

THE MILITANT

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

On-the-scene reports

What truckers are fighting for



Militant/Greg Cornell

Minnesota truckers vote Feb. 10 to continue strike. Reporters for the Militant attended strike meetings around the country. For their reports, and special feature on Teamsters union and independent truckers in 1930s and today, see pages 5-9.

British miners challenge Heath/4



THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Union organizers speak out on fight of women workers
- 8 Interview with Farrell Dobbs on truckers strike
- 13 Strikers sit in at SF Sears store
- 14 Socialist candidates blast oil profiteers
- 15 UAW officials: no friends of Black workers
- 16 Issues in Puerto Rican Independence Party split
- 17 European unions support farm workers boycott
- 18 Wounded Knee figures endorse SWP suit
- 19 Int'l energy conference: no solution for workers
- 21 Militant sales pick up in unions, on campus
- 24 Judge ejects defense lawyers at Wounded Knee trial

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

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Food exports double as thousands starve in Ethiopia
- 2 Heath's attack on right to picket shows gov't strategy for British mine strike
- 4 World News Notes

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BERRIGAN REFUSED JOB AT ITHACA: 300 angry students confronted Ithaca College President Henry Phillips Feb. 7, demanding to know why the college withdrew an offer of a visiting professorship to Father Daniel Berrigan. The college made the offer last December and President Phillips withdrew it one month later without consulting students and faculty.

This was the second meeting called by students since a petition signed by 1,000 students failed to elicit a response from the administration. The students are protesting the arbitrary decision and demanding a full explanation for the withdrawal of the offer. Berrigan recently criticized Israel's expansionist policies in the Mideast, which brought slanderous charges from pro-Zionist groups that he is an anti-Semite.

Rebecca Finch, New York Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, attended the meeting. She later told *The Militant*, "Obviously, the teaching appointment was withdrawn because of political pressure brought to bear on the college. I support an educational system where students and faculty determine who will be hired, and where views opposed to those of the government can be heard."

DENVER PICKETS PROTEST ENERGY CONFERENCE: A group of 90 people picketed an energy conference in Denver Jan. 31 to show their opposition to the giant oil monopolies. Former New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller was a keynote speaker at the conference. His speech was entitled "Reflections on the Energy Crisis."

The demonstrators chanted "Freeze oil profits, not people!" Pointing to the secrecy surrounding the energy crisis and the contrived nature of the gas shortage, picketers chanted, "What do we want? Open the books! When do we want it? Now!"

Sponsors of the picket line included the Denver chapter of the American Indian Movement; Jose Calderon, co-chairman of the Colorado Raza Unida Party; the United Farm Workers Boycott Committee; state representatives David Gaon and Arie Taylor; Pennfield Tate, mayor of Boulder; the Young Socialist Alliance; and the Socialist Workers Party.

BLACK STUDENTS PROTEST ISRAELI TEAM: The national Olympic basketball team from Israel is touring the U.S. Recently the team played the University of Rochester (N.Y.) basketball team. One Black member of the Rochester team refused to play, and two other Black students played only the first half.

The students charged that the game, while termed a "goodwill gesture," was in reality a political act implying support to Israel.

'A CLOCKWORK ORANGE' REVISITED (I): The Federal Bureau of Prisons has decided to discontinue its behavior modification project in Springfield, Mo. This is a significant victory for those fighting for civil and human rights for prisoners.

Behavior modification programs in the prisons have become more widespread in recent years. The idea behind the programs is to force prison inmates to conform to the behavior expected of them by prison authorities.

The methods used to achieve this include isolated confinement, application of repeated pain (termed "aversion therapy"), the use of drugs, electric shock therapy, and lobotomies. This last method was used in California behavior modification programs until public pressure halted it.

The abandoned federal project had been carried out at the medical center for the federal prison system in Springfield.

A number of inmates in the project have filed suit against the START (Special Treatment And Rehabilitative Training) program. They were represented by the National Prison Project of the American Civil Liberties Union before Judge John Oliver of the U.S. District Court in Kansas City. The suit charges that START violates the constitutional rights of prisoners. Judge Oliver has not yet ruled on this case.

Bureau of Prisons officials say the decision to dismantle the project was not based on its constitutionality and does not indicate the abandonment of behavior modification programs.

'A CLOCKWORK ORANGE' REVISITED (II): More than 100 people gathered in front of the state capitol in Boston Feb. 7 to protest the proposed plan to construct a New England regional prison for inmates designated as "special offenders." The demonstration, organized by the New England Prisoners Association and other groups, took place while the governors of the six New England states were meeting to discuss the plan.

The proposed plan recommends the use of regional prisons, behavior-altering drugs, and behavior modification programs to control a group of 365 New England

prisoners labeled "special offenders."

Delegations from Rhode Island, Maine, and Connecticut attended the rally, which was very spirited, despite a heavy snowstorm. Speakers at the rally included Richard Shapiro, executive director of the Prisoners Rights Project; Russell Carmichael of the New England Prisoners Association; State Representative William Owens; and Jeanne Laferty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of Massachusetts.

PUERTO RICAN POETRY FESTIVAL PLANNED: The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, an organization supporting the independence of Puerto Rico, is sponsoring a festival of Puerto Rican poetry. The festival will be held on Feb. 21 at 8 p.m. at the Ethical Culture Society in New York City. The address is 2 West 64th St.

Among those who will appear at the festival will be Puerto Rican poet Pedro Pietri.

A donation will be asked at the door.

MADISON STUDENTS HOLD NATIVE AMERICAN WEEK: The week of Jan. 28 to Feb. 3 was celebrated at the University of Wisconsin in Madison as Native American week. Defense of the Wounded Knee militants was the main theme of the week, which included cultural events, workshops, and a windup rally on the last day.

The main speakers at the rally were Dennis Banks, Herb Paulus, and Vernon Bellecourt. All three are veterans of the Wounded Knee occupation and leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM). They stressed the significance of the Wounded Knee actions in the history of the Native American struggle and the need to defeat the government in its current attempt to frame up dissidents, the Wounded Knee trials.

A pressing question at the UW campus at present is the status of the Native American Center. Its funds were cut last fall by the administration, along with those for other ethnic centers. In the face of widespread protest, an Ethnic Science Center has been proposed. The Native Americans on campus have responded by serving notices of lease termination for five UW buildings (to be used for the Native American Center), citing the fact that the entire university rests on native land.

The main organizer of the Native American week was Wunk Sheek, a campus Native American group. Other groups involved were DRUMS (a group representing Menominee Indians), the Young Socialist Alliance, People's Video Collective, and the Wisconsin Alliance.

DATE SET FOR BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION: The second National Black Political Convention will be held March 14-17 in Little Rock, Ark. The first convention was held in March 1972 in Gary, Ind. More than 8,000 Blacks attended.

The Gary conference drew up the radical, nationalist Black Agenda, a document calling for Black control of the Black community, and established the 427-member National Black Assembly to carry out the tasks of the Agenda.

To be discussed at Little Rock are the revising of the Agenda; electoral strategy in the 1970s; developing models for community struggles; and organization of the Black Assembly.

— NORMAN OLIVER

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A Militant interview

Union organizers speak out on fight of women workers



City Star/Debbie Bell

Successful strike at Barnard College by office employees, primarily women, brought better pay and improved medical plan.

By LINDA JENNESS

NEW YORK—Sue Costello is the District 65, Distributive Workers of America, organizer at Barnard College. Her local represents 75 office workers, most of them women.

District 65 won a union election at Barnard in the summer of 1973, after a year and a half of organizing. This month, the local won its first strike, bringing the members better pay and a decent medical plan.

Across the street from Barnard, at



Militant/Terry Hillman

Sue Costello at recent East Coast planning meeting of Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Columbia University, an organizing drive for District 65 is still in process. Columbia employs 1,300 office workers, 80 percent of whom are women. Ruth Cheney and Debbie Bell are members of the Ad Hoc Organizing Committee at Columbia. They plan to file for a union election toward the end of March, after 12 months of organizing.

Costello, Cheney, and Bell represent the kind of new, younger, feminist leadership that is stepping forward in the union movement. Their ideas about the needs and goals of working women are a harbinger of what's in store for the bosses. And their fight promises to bring about some big changes in the unions.

The Barnard strike settlement was reached the morning of Feb. 4. That afternoon the three women sat down to discuss the victory and some of their longer range goals.

All three women are planning to attend the national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women scheduled for March 23-24 in Chicago. They have ideas about what should be discussed at that conference.

Rank-and-file involvement

"The very first thing union women need to do is get in touch with each other within their own unions," said Costello. She felt that involving women in the leadership of the unions was a priority.

"The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), for instance, is primarily female, but the leadership is primarily male," she pointed out. "That shouldn't happen. The ILGWU women have the power to change that, and so do the women in District 65."

The next thing she felt was essential was reaching out to organize the unorganized women and "while we're about that, seeing that the contracts have in them the things that we want."

And one of the things that women workers want is decent pay. "While building support for the Barnard strike, the women ran into many people who thought that the women were working for a 'second income.' Therefore, they reasoned, the salary levels didn't need to be too high."

"I can't think of one of the Barnard women who is making 'extra' money," said Costello. "Every single one of us lives from paycheck to paycheck. The 'second salary' of married women whose husbands work still just keeps their noses above water. These women are not buying new houses or new cars. They're buying food!"

The labor bureaucracy, composed primarily of white males, has been generally unresponsive to the needs of working women. What do these three organizers think of the possibilities for changing that?

"We aren't convinced yet that it can be done," said Bell, "but we're willing to try. At Barnard and Columbia we decided on District 65 because we felt it was a democratic union where we could have an impact."

Forty percent of District 65's membership are women and, added Costello, "the leadership better pay attention to 40 percent of its membership."

'Scared of women'

"The union leaders are scared of death of women," commented Cheney. "Women in their own unions are waking up to the fact that they don't have the same pay or same treatment as men."

"They have different seniority lists, different jobs, different benefits, different everything. Plus, they don't have the things that the women's movement has popularized such as day care and maternity leave."

"There's a certain leadership coming up that has been totally influenced by the thinking of the women's movement. It's the beginning of a new leadership in the trade-union movement that is going to fight for the rights of women."

They all agree that their organizing efforts have been aided by the impact of feminist ideas. "The women's movement taught women a lot," said Bell, "particularly about the importance of working together. Women have learned that their problems and oppression aren't an individual situation."

"I suppose that's especially true of women isolated in the home, but women feel isolated on the job, too. That's one effect the women's movement has had on the thinking of working women and why, in turn, the women turn to the union. The union is a means of collectivizing strength and putting forward demands together."

Cheney explained that the organizing activities at Columbia were actually begun by the Columbia women's liberation group several years ago. "We worked for two years to get an affirmative action plan," she said.

"It never dawned on us to organize a union at first. We got the affirmative-action plan, celebrated for a while, and then found out it was just junk. We weren't any better off. We knew then that what we needed was a union."

Costello's experiences at Barnard were somewhat different. She felt that the impact had been the other way around: the unionizing effort, and particularly the strike, had changed the women's attitudes about themselves as women.

"A lot of women who were very quiet and often despairing about what could be done on the job became very vocal once they got into unionizing," she recalled. "There were women on the picket line who for the first time in their lives were talking about 'the struggle' and 'oppression'—words they had never applied to themselves before."

"Fighting for the union changed them. Now they'll stand up for themselves. I still don't think most of them would use the word 'feminist' in describing themselves, but that's what

they are."

"Feminism and unionism seem to have grown together," summed up Costello. "A lot of women who considered themselves feminists didn't know what to do with their feminism. It wasn't getting them higher pay. Our fight has now culminated in a contract that brought together the two—the union and women."

The women are solid

"The strike has resulted in a greater solidarity. It sounds like a cliché, but the women really are solid. Younger women, older women. Did you know that it was the older women who held the picket line up? They were there all day, every day. They were the ones that came in sick. They came with sore feet and with asthma."

"We're all different people now. We're not the same as we were last week. And the college is going to think of us as different."

The victorious strike at Barnard was seen by all the women as just a beginning.

"We've got a contract now, but the struggle is going to go on for the next 15 months until we come up for more negotiations," said Costello.

"For the next 15 months we're going to build our union, build our structure, make the union work for us, draw in everybody that hasn't joined yet. When we come back to the table again in 1975 we'll be a lot stronger. Hopefully, we'll have 1,300 people across the street at Columbia, and the maintenance unions. We'll have a powerful effect on this university."

Union women set meetings

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is holding a national conference, open to all union women, on March 23-24 in Chicago. CLUW was created to bring together union women to deal with their special concerns as unionists and women in the work force.

In preparation for the national conference, the following meetings are scheduled:

OHIO STATEWIDE PLANNING MEETING, Feb. 24, Cleveland State University, 1 to 5 p.m. Sponsored by the Cleveland Council of Union Women, P.O. Box 18134, Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118.

MASSACHUSETTS STATEWIDE PLANNING MEETING, Feb. 23, Community Church, Copley Square, Boston. Sponsored by Massachusetts CLUW, c/o Randy Dolph, 162 Hampshire Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

MICHIGAN STATEWIDE PLANNING MEETING, Feb. 23, Hillberry Lounge, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich. Sponsored by Michigan Federation of Teachers, Women's Rights Commission and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1880. Contact Paula Reimers, 13778 Mecca, Detroit, Mich. 48227.

WASHINGTON, D.C., PLANNING MEETING, Feb. 19, 5:30 p.m., Metropolitan AME Church, 1515 M St. N.W. Sponsored by D.C. CLUW Coordinating Committee, c/o Nancy Perlman, 2828 Connecticut Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008.

For more information about the national conference write to: Addie Wyatt, Chairwoman, 4859 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill., 60615.

Heath opens red-baiting campaign

British mine strike challenge to Tory gov't

From Intercontinental Press

"It is difficult at the moment," the *New York Times* commented in a February 9 editorial on the British elections scheduled for February 28, "to see how or when the Government that takes office March 1 will be able to build that 'one nation' promised by Mr. Heath in 1970. It will be difficult enough to govern at all."

With Edward Heath's decision February 7 to dissolve Parliament and run for reelection against the striking coal miners, issues were posed that the *Times* saw as highly relevant to the United States as well as Britain. The editors explained February 10:

"The issue is whether it is possible to replace the law of the jungle in industrial relations—the bitter confrontations among labor, management and often government of the kind that now threatens to paralyze Britain and that has recently disrupted the American economy—with a system and climate in which those inevitable tensions can be held within reasonable bounds by mutual agreement in a unified national interest.

"It is the universality of the problem in free, industrial nations that gives special interest not only to Britain's election campaign but to what happens when the new Government resumes the task of getting the coal miners back in the pits."

Wage controls

The militant struggle of the members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has severely undermined Heath's attempts to force British workers to bear the burden of inflation under Phase 3 wage controls.

Whatever his plans for dealing with the miners in the event of a Tory victory, Heath made it clear that such a victory would be interpreted as a mandate for continued wage controls on the working class as a whole. His televised speech following the dissolution of Parliament stressed the theme of the government's "right" to impose its will on the unions:

"Do you want a strong government that has a clear authority in the future to take decisions that will be needed? Do you want Parliament and an elected government to continue to fight strenuously against inflation?"

"Or do you want a government which will abandon the struggle against rising prices under pressure from one particular powerful group of workers?"

The Tory leader also indicated that "law and order" and a "red scare" would be a prominent part of his campaign: "There are some people involved in the mining dispute who have made it clear that what they want is to bring down the elected government—not just this government but any government. . . . The great majority of you are fed up to the teeth with them and with the disruption they cause."

An election campaign based on scare tactics was virtually the only alternative left to Heath once the results of the mineworkers' January 31 strike vote were in. With 81 percent of the miners voting in favor of a strike, there was no room left for a deal with the NUM leadership at the expense of the ranks.

At the same time that he dissolved Parliament, Heath wrote to the NUM leadership, calling on them to postpone the strike until after the election. James Gormley, the right-wing president of the NUM, immediately announced that he was in favor of a postponement. It would be "ludicrous," Gormley said, to strike when there



HEATH: Red scare is prominent part of his election campaign.

was no longer a government with which to come to a settlement. "Change the government," he said. "That is the real solution to the problem."

But Heath's attempt to divert the miners' struggle into parliamentary channels was unable to prevail over the massive sentiment revealed in the strike vote. On February 8, the NUM executive, by a vote of 20 to 6, overruled Gormley's wishes and decided to begin the strike on schedule February 10. The executive's decision two weeks earlier to conduct the strike poll had been taken by a vote of only 160 to 10.

In the February 9 *New York Times*, Alvin Shuster quoted Gormley as explaining the executive's vote by saying that "some leaders felt they could not stop miners in some areas from striking, even if the union leadership suspended the strike."

Limits on picketing

But at the same time, the NUM leaders partially gave in to the Tory pressures by promising to limit picketing. Shuster reported:

"The militants within the leadership agreed, however, to limit to six the number of men on each picket line. They will cover power stations, ports and mines and—in a new development—steelworks, so they can block shipment of coking coal. The miners were also urged to confine their picketing to these 'vulnerable points' and to cooperate with the local police to avoid violence such as occurred during the last coal strike two years ago."

If these instructions are followed, the miners will be deprived of one of their most effective weapons in the 1972 strike: the use of mass "flying pickets" to spread the strike. The idea of six pickets—in cooperation with the police!—shutting down a mine or port is plainly absurd.

The Labour party leadership, meanwhile, is doing everything possible to disassociate itself from the mineworkers. Rather than confronting Heath's scare campaign against the miners and boldly defending working-class interests against the wage freeze, Wilson and his associates are trying to outdo the Tories as defenders of "national unity."

"Inflation is the battle," Wilson replied to Heath's February 7 speech, "but you're not going to fight it by dividing the nation."

James Callaghan, Labour party chairman, told a news conference February 8: "What the miners decide is not my business but their business. We don't see the miners' fight as the issue in this campaign, except as it

reflects government failure."

Even more disgraceful was the Labour leadership's response to the Tory effort to red-bait the NUM because of statements by Mick McGahey, NUM vice-president and a member of the Communist party. McGahey had been quoted as saying of possible government use of troops as strikebreakers:

"It may be that they will call in troops to move the coal, but troops are not all anti-working-class. Many of them are miners' sons—sons of the working class."

"As far as I am concerned, if the government employ troops, if necessary, I will appeal to them to assist and aid the miners. You cannot dig coal with bayonets."

McGahey's statement produced howls of outrage from the Tory defenders of "law and order" and a craven repudiation of such fraternization by the Labour party leaders. On January 29, Callaghan and Ronald Hayward, Labour party general secretary, issued a joint statement that said:

"We utterly repudiate any attempt

Red Weekly, the paper of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), commented:

"The prime concern of the Labour Party leadership at this crucial turning point in the struggle to defend working class living standards is to add their influence to the red-baiting campaign launched by Heath and the capitalist press against Mick McGahey. . . . This is nothing less than a pure and simple act of scabbing. . . ."

"What is involved here is a simple question of class loyalty: Is your loyalty to the working class? Or to the capitalist state? Messrs. Callaghan, Hayward and Wilson have already given their answer. The rank-and-file militants of the Labour Party must now give theirs."

Despite the predictions of a quick settlement of the miners' strike as soon as the elections are over, the government gives every sign of preparing for a long struggle.

On February 10, a spokesman for the nationalized British Steel Corporation, which had already cut production to 77 percent of normal, an-



Miners voted 81 percent in favor of strike

by Communists or others to use the miners as a political battering ram to bring about a general strike or to call on troops to disobey lawful orders in the event of a strike. That is silly and dangerous nonsense. The mineworkers have a long affiliation to the Labour party and we deny the right of Communists or extremist members of the NUM executive to speak for them on political issues."

In Parliament, Wilson endorsed the statement, saying that it showed that "the extremists in the situation are the vice-president of the NUM and Mr. Heath."

McGahey himself retracted some of his militant language, complaining that his remarks had been "distorted and taken out of context."

"I would not," McGahey said "ask any troops to disobey orders. . . . This is not mutiny. This is only allowing [troops] to understand the purpose for which they are employed."

nounced a further cutback to 60 percent on February 11, the first working day of the miners' strike. Further 10 percent cuts are scheduled every two weeks, until a level of only 30 percent of normal production is reached.

"We will continue phasing down for two months," the spokesman said. "If the strike is not over by then, we will be producing virtually no steel at all but at least we will keep the coking ovens going."

In an attempt to generate public sentiment against the miners—and save some money in the process—British Steel also announced that it would cancel, effective February 17, the 40-hour guaranteed week agreement for 130,000 of its 225,000 employees. The response of steelworkers to this attack will help to determine whether employers in other industries with guaranteed-week agreements follow the government lead.

Nixon, Fitzsimmons attack drivers strike

By ANDY ROSE

When independent truckers began a nationwide strike, determined not to see their standard of living slashed in the name of a phony energy crisis, their power was rapidly felt.

But the strikers were up against powerful opponents: the state and federal governments and the big business interests they speak for.

The governors of eight states called out the National Guard in an effort to create a crisis atmosphere and whip up public sentiment against the truckers.

Federal prosecution of strikers for "fraud," "conspiracy," and "antitrust violations" was threatened. Attorney General William Saxbe declared the FBI would have agents "at every place that these people gather." Later he announced that 379 complaints of federal law violations were under investigation.

The threats were intended to pressure strikers into going back to work on terms worked out by W.J. Usery, chief federal labor mediator.

The basic element of the government proposal was that truckers could institute a 6 percent surcharge to pass on higher fuel costs without the usual waiting period.

The federal energy office also lifted the earlier quota on diesel fuel allocations and promised truckers all the fuel they needed. As one Phoenix driver told reporters, "Hell, that only proves they've been lying to us all along. How come they can get us 76,000 damn barrels more every damn day all of a sudden?"

The half-dozen negotiators in Washington representing some truckers groups agreed to this deal. However, reports from around the country



NIXON'S USERY: Let's make a deal

showed widespread rejection by drivers of the government terms.

Many big meetings of independent truckers voted to continue the strike. Mike Parkhurst, editor of the influential *Overdrive* magazine, called the deal "a sellout" and said his group would work to maintain the shutdown.

A major problem for the militant drivers is the incessant media campaign proclaiming that the strike is over. Most of the independent truckers only began to organize themselves recently; a multitude of local, state, and regional groupings has emerged. None of these has the national authority or organization to effectively counter the back-to-work propaganda.

Another difficulty is the mounting financial pressure on drivers who must make large monthly payments on their mortgaged rigs.

But despite these problems, the strike has been a blow to the government and the oil trusts who engineered the energy shortage.

One of the gravest concerns of the government and big business was the example the truckers struggle could set for others to fight against the effects of the energy crisis fraud. The truckers have been among the most persistent in demanding, for instance, that the oil companies' books be opened to public inspection.

A united struggle of the trade unions, especially the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, with the independent truckers could defeat the attempts to use the energy crisis to rob truck drivers, and signal the beginning of successful working-class action against the inflationary squeeze.

Fleet drivers and independent owner-operators could unite behind the demand that all wages, pensions, and benefits go up automatically as the cost of living rises. Such escalator clauses are the only measure that can protect working people from inflation.

Winning this demand would solve the problem, about which many independent drivers have expressed concern, that higher rates for them will simply be passed on to the consumer. This concern is one reason why militant truckers have held out for a rollback in fuel prices rather than a rate increase.

But as all past experience shows, the government is both unwilling and unable to control prices. Inflation is endemic to capitalist society today. This is why price controls—much less rollbacks—don't work.

Rather than calls for price controls, working people need to concentrate on protecting their standard of living against the inevitable price rises. Their best weapon is the escalator clause.

The union misleaders have utterly

failed to support the struggle of the truckers, a struggle that is in the interest of all workers. Particularly treacherous was the role of Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons.

"The economy of this nation must not be brought to standstill by a very small percentage of independent truckers and their leaders who are perpetrating acts of murder, violence, and intimidation to gain concessions," he declared, calling for state and local authorities to repress the strike.

Fitzsimmons's shameful attack is not only a product of his notorious close relations with the Nixon gang. He is also worried that gains by the independent truckers will spur on rank-and-file Teamsters who are demanding that the union resist the squeeze on their earnings from the energy crisis and runaway inflation. Fitzsimmons has already felt compelled to demand a reopening of last year's trucking contract.

The power of the two-million-strong Teamsters union should be mobilized to fight for the interests of all over-the-road drivers, not to cover for government strikebreaking.



FITZSIMMONS: Ready to fight truckers, but not the government.

New Jersey truckers say gov't deal 'stinks'

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

ON INTERSTATE 295, N.J.—"It stinks." "It's no good." "It's just a bunch of bullshit they're trying to cram down our throats."

These were some of the initial reactions of drivers at Jack's Diner on I-295 to the recent "settlement" of the independent truckers' work stoppage.

One independent driver, known as "Philadelphia Cowboy," pointed at the cover of *The Militant* with the banner headline, "Truckers say 'no' to Nixon, oil trusts."

"It's too bad this isn't a big paper, because that belongs on the front page of every paper," he said.

Most drivers were particularly angered by the news media's campaign to convince the drivers to go back to work.

According to a driver from Woodbury, N.J., the settlement contains "no benefits whatsoever." He explained that the 6 percent surcharge would do almost no good. Between the broker, other taxes and assessments, and the tremendous rise in fuel costs, most truckers would actually lose money on the surcharge.

"Fuel costs have gone up 80 percent in one year—now what good is a 6 percent surcharge going to do?", he asked. He estimated that for one trip he makes regularly, his costs had gone up from \$50 to \$72 between 1972 and 1973. Now the trip costs at least \$100.

Most of the truckers' anger was directed at the oil trusts and the federal government. "I want to know what the oil companies do with their monthly overage. I mean if there is a short-



Truckers at Fallsington, Pa., meeting reject government deal

Militant/Craig Landberg

age, O.K. But you can't believe that. I want to know how they 'found' another 76,000 barrels a day," said a young driver.

Part of the settlement promises an audit of the oil companies. When asked about this one driver from Dallas scornfully answered, "I can promise to try and turn the street over, but that won't do you or me much good."

The younger driver felt that the oil corporations should be "taken over and run like public utilities. It's got past the point where fuel is a luxury—it's a necessity." But most drivers did not see the government as being able to do much. There was general agreement that federal energy czar William Simon is "nothing but a pimp for the oil companies."

The driver from Woodbury sug-

gested, "They ought to let an independent trucker run things for a while."

Ronald Raube, a 34-year-old driver from Vineland, N.J., who goes by the road name of "the Happy Hobo," expressed the feeling of many drivers:

"I love to drive a truck, and I don't mind working 80 to 100 hours a week to make a living. But now I'm just disgusted. It's the political system that's got to go; I don't trust any of those politicians—they've all got their hand out."

He continued, "I've got five kids and now I wish I didn't have any. What the hell kind of country is this anyway? The way things are going everybody ought to be out demonstrating."

Philadelphia Cowboy expected most truckers to stay out. "It's like this,"

he said, "the government wants to rule us and we won't be ruled."

By CRAIG LANDBERG

FALLSINGTON, Pa.—The proposed settlement of the independent truckers' work stoppage was voted down at a meeting here Feb. 10 called by the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH).

The drivers felt that the settlement was inadequate, particularly the 6 percent surcharge. One driver told *The Militant* he estimated that a 9 percent surcharge would be barely enough to break even.

The truckers compared the proposal to their original demands, which included lower fuel prices, greater speed and load limits, and a public audit of the oil trusts. The government proposal didn't come close, and it was rejected 139 to 79.

About three-quarters of those present were FASH members; the rest were independent drivers who had been invited to the meeting.

The mood of the truckers was angry, especially when a national FASH representative tried to resell them the agreement. "Look," he said, "do you honestly believe the government would lie to you?"

"Look at Watergate!" someone shouted from the back of the hall, and the laughter cut off the speaker.

The truckers also say they deserve a public apology from Nixon. "He called us desperadoes and outlaws," said one driver. "We aren't outlaws. We're honest working people."

Truck drivers meetings discuss

How Minnesota strike was organized

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS—Their mood was rebellious. Their ranks were determined.

The truckers' shutdown in Minnesota has to be one of the most militant, massive, democratic, and innovative labor struggles to hit this state in 25 years.

"We're going to strike along with the rest of the country," Denny Hollgren of Duluth told a cheering strike meeting of more than 1,000 truckers in St. Paul Feb. 10. "We're going to stick it out until we win."

Then, in a show of force and solidarity, the truckers stood, their arms raised, in a unanimous vote to continue the shutdown.

"It seems like the only way to get anything in this country is to protest," one Minnesota trucker organizer told me.

The independent truckers used their muscle to shut down virtually every diesel fuel pump in the state. Station owners who didn't voluntarily shut down have had their pumps blockaded by trucks and truckers' cars and have been quickly closed.

Several organizing centers have sprung up in key cities across the state to maintain and spread the strike.

'For everybody'

Increasingly shrill editorials in the state press have denounced the "selfish aims" of strikers. But the drivers see it differently, and say so.

"This strike is for everybody," Ken Nelson, a big, bearded trucker from the Twin Cities told the St. Paul meeting. He said if diesel prices are allowed to rise, higher costs for food and other products will be passed on to the consumer.

The strike has been characterized by unusually democratic organization. In St. Paul; Moorhead, Minn.; Hudson, Wis.; and elsewhere, strike



National Guardsmen escort scab truck in Pennsylvania. Guard was called out in eight states in effort to intimidate strikers.

meetings have been so democratic they would surely give nightmares to any labor bureaucrat.

In the St. Paul meeting, which lasted nearly three hours, everyone was allowed to speak. Dozens of drivers took the floor, including two independent truck owners who favored returning to work. The two were roundly booed but were nevertheless allowed to present their case.

The strikers listened and then repudiated any proposal to accept the government's settlement. They voted without a single nay to continue the shutdown.

Ken Nelson pledged to truckers at the meeting that "before the trucks roll again" it would take a majority vote to end the strike.

'They're selling it!'

During the meeting one young striker said there were "commies" in the lobby "selling *The Militant*."

"They're selling it!" the young man shouted hysterically.

"Then don't buy it!" someone else shouted, to some laughter.

Ron Rhode, a strike leader from Duluth, rose and went to the podium to say that one aspect of the truck strike was that persons with different points of view were allowed to express them.

He received mild applause; then the truckers went on discussing the strike. Outside, about 80 copies of *The Militant* were sold.

Drivers who have never engaged in politics before have suddenly been thrust into the position of full-fledged organizers.

At the Double D restaurant in Moorhead, Minn., 200 miles northwest of Minneapolis, an organizer talks to every new trucker who walks in the door, explaining why the drivers have struck, and encouraging him to join. He passes out the list of demands, and gets the driver on a mailing and phone list.

Using a WATS (Wide Area Telephone Service) line provided by the truck stop, organizers have been able to keep in contact with truckers throughout the region. When a fuel station opens up, truckers are dispatched to shut it down.

Some striking truckers have stood on the side of the road with signs urging trucks to stop. When they do, the demands are explained and the drivers are encouraged to join.

In Moorhead, as elsewhere, feeling against Teamster officials runs strong.

"Fitzsimmons doesn't represent me," one Moorhead Teamster told me, referring to Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons.

"How can Fitzsimmons sit there in Washington and negotiate when he doesn't even support us?" asked another truck leader.

Independent truckers say they would be in a much stronger position if they were backed by the Teamsters. But because of the antagonism of the Teamster bureaucracy, the idea of independents joining that union and uniting with it is rejected out of hand at this point by the independent owner-operators.

The news media for the most part have attempted to discredit the truck strike by playing up incidents of violence around the nation, suggesting that shooting at trucks is the work of militant drivers.

"We're not causing the violence," one trucker told me. "This shooting is being done to discredit us." His comments were typical of truckers across Minnesota.

The press here is also on a campaign to emphasize any break in the strike. The day that 1,000 truckers in St. Paul voted to stay shut down, news stories were reporting that 90 percent of the independents were back on the road, a complete fabrication. But the constant barrage of back-to-work propaganda is undoubtedly having an effect.

"The press is against us," said one angry trucker. Nevertheless, individual reporters seem sympathetic, and truck leaders talk freely to the media and invite them to meetings.

"We're holding no meetings behind closed doors," one truck leader said to St. Paul strikers.

Midwest Truckers Association

Strikers have formed a statewide organization called the Midwest Truckers Association, but it is still in the formative stage.

Without a national organization and without support from the trade unions—indeed, with the Teamster officialdom openly backing a strike-breaking effort—it is unclear how long the strikers can hold out.

Some of the larger independents, owning a dozen or more trucks, were edging to get back to work.

Minnesota strikers plan to send a delegation to Washington to reopen negotiations with the government. The strike delegates go there with a greater disdain for the government than

probably any labor negotiators in years.

As one St. Paul trucker put it in an interview with *The Militant*: "Nixon has been bought off by the fuel companies. He can't get away with this."

Others, who are against the strike, may be thinking the same thing. In a vicious antistrike column entitled "Truckers out of control," the editor of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* wrote Feb. 10 that Nixon's credibility may be so low that he will be unable to force truckers back to work.

It reminded this writer of a conversation he sat in on with a group of truckers a few days before.

"If we shut this country down, Nixon and Congress have got to listen to us," the trucker organizer was saying. "We can't let them sit around and talk for four or five months. We've got to show the government we mean business."

Ohio group splits over federal proposal

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—Five hundred members of the Ohio Council of Independent Truckers (CIT) met Feb. 10 in Barberton and voted unanimously to turn down the federal agreement and continue their strike.

They then fired Leonard Fleet, their lawyer-negotiator, claiming he had sold them out.

George Rynn, president of CIT, spoke at the meeting against the proposed settlement. Rynn was then called to Washington for negotiations with W.J. Usery, Nixon's labor relations troubleshooter.

The question of whether to end the strike has split the CIT. After the Barberton meeting, the CIT board voted 4-to-3 to remove Rynn as president.

Lester Salsgiver, CIT board chairman, made this announcement over CBS television and urged all the truckers to go back to work. Salsgiver had been in Washington in negotiations with the federal government in the previous week.

Carl Robertson at the Barberton CIT headquarters told *The Militant* in a phone interview that Rynn was still president of the organization and that "Lester Salsgiver is no longer with us."

Robertson, obviously angry, said, "When Salsgiver returned from Washington, he told everyone he wanted to meet with any and all groups. He should have been at our meeting Sunday."

Despite a Cleveland *Plain Dealer* story headlined "End of the strike seems near," Robertson reported strong support for the strike.

"We keep getting numerous phone calls from people all over the country telling us they don't want to go back," he said.

Nevertheless, he complained, "Everytime we have things pretty well under control we find out through the newspapers and TV that it [the strike] is settled."

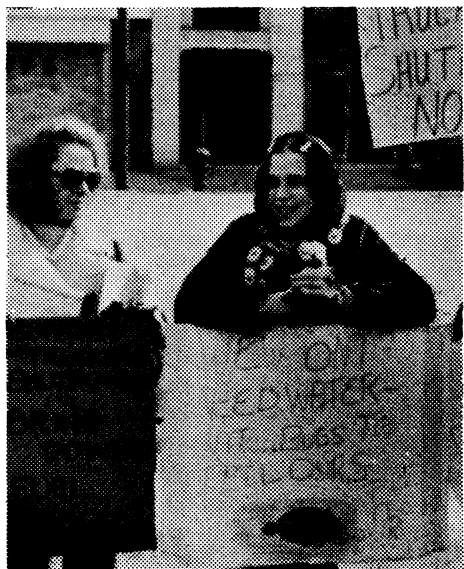
The CIT is holding out for its original demands for a rollback of fuel



Militant/Greg Cornell

We're going to stick it out until we win,' said truckers at Feb. 10 St. Paul meeting.

strike issues, debate settlement



Militant/Al Twiss
Women picket in support of truckers, Akron, Ohio, Feb. 9.

prices to the May 1973 level and for public examination of the oil companies' books.

In a related development, the *City Truck Shutdown Newsletter* of the Owners and Drivers Club of Ohio has appealed for Black truckers' support. "The Owners and Drivers Club of Ohio must never be an all-white organization," it said. "Please keep in mind that Blacks are the last to be hired and the first to be fired, especially in the trucking industry."

In Pittsburgh, Pa., Feb. 9, meanwhile, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH) voted 4-to-1 to accept the government's offer. Six hundred FASH members were present at the meeting.

Mike Menzock, FASH vice-president, explained to *The Militant* why their strike was called off. "There is not much hope of getting more," he said.

He said FASH negotiators were told by William Simon, so-called "energy czar," that the only way a price rollback could be accomplished was to "declare war on the Arabs." Simon also told them that even if prices were rolled back the effect would not be seen at the gas station pumps for several months.

Trucker speaks at Nashville YS forum

By BEN HARRIS

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—Joe Morse, an independent trucker, gave his assessment of the national shutdown at a Feb. 7 forum sponsored by the Nashville Young Socialist Alliance. Morse is a member of Teamsters Local 135 in Indianapolis, Ind.

Thirty people, including several truckers, attended the forum, held at Vanderbilt University.

Morse explained how the independents were forced off the road by a combination of the oil companies' fraud and the federal government's restrictive regulations.

He listed the truckers' demands: for a rollback of fuel prices, higher speed limits, and a complete public audit of the oil companies.

"This last demand, while ignored

by the press, was the central point agreed on by a national unity convention of truckers held in January," Morse said, holding up a copy of the conference program printed in *Overdrive* magazine.

In an interview with *The Militant* later, Morse said he thought some independent drivers might be forced back during the coming week. "The big reason is that all independents have to make truck and insurance payments of \$500 to \$1,000 per month, and they weren't prepared," he explained.

"They don't want to lose their trucks, so they can't stay out more than a couple of weeks," Morse said. He also noted that truckers would soon find out whether the settlement would meet their needs, and predicted it would not.

"As far as the next shutdown is concerned," Morse said, "We will be better organized and it will happen much faster."

Illinois drivers: Nixon's the hoodlum

By PAT HAYES

ROXANA, Ill.—I joined a group of picketing truckers, wives, and children here as they listened to President Nixon's speech on the truck shutdown Feb. 9.

The drivers, members of the Independent Truckers Coalition (ITC), had gathered at their temporary headquarters in a small blue metal building here.

The headquarters, dwarfed by the giant rigs that now surround it, faces the sprawling Wood River refineries of the Shell and Clark oil corporations.

A meeting room inside was jammed with drivers and their wives. It showed in their tense and tired looks that they had spent the last 10 days on the picket line.

I announced I was a reporter for *The Militant* and asked about the shutdown. The first man to speak was Sherman Lamere. "We're going broke," he said. "I lost \$10,000 since Thanksgiving."

"We've been shut down since the 31st, and we'll stay shut down until we get a 10 to 15 percent rollback in fuel prices and a freeze on those prices," he said.

He noticed I was carrying a bundle of *The Militant* and asked how much it cost. I sold the first one to him, and then drivers and their wives began handing me quarters until I was left with only one of the 15 *Militants*.

A man walked by carrying a stack of papers that he could barely keep hold of. Asked what they were, he replied, "Subpoenas."

How many? "Fourteen."

The man was Kenneth Hurst, an independent who had been talking to drivers who hadn't shut down yet. He had stopped 76 trucks in the past few days.

"No violence," he said. "We just wave and give them the V-sign and they pull over to talk. Most are sympathetic. They ask us to block them in

to protect their jobs. These subpoenas are to release them."

He explained why he supported the shutdown: "I'm two months behind on the car, two months behind on the house, two months behind on the truck, and if they don't roll back prices next month, I'll be three months behind."

Asked if he thought the fuel shortage was real or artificial, one man pointed in the direction of Shell's huge holding tanks and said, "Well, let me put it this way. If those tanks sprang a leak, we'd be ass-deep in oil." Another handed me a list of closed stations with full storage tanks.

Other men told about the cops, company guards, and Wells Fargo men who follow any car or truck with a Citizens Band Antenna. These radios are the communications link of the strikers.

The radio in the headquarters came on and the room grew quiet. It was Nixon, lecturing about the railroads, airports, and river transport. People began looking at each other in disbelief.

When Nixon thanked "trucking leader" Frank Fitzsimmons, the whole crowd drew in its breath. When he threatened to "act promptly" to end "violence," the group burst into laughter. And when he finished, one trucker sarcastically yelled, "Yes, sir!" They all laughed, but everyone seemed to be more tired.

"A lot of words again," said one young woman. "He's phony, but at least he's consistent," was another woman's reaction. A third just shook her head in disgust.

I asked what the drivers thought about being called hoodlums. "Nixon's the hoodlum, not us," said one. Are you going back to work? All around the room, the answer rang out. "No!"

Detroit Teamsters support shutdown

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Two meetings of 125 and 500 Michigan truckers on Feb. 10 voted by an almost 2-to-1 margin to continue their strike and reject the government's proposed settlement.

Those present at the meeting of 500, which was held in Lincoln Park, were members of Teamsters Local 299, although they own their own rigs. Rank-and-file Teamster support for the strike has run high in this state, despite the virulent opposition of Teamster union officials.

One group of Teamsters even refused a pay raise offered by union business agents to get them back on the road.

Nor have the leaders of the massive United Auto Workers Union supported the strike. They have remained completely silent on the truckers' shutdown.

The truckers' meeting rejected the argument offered by attorney Leonard Fleet, who had represented the Council of Independent Truckers in negotiations in Washington, that their only hope for improvement over the current proposal lay in "political pressure" rather than a continuation of the strike.

Arguments from the floor against the government's proposal for a 6 percent pass-on-the-cost surcharge centered on the fact that it would not make up for what truckers had already lost due to inflated fuel prices and that it made the public the scapegoat.

Many truckers said they wanted no price increases passed on to the consumer, but wanted instead a rollback in prices to benefit all.

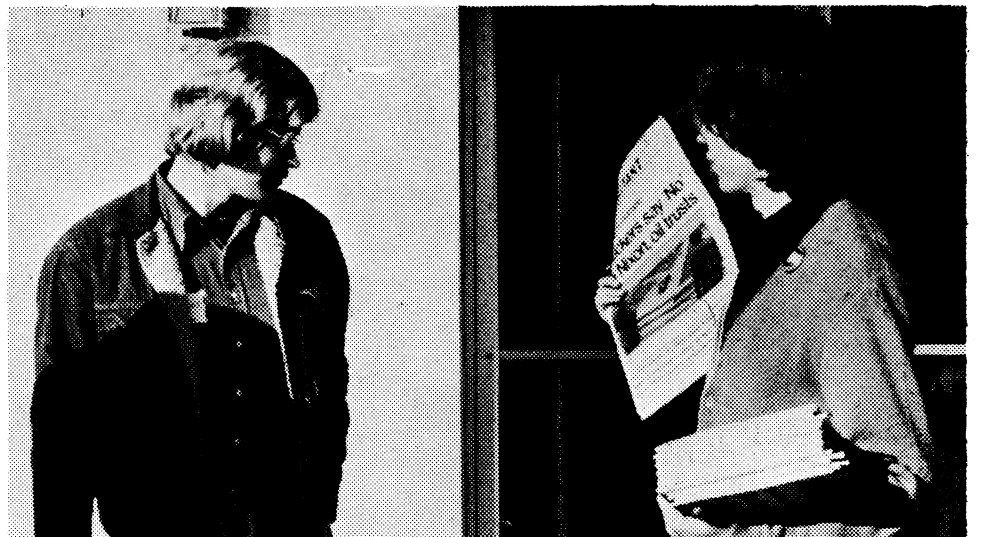
In both meetings the vote came after lengthy and democratic discussion. In the evening meeting of 500, more than 40 truckers took the floor in a three-and-a-half hour discussion. A broad spectrum of truckers was present, including vehicle, tanker, gravel, and iron drivers.

The meeting was not sponsored by an organization, but was called by several individual truckers.

On Feb. 9, Governor William Milliken ordered the National Guard on alert in a move designed to intimidate the truckers into going back to work. They ignored it.

The Militant, whose front page read "Truckers say 'No' to Nixon, oil trusts," was well received by truckers at both gatherings. Forty-nine were sold at the afternoon meeting, and 126 at the evening meeting. Many truckers came out of the meetings to pick up copies.

Channel 4 TV opened its evening news coverage of the meetings with a close-up shot of *The Militant's* front page. The camera then panned to the meeting room where numerous copies of *The Militant* were shown being read by truckers.



Militant/Greg Cornell

'The Militant' was warmly received by many truckers. One-hundred and fifty copies were sold at Michigan strike meetings; 80 at St. Paul meeting, above.

Teamsters union & independent

The current struggle of independent truckers has prompted interest in the conditions facing these owner-operator truck drivers and their relation to the Teamsters union. These questions were discussed in the following interview with Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Teamsters during the organizing drives of the 1930s.

Dobbs emerged as a union leader during the bitterly fought strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 that won union recognition for General Drivers Local 574. He went on to become the central organizer of an 11-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers. After the victory of that campaign he served on the staff of general organizers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters until 1939.

Dobbs joined the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party) in 1934 and has been a central leader of the Trotskyist movement since the late 1930s.

The experiences and lessons of his years in the Teamsters union are recounted by Dobbs in *Teamster Rebellion*, which covers the 1934 strikes, and *Teamster Power*, which tells of the subsequent organizing drives. A third volume is in preparation.

Question: The truckers' protests have been spearheaded by independent drivers who own their own trucks and are not in the Teamsters union. Some people have questioned whether these drivers should be viewed as workers or as a variety of small businessmen. **Answer:** Basically the independent owner-operators must be seen as workers who are required to provide their own tools as a condition of employment. In their case, this means that working drivers have to provide their own trucks.

This practice has long been pushed by the employers and the trucking industry. Their object is to foist off on the worker part of the overhead cost of the trucking operation, and at the same time try to give the worker the mistaken impression that he is an integral part of the trucking industry, as distinguished from drivers who simply work for companies that own fleets of trucks.

The trucks cost many thousands of dollars, and usually they are bought through a long-term financing plan. There are big expenses of upkeep. Then, over a period of time, the truck wears out to a point that it has to be replaced. All this is saddled upon the worker.

They usually haul by the ton, by the mile, or by the trip. The oil squeeze puts a new burden on them on top of all these other factors. For one thing, the reduction in maximum speed limits hits over-the-road drivers in the sense that the slower they go, the longer it takes to make the mileage on which their income depends.

They either earn less or they have to drive longer hours to earn what

they did before. Either way it's a cut in pay.

Then the unconscionable price gouging now being carried out by the oil trusts hits the independent operators right in the solar plexus. The price of diesel fuel has been skyrocketing in the last few weeks, and this cuts a tremendous hole in the income of the independent owner-driver.

You can get a pretty clear idea of how tight the squeeze is by the anger of these drivers, by the solidarity they're showing in their struggle, and by the militant and determined way they're going about it.

The job of the union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, is to look upon these drivers as workers, which they are, and find a way to represent them.

Q. How did the Teamsters union relate to the independent owner-operators when militants were leading the over-the-road organizing campaign?

A. When we originally organized the over-the-road drivers back in the 1930s and established the first area contract, we were very careful to make provision as best we could for these drivers.

In the first area contract, one of the



Militant/Howard Petrick
Farrell Dobbs, leader of Midwest Teamster organizing drive in 1930s and long-time central leader of Socialist Workers Party.

Rank-and-file paper reviews Dobbs book

The following review of *Teamster Power* by Farrell Dobbs appeared in the December-January issue of *The Fifth Wheel*, a publication of rank-and-file Teamsters in the San Francisco Bay Area. It has been abridged slightly for reasons of space.

Dobbs's new book, *Teamster Power*, is a sequel to *Teamster Rebellion*. It begins with the consolidation of union power in Minneapolis. It tells how the over-the-road drivers in the Midwest, inspired by the example of the Minneapolis teamsters, defeated the trucking companies in 11 states to win union recognition and an area-wide contract.

Like many leaders of the big organizing drives of the 1930s, Dobbs was a socialist. He analyzes events from his socialist perspective.

The story of the struggles of 30-40 years ago is good reading for anyone who is trying to deal with the tactics of the bosses and the union bureaucrats today. It's also good because it tells us what a really democratic union was like—something most of us have never experienced.

It may be hard even to imagine what a union that is controlled by the members and always fights for their interests would be like. It helps a lot to know that Minneapolis Teamster

Local 574 actually worked this way in 1935.

- 1) Pay for the union staff was set at the going wage for truck drivers (often it was really less).
- 2) Everyone on the union staff from apprentice organizers to top elected officials got the same pay.
- 3) General membership meetings had the final say on all questions.
- 4) Membership meetings were held twice a month.
- 5) There was a complete freedom for expression for all views.
- 6) Officers were elected for one-year terms.

Unlike today's office holders, the leaders of Minneapolis Local 574 had no reason to fear a rank-and-file mobilization or union democracy because they had no ties with the employers and no intention of selling out the members. The elected leaders were those who had proven themselves in the struggle.

They were organizing in the midst of a depression. The potential for conflict with unemployed workers who might be driven to scab was obvious. The Minneapolis local formed a special auxiliary section of unemployed workers. The union fought for increased government aid for these depression victims. In return the union had its picket lines reinforced by unem-

ployed workers who understood that a victory for unions was a gain for all workers.

When any Minneapolis union ran into trouble during a strike, Teamster Local 574 mobilized its own ranks, the unemployed, and the ranks of other unions for support.

From cabinetmakers to golf caddies, Minneapolis workers who wanted to win union recognition came to Local 574 for help and got it. Contrast this with the backstabbing tactics today's Teamster officials have used against the farm workers union organizing drive.

Daniel Tobin was head of the IBT in those days. The militancy and support for working class solidarity approach of the Minneapolis Local 574 was just as foreign to him as it is to Frank Fitzsimmons today. Tobin's response was an attempt to destroy the trouble-making Local 574.

Tobin used dirty tactics. He threw Local 574 out of the IBT for getting behind on its per capita taxes to the international. Why was the local behind? Because it paid its international dues only with the money left in the treasury after it had given support to the families of men killed or disabled in the 1934 strike!

After throwing Local 574 out, Tobin set up a rival local. Using the same tactics that present day Teamster officials have used against the farm workers union, Tobin's men went to the trucking companies and offered to sign sweetheart contracts. This didn't work since the workers were solidly with the local they had built themselves.

Then Tobin turned to goon assaults on 574 members who refused to sign and join his phony local. The 574 ranks defeated this attack as well. Because of the support work it had done, Local 574 had gained respect from other AFL unions. Tobin was forced to back down.

The Minneapolis local continued to expand. Some of the demands they organized around are worth men-

tioning because we could use them today:

- 1) One-year contracts only.
- 2) No overtime for anyone until all employees have their quota of regular hours.
- 3) Right to strike over contract violations.

Over-the-road drivers were still almost completely unorganized. Their job conditions were intolerable. The Minneapolis leaders called for a joint council of Teamster locals to plan an organizing drive. Their goal was a single contract to cover all over-the-road drivers in 11 Midwestern states. Tobin had to go along with the plan.

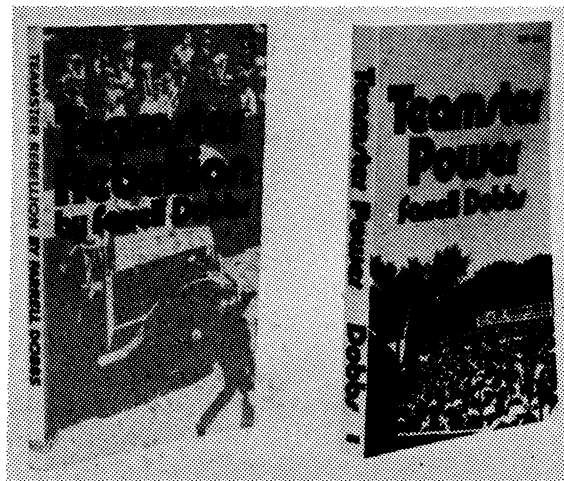
This was a time when the business interests were determined to defeat the unionization drives of workers. To give you an idea of what we're talking about: In Nebraska the bosses didn't need to get a court injunction to limit picketing because all picketing was illegal by state law!

Finally, with the surrender of the Omaha trucking bosses in February 1939, victory for the union was assured. Further expansion brought an area contract covering 2,500 companies and 200,000 drivers.

The IBT had grown from 80,000 members in 1933 to 500,000 members in 1939. By now Tobin had decided that this industrial unionism stuff might not be so bad after all, considering how much it had increased the union's power and its dues base. Since he couldn't kill the tiger maybe he could tame it and ride it.

Now, 35 years later, the tiger is even bigger and more powerful, yet Tobin's bureaucratic heirs seem to be firmly in the saddle. But as anyone who has ever ridden a tiger can tell you, you can only get away with it as long as the tiger lets you.

A burst of rank-and-file militancy transformed the Teamsters union once, and it can happen again. Thanks to the dedication of men like Farrell Dobbs, next time we'll be starting with the industry already organized.



TEAMSTER REBELLION
192 pp. Paper \$2.25. Cloth \$6.95.

TEAMSTER POWER
255pp. Paper \$2.95. Cloth \$8.95.

Monad Press books, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St. New York, N.Y. 10014.

truckers: in 1930s & today

key things we did was to require that the independent drivers be paid a union wage, separate from and in addition to payment for the rental of their equipment. The object was to make it harder for the leasing companies that hired these independent operators to phony up the books and cheat them.

We also instituted provisions that took at least part of the cost of the operation of the truck off the worker's back. We required that the leasing company had to pay the taxes and the insurance premiums.

And then we knocked out other swindling practices. Some of these leasing companies used to require an independent owner-operator working for them to buy his gas, oil, and tires through them, and handle truck re-

The present Teamster leadership has turned its back on the individual owner-operators....It is the polar opposite of the leadership that first organized the over-the-road drivers and won the first area contract.'

pairs and everything else through the leasing company. This was an application in the trucking industry of the old idea of the company store in the minefields. We put an explicit provision in the first contract knocking that out.

We also banned the practice of charging interest on earned money advanced to the owner-operator before the regular payday.

In the last three decades—since Daniel Tobin, who was then president of the IBT, with help from President Roosevelt, managed to drive the revolutionary socialists out of the Teamsters movement—there has been a qualitative deterioration in the leadership of the IBT.

The leadership today is the polar opposite of the kind of leadership that first organized the over-the-road drivers, established the first uniform area contract, and thereby laid the foundation for the later development of the powerful regional formations of the Teamsters.

Back in those days, the basic approach of the union leadership was that anytime there was an argument between the workers and the bosses, the workers were right.

If a boss claimed an unjust grievance was being pressed by the workers, it was up to the boss to try to prove it. The union leadership took it for granted that the workers were in the right.

Under people like Frank Fitzsimmons, head of the IBT today, that has been reversed. Their whole approach is to give the bosses, not the workers, the full benefit of the doubt. On top of that, they have tended to revert back to another practice that preceded the over-the-road organizing drive of the 30s.

Prior to that, the IBT paid no at-

tention whatsoever to the individual owner-operator. Insofar as it paid any attention at all to over-the-road drivers, it was only concerned with drivers for companies that had their own big fleets of trucks.

We corrected that situation, but today the process is being reversed. The present leadership of the IBT has more and more turned its back on these drivers.

You have that epitomized in the recent public denunciation of these workers by Fitzsimmons. Instead of standing up like a union man and fighting for the rights of these workers, he called on the federal and state governments to crack down on them with police goons.

This division among over-the-road drivers remains a basic problem for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and sooner or later the IBT will have to do something about it. Now the job will be harder than ever, because—with good reason—the overwhelming majority of these independent owner-operators today look upon the IBT as their opponent, not as their natural organization.

Q. How were the owner-operators represented inside the union?

A. If there was a large number of them in a given local union, a special section known as the Independent Truck Owners Section was organized within the union. There would be another section that involved the fleet drivers.

Meeting as separate sections of the union, the workers in each category could take up their specific problems. Then by meeting together in the general membership meeting, they were able to deal in common with their common problems above and beyond their particular occupational situation.

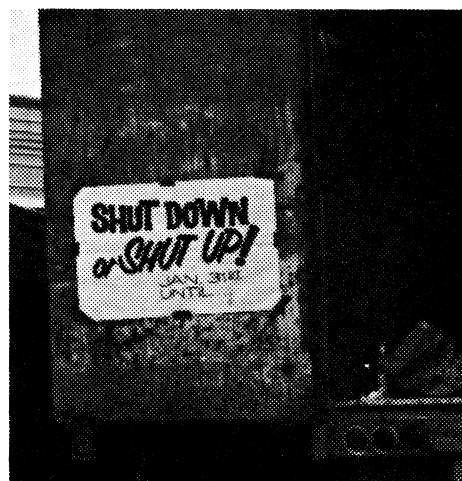
And at the same time they had the combined power of their united strength in dealing with the employers.

Q. Today the drivers stay in communication with each other and coordinate their actions through Citizens Band radios. How did you handle this problem of communication among over-the-road drivers in the 30s?

A. It is not so much a question of communication as one of collective discussion. The ideal arrangement for workers to get together and collectively hammer out their demands upon the bosses and collectively organize to fight for those demands is for all of them to come together in a meeting.

In the case of the over-the-road drivers, they're coming and going all the time. At no time do you have all the workers in town simultaneously so you can hold a meeting.

We overcame that by devising a special form of discussion. Here was how we began when we formulated our demands for the first area contract:



Union rally during 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, which paved way for 11-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers.

We met as extensively as we could with whatever drivers were in town day by day, and got a rough idea of the line of approach in formulating the demands. Then we prepared a questionnaire. We asked two types of questions.

First, what were the exact conditions under which the driver worked? How many hours did he work? How much money was he getting? What were the job conditions? What was bad about them?

Second, we presented a tentative list of demands—a strictly tentative list. We put the question to the driver, what is your opinion about this formulation of the demands? What else do you think should be covered? What do you think should be changed?

We got those printed up by the thousands, and we began to spread them on the road. Here, of course, there's a positive side to the mobility of the over-the-road drivers: they get everywhere.

We started our inquiry out of Minneapolis, and within two weeks, we were getting answers back from as far south as Texas.

Militant union drivers pulling out of Minneapolis would pass these blank questionnaires out to drivers they met along the road. Oftentimes they would meet drivers who would say, "Well, give me a dozen of those," or "I know several guys that will want to fill that out."

After the forms had been filled out they would be passed back along the road until they got to the hands of a driver who was heading for Minneapolis. When he finally got to Minneapolis he would bring them to the union headquarters.

The accuracy of this method of collective discussion was proven by the support the union got when we opened up the fight with the bosses to win these demands. That was the acid test as to whether the demands expressed the workers' wishes and whether the workers were ready to back up a fight for them.

When the various bosses, particularly along the Missouri River Valley, refused to sign the area contract and we called the strike, we found that finks were a rarity. In their overwhelming majority the workers backed those demands and they fought

tooth and nail for them in a strike that lasted almost six months. And we won.

Q. What is the comparison between the relative standing of the fleet drivers and the independent owner-operators?

A. At the present time there are independent owner-operators who would be perfectly happy to have a well-paying job as a fleet driver and let the company do all the worrying about the truck. There are also without doubt many drivers who believe they can do a little better at earning their living by owning their own truck.

Depending on what the union does to represent the workers and establish good wages, good hours, and good working conditions, in the end the question of what the workers want will be definitively settled by what experience proves is best for them.

But there's no basis for a test of that today, because the union appears to be giving attention only to the fleet drivers, and, my impression is, not too much there. Even in the case of the fleet drivers, the union leadership today seems to pay more attention to the problems of the companies than to the problems of the workers.

Because of this neglect, sometimes fleet drivers get the feeling they could do better as an owner-operator. There is a crystal clear case of the union itself helping to create nonunion owner-operators by failing to represent the interests of the fleet drivers.

What it will take to straighten the situation out is for the union to embrace both categories, represent both categories, and fight for the interests of the workers that are behind the wheels of those trucks—and no other interests. Then the workers themselves will sort out which is the best way to go.

Q. In this situation where workers outside the union have taken the lead, what impact can this have inside the Teamsters union?

A. First, I think it's a bit of a misnomer to refer to them simply as workers that are outside the union. I think a more apt description is workers who have been abandoned by the union.

These are the workers that are con-

Continued on page 22

British miners strike

Just as in the U.S., inflation is eating away at the wages of workers in Britain.

In the U.S., Nixon's "anti-inflation program" is in Phase 4. Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath is still in Phase 3 of his program, but both come down to the same thing—holding down wages while inflation continues.

Wages for British miners vary from \$55 a week to \$84. The National Union of Mineworkers has been forced out on strike for a pay increase that would raise wages to \$77 to \$99. As far as Heath is concerned, the miners' demand for a living wage is "disruptive."

The fight of the miners in Britain is over the same issue as that confronting workers in the U.S.: whether the capitalist government will succeed in forcing the burden of inflation onto the back of the working class.

The struggle in Britain is a test case for the rest of the capitalist world. The Tory attack on the British workers has reached the point of instituting a three-day workweek in order to force compliance with wage controls. If Heath is successful in cowing the miners, his example will be followed elsewhere.

But if Heath is the example for the capitalists, the miners have set an example for workers throughout the world by their determination and militancy. They deserve the fullest support and solidarity from workers everywhere.

Solzhenitsyn's exile

The forcible expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from his native land is a new attack by the Soviet bureaucracy on the movement for democratic rights inside the USSR and on the rights of the Soviet working class as a whole.

The bureaucracy's fear of free discussion, especially when it concerns its own history, is well founded. The narrow, privileged caste that rules the Soviet Union today has no way of justifying the chauffeured limousines, special apartments, vacation houses, and the dozens of similar prerogatives that it has granted its members at the expense of the Soviet people.

In order to maintain themselves in power the bureaucrats had to exterminate the Bolshevik leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution. To protect its rule, the Stalinist ruling caste had to deprive the Soviet working class of its democratic rights. The Stalinists enforced their will by setting up the vicious labor camp system described by Solzhenitsyn in his latest book.

But the exile of Solzhenitsyn cannot halt the discussion that the bureaucracy fears so much. Other voices have already been raised, and for every one that speaks out now, there will be tens and hundreds of thousands more. The Soviet bureaucrats are sitting on top of a volcano, and removing one cinder won't help them when it erupts.

SLA kidnapping

The kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by members of the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army can do nothing but harm to the revolutionary movement and to all organizations fighting against the capitalist government.

Like all terrorist acts, the kidnapping diverts attention from mass struggle and focuses on the actions of a tiny armed group.

The capitalist-owned media and government officials, from local police to U.S. Attorney General Saxbe, have seized on the incident to try to discredit the entire left. Their aim is to pave the way for stepped-up repression and harassment. For example, last November, police tried to link the Vietnam Veterans Against the War with the SLA when one apparent SLA member who had been a VVAW leader was arrested for the murder of Marcus Foster, a liberal Black educator in Oakland.

The nature of the SLA remains a mystery. Activists in the Bay Area had never heard of it prior to the recent publicity. After what has come to light about the role of government agent-provocateurs in groups like the Weatherpeople, it is quite possible that police agents or right-wing forces may have a hand in the SLA's terrorist acts.

No 'quasi-Marxist rip-off'

I am only a temporary resident of New York City. I plan to open a radical book and periodical shop in my home town of San Antonio, Texas later this year.

Among periodicals offered will, of course, be *The Militant*. I must confess that, prior to having purchased a copy from a street salesperson in Greenwich Village recently, I had never previously partaken of it.

Your staff is to be commended. It is well-written and edited, in excellent format. It does not present the ideological cop-out or quasi-Marxist rip-off of which so much of the so-called "underground" media are guilty. Perhaps that is why Mr. Nixon and his progenitors have singled out SWP and YSA for persecution and surveillance while realizing that such publications as the late *East Village Other* or *Mad Magazine* are more to be laughed at than censured.

L.M.

New York, N.Y.

On anarchism

The article by Leon Trotsky in the Feb. 1 *Militant* is very important to the comprehension of the process of socialist revolution. Trotsky's theory makes very clear the futility of bombing and individual murders, while emphasizing the efficient tactic of the organized mass struggle.

Trotsky's only failure is in his view of anarchism, which he describes as synonymous with terrorism and disorganization. First, anarchism is something to be reached, while terrorism is a way to reach something. Second, anarchism is the stage when, after capitalism is overthrown by the socialization of the means of production, the differences of classes are eliminated and the people will be able to govern themselves, no longer needing representation or a central government.

A.L.

Mamaroneck, N.Y.

Agribusiness

As always, your reporting goes beyond any other sources at my disposal. Please keep up the good work. I would appreciate more articles on agribusiness in the United States, and in the Midwest in particular.

J.C.

Mazomanie, Wis.

From Lisbon

Strategic hamlets—an American innovation in Vietnam designed to deprive revolutionary forces of demographic cover and logistical support—have been adopted with a vengeance by the Portuguese. In northern Mozambique, along the Tanzanian border, and in Tete, hundreds of thousands of Africans have been uprooted and resettled in militarized hamlets. This has created vast free-fire zones where Frelimo units or, more probably, Africans who resist resettlement become targets for NATO-supplied weapons.

In December of 1972 a cluster of villages, collectively known as Wiriyamu, which had avoided transplantation and was suspected of nationalist sympathies, was razed, its people slaughtered. In July of 1973 the world learned of Wiriyamu through Father Hastings, a British mission-

ary. The American and international press gave the massacre extensive coverage, resulting in massive demonstrations in London against the official visit of the Portuguese premier. Lisbon, aghast at the publicity, restricted the movement of foreign journalists and prohibited the entrance into Mozambique of UN and Red Cross investigative bodies.

Having discovered the immense propaganda value of atrocities, the colonial regime has carefully orchestrated one of its own to coincide with the publication of Hastings's book, to be released this month. The smoking ruins of Nhambo in Tete are being visited by charter flights of European journalists whose stories are gloatingly reprinted in the Portuguese press. To remove all doubt as to Frelimo's guilt, Portuguese officers "discovered" in Nhambo and are circulating a letter, reputedly authored by a guerrilla commander, claiming credit for the massacre. Also of interest is the fact that none of the Portuguese troops stationed in the village were casualties.

Scott Sanders

Lisbon, Portugal

Try it, you'll like it

I have tried *The Militant* and there is no doubt about it, it is the best newsweekly yet. Every American should have the opportunity to acquaint himself with a socialist newsweekly of this nature—TRUTH!

A patriotic capitalist and co-worker of mine had the indecency to question the relevance of our paper, *The Militant*. I was not unsympathetic and tried to explain. But like so many other Americans, he is not concerned about the truth.

E.H.

Durham, N.C.

Not ready yet

I am impressed with your writing efforts. Your ideas are profound, but in all honesty I can only say that I'm *not* ready for it (them). Could you please cancel my subscription? It will save labor and mailing costs for you and valuable reading time for me.

Right on in your efforts.

Nat Testa

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Nixon doesn't give a damn

I agree with you on almost all issues, especially that Nixon should be impeached and your support of the United Farm Workers. Nixon doesn't give a damn about the people of this country, so I don't give a damn about him. I would take Martin Luther King, Jr., Bobby Kennedy, John Kennedy, or Malcolm X over him any day.

Chris Fusillo

Verona, N.J.

Black elected officials

After reading your Feb. 8 article on Mayor Kenneth Gibson, I totally agree with you. As a Black man it disgusts my intellect and sensibilities to hear all the so-called white liberals and ultra-leftists hail the election of any Black for public office.

Black people are sick and tired of electing Blacks from the two-party system to public office whose



allegiance lies not to the Black people and poor people, but to the Democratic and Republican parties — both defenders of capitalism.

I wholeheartedly agree with your thesis that "the interests of Blacks and other working people lie outside the two-party shell game." I look forward to seeing more articles on Black elected officials in your newspaper.

Sam Casimir, Jr.
Chicago, Ill.

Please rush

Enclosed is \$1 for a *Militant* subscription. I saw a sample copy and loved it!

Please rush.
R. T.
Washington, Pa.

Women strikers applauded

1,500 trade unionists made a tremendous show of labor solidarity with Sears strikers at the Feb. 3 Labor-Community Mass Strike Support meeting in San Francisco.

However, as some 20 politicians and labor officials took their seats on the speakers' platform, many in the audience noticed that something wasn't quite right. The embattled union, Department Store Employees, Local 1100, is composed of mainly women and the audience at the rally was primarily women. Yet every single speaker on the platform was male.

When this omission was pointed out to the rally organizers, they added a female trade unionist to the program. The woman was Lois Weiner, chairperson of the Women's Rights Committee of the Hayward Federation of Teachers (Local 1423). She is also a member of Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality.

Weiner congratulated the Sears women strikers. "Their militancy and courage is an example to the women's movement and the labor movement," she said. "They make me damn proud to be a woman trade unionist."

Weiner then asked the women of Local 1100 to stand so that she and the audience could applaud them. The audience gave them the loudest round of applause of the entire program.

Carole Seligman
San Francisco, Calif.

'A man in a cage'

Treatment that degrades the inmate, invades his privacy, and frustrates the ability to choose pursuits through which he can gain self-respect erodes the very foundations upon which he can prepare for a socially useful life.

"A man in a cage" needs incentive, motivation, and something to look forward to. Please forward *The Militant* to me here in order to assist me in achieving this goal.
A prisoner
New York

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.

Remember Junior Martinez

March 17 will mark the first anniversary of the murderous police assault on a building used as a dormitory for Escuela Tlatelolco, the Chicano school run by the Crusade for Justice in Denver.

The cops used a jaywalking incident in the early morning hours after a *mañanitas* celebration (Chicano birthday party) as a pretext for the attack. Suddenly, more than 200 heavily armed police appeared and began firing into the building. A powerful explosion left the place in ruins.

Luis (Junior) Martínez, a dance instructor at the Escuela, was killed by police bullets that night. He was 20 years old.

Several others were shot, and 70 were arrested. The charges were so phony that only one of the frame-ups was successful. Mario Vasquez, a Crusade activist, was convicted of first degree assault and sentenced to 15 years.

The Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, which was set up to defend the March 17 victims, is continuing the fight to reverse the Vasquez conviction. The committee recently informed *The Militant* that in the past 12 months more than 100 Crusade activists and supporters have been arrested or taken to court in a campaign of harassment.

Among those with serious charges still pending against them are Francisco (Kiko) Martínez and Gary Garrison. Martínez is a young activist lawyer who frequently defends Chicanos against the government. When police sought to link him with a series of bombings, a campaign of racist hysteria was whipped up by Denver's newspapers in banner headlines. Having convicted Martínez in its pages, the *Denver Post* went so far as to offer a reward for information leading to his capture. Vigilante "justice," cattle-baron style, lives on in Denver.

An instructor at Escuela Tlatelolco, Garrison has received the same slanderous treatment in the columns of the capitalist press. The authorities are trying

to frame him up on charges of attempted arson, mischief, and conspiracy.

Garrison is charged with having thrown a dynamite bomb that did not explode through the window of a paint store. As *El Gallo*, newspaper of the Crusade for Justice, put it, "This supposed bombing was oddly similar to others reported in Denver. . . . Suspiciously enough, almost all of these bombs fail to explode. Instead, the police arrive just in time to disarm them."

Chicanos have taken the offensive by initiating a \$10-million libel suit against Denver's other daily rag, the *Rocky Mountain News*. Statements criticizing the *News*'s racist brand of journalism have been issued by the National Lawyers Guild, Congress of Hispanic Educators, Denver Opportunity, Servicios La Raza, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, Manuel Salinas of the U.S. Justice Department, and State Representative Roger Cisneros.

In order to help combat this unprecedented wave of attacks, the committee is calling a national and international day of solidarity with the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Chicano movement on March 17. The committee reports that it has invited Hortensia Allende, widow of Salvador Allende; Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader Juan Mari Brás; Los Tres del Barrio; Angela Davis; and antideportation leaders Mario Cantú and Bert Corona to speak at the event in Denver.

The Crusade for Justice has played an important role in the national development of the Chicano movement. The March 17 event gives the whole Chicano movement an opportunity to come to the Colorado activists' defense. The defense committee says, "People throughout the nation can help us on this day by publicizing the event, its history and purpose, by organizing rallies," and through other support activities.

For further information, write Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, P. O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Sit-in at Rheingold

Rheingold beer in recent years tasted about the same as other brands and had the same alcoholic content. Few would have missed its disappearance from the market if it hadn't been for the workers who refused to leave when the owners decided to close the 119-year-old brewery in Brooklyn.

There were 1,500 who had worked there, many of them for 25 or 30 years. Regardless of what they thought about the quality of the beer and its steady deterioration over the years, they have homes in Brooklyn and families to support and they depended on these jobs for their livelihood. The pay wasn't the greatest, but they had union conditions and earned more than unorganized workers. Most of them were members of Brewery Workers Locals 3 and 46, affiliated with the Teamsters union.

The Rheingold Brewing Company was bought up by Pepsico Inc. in 1972, and the new owners claim they lost \$9-million on the Brooklyn brewery last year. It is hard to believe that a huge brewing company like Rheingold could be losing money with beer selling at 60 cents a glass over the bar. But company bookkeepers for giant conglomerates like Pepsico know how to show a loss on almost any operation in order to claim a tax deduction or shift capital investment to another enterprise.

Whatever the real reasons may have been for ordering the closing of this brewery, Pepsico saw a chance to grab a few extra million dollars by cheating the displaced workers out of their vacation money, pensions, and severance pay.

Attorneys for the Teamsters union went to court to get injunctions against the owners and prevent the closing of the Brooklyn brewery until a settlement could be reached on money the workers had coming to them.

This action probably would not have been very successful and certainly would not have attracted much attention if the workers had not taken matters into their own hands. They decided to occupy the brewery and stop the pouring of thousands of gallons

of beer into the sewers of New York.

Families of the sit-in demonstrators came to picket in the cold outside the gates. Mrs. Mildred Mancuso, whose husband has been with Rheingold almost eight years, told reporters, "We don't want to go on the headlines. The bottom has fallen out of everything for us."

These brewers are mostly older workers and white. Many hold conservative political ideas. One reviled Pepsico as "a conglomerate more anxious to sell soft drinks in Russia than beer here." Another declared, "We are not a bunch of kids having a demonstration. We are men who have spent our lives doing this job and we aren't going to leave."

Their militant action is a sign of the changing times in this country. When the company's quest for greater profits threatened to wreck their lives, nothing seemed more logical to these workers than occupying the brewery and marching in the streets. They are really not so unlike the student antiwar demonstrators who wanted to prepare for a useful job and didn't want to be drafted to die in Vietnam.

Then, too, some of the brewery workers' attitudes are liable to shift. It was a middle-aged trucker about to be hauled away by police for blockading a highway last December who commented, "I guess the kids have taught us if you don't like the way the country is running, you protest."

Now the sit-in has ended and a New York investor, a prominent liberal Democrat named Jerry Finkelstein, is negotiating with Pepsico to buy the Brooklyn brewery and two others. He has also met with union representatives to seek "concessions" from them, not publicly enumerated, to make sure the brewery can be run at a profit.

Will the brewers now be asked, as others have been before them, to sacrifice decent wages and working conditions on pain of losing their jobs? Whatever the outcome, these workers will not soon forget what they have learned about the callousness of the profit system to human needs.



Equality before the law—A Melbourne, Australia, judge sentenced a man to four weeks in jail—two weeks for choking a cat and two weeks for assaulting his wife. "Behavior such as this will not be tolerated by the community," the magistrate sternly admonished. "There are heavy penalties to protect animals from this."

Limited coverage—An Australian firm is now offering wedding insurance. It covers postponements due to illness, loss of negatives by wedding photographers, last-minute cancellation of honeymoon reservations, etc. After the honeymoon, however, you're on your own.

Socialist incentives—A Moscow dispatch to the Sydney Australian announced new awards to boost workers' productivity. These include apartments, pension increases, and the right to buy theater and movie tickets without queuing.

The best of both worlds—Four islands off the coast of Papua New Guinea are being offered for sale in Australia for a minimum of \$250,000 each. They boast such features as beautiful beaches, superb fishing, a native population, and copra plantations. Copra is currently bringing top prices, a spokesman explained, "so the islands are a business proposition as well as a paradise."

Profits meatier than meat—Australian meat processors report profit increases of as high as 300 percent in the last half of 1973. One company explained profits were "unusually bouyant" because of excellent returns on meat by-products.

Distilled wisdom—It is a fallacy to think that social stresses and emotional disturbances are major factors in alcoholism, according to Dr. Jones Rankin, an Australian who is reportedly a specialist in the field. The real problem, he says, is that liquor is too cheap. He favors raising the price to reduce consumption. Distillers simply favor raising the price.



"Dear, Did You Know That \$290,000 Of Our Tax Money Has Already Been Spent On His Legal Defense Team?"

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Blacks and electoral politics—II

The December 1973 issue of *Struggle*, a militant Black newspaper published in Boston, contains an article evaluating the defeat of two Black candidates in the November municipal elections there. Last week I ran down some of the points it raised. Many of these are being discussed by other Blacks concerned with electoral activity.

The *Struggle* article examines meaningful questions of electoral politics but it does not spell out the role of the Democratic and Republican parties.

No review of the Black experience in the electoral arena can draw the necessary lessons without studying the role played by these capitalist parties.

The *Struggle* article does not distinguish between Black candidates who are Democrats or Republicans and those who are not. It scores the failure of Black mayors like Carl Stokes, Richard Hatcher, and Kenneth Gibson to effect any real change in the Black community, but it doesn't explain that the allegiance of these Blacks to the Democratic Party prompts them to serve that party exclusively, thus becoming an obstacle to the needs of Blacks.

Decades of Black trust in the Democratic and Republican parties have not served to improve the

conditions we face. Many of us are still jobless, inflation gobbles our paychecks, our homes and schools crumble, and crime and drug addiction soar while cops get itchy-fingered.

This trend can be altered when we see the Democratic and Republican parties for what they are—political parties that back the racist oppression of Blacks—and begin to organize the power of Blacks independent of and in opposition to these parties.

The two Boston candidates singled out in the *Struggle* article are Lena Saunders and Pat Bonner-Lyons. Saunders is a Democrat and Bonner-Lyons is a member of the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth organization of the Communist Party.

In the elections for school committee the Socialist Workers Party (whose candidates were eliminated in the primary) urged a vote for Bonner-Lyons as a vote in opposition to the candidates fielded by the Democratic and Republican parties. At the same time the SWP sharply criticized her reformist program and the YWLL-CP position of supporting candidates of the capitalist parties, especially the Democrats.

The *Struggle* article criticizes Bonner-Lyons for concentrating too much on electoral activity and neglecting day-to-day work in the community. However, all the community work in the world won't advance the struggle if a candidate lacks clarity on the Democratic Party as Bonner-Lyons does.

The *Struggle* writers call for the formation of "independent grassroots organizations." This could best be accomplished by the construction of an independent Black party.

Such a party would not just run in elections but would champion independent political action in all areas and build mass-action campaigns in the streets against specific aspects of Black oppression.

Such a party could expose the Black Democrats' total lack of program and dispel illusions that the power of Blacks can be built through the party of the oppressors. It would explain the truth about Democratic and Republican politicians, both Black and white.

This is the perspective being put forward by candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Massachusetts and other states in the 1974 elections.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



One man's uselessness

Every time a new antifeminist book is published, I approach it with the faint hope that it will provide some substance for debate. If they must be written, the least they could do is make a serious presentation.

With that in mind, I read *Sexual Suicide* by George Gilder (Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Company). The book was highly recommended. The *New York Times* review by Anatole Broyard called it "the most reasonable and comprehensive book published so far on the relation between men and women in American society."

The author has a lot of credentials. Gilder is a former editor of both the *New Leader* and the *Ripon Forum* magazine. He served on the Harvard University faculty as a fellow at the Kennedy Institute of Politics. He has also had the dubious honor of ghostwriting speeches for Nelson Rockefeller, George Romney, and Richard Nixon.

Add to all that the fact that the book comes complete with a bibliography of 166 titles and no fewer than 324 footnotes. I naively thought I was in for some heavy reading.

No such luck. The book is simply an amalgam of Norman Mailer's mysticism, Midge Decter's elitism, and an overdose of misogyny.

Gilder's bizarre contribution to "social theory"

goes like this: Once men were removed from their "natural" state, i.e., hunting and making tribal wars, they became essentially useless. The development of agricultural society brought about the crucial social problem that is still with us today—namely, what to do with men. (Women escaped this dislocation because we are still useful. We can have babies.)

The main problem, according to Gilder, is how to keep men socialized so they do not revert back to their former barbarism: "The crucial process of civilization is the subordination of male sexual impulses and psychology to long-term horizons of female biology."

You would think that a theory like that at least deserves a new, creative solution. But Gilder is lackluster. His solution is all too familiar: marriage, family, children.

Gilder claims the only way that love between men and women can be established is if sex is always tied to procreation. He detests the pill, abortion, "promiscuity" and, worst of all, homosexuality. He borrows directly from Mailer in his claim that "a man's love is focused on the symbols and associations of a woman's mysterious procreative powers."

Love alone is not enough to tame man, continues Gilder. "To keep the man present and to

preserve the nuclear family as the prevailing institution, even love will not long suffice. He must be needed in a practical and material way." That's why women must "allow" men to be the provider and protector. If men are not given that satisfaction they will feel their basic uselessness and turn savage.

Gilder apparently isn't joking about the savagery. He threatens us with no less than "the emergence of impulsive male sexual patterns," which lead to "hedonistic opportunism," "crime and drugs," "violence," "macho rhythms and incantations of high-volume rock," "alcohol, immediate sex, and pornography."

Thus, acceptance of male supremacy is, in effect, the bribe that women must offer men to induce them to be civilized. If women refuse to pay up, men will "roam in gangs or hunting parties."

Within that framework, it's easy to see how Gilder is not just against abortion, or childcare, or the ERA, or equal pay. He's even against co-education!

"Woman's place," he proudly summarizes, "is in the home, and she does her best when she can get the man there too."

If that's the best that liberal apologists for the oppression of women can do, they're in even worse shape than I thought.

San Francisco unionists sit in, shut down Sears store in display of strike solidarity

By ALEX HARTE

SAN FRANCISCO—More than 300 members of striking Local 1100, together with longshoremen, carpenters, painters, teachers, hod carriers, pile drivers, machinists, and many other trade unionists, shocked the management and scabs at the Sears Geary Street store here Feb. 9 as they marched into the store and conducted the first sit-in demonstration of the six-month-old strike.

They were joined by several San Francisco politicians, including State Senator George Moscone, Assemblymen John Foran and Leo McCarthy, and San Francisco Supervisor Ron Pelosi.

Led by Walter Johnson, executive secretary-treasurer and leader of the militant striking Local 1100 of the Retail Clerks International Association, and Jimmy Herman, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, the demonstrators began the day's activities with powerful picket lines surrounding all store entrances, effectively closing it down.

Following an enthusiastic rally and march around the store, the unionists and their supporters rapidly and simultaneously entered the Sears store from two sides before they could be locked out by Sears officials, and proceeded to conduct their business inside for the next hour and a half.

"We have come here to publicly claim the jobs of striking Sears employees and to inform the scabs who have taken them and the Sears management that the labor movement will not allow union-busting in this town," said Jimmy Herman as he addressed the seated demonstrators.

Rank-and-filers speak out

Herman was followed by many rank-and-file Sears strikers, who proudly expressed their commitment to the strike and to their union.

Displaying Local 1100's symbolic bullhorn, which many weeks before had been smashed by the head of an overly aggressive Sears scab who attacked him, former boxer and 18-year Sears employee Pete Souja explained that he hadn't realized how much Sears hated working people until this strike started. Souja's statement expressed the feelings of many Local 1100 members about this.

Curt Ostrow, a Sears employee of 19 years, said he had "been out now for six months and would stay out for a year or more if necessary."

These words were echoed by Nellie Ward, a Sears employee for 17 years, when she said, "However long it takes to keep our union, that's how long we'll be here."

Jean Olsen, an 1100 striker who has written and led many of the spirited songs and chants emerging from the strike, expressed her gratitude for the support of fellow unionists for this sit-in and other activities of her union.

She was followed by Essie Hawkins, a Local 1100 member employed at the J. Magnin's store who came down to support the strike. "I have put my life on the line for this union because I know what it stands for," said Hawkins. The warm ovation she received from the demonstrators clearly indicated that they understood and appreciated

Local 1100's tradition of active solidarity with the struggles of working people in other unions as well as its own ranks.

It is these traditions and the daily example of struggle that have given important impetus to the work of engaging others in support of the strike.

Support from Carpenters union

A new element was introduced into the struggle with the remarks of Joe O'Sullivan, president of the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council and head of the San Francisco Carpenters Union Local 22. O'Sullivan brought cheers from the demonstrators when he called for "a city-wide work stoppage for one day to pay our compliments to Sears. Let's go back to our unions and consider this proposal and shut it down."

O'Sullivan's remarks were greeted spontaneously with the well-known chant of the Sears militants, "On Strike! Shut It Down!" This time, however, they were referring to the entire city.

The recent government Pay Board decision to unilaterally void the third year of the Carpenters contract despite the fact that it had previously approved it, as well as the board's refusal last week to approve a moderate compromise proposal agreed to by both the Carpenters and the employers, was undoubtedly a factor weighing heavily on O'Sullivan's call for a city-wide work stoppage.

The militant strike of rank-and-file Carpenters in defiance of the Pay Board last month, and their strong presence in the Sears sit-in, are indications that such a call would be well received by many in the Bay Area labor movement.

Local 1100's sustained strike activity has been a key factor in eliciting more open support of several San Francisco politicians.

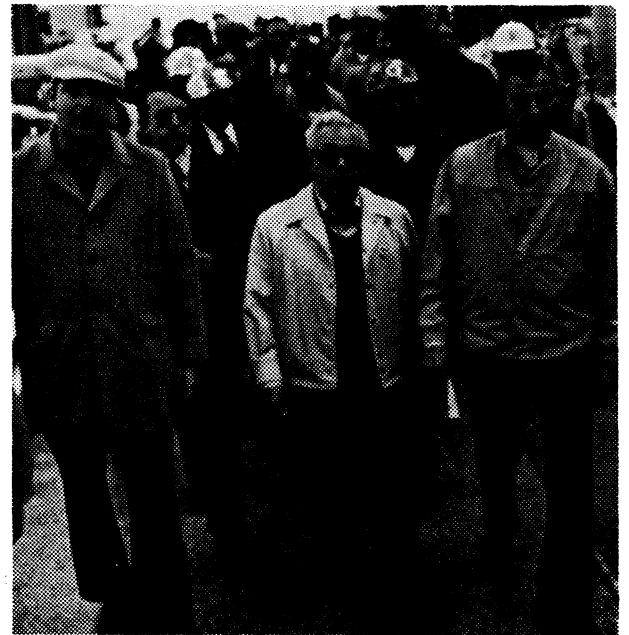
State Assemblyman John Foran, a participant in the sit-in, proclaimed, "This isn't just a labor-management thing; it's an all-out effort to break a union and we will not stand for it. We will break Sears before it breaks the union."

Greetings were also read from representatives of San Francisco Supervisors Robert Gonzales and Peter Tavaréz, as well as a telegram from Assemblyman Willie Brown. While Republican State Senator Milton Marks declined to participate in the sit-in, he did march on the picket line with the strikers.

'If you go, we all go'

While many officials of the labor movement in the past have been hesitant to characterize this struggle as an open union-busting drive by Sears, it is now becoming clear that this conclusion can no longer be avoided. Barney Speckman, assistant secretary of the San Francisco Labor Council, explained the importance of the strike with the succinct statement, "If you go, we all go."

Despite this formal recognition of the stakes involved in the Sears strike, Bay Area labor officials have yet to make a real commitment to the Local 1100 strikers. Efforts in this direction are critical to the continued growth and expansion of the strike.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Striking Sears workers and labor supporters march into Sears Geary Street store Feb. 9.

There is now, however, some indication that these councils are considering direct aid to the strike.

Until now, the key element in the strike has been the magnificent solidarity of the Local 1100 members and their successful efforts to draw into action additional militant fighters from other unions.

Their success was again evidenced during this sit-in, with the singing of verses to "We Shall Not Be Moved." A new twist was added, however, when each trade-union contingent represented in the sit-in added its own designation to the refrains. "The teachers are behind us, we shall not be moved," was followed by "the farm workers are behind us" and then the hod carriers, the painters, the culinary workers, the longshoremen, the carpenters, the pile drivers, and the many other unions represented. The list was impressive.

When the Sears store manager later attempted to address the few shoppers remaining in the store over the store's loudspeaker system, he was totally drowned out by a continuous chant quickly started by Jimmy Herman of the ILWU, "On Strike! Shut It Down!" Herman then told the Sears management as well as the reporters present that this peaceful sit-in was but the first in a series of activities of the labor movement.

Jeff Mackler, president of the Alameda County Council of the American Federation of Teachers, urged the demonstrators to give serious consideration to the work stoppage proposals earlier expressed by Joe O'Sullivan. He explained the need to take the issues posed by the Sears strike to every union in the Bay Area, and to secure concrete commitments of support. He expressed the need to make real the many pledges of solidarity previously stated by Bay Area unions.

Mackler invited the demonstrators to attend the next meeting of the Sears Labor-Community Strike Support Coalition, at which further plans are to be laid for continuing the struggle.

Greetings to the strikers were also brought by James Ballard, a national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of the San Francisco local. Many San Francisco teachers joined the day's activities, and the banner of their union was prominently displayed.

The sit-in ended with the remarks of Father Eugene Boyle, who reminded everyone of the Farm Workers' commitment to continued struggle. "Si Se Puede! It Can Be Done! We Will Win!" he said.

Cops choose not to interfere

The demonstrators left the store chanting and marched proudly and defiantly past a cordon of San Francisco police. Apparently the police chose not to interfere with the sit-in so as not to aid in further publicizing the justice of Local 1100's strike.

As in the past, the militants proceeded to the picket line with a new feeling that their struggle was gaining support.

Walter Johnson again expressed the strikers' determination to continue their struggle when he said, "We are not about to give up—now or any other time. For us the word is solidarity, and we mean it forever."



Bay Area leaders expressed support for strike at rally on store's main floor

Militant/Howard Petrick

Socialist candidates blast oil profiteers

Pa. SWP poses alternative to W'gate crooks

By DELBERT MAXWELL

HARRISBURG—The Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party officially announced its candidates for statewide office at a news conference Feb. 6 in the newsroom of the state capitol building here.

The SWP is running Roberta Scherr, a 21-year-old student at Temple University in Philadelphia, for governor; Christina Adachi, 25-year-old student at the University of Pittsburgh, for senator; and Duncan Williams, 24-year-old editorial assistant from Philadelphia, for lieutenant governor.

In her statement to the media, Scherr drew the contrasts between her candidacy and those of her opponents. Democrat Martin Mullen "is running on a one-point program against the right of women to abortion." Scherr called for "the government to provide free abortion clinics available to all

the new SWP branch in Pittsburgh and was a candidate for city council in last fall's election. She focused her remarks on the Watergate crimes of the Nixon administration. She discussed the SWP and YSA suit against the government being coordinated by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Pointing out that her opponent, Republican incumbent Richard Schweiker, "has refused to tell the voters of Pennsylvania how he would vote on impeachment," she said, "if I am elected senator, I will unhesitatingly vote 'yes' on impeachment because I think Nixon is one of the biggest criminals this country has ever seen.

"But the real question," she said, "is what kind of government should replace the Nixon administration? . . . We think that what is needed to clean up the Watergate mess is a transformation to a system that is dedicated to human needs instead of private profit—a socialist society."

The news conference was well attended by the capitol press corps. AP and UPI carried wire stories on the socialist candidates, and articles appeared in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the *Philadelphia Daily News*, and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Ohio candidates solidarize with truckers

By DAVE PAPARELLO

COLUMBUS, Ohio—Nancy Brown, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio, expressed her solidarity with the truckers' strike at a news conference held here in the secretary of state's office Feb. 5.

"Governor Gilligan has shown whose interests he represents by calling out the National Guard to break the strike of independent truckers," Brown said. "Gilligan claims to doubt the reality of the energy crisis. Yet he is willing to aid the oil monopolies by blocking any action to protest the effects of the crisis.

"As governor of Ohio," Brown told reporters, "I would join with the truckers in protesting the shameless robbery organized by the oil giants. Let the oil companies open their books to the public so that we all know what the actual oil resources are."

Brown said that a major focus of her campaign is to "get out the truth about the energy crisis and the complicity of the Democrats and Republicans." She explained that the oil trusts

are using the fuel shortage to "boost their profits, drive out the small independents, and roll back the gains made by ecology forces.

"If the oil companies claim they cannot produce without gouging consumers and polluting the environment, we should nationalize them and place them under workers control," Brown said.

This is not the first time the Ohio National Guard has been used to suppress protest movements, the socialist candidate noted, recalling the shooting of the Kent State students in May 1970.

"The responsibility for the Kent State murders and the cover-up that followed rests not only with my opponent, former Governor John Rhodes, but also with Governor Gilligan, the state administration of Ohio, and officials right on up to the White House," she declared. "The Socialist Workers candidates demand a full investigation of the Kent State killings."

The SWP is also fighting Watergate-style attacks through its suit against government harassment, Brown explained. Building support for this suit is a major activity of her campaign.

The SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, Herman Kirsch, also spoke at the news conference. He announced that the SWP has filed more than 20,000 signatures on nominating petitions to secure ballot status. Kirsch promised "a major legal battle" if the secretary of state should attempt to keep the socialist candidates off the ballot.

"In 1972, they ruled Linda Jenness, our presidential candidate, off the ballot on the grounds that she was 'too young' to run," he explained. "Before that, SWP candidate John Hawkins was kept off the Cleveland mayoral ballot on the basis of a technicality."

Kirsch issued a challenge to all the other candidates in the race to debate the SWP candidates. In addition to Brown and Kirsch, the SWP is running Philip Lazar for U.S. senator; Carol Knoll for attorney general; Charles Mitts in the 1st Congressional District; and Bernie Senter in the 23rd Congressional District.

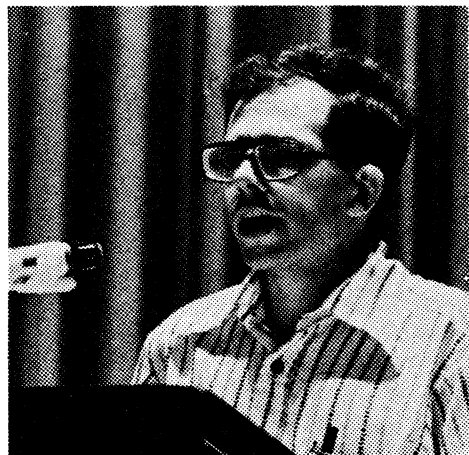
Mich. socialists denounce mounting layoffs

By STEVE BEREN

DETROIT—"A 29-year-old job shop printer who was laid off last week will be this year's SWP candidate for governor," reported the Feb. 6 *Detroit News*. The Michigan Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaign was launched last week with a series of news conferences in Detroit, Ann Arbor, East Lansing, and Kalamazoo.

The SWP candidate for governor is Robin Maisel, a member of Local 9L of the Graphic Arts International Union.

"[Maisel] says he's spent the last week in lengthy unemployment lines in Detroit," said the *Detroit News*. "Maisel said the SWP demands that the oil companies open their books to public inspection to prove that the energy crisis has been created to maximize oil company profits."



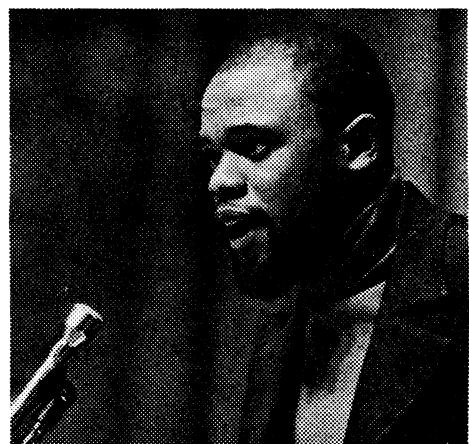
Militant/Michael Baumann

Robin Maisel, Michigan SWP candidate for governor.

At the Detroit news conference, held Feb. 5, Maisel blasted Nixon's State of the Union message. "The day after Nixon said there would be no recession in 1974, GM announced 75,000 layoffs," he noted. "In Flint unemployment is over 12 percent officially, and much more unofficially."

The SWP candidate for attorney general, B.R. Washington, spoke out at the news conference against restoration of the death penalty. "We oppose the current attempt to turn the clock back in the state of Michigan on capital punishment—or as I call it—state execution. No rich man ever went to the chair, only Blacks and other working people," he said.

Washington, an electrician, is a former leader of the African Liberation



Militant/Mark Satinoff

B.R. Washington, socialist candidate for Michigan attorney general.

Day Solidarity Committee in New York. In his statement he denounced racist attempts to deny Black children in Michigan a decent education, and expressed his support for the campaign to preserve the right to elect local judges in the state.

WCHB, a popular Black radio station in Detroit, aired Washington's entire statement on the late evening news.

The next morning, Maisel held a news conference at Michigan State University in East Lansing. "We intend to give the Democrats and Republicans hell," the *State News* quoted him as saying.

"Maisel has been active in the civil rights and antiwar movements for over 13 years," the *State News* said. "In 1969, he participated, at the invitation of the Cuban government, in the 10th anniversary of the Cuban revolution."

Ruth Getts, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, is a substitute teacher. An activist in the abortion rights struggle, Getts faces incumbent James Brickley, an open supporter of the reactionary "right-to-life" movement.

The SWP candidate for secretary of state is Rachele Fruit, an office worker. Trudy Hawkins and Lee Artz, the SWP candidates for State Board of Education, are both students at Wayne State University in Detroit.



Militant/Bill Hutton

Christina Adachi, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Pennsylvania.

women who want to use them."

Drew Lewis, a Republican hopeful, "is making no secret of the fact that he is running with the backing of Richard Scaife Mellon of the Gulf Oil Company. . . . Our party is campaigning in the interests of working people and against the oil trusts and corporations," she said.

Democratic incumbent Milton Shapp came under special fire: "This past weekend, Governor Shapp was in Washington, D.C., trying to end the truckers' work stoppage and to make the truckers and everyone else swallow the government's lies about the energy crisis. My party stands in full support of the strikers."

Pointing out that these are "some of the real political differences in the Pennsylvania state election campaign in 1974," Scherr called the SWP campaign "the only real alternative to these corrupt, cynical crooks."

She went on to call for a full public audit of the oil companies to be conducted by working people and consumers. She also called for "a congress of labor to include the unions, the independent truckers, Black and Puerto Rican groups, women's groups—everyone who has a stake in the fight against the government and the big corporations that run it."

Christina Adachi is a member of



Nancy Brown, running on SWP ticket for Ohio governor.

'Energy' layoffs newest example

UAW officials: no friend of Black workers

By DERRICK MORRISON

Among the hardest-hit victims of the energy crisis are the nation's auto workers. Many have been hit with temporary or indefinite layoffs. Nearly a quarter of the 874,000 workers in the industry face the prospect of unemployment.

Those feeling the squeeze the most are the Black workers—the last hired and the first fired.

Of the 1.4 million members of the United Auto Workers union—which also has a sizable membership in the aerospace and agricultural implements industry—15 percent are Black. But of the 700,000 UAW members working for General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, 36 percent are Black. In a number of Big Three auto plants in the Detroit area, Black workers are the majority.

Unfortunately, no effective action to protect these workers has been forthcoming from Solidarity House, the headquarters of the UAW. The union officialdom headed by Leonard Woodcock has not seen fit to make even strong verbal protests, let alone mount the type of actions that would compel the government and the auto barons to stop victimizing working people.

The energy crisis isn't the first issue on which the UAW bureaucrats have defaulted. They do a poor job representing all the union's members, but a doubly poor job when it comes to Blacks. A little history will show why.

Henry Ford

Ever since the 1920s, when Henry Ford started the assembly line and made 10 percent of his work force Black, Black workers have been an integral part of the auto industry. Black workers played a role in the UAW organizing drives in the late 1930s and early 1940s, especially at Ford's gigantic Rouge complex just outside Detroit.

From its inception, the UAW became a force in the Detroit Black community. In its organizing drives Black workers were welcomed as equals, and the union fought against segregationist practices in the city.

Internal democracy within the UAW was strangled in the late 1940s as a self-serving bureaucracy led by the late Walter Reuther fastened itself upon the organization. During the 1950s, the UAW retreated from and retarded the struggle against racist oppression as it retreated from the struggle against injustice and abuses in the workplace.

When the struggle against Jim Crow broke out in the South in the late 1950s, Reuther and other UAW bureaucrats posed as friends of the civil rights movement. Reuther was among the white liberal Democrats who marched

with Dr. Martin Luther King down Woodward Avenue in Detroit on June 23, 1963, at the head of the gigantic "Freedom Now" march of over 200,000 people, more than 90 percent of whom were Black.

Reuther was also on the platform at the memorable march for "Jobs and Freedom" that turned out a quarter of a million people—again, mostly Blacks—in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 18 that same year.

Under the blows of the civil rights struggle, the Jim Crow edifice in the South was toppled. The struggle for the right to eat in any restaurant was followed by a struggle to obtain the jobs and money necessary for exercising that right. This meant a deepening battle against racist oppression.

The ghetto rebellions in the Northern cities and the raising of the demands for Black power and Black control of the Black community signaled this new phase.

The labor movement should have supported the new demands. However, this was the point at which Reuther and other labor bureaucrats retreated and went over into definite opposition to this new level of struggle.

One year after the powerful ghetto eruption in Detroit in July 1967, a wildcat strike broke out in a Chrysler assembly plant that was 70 percent Black. The strike, which was led by a group of workers calling themselves the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), protested the racist oppression Black auto workers suffered at the hands of the foremen and the corporation's management. The exclusion of Blacks from the skilled trades by the company, with the complicity of UAW officials, also came under fire.

Chrysler obtained a court injunction against DRUM's picketing. This injunction was not challenged by the UAW officials of Dodge Local 3, who did not support the strike.

In 1969, Black workers formed Revolutionary Union Movements at a few other plants, which led to the founding of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

The league had no clear program and strategy, however, and the leadership was inclined toward ultraleft rhetoric and adventurist actions. This was not effective in combatting the company suspensions and firings of league militants. With the UAW bureaucrats lending the companies a helping hand in the repression, the league eventually lost its base in the plants.

Since then the auto companies haven't had to worry too much about the growth of independent Black organizations in the plants. Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, and other UAW officials have taken it upon



To protest job conditions, Black workers have often led wildcat strikes. Here Black auto workers emerge after plant occupation in August 1973.

themselves to root out and crush "extremist groups." An example of how the bureaucrats shoulder this "burden" occurred last summer when they mobilized 1,000 union officials to keep open a Chrysler stamping plant that had been shut down by radical workers.

In another incident at a Chrysler assembly plant, in which two militant workers seized the controls cage and demanded the firing of a racist foreman, the bureaucrats were forced to go along and Chrysler eventually acceded to the demand. But later on when Chrysler officials fired one of the two workers, the UAW bureaucrats simply turned their backs.

Local leaderships

In addition to these sporadic actions, the militancy of the Black auto workers sometimes is reflected in local union leaderships.

Henry "Hank" Wilson was elected president of the assembly unit of Local 600 in 1971 over the opposition of Solidarity House and to the displeasure of Ford.

There are more than 30,000 workers employed at the Rouge complex, half of whom are Black. Local 600, which represents all the Rouge workers, is broken down into 14 units. The assembly unit of 5,100 workers, 65 percent of whom are Black, is one of the largest.

Wilson became a target of Ford and Solidarity House when, as a production worker, he filed a complaint with the Michigan Civil Rights Commission attacking the racist exclusion of Blacks from the skilled trades. He charged the UAW with active complicity in this exclusion. Ford didn't take the complaint seriously until Wilson got elected president of the assembly unit. Rather than allow it to go to court, Ford opted for an out-of-court settlement.

According to Wilson, the skilled trades at Rouge were 97 percent white at the time he filed his suit. Now he estimates the figure at around 90 percent.

In the complaint he charged that Ford filled the skilled trades mainly by hiring whites right out of the suburbs rather than from among production workers on the basis of seniority. He also charged that the skilled trades tests were not so much related to the job as to how much education an applicant had.

As a result of the complaint—and

against the background of the federal courts upholding charges of racial discrimination against major corporations—Ford agreed to change the tests and to limit entry to production workers on the basis of seniority.

While Wilson was able to open up the skilled trades to many production workers in the assembly unit—white as well as Black—he charges that Ford is not living up to the agreement, and he is considering going back into court to force the company to comply.

Confirming Wilson's complaint, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charged last fall that General Motors and Ford were guilty of job discrimination on a national scale. They were charged along with two other companies and three unions, one of which was the UAW. The EEOC said that as many as 1,800 complaints had been filed against GM alone.

The charge against the UAW of discrimination dovetails with the fact that neither the Local 600 leadership nor Solidarity House supported Wilson in his effort. Both these forces stood instead as obstacles.

Exclusion of Blacks from the skilled trades is a fact in all the auto plants. Jordan Sims, president of Local 961 at the Chrysler gear and axle plant on Eldon Road, estimates that between 95 and 98 percent of about 700 skilled trades workers in the plant are white. Over 70 percent of the more than 3,000 production workers are Black. Sims opposes the racist policies of the company and the complicity of the UAW. His election last spring as president was a reflection of the same militant Black mood that put Wilson into office.

There have been many government rulings—as a result of discrimination complaints—ordering corporations to pay back wages or hire a quota of Black workers to make amends for past practices of racial discrimination. Some of these orders have remained on paper, while others have been partially implemented or carried out in a token fashion. In any event, they validate the demand for preferential hiring and promotion of Blacks.

A few years ago the mobilization of the Black community in several cities in massive protest actions publicized the racist exclusion of Blacks

Continued on page 22



In 1950s and early 1960s, UAW bureaucrats posed as friends of civil rights movement. Here A. Philip Randolph (left) and Walter Reuther meet with President Kennedy.

Deep differences underlie recent split in Puerto Rican Independence Party

By JOSE G. PEREZ

A new pro-independence and socialist group was formed in Puerto Rico last fall after a year-long crisis in the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP). This development has been a central focus of discussion among left groups in Puerto Rico.

The new Movimiento Socialista Popular [People's Socialist Movement—MSP] groups together most of the so-called *tercerista* [third-position] faction of the PIP, which had emerged as a left-leaning opposition to the PIP leadership.

The crisis of the PIP was the result of the profound political evolution the party has undergone in recent years. From 1946, the year the party was formed, to 1968 the PIP was led by its founder, Gilberto Concepción de Gracia. Although strongly for Puerto Rican independence, he was also firmly procapitalist and restricted the party's activities to the electoral arena.

With the death of Gilberto Concepción de Gracia and the upsurge of the student movement and the independence struggle in the late 1960s, the PIP began to change. A young leadership took over the party and by 1970 the PIP had adopted a pro-socialist plank in its platform. It led actions against U.S. military domination of Puerto Rico, particularly naval target practice on the island of Culebra.

As part of this transformation, the Juventud Independentista Universitaria (JIU), university student group of the PIP, was formed in 1968 and the Juventud Independentista Estudiantil (JIE), the high school PIP group, was formed a year later. Both the JIU and the JIE participated in student struggles, particularly the campaign against the draft carried out in Puerto Rico during those years.

A new militant layer was formed in the PIP, consisting primarily of student activists who put forth increasingly radical positions within the party.

The crisis breaks out

The crisis broke out in February 1973, when PIP President Rubén Berrios pushed through the expulsion of 1972 gubernatorial candidate Noel Colón Martínez in the board of directors of the PIP.

The formal reason for the expulsion was that Colón Martínez had failed to integrate himself into any official bodies of the PIP. Moreover, he had criticized the party leadership in public communication media "alien to the party."

But many at the time believed that what was really involved was a move by Berrios to remove a contender for the party's top position. Colón Martínez was, after Berrios, the best-known leader of the PIP.

At the time of the vote in the board of directors



Militant/José G. Pérez

Ruben Berrios (left) and Angel Villarini

there was only limited opposition to the expulsion. It had not been widely discussed in the party beforehand and Berrios and his supporters charged that Colón Martínez wanted to return the party to its pre-1968 days.

But there was much uneasiness about the move, and within a few days a great controversy exploded within the PIP and the Puerto Rican left in general.

The San Juan central committee accused the central party leadership of violating the group's statutes. The committee contended that the leadership had failed to give rank-and-file members adequate channels to express their views and had failed to consult the membership about the proposed expulsion. The resolution demanded a special gathering of the board of directors to reconsider the expulsion and to discuss the shortcomings of the PIP's internal democratic struc-



Militant/José G. Pérez

Banner reads: 'All power to the working class.' JIU (Juventud Independentista Universitaria) were part of leftward-moving forces that broke away from PIP to form Movimiento Socialista Popular (MSP).

tures revealed by the expulsion of Colón Martínez.

The central committee of the JIU also denounced the action of Berrios. At the same time, they explained that they were not supporters of the political positions of Colón Martínez, but were against the methods used by the party president.

A declaration signed by Norman Pietri, Angel Villarini, and Aaron Ramos of the PIP's political commission stated that the PIP had been thrown into a crisis. As members of the central leadership body, they said that they didn't really have an opportunity to play a central role because all the power was concentrated in the presidency.

The three declared that they backed neither Berrios nor Colón Martínez. They said that it was much more important what type of leadership structures were set up than who would become the next president.

Angel Villarini's analysis

In retrospect, possibly the most insightful analysis that appeared at that time was that made by Angel Villarini and published in *La Hora*, the party's weekly paper:

"Let us go to the root of the problem and not confuse the symptom (Noel) with the cause. . . .

"Our party is composed of diverse ideological tendencies that could be summarized as conservative, moderate, and radical. This results in the development of an ideological struggle at all levels of the party. . . . Until now, the program, statutes, and leadership of the party had maintained equilibrium between these different tendencies. None of these tendencies had tried to impose itself on the others. . . .

"The expulsion of Noel has broken the equilibrium between the diverse tendencies. . . . That is the root of the problem.

"The great majority of the conservatives and of the periphery are openly or tacitly allied with Noel. The moderates believe only a strong authority can resolve the problem and close ranks around Rubén. We radicals, incapable of identifying with one or another of these tendencies, look for a third solution, which is to attack the problem at its roots. . . .

"Lift the party from the controversy of the *Noelistas* vs. *Rubencistas*. Let's elevate ourselves to the clash of ideas, not of personalities."

Although it was not clear to many at the time, the broad leftist current among the party activists was coming together into an organized faction in the PIP.

This current, which included most of the staff of *La Hora* as well as those who opposed the expulsion and sought the third solution described by Villarini, was strong among a broad layer of PIP activists who had come out of the Puerto Rican student movement.

The April General Assembly

In a nationwide TV program, Berrios resigned from his post and called for a General Assembly to elect a new president. At the same time he put himself forward as a candidate, proposed that Colón Martínez be readmitted, and challenged Colón Martínez to run for the presidency too.

Berrios carried out his campaign for the party's top post by touring the whole country, accusing the opposition of trying to carry out a "coup." He made no distinction between the followers of Colón Martínez and the *terceristas*, and accused the JIU and the JIE, which formed part of the *tercerista* current, of being "communists."

Noel Colón Martínez did not run against Berrios and gradually took his distance from the internal struggle, leaving the *Rubencistas* and the *terceristas* to fight it out.

The April 8 Assembly of the PIP reelected Berrios by a vote of about 1,000 for Berrios to 350 for the *terceristas'* position of abstention. But because the PIP is structured along the lines of an electoral party, the 350 votes represented a much more significant proportion of the party's activists than would first appear.

In a document distributed at the April 8 Assembly, leaders of the *tercerista* current explained why they were calling for abstention: "We want everyone to understand that the reelection of compañero Rubén Berrios contributes nothing to the solution that we all seek to the party crisis. Abstention at this point is a vote in favor of debate and discussion as a way of seeking solutions."

At the April 8 Assembly, the JIU and JIE chapters asked to be represented like any other party committee instead of being allowed only one delegate per chapter. Behind this demand was the *terceristas'* concept that the party should be restructured so that decisive control rested in the hands of party activists. All registered voters were allowed to participate in delegate-selection meetings at the local level. This facilitates one or another faction packing a meeting with inactive people, the *terceristas* charged.

'Boletín del Militante'

After the April Assembly, the *terceristas* went beyond being a loosely organized current to become a relatively well organized faction. They founded the Centro de Estudios y Trabajo Socialista [Center for Socialist Study and Work] and assembled a national leadership for their faction. They also began publishing a modest internal bulletin, *Boletín del Militante*.

The political positions that the leftist grouping wanted to get the party to adopt were still limited, however. Angel Villarini described this in *Boletín del Militante* No. 12, published in September: "Months ago, we *terceristas* pointed out that the most that could be hoped for in the PIP was its democratization, but not its basic transformation. . . ."

The *terceristas* sought, in addition to democratization, to organize education on Marxism inside the PIP.

The basic idea behind their proposals on structure was to begin the process of transforming the PIP from an electoralist party to one more suited to activity outside the electoral arena.

The depth of the underlying differences between the *terceristas* and the Berrios grouping can be seen most clearly in the motivation given by each side for its proposal for structuring the party.

The preamble of the draft statutes proposed by the Berrios faction maintained: "The Puerto Rican Independence Party is a party of multiclass composition since it tries to group together . . . [all] sectors of the people that are in conflict with imperialism. . . . Ideologically, the PIP is a party with a broad base. . . ."

On the other hand, the left wing of the PIP stated in the preamble to its draft rules: "The pro-independence groups led by the petty-bourgeoisie have not . . . reached an understanding that the anti-imperialist struggle must also be an anticapitalist struggle based on the support of the workers. . . . To make possible a mass revolutionary party [we must] proletarianize the party. . . ."

The split takes place

During the summer the faction struggle in the PIP intensified, and a process of "cold" split developed.

When the crisis had first broken out in the spring, *La Hora*'s staff was composed in its majority of oppositionists. Berrios organized a boycott of the newspaper, forcing it to close down.

During the summer the paper resumed publication with a completely new staff, composed in its majority of Berrios supporters. In the meantime, the *Boletín del Militante* had increased its size and frequency and had become the unofficial public organ of the leftists.

In many local areas dual committees developed. In others, the committees were dominated by one or another grouping.

In reality, a split had already been almost completed in the PIP and work carried out by the PIP as a united group had come to a standstill. But the struggle for control of the party structures and name continued.

This struggle revolved around the draft for a new set of party statutes. The *terceristas*' proposals were able to win a majority in the various leadership bodies of the PIP. These included two special "Statutes Assemblies" in which more than 200 local and national party leaders participated.

Strength of the left current

The *terceristas*' ability to win these votes reflected not only the strength of the left current among the activists, but also the defection of a significant layer of party leaders from Berrios's camp, most prominent among them PIP Vice-President Carlos Gallisa.

Berrios launched an immediate counterattack, once again launching a tour of the island and writing a series of articles for daily newspapers in Puerto Rico. He lashed out at the *terceristas* for being a "dogmatic faction" composed of "ultralefts" who "defend schemas alien to Puerto Rican reality." He characterized the JIU as "anarchist Marxologists" who show "innumerable characteristics of the North American 'new left,'" and who represent "an example of left colonialism."

The JIU and the *terceristas* responded by charging that Berrios was carrying out an anti-intellectual, anti-student, red-baiting campaign, and demanded that Berrios conduct the preparations for the General Assembly of the PIP, which was to decide the question of party statutes, in a democratic manner.

Berrios did not call together a gathering of the national leadership of the PIP to set the rules and procedures for electing delegates to the Assembly, setting the rules himself instead. He claimed the previous statutes gave him power to do this.

He invalidated several local assemblies that had been called by PIP officers of the *tercerista* current, and the leftists claimed that they were excluded from meetings organized by Berrios supporters.

Finally the *terceristas* charged at the beginning of September that the General Assembly, scheduled for Sept. 9, had been rigged against them. They concluded in *Boletín del Militante* No. 12: "The only purpose of this Assembly is to sanction the uni-personal leadership of the present president of the party. . . . Under these conditions, and controlled by those who are partial to [Berrios], what tries to pass itself off as an Assembly of the Party will only be the meeting of a faction."

The *terceristas* refused to attend the Assembly, and resigned from the PIP. Among those who resigned were the two PIP members of the House of Representatives, many PIP representatives in city councils, both the JIU and JIE, more than 30 presidents of local PIP committees, and many other PIP leaders and activists who had been in the leftist opposition. At a press conference following the Sept. 9 Assembly, the *terceristas* claimed they had taken the majority of the PIP activists.

About a month later the core of the *tercerista* faction went on to found the MSP. The evolution of the *tercerista* group and the political positions of the MSP will be described in a future article.

Interview with Richard Chavez

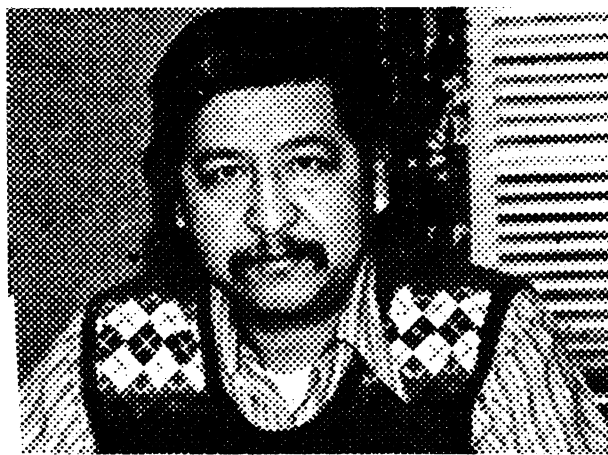
European unions support UFW

By ROBIN MAISEL

DETROIT—United Farm Workers union leader Richard Chávez recently returned from a 10-day trip to Europe, where he found encouraging support for the Farm Workers boycott of nonunion grapes and lettuce. Chávez had been invited to address a conference of Christian students in Britain, and from there traveled to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Chávez said that 18 percent of the total U.S. grape crop is exported to Britain and the Scandinavian countries, making this an important target for the union.

Most union officials, he found, already knew about the farm workers strike. "The British were the first ones to take action," Chávez recalled. "It doesn't take them long to make up their minds. It's a different labor scene over there. In this coun-



Richard Chavez

try it seems we are being held back quite a bit by laws. Over there they also have these restrictions, but they don't give a damn."

As soon as he arrived in London, Chávez said, he was driven directly to meet with local leaders of the dock workers section of the Transport Workers Union. There was a shipload of grapes from the U.S. that had been sitting on the docks for three days. The workers had refused to touch it.

Chávez told the union directors that it was a scab shipment, and the same afternoon they called a union stewards meeting to discuss how to handle the situation. "It took them only 20 minutes to come up with an answer, saying they were 'black' (scab) grapes and they were not going to touch them," reported Chávez.

Chávez next went to Birmingham, a large industrial city in the midlands, where he met with market workers (also a subdivision of the Transport Workers). "They said, 'We understand your problems. We are not going to touch anything that is not union.'"

"We went over to the marketplace and met with the importers. They told them, 'We have just taken a vote. We are in solidarity with our brother farm workers from the States and we have decided we are not going to handle anything that does not have the black eagle (the UFW symbol). If any [scab product] comes to this market, there is going to be a complete work stoppage.'"

Chávez saw the militant actions of the British workers in support of the UFW as part of a union solidarity campaign to pressure Prime Minister Heath into acting favorably toward striking coal miners.

"The unions are different over there," Chávez commented. "They know which side they're on. They are workers and if one worker is in trouble, they all come to their aid. They know that they belong to the working class and they don't make any bones about it. Unfortunately, in this country some of the unions have become part of the establishment."

In Norway, Chávez learned from the student boycott committee of an incident that had taken place about 10 days before his visit.

"Norway had not been importing grapes at all. The unions had told the importers not to bring in any grapes because there was a dispute in the States," Chávez explained. "Last one day all of a sudden there's a shipload of grapes—10,000 boxes."

The importers produced a telegram from the American Fruit Exporters Association saying that the boycott was over. The workers were suspicious and contacted the boycott committee, which informed them that the strike was still on. The importer asked if he could sell the grapes that were already there and promised not to buy any more. The workers refused. "Consequently," said Chávez, "they took them out to the ocean and dumped 10,000 boxes."

He held a news conference in Norway and the same evening Norway's biggest newspaper carried a front-page article urging the dockers not to unload grapes and asking all Norwegians not to buy grapes or lettuce without the union label. "I've never seen anything like it. All the articles were very favorable," Chávez recalled.

Press coverage in Sweden was also excellent, he said. In fact, "In Sweden every time an article appears about the union, they always show the label. Underneath it says, 'If you don't see this label, don't buy it.'"

In Denmark, as in Norway and Sweden, Chávez met with a number of trade union officials who pledged full cooperation with the boycott. The cooperatives (a chain of union-owned food stores that account for 25 percent of the retail food market throughout Scandinavia) will observe the boycott as well.

Back in London, Chávez met with Jack Jones, head of the Transport Workers Union, and Charles Blythe, who heads the international TWU. They agreed to write letters to their affiliates urging support for the boycott. Chávez believes that this will result in Europe being totally closed to scab grapes and lettuce.



Militant/Harry Ring

Striking farmworkers won pledges from British and Scandinavian unions not to handle scab produce.

Midwest students build boycott

By CASSANDRA DOWDEN

CHICAGO—A rally was held here the weekend of Feb. 9-10 to launch a Midwest student organizing conference. The conference and rally brought out 200 students and community activists from four states—Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Michigan.

The rally featured Marcos Muñoz of the Farm Workers staff here; Jerry Gordon, Chicago regional coordinator of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Merle Farber, a student UFW support committee organizer at the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Also speaking were Art Vásquez of the Illinois Raza Unida Party, and Pat Murphy, a rank-and-file Teamsters union member.

The purpose of the weekend conference, as outlined by Gloria Pérez of the Farm Workers Stu-

dent Organizing Committee, was to get students together to organize Farm Worker support committees on their campuses and in the communities surrounding the campuses.

The conference opened Saturday morning with a brief history of the Farm Workers struggle by Andrea O'Malley. The morning session also included campus organizing workshops to teach students how to organize support committees and how to get grapes and lettuce off campus.

The afternoon session consisted of workshops organized around the different types of campuses, such as commuter, dorm, and high school campuses.

The conference ended with a picket line at a Jewel food store on Sunday. The Farm Workers are also calling for a picket line on March 16 in front of Jewel's Grand Bazaar store to get their spring offensive started.

Victims of similar gov't attacks

Wounded Knee figures endorse SWP suit

Recent government revelations of harassment in response to the Watergate suit by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have encouraged several well-known activists to endorse the suit.

Dennis Banks, executive director of the American Indian Movement (AIM) now on trial for last year's occupation at Wounded Knee, has joined Clyde Bellecourt, another AIM leader, in supporting the suit. Mark Lane and William Kunstler, two attorneys for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, have also endorsed the suit.

AIM and the Wounded Knee defense committee have been victims of illegal government Watergating similar to the harassing of the SWP and YSA.

The government has already admitted wiretapping members of the SWP and YSA, conducting an "SWP Disruption Plan," and tampering with mail addressed to the SWP. These admitted crimes are only a fraction of the government's arsenal of illegal tactics cited in the suit.

Filed by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, the suit seeks a permanent injunction against these crimes and the abolition of the attorney general's list of "subversive" organiza-

tions.

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee has exposed two incidents in which the FBI intercepted mail addressed to AIM leaders. In one case, the FBI has already admitted "interviewing" a woman who wrote to AIM; in the other, a letter addressed to AIM members was stolen and delivered to the prosecution instead.

The mail cover on AIM parallels the FBI's admitted mail cover on the SWP. The FBI intercepted a letter from New Jersey high school student Lori Paton to the SWP and then launched an "investigation" of her.

César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO, also familiar with government harassment, has endorsed the suit as well.

Comedian and Black activist Dick Gregory recently gave a welcome boost to the drive of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is gathering support and funds for the socialists' suit.

Before a recent speech at Babson College in Massachusetts, PRDF supporters spoke with Gregory to fill him in on the latest developments in the suit.



Militant/Greg Cornell

Dennis Banks, leader of American Indian Movement and defendant in Wounded Knee trial, supports Political Rights Defense Fund.

After his talk, in which he characteristically roasted the Nixon administration, Watergate, and the energy crisis, Gregory referred the audience of 200 students to the socialists' Watergate suit.

"There's some people here at the back of the hall from the Political Rights Defense Fund," he pointed out. "They're the folks suing the government to stop all the spying and bugging. Go back and buy some of their buttons. And get involved!" Fifteen students signed up to work on the suit with the PRDF.

Dr. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond have also recently endorsed the PRDF.

The need for funds to cover PRDF legal expenses continues to be a pressing concern. In its Feb. 7 issue, the *New York Review of Books* included an appeal for funds from Philip Berrigan, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Gloria Steinem, and former attorney general Ramsey Clark. These PRDF sponsors call the socialists' suit "an important step exposing further suppression of democratic liberties" and urge "sympathetic persons to respond generously."

To find out more about the suit, to order literature, or to contribute to the costs of the suit, contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, 156 Fifth Ave., Suite 703, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Kolis to tour Calif., expose fake 'perjury' charge

By SARAH JAMES

SAN DIEGO—The fight to overturn the Salm Kolis perjury conviction will be extended throughout the state of California this month. Kolis plans to begin a statewide tour to enlist public support for her appeal and raise money for the legal expenses.

At a Feb. 8 press conference here Kolis gave the details of her tour. She told reporters she will speak before student groups, women's organizations, unions, Black and Chicano groups, and political gatherings. "People throughout California who are concerned with civil liberties will want to join the effort to fight this attack on political rights," Kolis said.

Peter Young will be Kolis's attorney for the appeal. When the attorney's substitution papers were filed in the fourth district court of appeals, he told the press "We will pursue every avenue. This is clearly a case of collective political persecution aimed against a candidate with dissident

views.

"The fact that a Republican or Democrat never would have been prosecuted is shown by the city attorney's admission that 22 out of 27 candidates in



Militant/Bruce Marcus

Salm Kolis announces statewide tour to win support for her defense. To her right is attorney Peter Young.

the election violated the election code. Although Kolis is not guilty, she was singled out because she is a socialist."

Kolis is appealing her perjury conviction, which was set up by the San Diego city government when she ran for city council as a socialist in the 1973 municipal elections. She is accused of falsifying her address on an election filing form. On Jan. 14 she was sentenced to five days in jail, three years probation, and a \$500 fine.

The effort to overturn this conviction, Young explained, will not be limited to the appeal. "We may petition for a writ of habeas corpus to bring out the government's misconduct that was not adequately explored during the trial," he said. "By misconduct I refer to the use of an informer in the defense committee and the pressuring of witnesses to testify against Kolis."

Young is well known for his work on the defense team in the Pentagon papers trial and also for his prepara-

tion of the Peter Bohmer appeal, another political frame-up in San Diego.

In addition to the legal fight, the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK) is seeking public endorsement from individuals and organizations.

Recent endorsers of the CDSK include Ramona Ripston, executive director of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union; George Haverstick, president of the San Diego ACLU; Walter Koppelman, chairman of the philosophy department at San Diego State University; Virginia Taylor of the National Women's Political Caucus; and Gary Brown, southeast San Diego coordinator of the United Farm Workers of America.

The California tour will enable the CDSK to reach thousands of people with the details of this political frame-up. Tour information is available from the CDSK, P.O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

Muhammad Ahmad: framed-up by W'gate gang

By BAXTER SMITH

In 1967, several major cities were rocked by ghetto revolts. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover told a congressional committee at that time that they were aggravated by Black "subversives and extremists."

Hoover spoke of Max Stanford, describing him as "field chairman of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a highly secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-Communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals." According to the defense committee working on Stanford's behalf, Hoover called him "the most dangerous man in America."

Hoover's remarks, says the defense committee, sounded the alarm for every federal, state, and local cop to go after Stanford, who is now known as Muhammad Ahmad.

A month later, Ahmad and 16 others were named in an incredible indictment charging that they had conspired to kidnap civil rights leaders

Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

Today Ahmad is facing four charges in New York—two counts of assault, one of bail jumping, and the original charge in the indictment. Based on Hoover's statements, Ahmad's attorneys recently moved to transfer the trial from state court to federal court, claiming federal and other public officials have conspired to deprive him of his rights.

The motion names Thomas Mackell, former Queens, N.Y., district attorney, as leading the assault on Ahmad. Mackell is presently on trial himself, named in a \$4.4-million confidence racket.

Ahmad has been an activist since the sit-ins in the early 1960s. He participated in voter registration projects in the South and worked with Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Robert Williams, and Malcolm X.

After Hoover's speech, Mackell was given the okay to seek the indictment by a New York cop named Jack Caulfield.

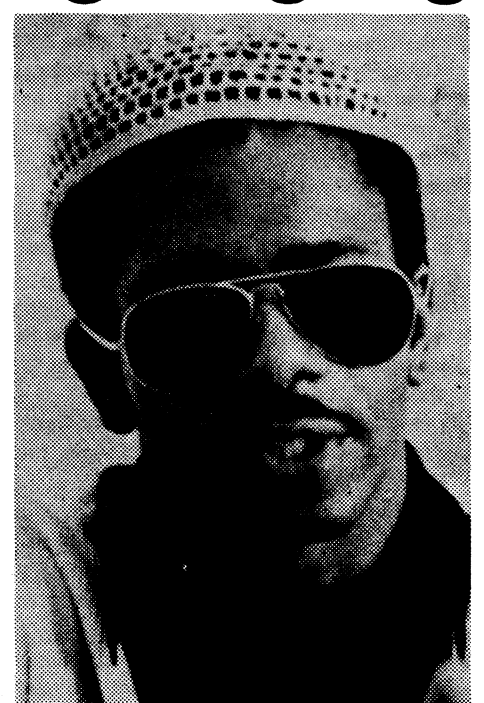
At the time, Caulfield was chief of intelligence of BOSSI, New York's "red squad." Ahmad was working with Carmichael in setting up a chapter of the Black Panther Party in New York when he was indicted.

Caulfield later moved to the Treasury Department, where he organized the government's assault on the Black Panther Party.

Following his stint at the Treasury Department, Caulfield became chief of security of CREEP and John Mitchell's bodyguard. James McCord named him during the Watergate hearings as the White House official who promised him executive clemency, money, and a job if he kept his mouth shut.

Ahmad's case is one more example of how Watergate-style methods are used to derail the Black liberation movement. It deserves the support of all opponents of such practices.

Further information on the case can be obtained by writing to the Muhammad Ahmad Defense Committee, P.O. Box 389, Jamaica, N.Y. 11431.



Black activist Muhammad Ahmad. J. Edgar Hoover and CREEP cop Jack Caulfield had a hand in his indictment.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 22, 1974

The Ethiopian famine

Food exports double as thousands starve

By Candida Barberena

"Are there fifty thousand dead? One hundred thousand? The figures are still abstract. One sees no faces or stares. Small bundles of dust-colored rags are scattered about on the sidewalks of Dessie, the provincial capital at the center of the famine, as they are along the entire 1,200 kilometers of Ethiopia's 'historic road' — ragpiles that move sadly as travelers pass, holding out a hand. Wordlessly," wrote Jean-Claude Guillebaud in *Le Monde's* January 16-18 series on the 1973 Ethiopian famine.

There are thousands of graves. "Everywhere. These big, hastily arranged heaps of stone are to be found by the dozens in every village in Wollo or Tigre a day's journey or so off the 'historic road.' This is all one finds in some villages among the deserted *toukoul*s (huts). In other places the bodies of those who had made their way to the 'relief camps' only to die there were randomly thrown into a common grave. At the end of November in Kobo — a large village to the north of Dessie — in one camp alone more than 2,000 corpses were buried."

Equal to the horror of the stories related by the survivors of the famine is Emperor Haile Selassie's outrageous concealment of the famine, which goes so far as to include arrant denials that a critical situation even exists. The comment of a young Ethiopian doctor on Addis Ababa's attitude to the famine reveals this unpardonable cynicism: "Yes, the situation has stabilized, as they say, because everyone who was to die is dead."

The story of Akalé Yimir from the village of Wadla echoes the fate of thousands of families.

"It hadn't rained in nearly three years. In 1971 the harvest was very bad. In 1972 we had to eat some of the seed grain and even borrow grain in order to survive. In 1972 the 'February showers' didn't come. What could I do? I myself had two plots of land. I had mortgaged the first plot so that I could buy two sacks of seed, but since I couldn't pay back the grain, I lost my field. I had to sell the second plot for ten Ethiopian dollars [about US\$4.40] to keep going. By June I had nothing left. So I left my wife and two children in Wadla while I went to look for work and something to eat. It took my brother and me four days to get to Dessie, and we found nothing. I have learned that my wife and my

children have long since died."

Some officials blame accidents of nature for the staggering number of deaths. However, American experts estimate that if reorganized, Ethiopian agriculture could provide for a population of 100 million. It is held that the Ethiopian empire could become a "granary" for the whole of Africa.

Insufficient and substandard transportation, underdeveloped water resources, and poor management are not the only hindrances to alleviating the situation. A bigger obstacle is the systematic injustice of the medieval social order. The multiple injustices call into question, Guillebaud observed, "the archaic society where a tiny landed oligarchy possesses hundreds of thousands of hectares of land undercultivated by serfs who still must pay them 60 to 70 percent of the crops. And the frightening indifference of a westernized ruling class in the capital that divides its time between its black Mercedes Benz automobiles and the wordly pleasures of the Casino-Ghion, which is personally owned by the emperor."



Ethiopian emperor Selassie with Nixon

However, this was not the limit of capitalist arrogance. Feudal landowners have been hoarding stocks for years, waiting for the famine to become acute enough to make prices jump. In some villages timorous revolts protested the speculation. Hidden hoards of stock were burned by villagers. But such action was exceptional. The wealthy profited from the famine in another way: by buying up lands sold off for a pittance by the poor along with their remaining livestock; and by lending at a rate of 100 to 200 percent. "Yet at the peak of the famine," wrote Guillebaud, "... traders never stopped resupplying, in the most distant villages, those who could pay."



Ethiopian peasants. Those who could pay got food.

Furthermore, to justify a 1973 first-quarter increase of 92 percent in exports of grain and other foodstuffs, the National Bank of Ethiopia reports that the country can now meet demand. This type of boasting has only drawn the suspicion of numerous agencies participating in the relief program. If a reexamination of the Ethiopian bank assessment of the situation and of the regime's own export statistics results in a finding of mismanagement, a cutback in aid for disaster-stricken Wollo and Tigre provinces could result.

Signs of the famine are visible everywhere. Three months after massive aid was poured into the provincial capitals of Dessie and Makale, groups of peasants continued to arrive every day at the entrances to the main relief camps. "At Dessie for example," reported Guillebaud, "we saw five living skeletons crouching in the dust, two men and three women, their faces bloated by the edema of malnutrition. They're from Jedjou, a four-day walk. 'We held out as long as we could by rationing grain. . . . We didn't want to leave our parents. Now they're dead and there isn't a soul left in our village.'"

Addis Ababa appears to give little priority to its "long-term rehabilitation plan." For instance, the three bridges between Dessie and Makale that were washed away last July by torrential rains have yet to be rebuilt. When the wet season returns in a few months the only road between Dessie and Makale could again become untraversable.

There is also the problem of rehabilitating refugees. Guillebaud described it in this way: "Thousands of peasants temporarily saved from the famine cannot be kept indefinitely in relief camps. Ethiopian authorities clearly do not envisage that, and they

have already begun to encourage peasants to 'return to the villages,' sometimes making brusque statements. Aminister told us: 'The people quickly have begun to get lazy.'"

But a policy of "coercive" relocation as a solution to a famine exacerbated by negligence implies serious problems. Many families no longer have any land. Furthermore, in the worst-stricken regions much of the livestock has also died off. The vast Ethiopian herds (26 million cattle) furnished the only draft power available.

"Replenishing the livestock is a precondition to returning the peasants to their villages. The West German government just loaned Ethiopia 1.5 million marks for the purchase of 7,000 pairs of cattle. A question arises: What will be used to feed this cattle to be sent at great expense to the villages? 'Sometimes we seem to be going around in circles,' a Dessie relief worker modestly said."

One relief worker, a young Ethiopian doctor, asserted that the most they could hope for was to return the population to the standard of living that prevailed before the famine.

However, for millions of Ethiopians a return to the previous standard of living means "... an uncertain existence bordering on underdevelopment and famine. With an annual per capita income of sixty dollars (less than India), Ethiopia contains some of the most impoverished peoples in the world."

A totally mismanaged feudal sharecropping system is the perennial cause of a standstill economy. It is the main obstacle to recovery from the current famine, as was the case during three earlier droughts. In the January 18 *Le Monde* Guillebaud depicted Ethi-

Continued on page WO4

'A picket may be perfectly peaceful and still end in court...'

Attacks on right to picket show Heath's strategy for

By Tony Hodges

London

"Police forces will have thousands of men available to deal with any picketing trouble if the miners vote for a strike," Peter Chippindale reported in the January 28 *Guardian*.

"Mobile police squads will be ready to deal with mobile pickets; hundreds of men will be available to converge on potential trouble spots; and a centralised intelligence unit has been set up at Scotland Yard to act as a clearing house for provincial forces and give early warning of unrest which may turn into violence."

Chippindale went on to note that fears of "unrest" were in part attributable to "the present ill-feeling among many workers about the sentences of up to three years given to building industry pickets at Shrewsbury and the more exact definition of the law on picketing—made in December when it was held in the Lords that a man who stood in front of a lorry was guilty of obstruction. . . ."

Discussing the prospect of a miners' strike in the same issue of the *Guardian*, Philip Jordan bluntly described the uses of the Shrewsbury precedent and other recent decisions for the British ruling class:

"But the police do at least have the whip hand. A picket may yet be perfectly peaceful and still end in court with workers charged with a variety of offences—obstruction, committing a public nuisance, behaving in a manner likely to cause a breach of the peace, or obstructing a policeman in the course of his duty, to name but some. And as the men in the Shrewsbury building site picket found out, the vague, all-encompassing charge of conspiracy, with its potential long sentences, hangs over everyone's head."

The Shrewsbury case involves twenty-four workers arrested as a result of their participation in the 1972 building workers' strike. Last December 19, after a twelve-week "conspiracy" trial, three workers were found guilty under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. Des Warren was sentenced to three years imprisonment, Eric Tomlinson to two years, and John MacKinsie Jones to nine months. They had been charged with "conspiring to intimidate workers on building sites to abstain from work," unlawful assembly, and "causing an affray."

Three defendants have been given suspended sentences. The other eighteen are presently on trial.

The gaoling of the three is one more blow in the Tories' offensive against the rights and living standards of British workers. This time, the Tories intend to stamp out the militant "flying pickets" that won the 1972 miners' and building workers' strikes.

The 1972 strike by building workers was the culmination of years of growing anger. They had been suffering declining living standards for years, particularly since 1968, when the union bureaucrats signed an agreement that gave the workers a rise,



Tories are trying to prevent type of militant mass picketing that won 1972 miners strike. Above, pickets try to block truck loaded with German coal.

spread over three years, of only £1.50. In 1972, building workers' basic rates were a mere £17-20 a week.

Building workers have also been faced by appalling safety standards that caused 221 insured workers to lose their lives in 1972. Counting uninsured building workers, who comprise at least half of the industry's workforce, at least one worker is killed on a British building site every day.

In 1972 the Union of Construction Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT) adopted a demand for £30 for a thirty-five-hour week. The militancy of the building workers won the strike that followed. The union leaders, who had done nothing over the years to fight for their members, were forced to tail behind the initiatives of the ranks and their local leaders.

When George Smith, general secretary of UCATT, appeared about to accept a settlement of a £2.40 rise offered by the National Federation of Building Trades Employers (NFBTE), 10,000 building workers rallied outside UCATT headquarters and forced Smith to refuse the deal.

The strike did not win the £10 demand, but it did win an increase of £6, the largest percentage increase won by any group of workers that year. Like the miners before them, the building workers smashed past Heath's "voluntary" incomes policy. Shortly after the strike ended in September 1972, Heath unveiled a compulsory wage-control programme, beginning with Phase I, to replace the battered remains of voluntary wage restraints.

One of the keys to success for the building workers was their adoption of the militant tactic—pioneered by the miners the previous February—of mass "flying pickets." Thousands of building workers travelled from site to site in cars and buses, ringing sites with huge picket lines and spreading the strike.

By mobilising their full strength and reaching out in massive numbers to sites still at work, the strikers managed

to overcome the perennial difficulties of organising in an industry that has a poor trade-union tradition because of widespread casual labour. In fact, over one-half of the industry's workforce are on the "lump," a system of labour-only subcontracting in which workers, self-employed to dodge taxes and insurance payments, move continually from one site to another. The flying pickets spread the strike like wildfire, shutting down dozens of lump sites.

The Tories were taken aback by the militancy and strength of the flying pickets and sought ways to prevent their use in the future.

They were hesitant to use the Industrial Relations Act after the uproar created by the imprisonment under the act of five dockers in the summer of 1972. At that time workers struck spontaneously in protest, forcing the Trades Union Congress (TUC) to call a general strike. The Tories backed down and released the five.

So the Tories began searching the statute book for a law with a less notorious reputation to launch their new attack on the right to picket. They came up with the long-forgotten Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, which had been lying dormant since its enactment in 1875 to break a tin miners' strike.

The Tories hinted at their new approach in a speech to the House of Commons on October 11, 1972, by Robert Carr, home secretary and architect of the Industrial Relations Act. He said: "There is nothing wrong with the law. The real problem was enforcement. Following disturbing evidence of intimidation from many areas during the national strike, I intend once again to draw the attention of Chief Constables to the provisions of the law and discuss with them what further action they might take to defeat such violence and intimidation in industrial disputes."

"The law as it stands makes it absolutely clear that obstruction and intimidation are illegal. It makes it clear that the right to picket is not a license to intimidate." And, most significantly, he added that "sheer numbers attending can of itself constitute intimidation."

In the meantime, the NFBTE had been busily compiling a dossier of alleged acts of "illegal picketing," which it presented to the police on October 25, 1972. Even the London *Financial Times*, a journal not normally known for its sympathy for union rights, felt compelled to comment on the phoniness of the charges, saying that the dossier read "more like a politically motivated pamphlet than a serious study."

But the police, egged on by Carr's appeal, began inquiries into the September 6-7 picketing in Shrewsbury, which had been described in the NFBTE dossier.

Shrewsbury was selected because, as a small rural town with a weak trade-

Solidarity--Stalinist style

"Poland has rejected a request from the British Communist Party not to ship coal to Britain during the miners' dispute," Jonathan Steele reported in the January 26 London *Guardian*. A week earlier, he continued, 27,000 tons of Polish coal had been unloaded in England.

When the miners began their ban on overtime work in November, the British government's Central Electricity Generating Board contracted with the Polish government to purchase 500,000 tons of coal by the end of March.

In December, the British Communist party appealed to the Polish CP "to use its influence with the Polish Government" to halt coal shipments to Britain.

Steele quoted Bert Ramelson, the British CP's national industrial organiser, as saying, "When workers are

in struggle, we would expect solidarity from all over the world."

But the solidarity of the Gierk regime is limited to words. The prospect of bringing in some hard cash takes precedence.

"Polish television," Steele reported, "has reported the British miners' dispute. A fortnight ago, viewers were told that the miners were 'locked in ferocious combat with the Conservative Government for another rise.' But yesterday the Polish Embassy said that when a contract was signed 'normally we fulfil it.' If in future, exports of coal to Britain were not realised, it would not necessarily be a political decision: Poland might get a better price in other parts."

The Polish bureaucrats have displayed a similar attitude in the past. In 1970 and 1971, they sold coal to the Franco dictatorship during strikes by Spanish miners.

mine strike

union tradition, it appeared to be an excellent place for the Tories to get away with a frame-up without provoking a big outcry from the unions. There was another reason as well: The local police had been in the pocket of the building employers for years.

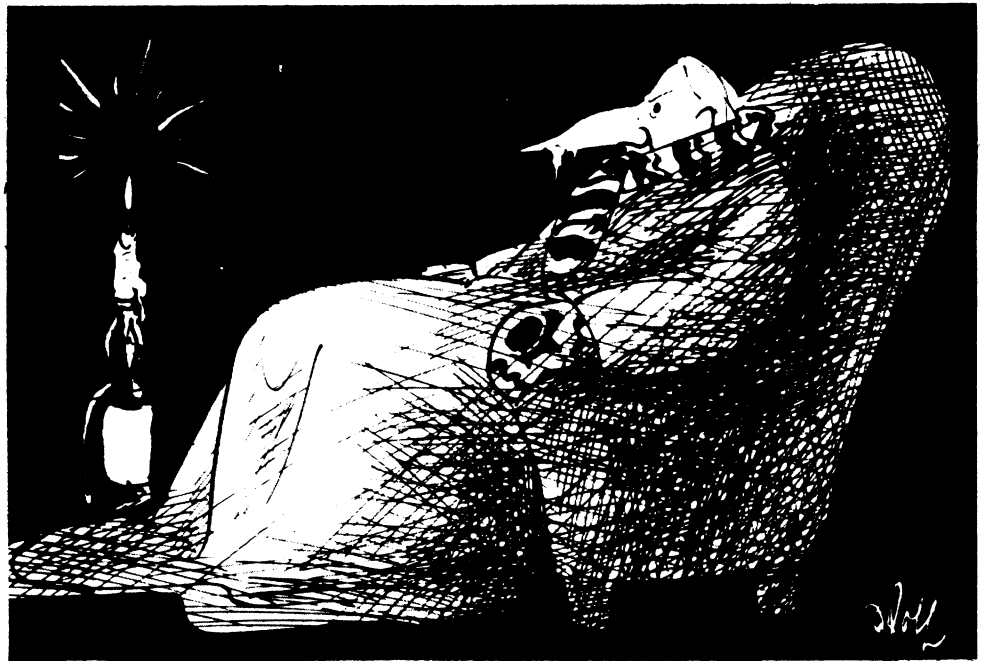
The Gwynedd police began the investigation, along with the West Mercia police. A major part of the Gwynedd police is based in Denbighshire, whose chief of law and order is the high sheriff. In April 1973, a new high sheriff was appointed: Peter Bell, a director of McAlpine's, Britain's most powerful building firm, and son-in-law of the late Sir Alfred McAlpine. In fact, all the last nine high sheriffs of Denbighshire have been members of the McAlpine family. It

tion of 1,000 police to guard the court on the first day of the trial.

Des Warren, in an appeal to the labour movement from the courtroom December 19, pointed to the building employers, who "by their contempt of the laws governing safety regulations, are guilty of causing the deaths and maimings of workers. Yet they are not dealt with by the court. The law is quite clearly an instrument of the state to be used in the interests of a tiny minority against a majority. The law is biased. It is class law, and nowhere has this been demonstrated more than in the prosecution case at this trial. Was there a conspiracy? Yes, there was. But not by the pickets. The conspiracy was one between the home secretary, the employers, and the police."

The Shrewsbury frame-up was designed to set the stage for an all-out attack on the right to picket if workers strongly challenge Phase III, the Tory freeze on wage increases above seven percent a year. As the reports quoted from the *Guardian* indicate, the Tories are preparing to smash any attempts by the miners to repeat their use of the flying pickets in a national strike.

The Tories may also try to use the



HEATH: Architect of Tory wage-control program can be defeated by militant mass campaign.



Miners demonstrate in London

is little wonder that the Gwynedd police jumped to work at Carr's command. They paid particular attention to the events at McAlpine's Telford site in Shrewsbury on September 6-7, 1972.

In December the police sent the results of their investigation to the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) and on February 2, 1973, the DPP informed the police that it would bring 210 criminal charges against twenty-four building workers. On February 14 the arrests were made.

The Shrewsbury 24 were victims of a conscious frame-up. It took the police five months from the time of the picketing in early September, when no arrests were made, to dream up the 210 charges. And it was not till the following October, eight months later, that the government was ready to start the trial.

More than £500,000 has been spent on the trial, and the court at Shrewsbury was reconstructed at a cost of £140,000 to handle the case. The political nature of the trial was most tellingly illustrated by the mobilisa-

Industrial Relations Act again, having succeeded in fining the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers £75,000 on October 22 for refusing to halt a strike. Under the act, it is an "unfair practice" to cause a breach of contract by picketing. If the miners try to block power stations as they did in 1972, the government may accuse them of causing a breach of contract between the Central Electricity Generating Board and the National Coal Board.

A further attack on the right to picket was contained in a December 21 decision by the Law Lords, who ruled in a case, Hunt versus Broome, that also arose from the 1972 building workers' strike. John Broome, a full-time organiser for UCATT, was on the picket line in Stockport during the strike and stopped a lorry to inform the driver that there was a strike on and that he should turn back. He was immediately arrested for obstruction under the Highways Act.

When Broome was acquitted in Stockport Magistrates Court, the home secretary stepped in and ordered the

police to appeal against the magistrate's judgment. The Appeal Court found Broome guilty. And when Broome appealed further to the Law Lords, the verdict was upheld. The Law Lords ruled that peaceful attempts to persuade a lorry driver not to cross a picket line are illegal.

The union leaders have done little or nothing to defend the Shrewsbury 24. For months, they accepted the Tory propaganda that the twenty-four had been arrested for criminal activities and that the case had nothing to do with unions. UCATT General Secretary Smith had this to say shortly before the start of the trial: "If these lads are innocent, then British justice, being what it is, will find them innocent."

UCATT refused to pay the costs of the defence and even attempted to stop trade unionists from contributing to a defence fund established by the Lambeth Trades Council.

The TUC gave these instructions in a letter to the Flint Trades Council in May 1973: "Trades Councils should not encourage delegates or affiliated branches to take part in any industrial action in support of workers before the Court on charges arising from the [Conspiracy and Protection of Property] Act unless requested to do so by the NECs [National Executive Committees] of the unions concerned."

The Communist party, tied to the "left wing" of the trade-union bureaucracy and its strategy of behind-the-scenes talks with the government, also dragged its feet for months and did nothing to defend the Shrewsbury 24. It was not till seven months after the arrests that the CP-dominated Liverpool Trades Council called a national conference to defend the twenty-four. Previously only rank-and-file workers, and particularly the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International, worked to mobilise support for the defence committee and its actions, especially two demonstrations held in Shrewsbury on March 15 and May 18.

The Liverpool conference, attended by 600 delegates, called for action on October 3, the first day of the trial. In response, around 10,000 workers joined marches in London, Shrewsbury, and Edinburgh.

The union leaders felt compelled to act only after the imprisonment of the three, some eleven months after the original arrests. Then the building section of the Transport and General Workers Union called a one-

day national strike and the general council of UCATT, while still holding back from calling any national action, authorised its regional councils to take whatever action they felt appropriate. Strikes and demonstrations, smaller than they would have been with adequate leadership, occurred January 15. About 4,000 persons marched through London to a lobby of Parliament.

The campaign to defend the Shrewsbury 24 must now be redoubled. Defence committees need to be set up everywhere possible to draw in wide support. A national conference has been called February 2 by the Liverpool Trades Council. This should be an occasion to map plans for a national campaign to free the three, drop all the charges against the twenty-four, repeal the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, and defend the right to picket.

The labour movement needs to heed Ricky Tomlinson's appeal from the courtroom: "It is hoped that the trade-union movement and the working class of this country will act now to ensure that another charade such as this will never take place again, and the right to picket or strike will be defended even at the cost of great personal hardship or individual freedom."

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Protest force-feeding of Irish prisoners

London

JANUARY 21— Nearly 300 persons marched through London from Hyde Park January 20 to protest the continued detention of Irish political prisoners in England's jails and the force-feeding of four young republican prisoners on a hunger strike since November 15.

The demonstration was organised by the Irish Political Hostages Campaign (IPHC—a committee recently set up by several Irish organisations and left groups in London). The central demands of the IPHC are the granting of political prisoner status to all Irish political prisoners in British jails and their transfer to Ireland to serve out their sentences among other republicans and near their relatives and friends.

The focus of the January 20 demonstration was the barbaric treatment currently being meted out by the British government to four of the "Bel-fast Nine," convicted November 14 of setting off car bombs in central London last March. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 10, 1973, p. 1437.) Savage sentences were pronounced (life imprisonment plus twenty years in eight instances—a measure taken to ensure that the victims would not be released after fourteen years with remission for good conduct, as sometimes happens with "mere" life imprisonment).

Seven of the nine republicans immediately declared a hunger strike demanding that they be immediately returned to serve their sentences in Ireland, that they be granted political prisoner status, the right to refuse to do prison work, the right to wear their own clothes, the right to an open visit and a food parcel each week, the right to send and receive any amount of letters, and the right to be together.

Four of the young Provisional republicans are still refusing all food.

But they have been force-fed daily by the prison doctors since December 5. Civilian doctors have been refused access to the four. A leading London doctor, according to the January 16 *London Times*, said that "the mental effects of a prolonged hunger strike are likely to be as serious as the physical ones." The physical effects of their hunger strike, along with the daily torture of force-feeding, now threaten the lives of Dolours Price (23), her sister Marion Price (19), Hugh Feeney (21), and Gerard Kelly (19).

All four have lost over two stone (about 28 pounds) already, and are losing weight steadily. The two women, who are being held in the psychiatric wing of the all-male Brixton prison, were visited January 10 by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, MP. She reported that Dolours Price had "changed beyond all recognition," and that Marion Price was "a shadow of her former self."

In forced feeding, a greased tube is pushed down the throat into the stomach while the mouth is kept open with a wooden clamp. The victim is held down while twenty-four ounces of fluid are forced down the throat.

The two women are suffering severe cramps and pains in the chest (the force-feeding tube sometimes enters the lungs by mistake), swollen jaws, and sore throats; they vomit at each feeding session. Marion Price has additional pain probably caused by kidney trouble. The two men have also had their heads shaved, and because they refuse prison clothing have been kept naked and denied visitors since November 15.

The Home Office, challenged by a mounting campaign in support of the republicans' demands, has refused to discuss any of the cases in detail, and maintains that the health of all four is satisfactory.

Although there are other obstacles blocking Ethiopia's evolution from a feudal agrarian economy—exorbitant military spending leaving the agricultural sector only 6 percent of the national budget, and the lack of a coherent and systematic policy for economic development—the salient problem naturally is that of agrarian reform.

Guillebaud's account described the apparent political opposition to carrying out an agrarian reform that would notably reduce the landowner's share of the crops and would provide for a new land survey and the establishment of cooperatives. "Proposals for reform . . . clash with the hostility of the landowners who control the two chambers of the legislature, sharing a fraction of the political power with the emperor. Religious fanatics, devout reactionaries, and often tied to the emperor by the strings of family alliances and services rendered, they won't accept any change that would one day strip them of their privileges."

But, in reality, the emperor is not so much blocked by a political opposition as his own unwillingness to carry out an efficacious agrarian reform. Emperor Haile Selassie is after all the biggest landowner in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia...

Continued from page WO1
opia's agrarian society.

"While 90 percent of Ethiopians are peasants, only 10 percent of the land, which is very fertile, is cultivated. One third of the land belongs to big landowners, who in some provinces, such as Wollo, Choa, and Godjam, received the land from the emperor in return for their political loyalty. Another third is owned by the church or monasteries bound up in a formal, medieval obscurantism. For example, in the Kobo region one can drive for hours without leaving the same property. Huge fiefdoms! Some are as large as 300,000 to 500,000 hectares, and the tenants who plow the land with wooden swing-ploughs have to turn over to the landowner up to 75 percent of their crops, as well as costly traditional holiday gifts, taxes, land rent, etc.

"Although paltry, the produce of an archaic agrarian system, multiplied by vast properties, has always enabled a tiny landholding aristocracy to lead a good life in Addis Ababa."

World news notes

General strike continues in Grenada

The massive general strike aimed at forcing the resignation of Prime Minister Eric Gairy showed no signs of ending as the Caribbean island of Grenada received its independence from Britain February 7. Although British and Canadian warships fired their guns in salute, the island remained without electricity, and no goods moved in its port.

Gairy, who told *New York Times* reporter Michael Kaufman, "I was appointed by God to lead Grenada," and "I have sent out love waves to my enemies," is also relying on more conventional methods of assuring his rule. While Gairy entertained foreign guests at the independence celebrations, reports Kaufman, "60 policemen in civilian clothes drove to the home of Maurice Bishop, a leader of the opposition New Jewel Movement, and arrested him."

A few hours later the house of Martin Sylvester, a lawyer for the New Jewel Movement, burned down. Kaufman says, "The police said that they did not know what had caused the fire, but a Gairy supporter at the independence party suggested that Mr. Sylvester had set it himself to foment more trouble."

Lip workers accept compromise plan

After nearly ten months the struggle against the layoff of 1,300 workers and the closing of the Lip watch factory in Besançon, France, is over. On January 29, 669 Lip workers voted to accept a plan under which 300 would be employed immediately and another 200 rehired by July—providing the company proves solvent.

A plan that would have resulted in the rehiring of 942 employees was turned down by the workers in October. Their demand was for the immediate rehiring for all 1,300 of the Lip workers.

The action of the Lip workers in taking over the factory, turning out watches, and selling them directly to the public was a powerful example of the ability of workers to produce without capitalists. The Lip struggle generated massive support and sympathy, but the refusal of the Stalinist and Social Democratic trade-union leaders to mobilize this support in an effective campaign on behalf of the Lip workers prevented them from winning their demands.

Chilean liberals for 'efficient' dictatorship

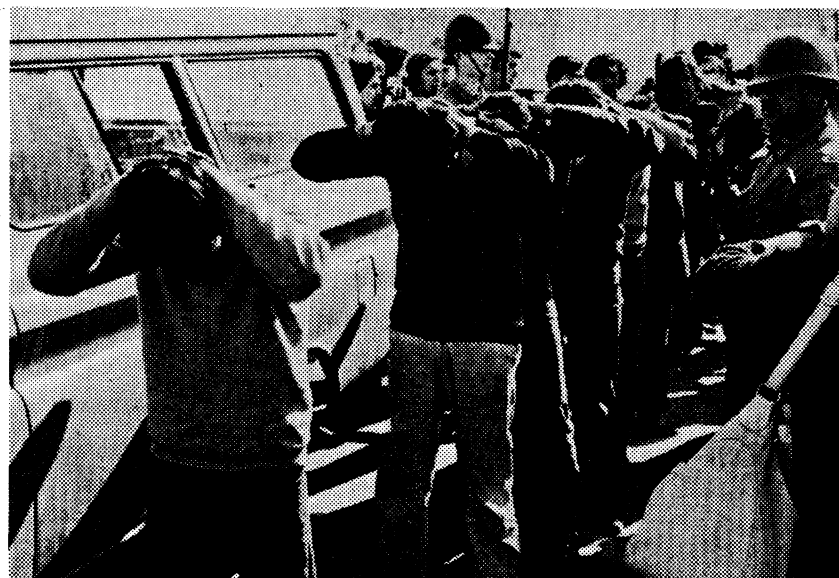
The tremendous inflation in Chile (500 percent in 1973) continues unabated, and in addition, extensive food shortages are being reported. The January 16 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported, "Missing from stores in particular were sugar and cooking oil, which rose in price yesterday by 125% and 50% respectively." The January 13-14 *Le Monde* reported, "According to usually reliable sources, the minister of economic affairs has authorized a 100% increase for sugar, 200% for flour, and 300% for cigarettes. . . ."

"In some neighborhoods, housewives have started again to bang their pots in protest against this situation," reported *La Opinión* January 19. Moreover, there have been increasing reports of strike actions by Chilean workers despite the military junta's ban on trade unions and strikes.

These factors were no doubt involved in the decision of the Christian Democrats, the main capitalist party in Chile, to take its distance from the junta. Jonathan Kandell reports in the February 8 *New York Times* that the Christian Democrats have finally gotten around to pointing out that the military regime was "violating human rights, mistreating the working class and trying to suppress all political activity."

Characteristically, the protest was made in a private letter to the head of the junta, which was later leaked. "We do not like it, but we concede that a period of dictatorship is necessary," wrote the president of the Christian Democrats in a memorandum to other party leaders.

He suggested a life of "two, three or maybe five years" for the dictatorship, and stressed that "we believe that in order for it [the dictatorship] to be efficient, excesses should not be committed, and it is these excesses which we are criticizing."



Christian Democrats have just noticed that Chilean junta has been 'violating human rights, mistreating the working class, and trying to suppress all political activity.'

Washington Energy Conference: no solution for world working class

By DAVE FRANKEL

It wasn't mentioned in the conference agenda or in the news accounts dealing with the meeting, but as delegates from the world's major imperialist powers assembled in Washington Feb. 11 to discuss the energy crisis, one of the main things on their minds was undoubtedly the British coal miners strike.

The impetus given to worldwide inflation by the upward-spiraling price of petroleum products, and the need of the capitalist powers to export more to pay for the oil, ensure that new attacks on the wages and living standards of the working class in Europe and Japan will be one of the main topics of backroom discussion at this conference.

The Washington conference was also an implied threat against the Arab peoples. Libya's Tripoli Radio termed the conference a "trap to sanction American tutelage in Europe and internationalize oil resources by means of force." Algerian spokesmen charged that the conference was "directed toward the creation of an imperialist protectorate over energy sources."

Henry Kissinger's Feb. 6 statement that prolongation of the oil embargo "must be construed as a form of blackmail" underlined the threat to the Arab nations. Murrey Marder wrote in the Feb. 7 *Washington Post*, "Kissinger expressed the belief that the Arab nations will recognize the consequences of prolonging the embargo." Exactly what the consequences might be was not spelled out.

'Arab billions'?

Despite talk in the press about the Arab regimes accumulating billions of dollars in "surplus profits," the real winner in the energy crisis has been U.S. imperialism. As the editors of the *New York Times* pointed out Feb. 11:

"There has been a sudden reversal of perceptions on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific. Instead of a weakened America in competition with new economic giants in West Europe and Japan, the inherent strength of the American economy and the extreme vulnerability of America's allies has emerged again."

With U.S. companies owning 75 percent of Saudi Arabian oil and 40 percent of Iranian oil, it is little wonder that the U.S. recorded a balance of payments surplus estimated at \$2- to \$4-billion in 1973—the first since 1960. Exxon and Texaco reported that their earnings outside the U.S.—that is, from sales in Europe and Asia—increased by 83 and 86 percent respectively.

As for any new-found wealth in the Arab countries, the Feb. 11 *Wall Street Journal* explained where it will end up. "The Arabs will spend or invest those dollars as quickly as they lay hands on them. . . . The dollars will be spent for goods and services and direct and indirect investment, mostly in the U.S., Japan and Europe. Some will go to the rest of the world, which will then spend them in the U.S., Japan and Europe."

The *Journal* editors note, "The most likely candidate for a net benefit is the dollar, partly because the U.S. oil import bill will be a smaller percentage of its economic output than it will be in the other industrial nations. But also because U.S. economic strength, along with the military power to protect that strength, once again underscores the dollar's competitive



British miners confront police in front of Parliament during 1972 strike. Workers throughout the world face increasing attacks on their living standards as capitalists try to force them to bear burden of inflation.

advantage as a reserve currency in an otherwise shaky world."

Because of the artificial nature of the energy shortage, oil prices are already beginning to come down from previously established highs of close to \$20 a barrel. They were in the neighborhood of \$3 a barrel in September, and Washington has set \$6 to \$7 a barrel as a desirable goal for world oil prices. This would make U.S. crude oil competitive on the world market, as well as making profitable the exploitation of oil shale deposits in the Rocky Mountain states.

Although limiting price rises in crude oil to the level desired by Washington can probably be accomplished without too much trouble as the world supply builds up, the U.S. wants to remind the lesser imperialist powers of their responsibilities if direct military intervention in the Mideast is needed.

"American officials here charge that the Franco-British policy of making deals with the Arabs is shortsighted, because only the United States has the ability to guarantee the long-term stability of the Middle East and Persian Gulf oil producing countries," wrote Dan Morgan in the Feb. 4 *Washington Post*.

The real relation between the imperialist powers is symbolized by the fact that the energy conference was called by Nixon and is being held in Washington. "The major oil-consuming nations meeting in Washington today have no attractive alternative to cooperation, even if some have been hedging their bets by seeking in part to go their own way," wrote the *Times* editors Feb. 11. So much for the "Year of Europe!"

Despite the assertions of independence by European governments and the scramble for crumbs going on in the Middle East, the U.S. is calling the shots in Washington. Inflation in the U.S. is running below the levels in Europe and Japan, and two devaluations of the dollar in December 1971 and February 1973 further improved the competitive standing of U.S. products on the world market. Moreover, the energy crisis has resulted in a strong upturn in the value of the dollar against competing currencies.

Kissinger warned Feb. 6 that if "every nation follows a policy of beggaring its neighbors," the U.S. would be in the best position to assure its oil supplies. The same would be true in any trade war in which the imperialist powers attempt to pay for their oil imports by increasing exports at each others' expense. Thus, Europe and Japan have little choice but to "cooperate" with the U.S.

Danger of recession

But whatever "cooperative" decisions are reached in Washington, the world will still be faced with a grave danger of international recession. In his opening address to the energy conference Kissinger spoke of this when he warned of the possibility of "a vicious cycle of competition, autarchy, rivalry and depression such as led to the collapse of world order in the thirties."

Although the capitalists are trying to blame their economic problems on the energy crisis, the truth is that recession had been impending for some time even without this added impetus. Capitalist economists were predicting recessions in the U.S. and Japan for 1974-75 months before the energy crisis broke. As for Britain, the Tory decision to put the country on a three-day workweek in an effort to force compliance with its antilabor wage controls made recession inevitable. The energy crisis was only an excuse.

Policies aimed at increasing unemployment and freezing wages are the main economic weapon of capitalist governments to try to hold down "wage inflation." It is beyond the power of any capitalist government to control prices. Even as Kissinger was speaking of the danger of recession, prices for gold and silver climbed to historic highs, and prices of almost all other raw materials also rose sharply in the world markets.

New York Times reporter Terry R. Bards pointed out that "the quadrupling of oil prices in the last five months will mean rampant inflation for virtually all of the world's industrialized nations. As a result, currency values are suspect and investments with greater intrinsic value—for example, gold and silver—are now more

attractive."

In the U.S. Nixon's Phase 1, 2, 3, and 4 successfully slashed the level of wage increases for the working class, but did nothing to slow inflation. The next step is increased unemployment. For the imperialists meeting in Washington, the real question is how to repress their own working populations.

The problem confronting the capitalist governments was put bluntly by *Christian Science Monitor* writer Joseph Harsch on Feb. 8. He noted that "the plain fact is that not one of the private-enterprise countries seems to know any longer how to prevent or control inflation."

"Reputable and serious economists in the United States and Britain are wondering whether a political democracy can manage inflation. To check inflation once it has broken through the 10 percent level requires a degree of political courage and strength which no Western country seems any longer to possess."

The miners strike

The struggle in Britain is a test case for the whole imperialist world. If Heath is successful in his attempt to slash the standard of living of British workers—and to do that he has to break the miners strike—it will speed up the assault on wages and working conditions throughout Europe, as well as in the U.S. and Japan. If the miners win, it will be an inspiration and an example to workers everywhere. The international character of the struggle against inflation, unemployment, and wage controls was underscored by the Feb. 11 strike by public employees in West Germany in opposition to government wage controls.

Capitalist inflation can't be stopped, but its effects on workers can be met by the demand for cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts, in pensions and in social security payments. This demand, coupled with the demand for a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, will take on increasing importance as the world working class faces the heightened danger of recession and unemployment.

TWO FILMS ON LATIN AMERICA

Tupamaros. Directed by Jan Lindquist, produced independently. 50 minutes, color. Distributed by the Tricontinental Film Center, New York, N.Y.

When the People Awake. Independent Chilean production in association with the Tricontinental Film Center. Director is anonymous. 60 minutes, color. Distributed by the Tricontinental Film Center, New York, N.Y.

The central question posed by the wave of revolutionary ferment that has swept Latin America since the 1960s is, What are the correct strategy and tactics for revolution on that continent?

This is the subject of two documentary films released by Tricontinental Film Center. *Tupamaros!* and *When the People Awake* try to deal with this question in relation to Uruguay and Chile.

Tupamaros! is a well-documented film about the activities and political philosophy of that guerrilla group, including an exclusive interview with one of its leading members. Because of the precarious conditions under which it was made, the production of this film and its being smuggled

Film

out of the country, according to promotional material, was itself considered another guerrilla action.

Insofar as *Tupamaros!* attempts to illustrate the efficiency and technical expertise of the group in conducting guerrilla actions, it does it well. Much of the footage, for instance, is done by the Tupamaros themselves.

But as experience has shown, the Tupamaros lacked a realistic perspective for revolution in Uruguay. They were thus led by the romantic conception that a small group of dedicated and intelligent radicals could spark the masses into action through their revolutionary example.

The incorrectness of this approach was to be confirmed less than a year after the film was



Pro-Allende rally just prior to Chilean coup. Films discuss strategies for revolution in Chile and Uruguay.

completed, when the Bordaberry regime launched a campaign of repression that succeeded in practically wiping out the Tupamaros as an organization.

A more serious attempt to deal with the complexities of the class struggle is made in *When the People Awake*, a documentary about Chile during Allende's regime.

Filed between September of 1972 and May of 1973, *When the People Awake* begins by giving some of the historical background of the exploitation of Chile by American imperialism. It makes the point, correctly so, that it was this ravaging of the country by foreign interests that led to the election of the Unidad Popular government.

But no analysis of the political situation that led to the UP's eventual overthrow is offered beyond that.

Much of the film is taken up by a series of intercut interviews with workers, peasants, and a middle-class opponent of the Allende regime. Those interviewed, for the most part, seem to be answering the question of whether or not there can be a peaceful road to socialism in Chile.

Some of the answers shed a great deal more light on the weaknesses of the "peaceful road" strategy of Allende than the film set out to do.

One worker says, for example, "These are only limited reforms. But the present laws are still in the interest of the bourgeoisie. The way things are now, socialism will take a long time."

"We won't have socialism until the masses, the working class, take over the government," says another.

One leader of a shanty-town answers straightforwardly, "I don't think we'll reach socialism through peaceful means." He points, for example, to the need to win over the ranks of the military, which Allende utterly failed to do. And the need to prepare for the inevitable coup, "because we know it's coming."

Despite these refreshing insights sprinkled throughout what is mostly an uncritical overview of the days of the Unidad Popular, the film lacks a clear political focus. It never makes any mention of the role of the massive Communist and Socialist parties that were the main force behind the popular-front strategy—a strategy that led the Chilean working class to slaughter only a few months later. And there is no serious attempt to put forward an alternative to this reformist perspective.

What was lacking in Chile was a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class in struggle against a bourgeoisie that still held the reins of government. That was the central lesson of the Chilean experience. Unfortunately, *When the People Awake* missed the point. —MIRTA VIDAL

THE ONLY GOOD COP IS NO COP

Serpico. Directed by Sidney Lumet. Produced by Martin Bregman. Starring Al Pacino. A Paramount Release.

Of all the shibboleths and illusions that have fallen victim to the current radicalization, none has proved more vulnerable than that of the policeman as "officer of the peace." He is more familiar to the current generation of workers, oppressed nationalities, and students as "pig," "fuzz," or "the heat."

Each new landmark in sharpening social conflict—Watts, Columbia University, Chicago in '68, Attica—has laid bare the true role of the police as the violent last line of defense for capitalist property and power (something ghetto residents, militant strikers, and Marxists have never doubted).

This shift in consciousness has been mirrored in the politically cautious movie industry. We now find, for example, that a relatively sympathetic

limits upon free expression that result from private ownership and control of the means of communication.

Serpico is based on the true story of a cop whose one-man crusade to expose the rampant corruption among New York's finest finally forced the Lindsay administration to form the Knapp Commission to investigate the subject.

In the film, *Serpico* enters the police force as a young man sincerely expecting opportunities for public service but finding only a cynical, bureaucratic scramble for arrest "credits" and promotions, institutionalized racism, and a system of "justice" that is enforced only against those too poor to offer bribes.

He steadfastly refuses his share of a corruption pie that ranges from \$800 a week from gambling interests in the Bronx to \$20,000 in the Brooklyn dope trade. For two years he doggedly hounds his equally venal superiors in the department to launch an investigation, but he meets only with frustration, ridicule, and failure.

Not yet completely shorn of his innocence, *Serpico* turns to Mayor Lindsay's office. After an initially enthusiastic reception by one of the mayor's young Ivy League aides, he is later told that "the mayor expects a long hot summer and doesn't want to alienate the police with an investigation." For the "progressive" Lindsays, as much as for the Nixons and the Reagans, the overriding concern at all times is the maintenance of capitalist law and order. It is only after *Serpico* approaches the *New York Times* that the facts become public.

Those who manage to remember the forgettable performance of Al Pacino in *The Godfather* may be surprised by the formidable talent he displays in portraying *Serpico*'s evolution from an affable non-conformist into a brooding, testy, self-righteous

loner. Almost single-handedly Pacino transforms what might have been merely an interesting documentary into a penetrating character study as well.

The film's general attitude toward the possibility of police reform is ambiguous and confused. Throughout his campaign *Serpico* sees his goal as reviving a lost standard of wisdom and rectitude in police conduct that never really existed outside of the imaginations of apologists for capitalism; the final scene shows *Serpico* testifying before the Knapp Commission, as if to stress that the good cop's virtue and persistence have been rewarded and that the system *does* respond.

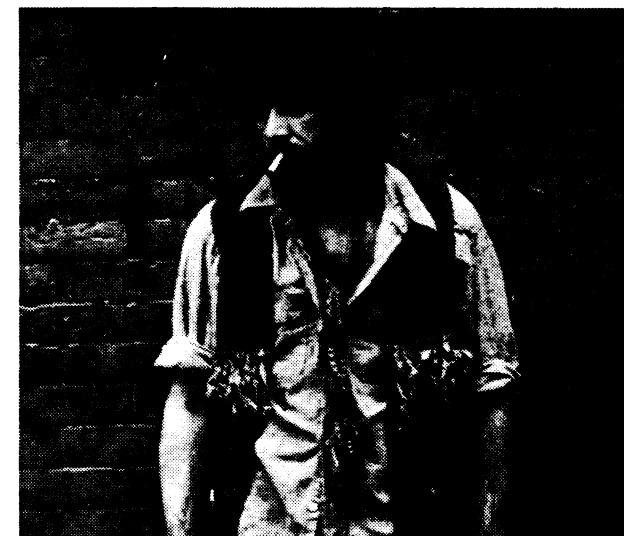
However, a postscript informs us that *Serpico* has resigned from the police force and is now living in Switzerland, thus hinting at the hard truth of the matter: the only good cop is no cop.

—BILL KAUFMAN

Film

cop like Eddie Egan of the *French Connection* can be a crude ruffian and vicious racist. This trend has culminated in *Serpico*, an absorbing, candid drama about police corruption in New York City.

It might seem encouraging to reflect that a film like *Serpico* could not have been made in this country 10 years ago. Yet, it should be noted that the most radical-minded young American directors like Haskell Wexler (*Medium Cool*) are still stymied by a lack of financial backing for their projects, a telling example of the inherent



Al Pacino as *Serpico*

Sales pick up in unions and on the campus

By SHARON CABANISS

Final reports on sales of the first issue in *The Militant's* spring campaign to reach 10,000 weekly street sales put us over the 6,800 mark. That issue was dated Feb. 1 and headlined, "Unions say: 'Stop phony shortages!'"

While the Feb. 1 issue preceded the high point of the independent truckers strike, a few areas were able to sell to dissident truckers. Cleveland, for example, sold 14 papers to truckers at a small demonstration—almost everyone there. Reports on sales of more recent issues indicate an enthusiastic response to *The Militant* at strike meetings and truck stops around the country (see pages 5-7).

Trade unionists in different parts of the country also found the Feb. 1 issue of interest. A Los Angeles reader who is a member of the American Federation of Government Employees took the issue to his union meeting and sold 12 single copies and six subscriptions. San Francisco supporters sold 33 at an SIEU (city employees) union meeting.

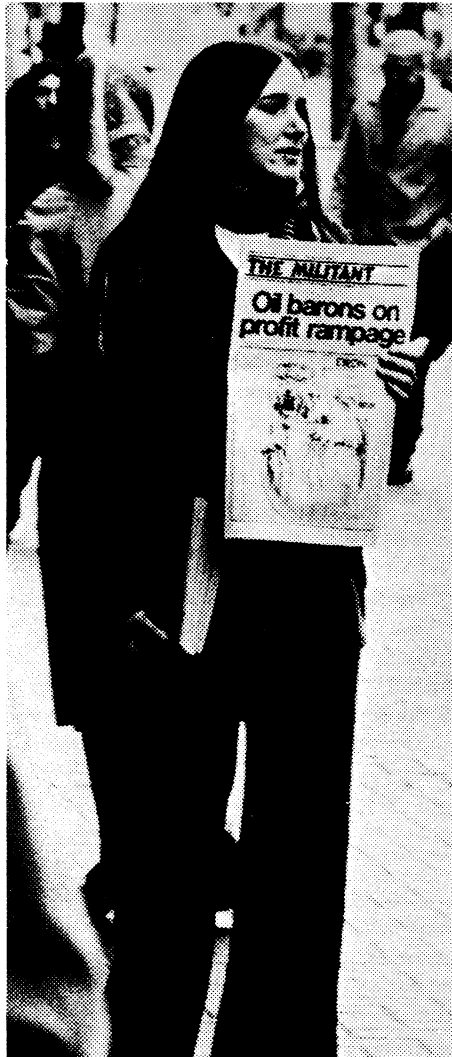
Sales in Black communities accounted for many of the 6,841 *Militants* sold. In Atlanta and the Oakland-Berkeley area, 169 and 128 *Militants* were sold. Chicago supporters sold 145 in the Black community, several of those to motorists waiting in line to buy gas.

Sales on campuses are picking up as schools reopen for the spring. Seven areas report more than 100 papers sold on campuses in their cities: Philadelphia sold 175; Pittsburgh, 171; Twin Cities, 160; Oakland-Berkeley, 132; Seattle, 126; and Boston and Detroit, 121 each. Twin Cities also sold 15 at night high school classes, where they now sell regularly.

Many local chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance, which sells mainly on campus, have taken weekly sales

goals, and eight of them reported making their goals the first week of the campaign: Athens, Ga.; E. Lansing, Mich.; Indianapolis; Iowa City; Logan, Utah; Madison; Milwaukee; and Nashville.

Supporters have also been selling at airports in major cities, especially when the weather prohibits extensive outdoor sales. Last week two areas reported they sold to many GIs this



Militant/Joseph Ryan

way, as well as to other travelers and airport workers.

Sales during this first week of the campaign indicate that *The Militant* can be sold any place where there are working people fed up with Watergate and the energy crisis. One Brooklyn supporter took a *Militant* to work with her and left it by her coat. "When she went to get it at lunchtime," reports sales director Carol Lisker, "it was gone and a quarter was in its place."

Denver supporters sold 22 *Militants* at a Bob Dylan concert, and the next day one person who had bought the paper came to the Militant Bookstore and took a consignment of 10 *Militants* and 10 *Young Socialists* for his bookstore.

The Militant is sold in many cities in addition to those listed on the Sales Scoreboard. For example, last week bundles were ordered by readers in Akron; Edinboro, Pa.; and Pocatello, Idaho. If you want to help sell *The Militant* on your campus, where you work, or near where you live, just send in the coupon below.

The Militant is also conducting a drive to sell 7,000 new subscriptions by March 17. Boston supporters had a subscription blitz this week and sold 168 *Militant* and 48 *International Socialist Review* subscriptions on their first day. Brooklyn supporters have sold 20 subscriptions so far during their regular street sales. Last week-end four Brooklyn teams went to different campuses and sold another 54. They also sold six *ISR* subscriptions at a radical sociologists conference. Carol Lisker advises, "Every time you sell a *Militant* or an *ISR*, tell the person that for an extra \$1.00 they can get a *Militant* subscription, or for a quarter more an *ISR* subscription. We got five *Militant* subs and one *ISR* sub that way last Saturday."

AREA	SOLD		
	GOAL	LAST WEEK	%
E. Lansing	40	47	118
Twin Cities	350	386	110
Philadelphia	400	413	103
Athens	25	25	100
Indianapolis	50	50	100
Iowa City	20	20	100
Logan	30	30	100
Madison	70	70	100
Milwaukee	30	30	100
Nashville	60	60	100
Seattle	425	410	96
Cleveland	350	323	92
Austin	75	66	88
Bellingham	30	26	87
Hartford	45	38	84
Atlanta	500	344	69
Detroit	400	270	68
Boston	700	469	67
Pittsburgh	350	234	67
St. Louis	325	219	67
San Diego	325	219	67
Houston	500	328	66
Oakland/Berkeley	800	500	63
San Francisco	525	325	62
L.A. (West Side)	350	209	60
Portland	325	196	60
L.A. (Central-East)	350	196	56
Washington, D.C.	400	223	56
Brooklyn	450	207	46
Chicago	700	319	46
Denver	450	200	44
Upper West Side	475	203	43
Lower Manhattan	500	186	37
TOTAL SOLD			
LAST WEEK	10,000	6,841	68

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Food protests rock Indian state of Gujarat

From Intercontinental Press

"Even with India's demonstrated capacity to muddle through crises for ever and ever, the latest spate of political and economic eruptions have an ominous ring about them," wrote the January 21 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "Food riots, mass uprisings against rising prices, deaths in police shootings, a wave of strikes by university teachers, mill workers, office employees, airline workers and doctors and nurses, and interminable political faction fights have risen to a crescendo in the last two weeks."

While the discontent over India's deteriorating economic situation has sparked unrest throughout the country, the most violent clashes have taken place in the western state of Gujarat. The January 28 *New York Times* reported at least thirty-seven people killed in the food riots that swept Gujarat for more than two weeks. The unrest began on January 9 when university students staged protests over the high cost of food at a university dining hall. It quickly spread to other sectors of the population.

The underlying causes of the strikes and spontaneous uprisings were the 20 percent increases in food prices over the past year and the shortages of food staples, such as grain, eggs, milk, and cooking oil. "Food shortages, inflation and general deprivation have bred frustration and a feeling of insecurity among the people everywhere," said the January 12

Bombay Times of India.

Students and workers staged demonstrations demanding more food at lower prices and an end to government corruption. Stores, government ration shops, banks, and other buildings were attacked, looted, and set on fire. Some police and militiamen have been killed by sniper fire. The police, the paramilitary Border Security Force, and eventually the army were sent in to "restore order." Curfews were imposed and orders were issued to shoot on sight anyone breaking them; demonstrations were attacked and broken up by club-swinging police; crowds were fired upon; and more than 1,000 people had been arrested by January 24.

Washington Post correspondent Lewis Simons described the situation in the state capital: "The inner, old walled city of Ahmedabad was an armed camp today [January 25]. Police and militia men, wearing padded body armor and steel helmets and carrying rifles, submachine guns and shields, patrolled the streets and twisting, dark alleys."

"The roads were red with the rubble of smashed bricks and black where flaming refuse and rubber tires had been hurled down on the police. In some places, curbstones, weighing 100 pounds apiece, had been ripped loose, carried up stairs and heaved onto the streets."

A statewide general strike on January 25, called by the parties opposed



Twenty-nine percent hike in food prices in last year, combined with food shortages, has sparked protests throughout country.

to the ruling Congress party, was a success. The state government attempted to minimize the impact of the general strike by imposing a curfew on that day.

A January 28 dispatch by Simons speculated on the decision to bring in the army: "There have been rumors that members of the Ahmedabad police force, who have been battling the stone-throwing mobs day and night, would lay down their arms. Several persons with friends among the police

say that their sympathies are more with the people demanding lower food prices than with the government. If true, this could explain [Gujarat Chief Minister Chimanbhai] Patel's decision to use the army, which has not taken an active law-enforcement role here until now."

Patel also charged that the Jan Sangh party, a right-wing religious party, and the Communist party of India were behind the strikes and the statewide unrest.

...W. Knee

Continued from page 24

But then, that's what a frame-up is all about.

The prosecution was probably gloating after the courtroom fray. Their opening statement had been dry and uninspired compared with the opening remarks of Russell Means and Dennis Banks, whose comments were often eloquent as they detailed the bitter story of Indian deprivation, broken treaties, and the scandalous conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation that led to the occupation.

"This should be the trial of the United States of America against the Indian people," Means told the jury in his statement.

He said the evidence would show the government had violated the 1868 Sioux treaty by entering Wounded Knee during the 1973 occupation without the consent of the reservation's Tribal Council. By the same token, he said, the U.S. roadblocks during the siege were also illegal because the government had not gotten tribal approval as the Wounded Knee protesters had.

Means denied that hostages were taken during the siege. He said the defense would prove that Dick Wilson, tribal president, operated the tribal government illegally for eight months "and the Department of Interior did nothing."

He said it was the government who fired on the occupants first, and it was "Indian people who were shot first."

He said that the government fired into every building in Wounded Knee and that Frank Clearwater was killed while in a church in the community.

Dennis Banks said in his statement that "we never forced people out of their homes" at Wounded Knee, as the prosecution contends. Banks said that the occupiers had been invited into the homes of Wounded Knee residents.

Support is growing for the Wounded Knee defendants.

A rally demanding that the charges be dropped is scheduled at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis Feb. 27, the anniversary of the be-

ginning of the Wounded Knee occupation.

Supporters of the defendants are also encouraging solidarity actions around the country on Feb. 27, including at Wounded Knee.

Endorsers for the University of Minnesota rally include the Indian Studies Department on campus; student body president Cathy Kelly; Minneapolis City Councilmen Tom Johnson and Ed Felien; American Indian Movement; Young Socialist Alliance; Political Rights Defense Fund; Minnesota Public Interest Research Group; and Minnesota Feminists.

A Feb. 12 protest outside the Federal Building in St. Paul drew more than 100 people.

Two busloads of Indians from the Pine Ridge Reservation participated in the protest, and some squeezed into the courtroom to watch the trial.

A powerful statement of support was issued by Chief Fools Crow, traditional chief of the Oglala nation on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Chief Fools Crow said:

"We called on our brothers in the American Indian Movement to help us because we were being oppressed and terrorized. They answered our call. We now call upon all people to honor our people and our treaty rights.

"If Dennis Banks and Russell Means go to jail for supporting the dignity of the Sioux nation and the promises made to us, you must be ready to send us all to jail. If we cannot live with our brothers in freedom according to our ways and our tradition we are ready to join them in the white man's prison."

...Dobbs

Continued from page 9

ducting the struggle. When they are being hit by this energy crisis fraud, certainly the fleet drivers are being hit as well.

There generally is a mileage rate involved in the earnings of a fleet driver, so the reduction in the maximum speed limit automatically means a cut in pay for the fleet driver, as well. That is just one example of the fundamental problems they have in common with

the owner-operators.

There can be no question in my mind that there are militant moods among the fleet drivers in the Teamsters union that are a close counterpart to the militant moods being expressed by the individual owner-operators today.

There is another side to this. The individual owner-operators, having been abandoned by the union, are not subject to the same immediate bureaucratic controls as the fleet drivers. So they have been able to act more spontaneously than the fleet drivers up to this point.

But if the IBT leadership doesn't get with it and represent the interests of these fleet drivers, it is only a matter of time—and not all that much time—until you will see some spontaneous upsurges of struggle among the fleet drivers.

As a matter of fact, there have been a number of manifestations of solidarity with the independent owner-operators by the fleet drivers even under the present conditions. So I believe new ground is being prepared objectively for a rise within the Teamster movement of opposition to the present incompetent officialdom.

What is needed is cooperation between the individual owner-operators and the fleet drivers, as well as all the other workers in the IBT. With that cooperation two closely interrelated goals can be set.

One is solidarity in action in defense of the truckers' interests. And second is a fight to change the leadership of the IBT and reestablish a leadership of the kind that built the over-the-road movement back in the 30s and first set it on the high road of really representing the workers and in all respects serving the workers' cause.

In my view, that is the key question here. Hopefully these workers, despite all the odds against them, will make some headway in defending themselves against the onslaught on their standard of living being carried out in the name of this oil crisis swindle.

But in the last analysis the need of the workers is to organize themselves and carry through a basic change in leadership. They need to reestablish the kind of internal democracy that used to operate in the IBT. In that way they can be being to bear the full

power of the union on the basis of genuine, realistic, honest representation of the workers.

That is the main task, you might say the main challenge, for the truck drivers today.

...UAW

Continued from page 15

from the construction trades. The fact that no segment of the organized labor movement went into action in support of these protests constituted a severe obstacle to winning the Black community's demands.

But in the auto industry the skilled occupations are right inside the plants, in the midst of the production jobs where Black workers are concentrated. In a fight to obtain preferential treatment for Black workers and in opposition to other racist practices of the auto barons, not only could the Black community in Detroit be mobilized, but also the Black workers inside the plants. And the mobilization of these workers could not but help generate the active support of many white workers—in production as well as in skilled trades.

This mobilization could combine the demand for preferential treatment with demands to halt the layoffs hanging over the heads of auto workers, thus bringing to life the UAW's formal position in favor of a 30-hour week for 40-hours pay. The demand that all unemployed workers be paid full union-scale wages could also be raised.

The mounting of such an effort against the racism of the auto corporations would put the class-collaborationist UAW bureaucracy on the spot, causing fissures and splits that would aid and push forward the mobilization of the Black community, Black workers, and potential white allies. In turn, the basis would be laid for the regeneration of the UAW and the building of a class-struggle union leadership.

Such a struggle would run up against the Democratic and Republican parties—the parties of capital—and therefore could not be separated from building the independent political power of Black people and labor.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP and YSA, 710 Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90017. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles City-wide: SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 760 Oak Walk, Apt. H, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegl, 1356 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books

—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Alwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Geneseo: YSA, State Univ. College at Geneseo, College Student Union Box 85, Geneseo, N.Y. 14454.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mills, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St., (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

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San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213 Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701. Tel: (301) 525-6323.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.

Milwaukee: YSA, P.O. Box 1136, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201.

Calendar

BOSTON

SOLZHENITSYN'S GULAG ARCHIPELAGO: THE RIGHT TO DISSENT. Speakers: Gabriel Grasberg, Russian literature scholar; others to be announced. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

MALCOLM X: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. Film and speakers: Pat Wright, Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

MALCOLM X: HIS MESSAGE FOR TODAY. Speakers: Prof. Jan Carew, chairman, African-American Studies Dept., Northwestern Univ.; Francis Ward, correspondent for the Los Angeles Times; Willie Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for representative, 1st C.D. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 427-0280.

CLEVELAND

MALCOLM X: HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK. Film: Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom; Speakers: Terry Young, teacher, Urban League Street Academy; Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for State Board of Ed. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1974 ELECTION CAMPAIGN BANQUET & RALLY. Speakers: Nancy Brown, SWP candidate for governor; Charles Mitts, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., Feb. 23, 7 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$5, banquet & rally; \$1, rally only. Ausp: SWP 1974 Campaign. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

THE WOUNDED KNEE TRIAL AND THE STRUGGLE OF AMERICAN INDIANS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION. Speakers: Vincent Harvier, director, Denver AIM; Regina Dixon, participant in Wounded Knee occupation and member of AIM. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

THE POLITICS OF HEROIN. Speaker: Dr. Richard Kunnes, director of out-patients, Community Mental Health Center, Ann Arbor; Univ. of Mich. psychiatrist; and author of Your Money or Your Life, American Heroin Empire, and Repression or Revolution—Therapy in the U.S. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES

STATEWIDE NOMINATING CONVENTION AND CAMPAIGN RALLY TO LAUNCH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1974 GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN IN CALIFORNIA. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Dan Styron, Salm Kolis, Laura Moorhead. Sat., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1 Ausp: SWP California Campaign. For more information call (213) 483-2732.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE BLACK STRUGGLE: GARY CONVENTION TO PRESENT. Speakers: Roy Hayes, editor, Nommo (Black student newspaper, UCLA); Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party; Rev. Al Dortch, Freedom House Party. Fri., Feb. 22, 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

MALCOLM X: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. Film and speakers: Sam Manuel, Young Socialist Alliance; Michael Corbett, NYU Black Student Cultural Center. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE CRISIS IN BRITAIN. Speaker: Dave Frankel, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PITTSBURGH

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEGACY OF MALCOLM X. Speakers: Namasha Smith, Black Action Society, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Norman Oliver, staff writer for The Militant; Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers Party 1974 candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO

THE PEOPLE VS. WILLIE FARAH. Film and speaker from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

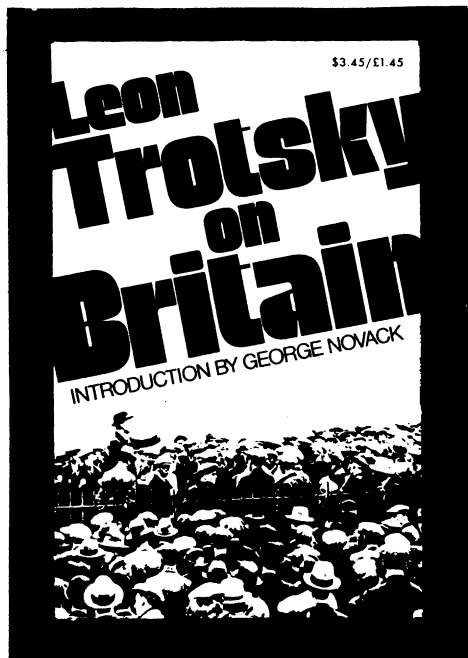
SEATTLE

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Judge ejects defense lawyers as Wounded Knee trial begins

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Outside the Federal District Court Building demonstrators—many of them Indians from the Pine Ridge Reservation—marched with picket signs that said "Drop the Charges" and "Stop the Frame-Ups."

Inside the courtroom the spectators were getting a classic lesson in how a frame-up works.

Indian leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks face 10 federal charges for their role in last year's Wounded Knee, S.D., occupation. Their trial opened here Feb. 12 with statements delivered by U.S. attorneys and the defense.

But the main statement was issued by Federal District Judge Fred Nichol in the form of an order to marshals to forcibly eject defense attorney William Kunstler from the courtroom.

Kunstler was seized by two marshals who removed him from the court as spectators and reporters watched in disbelief.

Nichol virtually admitted later in legal jargon to the jury that he was wrong, but his comments were so garbled and vague that jurors might have concluded that the defense rather than Nichol was at fault.

The confrontation developed this way:

Dennis Banks was part way through his opening statement to the jury when U.S. attorneys objected to the fact that he had begun talking about a brutality case on a Nebraska reservation.

Nichol told U.S. attorneys that they had been "very patient with Banks" in not objecting beforehand.

He sustained the objection, asserting



Wounded Knee occupation last spring. Defendants Russell Means and Dennis Banks told courtroom of history of oppression that led to seizure by Indians.

that Banks's comments about the brutality incident would not be allowed as evidence.

Defense attorney Mark Lane rose to say he wished "to take exception," but before he could finish Judge Nichol ordered him to stop. When Lane persisted Nichol ordered marshals to remove him from the courtroom.

Kunstler rose to object and Nichol ordered him removed, also.

"I'm just making an ordinary objection," said Kunstler.

"Remove him!" the judge shouted. "Marshals, remove him."

Kenneth Tilsen, another defense attorney, arose to ask for a recess. The judge ordered him removed too.

As marshals pushed and shoved

Kunstler and Lane from the courtroom, Lane shouted, "Don't you push me!" There was a scuffle.

"Leave them alone," Banks shouted at the marshals.

"Do you want to be removed too?" the judge said angrily to Banks.

Richard Hurd, assistant U.S. attorney from South Dakota, stood and asked for a recess, which was granted.

After a session in chambers the defense attorneys were allowed to return to the courtroom. Nichol said he "regretted" the incident, observing that he thought that in asking to "take exception," Lane was using an old legal term that has been ruled inapplicable in federal court.

Judge Nichol told the jury to dis-

regard the incident. He said Kunstler was within his legal rights in raising an objection, since Kunstler represents Means, and Lane represents Banks. Kunstler was only coming to the aid of an attorney of another client, said Nichol.

It that sounds like double-talk, it certainly is.

Later, to reporters, Nichol admitted that he had misunderstood Lane's objection and regretted both his own actions and those of the defense attorneys.

Since the jury is not allowed to read the newspapers, they may very well get the wrong impression from what occurred.

Continued on page 22

Means charges election fraud at Pine Ridge

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Russell Means, defendant in the Wounded Knee trial here, has charged that the election for tribal president on the Pine Ridge Reservation, S.D., was fixed. Means narrowly lost in the runoff election to incumbent Dick Wilson.

"It was a dishonest election," Means told *The Militant*.

He received 47 percent of the votes in the Feb. 7 election, according to final unofficial totals, losing to Dick Wilson by 1,709 to 1,530. It appears that Wilson was a key architect of the election fraud.

Means is demanding a recount and a new election. In the primary, he out-

distanced Wilson by 667 to 511. Means's high vote total in the runoff was an indication of the widespread Indian support for last year's Wounded Knee occupation.

Means and Dennis Banks are facing a 10-count federal indictment for their role in leading the Wounded Knee protest that lasted from Feb. 27 to May 8, 1973.

A fixed election would certainly be in character for the Pine Ridge Reservation, which Means accurately characterized in his opening statement to the jury here as being "under the heel of the white, corrupt, anti-Indian Bureau of Indian Affairs."

It was Wilson's corrupt administration of the reservation that was one reason for last year's occupation.

Mark Lane, defense attorney, said that at the request of Means, South Dakota Judge Andrew Bogur had impounded the ballots.

Lane said that there was evidence that Wilson paid off some voters \$20 each to cast ballots for him.

"We can show that in Martin, S.D., two leaders of Wilson's goon squad took a number of ballots out of the polling place and brought them back marked," Lane told *The Militant*.

The goon squad "could have marked the ballots themselves," Lane said.

Lane said he personally saw the two goons drive up to the polling place with anti-Means posters on their car, pick up the ballots, and leave.

Inside, a Wilson man examined every ballot before placing it in the ballot box, Lane reported. It was impossible for a voter to cast his ballot without the Wilson man seeing. "We're confident that Russell won," Lane said, observing that last year 1,400 reservation members signed petitions demanding Wilson's impeachment.

Lane said Means's supporters plan to go into Federal District Court in South Dakota to ask for a new election.

— G. C.

Black workers & UAW misleaders/15

Debate over struggle in Puerto Rico/16