By Tuesday, the strike began to receive pledges of support from postal leaders such as Ben Zemsky, president of the Brooklyn local of the American Postal Workers Union.

On Thursday, Jan. 24, union leaders and representatives of the Postal Service agreed to a one-week settlement that left the tour schedules of foreign mail handlers intact, but forced bulk mail handlers to report to work more than two hours later than usual, at 9:15 a.m. and 6 p.m.

The immediate cause of the dispute was the arbitrary decision by the Postal Service to change the tour

schedules of bulk and foreign mail handlers at the Jersey City facility from 7 a.m. and 3:15 p.m. to 10:15 a.m. and 7 p.m. The effect of this decision would be to leave swing shift employees coming off the job at 3:30 in the morning in the middle of the Jersey meadowlands.

This type of military control exercised over hours and work rules comes on top of previous insults to postal workers at the Jersey plant. These are the same workers who were "automated" out of the Brooklyn Army Terminal facility when it was phased out recently in favor of the new modern facilities in Jersey City. Most of them live in Brooklyn or Manhattan and were faced with the option of either working in New Jersey or being laid off.

Oakland cops arrest four Black Muslims

By JAMES LEWIS

OAKLAND—A capacity crowd of 2,000 Blacks jammed Muhammad's Temple Number 26 in San Francisco Jan. 27 to protest the shooting of Larry Cosby, and the arrests of Cosby, Herbert Tucker, Donald Gray, and Robert Wright. All four men are members of the Nation of Islam. Cosby was gunned down in Oakland by a cop.

The crowd cheered enthusiastically when a Muslim leader said that Black people should be tired of having their Black brothers shot down in the streets. He called on all Black people in the Bay Area to support the four brothers. The men were attacked and then arrested while selling fish door

to door.

The breadth of support for the four men was evident in the fact that three-fourths of the crowd was non-Muslim.

The police attack was clearly a setup. On Jan. 25 William Cooper, a Berkeley cop, tailed the Muslim truck from Berkeley into Oakland. The truck had "imported fish" and "Nation of Islam" written all over it. Cooper stopped the truck "for reasons other than routine" and called for a "cover car."

Cooper asked Herbert Tucker, the driver of the van, for identification. When Tucker refused to hand over his identification, an argument started. Two other cop cars arrived and a fight began.

When still more cops responded to a police call for more help, the four Muslims tried to get away. Cosby was shot three times and is now in the hospital and is possibly paralyzed for life.

The four men were arrested and charged with assault with deadly weapons. Bail was set at \$45,000 each.

The only reasons given by the police for stopping the truck is a vague "for reasons other than routine." But the Bay Area Black community feels that harassment and intimidation in the Black community by the police department is very routine. The shooting and arrests of the four Muslim brothers is yet another attack on the Black community here.

THE FACTS ON ISRAELI AGGRESSION

Israel and the Arabs by Maxime Rodinson. Penguin. Baltimore, 1968. 240 pp. Paper \$1.25.

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State? by Maxime Rodinson. Monad. New York, 1973. 128 pp. Paper \$1.75.

The Fall of Jerusalem by Abdullah Schleifer. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1972. Paper \$3.45.

The expected deluge of books inspired by the Mideast war of 1973 hasn't begun yet; before it does, there are three from the crop that followed the June 1967 war that are well worth reading.

The best to come out were two books by Maxime Rodinson, *Israel and the Arabs* and *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?* Rodinson, one of the leading European scholars in Islamic and

ist leaders. It is also justified by the relation of the Zionist settlers to the native Palestinian population and by the collaboration of the Zionists with the imperialist powers, their natural allies.

Israel and the Arabs is a more general survey of the conflict in the Mideast, including a summary of the history of Arab nationalism as well as Zionism and of the relations between Israel and the Arab world. In his chapter on the 1967 war, Rodinson effectively explodes the myth that the Israeli blitzkrieg against Jordan, Syria, and Egypt was undertaken because the Israeli leaders were afraid of annihilation by Arab armies.

Rodinson considers himself an independent Marxist, and, as he says, he rejects "the hypocritical approach that condemns acts of rebellion by the oppressed in the name of some universal morality, while forgetting about the weight of the oppression and crimes of the oppressor."

While supporting the rights of the Palestinians, Rodinson hopes—or wishes—that the struggle against the Zionist state could somehow be avoided. He would like to see time heal the wounds left by the Israeli colonization. He would like Israel to become "a Levantine State like any other, and no more a bridgehead of the West, forced by her situation to bear the brunt of the Arab world's hostility and to seek imperialist support."

Ironically enough, the example that Rodinson, writing in 1967 and '68, gives in both his books of a colonial-settler state being transformed and accepted by the native population is Northern Ireland. But for the last five years Ireland, too, has been wracked by struggles against the continuing colonial domination.

The fact is, as Rodinson himself amply demonstrates, the structure and nature of the Israeli state were determined from the beginning by its colonial nature. It will be a constant



Recent war has renewed interest in truth about the Mideast

source of war and conflict as long as it exists.

Abdullah Schleifer's *The Fall of Jerusalem* also gives a general sketch of the Zionist movement, the history of Palestine in the twentieth century, and the development of the Arab nationalist movement. However, his book has one great strength missing from the others.

As a resident of Jerusalem during the 1967 war, Schleifer is able to give a vivid account of what that war looked like from the Arab side—something that has been all too rare in the U.S.

The point of view of those actually living under the shadow of Israeli domination comes across throughout the book. Little things, such as the fact that a Sabbath-closing law has been imposed in Arab Jerusalem even though the Muslim culture has no Sabbath, are continual reminders of this.

Schleifer details in one incident after another the corruption and incompetence of the Arab regimes and their refusal to mobilize the Arab masses.

He describes the Government Hospital in Jerusalem:

"There was nothing here but a charnel house: no bandages, medicine, food, or even bread . . . only a desperately harried staff and rooms of wounded and dying men cursing their officers for deserting under fire, cursing the King and his uncle Sherif Nasser for their lack of rations, for defective ammunition, for the absence of reinforcements."

Such experiences were the foundation of the massive radicalization that seized the Arab world, especially the Palestinians, following the 1967 war. As Schleifer correctly notes in a final section that is particularly relevant to the current negotiations in the Mideast, "The Arab elite desperately craves a settlement because they lack the energy, historic ambition, and faith in themselves and their people to conceive of a viable alternative."

The Arab peoples, however, have begun to realize that there is an alternative. In that fact lies the future of the Arab East.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Books

Middle Eastern studies, answers the question posed in the title of the latter book through a historical study of the Zionist movement up until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948.

After reading his exposition, all but the most hardened Zionists would be forced to agree with his conclusion: "the creation of the State of Israel on Palestinian soil is the culmination of a process that fits perfectly into the great European-American movement of expansion in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries whose aim was to settle new inhabitants among other peoples or to dominate them economically and politically."

This conclusion is justified not only by the character of Zionist ideology and the conceptions of the main Zion-

ABC WHITEWASHES ROSENBERG CASE

The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Produced by Stanley Kramer for the American Broadcasting Company. First in 'Judgment' courtroom series.

I became angry watching ABC-TV's "The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" Jan. 28—angry that after 20 years, the TV networks would still try to obscure the truth about that infamous frame-up case.

Producer Stanley Kramer announced at the beginning of the program that he hoped it would "push open the gates of discussion." He plans a whole TV series on controversial trials. This could be an exciting and worthwhile endeavor, but only if it is aimed at getting out the facts about these cases. ABC failed to do this in its Rosenberg drama.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and Morton Sobell—accused of being "Communist spies"—were convicted in 1951 of passing "the secret of the atom bomb" to the Soviet Union. In 1953, the Rosenbergs died in the electric chair; Sobell went to prison and was only released in 1969.

All three asserted their innocence from the beginning, but the hysterical witch-hunt atmosphere of the McCarthy period permeated their trial and made efforts to launch a massive defense campaign extremely difficult. It was only after the executions that many of the facts came out.

ABC's production, however, did not mention a single one of the revelations pointing to a government frame-up. Instead, the script played up "psychological" aspects of the tragedy, such

Television

as the "family conflict" between Ethel Rosenberg and David Greenglass, her brother and the key government witness.

Both Morton Sobell and the Rosenbergs' sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol, condemned the TV version. The Meeropol brothers have demanded that ABC give them prime time to produce an accurate dramatization of the case.

To begin with, such a truthful production would debunk the myth that



Rosenberg executions brought massive protests like this one in New York, June 19, 1953.

there was a "secret of the atom bomb" that could be stolen. Atomic scientists have testified that the sketches introduced as evidence of the "crime" were useless.

The other piece of "evidence" presented by the government, a hotel registration card, was supposed to establish a secret meeting between two of the "spies." But subsequent analysis showed the card to be a forgery; in the meantime, the FBI has destroyed the original.

There is also documented proof that the government's stool pigeons on the witness stand altered their testimony in the course of the case.

These facts are only a small part of what may someday completely expose one of the most monstrous government frame-up trials in U.S. history. But ABC's "neutral" approach of omitting key facts only helps perpetuate the cover-up of this legalized murder.

For an engrossing and serious study of the trial, I recommend *Invitation to an Inquest* by Walter and Miriam Schneir, available from Penguin.

—CINDY JAQUITH

U.S. capital follows Kissinger into Egypt

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Calendar

BOSTON

'MALCOLM X: STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM'—FILM. Speakers: Ollie Bivens, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

WEEKEND CONFERENCE ON THE INTERNATIONAL STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIBERATION, FEB. 15-16. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m.: Black power in the Caribbean. Speakers: Wally Lookai and Maxine Williams; Sat., Feb. 16, 1 p.m.: Dynamics of the African revolution. Speakers: Maina Wa Kinyathi and Robb Wright; 3:30 p.m.: Black Americans and the socialist revolution. Speaker: Norman Oliver. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$2 entire weekend; \$1 Friday only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

OIL, PORK CHOPS, AND THE AMERICAN WORKER. Speaker: Herman Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' Film on the Russian revolution. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL/EAST SIDE

WOUNDED KNEE: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES. Speaker: Laura Viegas, American Indian Movement. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

WHAT'S BEHIND THE ENERGY CRISIS? Speakers: Chet Ray, president, UAW Local 216; Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THAILAND: THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. DOMINATION. Speakers: George Johnson, contributor to *The Militant*; other speaker to be announced. Fri., Feb. 15 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

HAITIAN REFUGEES: THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM. Speakers: Father Celestin, director, Haitian Church Community Project; Patti Iiyama, United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH

WITCHES: A FEMINIST VIEWPOINT. Speaker: Susan Beck, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

ST. LOUIS

THE PEACE ACCORDS: ONE YEAR LATER. Panel: Eldora Spiegelberg, Women's International League for

Peace & Freedom; Craig Doner, Worker Unity Organization; Elizabeth Jayko, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS. Speaker: Laura Moorhead, member of the African Liberation Support Committee, Southwest organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

DEFEND YVONNE GOLDEN. Speakers: Yvonne Golden, Black teacher framed up for "inciting to riot" against Nazis; Steve Wattenmaker, national committee member, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SEATTLE

'CAMPAMENTO': A FILM ON THE STRUGGLE IN CHILE. Speaker: Barry Fatland, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

LAUNCHING OF MINNESOTA 1974 ELECTION CAMPAIGN. Speakers: Jane Van Deusen, 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; others. Sat., Feb. 16, 7 p.m., steak dinner; 8:30 p.m., program. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$3.50, dinner and program; \$1, program only. Ausp: Minnesota 1974 Campaign. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...RUP

Continued from page 18

Marta Cotera, a leading organizer of Mujeres por La Raza Unida, told *The Militant* what led to this move. During the 1972 campaign, RUP women at the Texas Women's Political Caucus convention agreed to support TWPC's endorsement of Frances "Sissy" Farenthold for governor in the Democratic primary. The TWPC, in turn, supported Alma Canales, the RUP candidate for lieutenant governor.

Cotera explained that the RUP women fully expected that if the liberal Farenthold lost in the primary, she and the TWPC would support Muñoz. But instead, after losing to Dolph Briscoe, Farenthold actively campaigned for Briscoe, a conservative, wealthy rancher, and publicly criticized the Raza Unida Party. "It was a real lesson in the kind of politics of the WPC," Cotera said.

There are now more than 500 women active in Mujeres por La Raza Unida. "What we are out to do," Cotera says, "is to build the Raza

Unida Party by recruiting women so they can become active, as candidates, organizers, and officials at all levels and help the process of developing a powerful Raza Unida Party in Texas."

The Raza Unida candidates will all be running in the RUP primary on May 4, the same date as the Democratic and Republican party primaries.

...Pulley

Continued from page 9

agents and another for Blacks and working people.

There is tremendous sentiment in this country for getting rid of Nixon. People want to see Nixon ousted. And Nixon should be ousted. Not only should he be ousted, he should be imprisoned and the key should be thrown away for all the crimes he has committed in addition to Watergate, like the slaughter of thousands of Vietnamese.

But what we have to keep in mind is that even if Nixon is ousted this will not end the problems we face. Nixon's policies are a continuation and extension of the policies of past administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, whose policies are always aimed at safeguarding and strengthening the profits of the super-rich.

The only way to end Watergating is to take power out of the hands of politicians who rule in the interest of the super-rich. We need a totally different political system—a workers government—which will be based on the interests of the majority of people in this country.

These are the goals of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

...truckers

Continued from page 5

A Jones and Laughlin official said shipments to the company's steel plant in Cleveland were down by at least 75 percent. Supplies were also cut to the 63 stores of the Fisher-Fazio-Costa food chain in Northern Ohio when Teamster Local 407 members refused to cross a CIT picket line.

The CIT action has spurred support from other truckers. In Painesville, Ohio, the Northeast Ohio Dump Truck Association was formed Jan. 30, when 175 dump truck owners signed up to join the strike. These trucks haul salt, lime, gravel, and other bulk material. In Ashtabula, 60 dump truck drivers joined the shutdown.

Ohio newspapers have headlined reports of violence against truckers who refused to stop driving. George Rynn disputed these stories. "We want to curb violence," he told *The Militant*. "We have safety patrols roaming the area to keep an eye on trouble spots."

Part of the function of the safety patrols is to escort emergency fuel trucks to hospitals and schools. Equipped with citizen band radios, the patrols also serve to keep trucks off the roads.

A meeting of 2,200 CIT members was held Jan. 27 in Barberton, where the angry drivers voted to stay out indefinitely. CIT is appealing to all truckers to stay off the road.

"The company truck drivers (those who don't own their own equipment) have a stake in this fight too," said Rynn.

Bob Weitzel echoed the same sentiment. "As a matter of fact, our fight is everyone's fight," he told *The Militant*. "The government thinks the public is stupid, that we're a bunch of sheep. Do you know that last year I grossed \$42,000? My adjusted income after all expenses were paid, the income I had to pay taxes on, was only \$10,300."

...economy

Continued from page 3

gress makes, workers will face both higher prices and growing unemployment this year. To combat these problems, the trade unions need to break from the straitjacket of support to the capitalist parties and begin to mobilize the masses of workers to fight for their own interests.

The independent truckers, by refusing to foot the bill for the capitalist-caused fuel shortage, have set a powerful example.

Key among the unions' demands should be automatic cost-of-living wage increases to offset inflation, and a shorter workweek at no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

Socialist Directory

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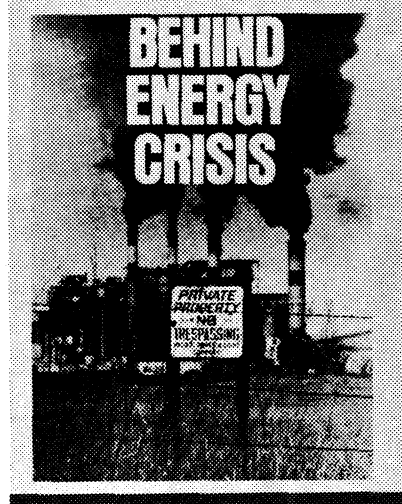
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Women organize to win equality in unions, on job



By LINDA JENNESS

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is holding a national conference, open to all union women, March 23-24 in Chicago.

This conference follows a year of intensified struggles by working women and can be an important step toward organizing women's fights for equality in the unions, on the job, and in society as a whole.

There is a growing recognition on the part of women workers that the power of the unions must be put behind their struggles, and that women must take the lead in forcing the unions to pick up their demands and fight for them. Or, as one speaker at a recent East Coast CLUW planning meeting put it, "We can't do it without the unions, and the unions can't do it without us."

Proof of the degree to which feminist ideas have penetrated the consciousness of women workers and begun to affect the struggles of working people are the series of actions over the last year spearheaded by working women.

'Male only' barriers

Women have fought for the right to enter jobs traditionally closed to them. Hardly a week goes by without the announcement of women breaking through another "male only" barrier—in construction, trucking, mining, aviation, forestry, and electrical, to name only a few.

In addition, the fight for equality on the job has been expressed through thousands of discrimination suits against employers. Through these actions companies have been forced to cough up millions of dollars in back pay. A suit against American Telephone and Telegraph resulted in payments of \$15-million to 15,000 employees, including \$7.5-million to women because of unequal pay practices.

Women were the backbone of the hospital workers' strike in New York and are vital to the strike of the miners in Harlan County, Ky., and the struggle of the United Farm Workers. The Farah pants strike involves primarily Chicanas. It was women who played the key organizing role in the meat boycotts.

Unorganized university employees, household workers, and office workers have all increased their efforts to organize and unionize.

Working women's meetings

This ferment among working women is reflected in the meetings that have been held during the past year to discuss the special concerns of women on the job. Some of these meetings have been open to all working women. These include the conference of women office workers in New York last October, which drew 500 women, and a meeting in St. Louis of 400 women held at the Teamsters hall.

Others have been limited to women who are in unions. These include the January meeting of New York trade-union women, which attracted 650 female unionists, and both the Midwest and East Coast planning meetings of CLUW, which drew 200 and 300 respectively.

These meetings have received broad endorsement from the unions. The New York trade-union women's conference was endorsed by the N.Y. Central Labor Council and 26 independent and AFL-CIO unions. The Dec. 8 CLUW planning meeting in Philadelphia was endorsed by the Philadelphia Central Labor Council as well as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, and others. CLUW includes women from more than 35 unions.

But the record of the unions in the fight for equality of women is a sorry one. At best the attitude of the trade-union bureaucracy has been one of tokenism and gradualism in changing the situation of women within the unions and on the job. At worst, labor officialdom has actively campaigned against female equality.

Before changing its position on the Equal Rights Amendment at the last AFL-CIO convention, for example, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy was one of the main obstacles to getting the ERA ratified. The fact that they switched their position was a direct result of pressure from union women and feminist sentiment.

More and more working women—particularly younger, rank-and-file women, and Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women—are beginning to see the need to organize themselves within the unions in order to change them. They are beginning to see that if women are to make gains, nothing can substitute for the organized intervention of women workers themselves.

At the union women's gatherings across the country, a variety of issues of special concern to women workers has been discussed.

Organizing the unorganized

One topic of concern is the enormous number of working women who are not unionized. In fact, of the 33 million working women, only three million belong to unions. This means that 30 million working women have no job protection and, on the whole, get substandard wages. It also means that the clout of women within the unions is severely weakened by the paucity of their numbers.

Other issues include the need for day care for working mothers, equal

pay and job opportunities, passage of the ERA, maternity benefits, fighting for the adoption of affirmative action plans to hire and promote women, layoffs caused by the energy crisis—which hit women the hardest—unemployment, and others.

All these issues are important. They are important to women as women, and to both male and female workers as a class.

Struggles around these issues can help combat sexist schemes to pit men against women at the expense of all workers. And they can help cut across racist prejudices that divide the white workers from Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano workers.

Transforming the unions

Women workers can also be a force for change within the unions themselves. The organization of working women can help point the way to the kind of labor leadership that is needed. Only by championing the cause of the most exploited—the oppressed nationalities and women—can the unions be transformed into fighting instruments of struggle.

As the struggles of women workers intensify, they will also play a role in helping to raise consciousness within the union movement about the need for working people to end their dependence on the Democratic and Republican parties. These two capitalist parties perpetuate the policies that keep women down. They are beholden to the bosses and responsible for the exploitation of all working people.

The CLUW conference in March can be an important step in launching a sustained struggle for the rights of women. The conference should be publicized and enthusiastically welcomed by all unionists—male and female—as well as by the entire feminist movement.