

THE MILITANT

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

The truth about Wounded Knee

Interview with the defendants



Russell Means (left) and Dennis Banks are on trial for participation in occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D. See p. 14.



The real record of Nixon's 'wage and price' controls/3

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NATIVE AMERICANS WIN FIGHT FOR FISHING RIGHTS: Fourteen Native American tribes in western Washington have been in a long battle to force the federal government, which is supposed to protect the rights guaranteed them in treaties signed in the 1850s, to defend their fishing rights now being threatened by the state of Washington.

On Feb. 12, they won an important victory when U. S. District Court Judge George Boldt ruled that the tribes have a treaty right to catch more than half of the harvestable salmon and steelhead trout in western Washington. The Native Americans have the right to all the fish they need for food and traditional ceremonies and 50 percent of the fish off the reservations.

Judge Boldt ruled that if the state must cut back fishing to allow an adequate amount of salmon and steelhead to escape to spawning grounds, it must first cut back non-Indian commercial and sport fishing. The state had attempted to prevent the tribes from fishing off reservation grounds, supposedly to protect the fishery resource.

In his decision, Judge Boldt also ruled that the Native Americans are entitled to injunctive relief against any further actions by the state that violate their treaty rights.

The state is expected to appeal the decision.

Disabled Vietnam Vets stage sit-in

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A group of disabled Vietnam veterans who are occupying the offices of Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) in the Federal Building here entered the sixth day of a hunger strike Feb. 19.

Members of the recently established American Veterans Movement, they are demanding that Donald Johnson, national director of the Veterans Administration, come here to meet with them concerning veterans' grievances. They have declared they will continue their hunger strike until he does so.

Six of the 16 participating veterans are totally disabled, and several are on hospital mattresses laid out on the office floor. Others are in wheelchairs. This morning one of the hunger strikers fainted in his wheelchair.

Public demands that VA administrator Johnson meet with the veterans should be addressed to him at the Veterans Administration, 810 Vermont Ave. NW, Washington, D. C. 20005.

Appealing for public support, Ron Kovic, national coordinator of AVM, said, "It's going to be a long siege, a long fight. It's starting to feel like Wounded Knee here."

The address of the American Veterans Movement is 24 1/2 Hurricane St., Venice, Calif. 90291. Those wishing to talk directly with the veterans in Senator Cranston's office can call (213) 824-7641.

PHILADELPHIANS PROTEST PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM: A coalition of African students and campus and community groups has forced International House, a large, privately owned residence at the University of Pennsylvania, to withdraw its invitation to the Portuguese diplomatic mission to host their annual fund-raising ball.

On Feb. 16, 40 people met to organize opposition to this show of support to Portuguese colonialism. A picket line and teach-in on the fight against colonialism in Africa and the United States' role in Africa were planned for March 2. Participants in the planning meeting included students from Uganda, Tanzania, Namibia, Mozambique, the Republic of Guinea, South Africa, Zaire, Angola, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. Also participating were members of the African Liberation Support Committee, the Anti-Imperialist Committee in Solidarity with African Liberation, the Young Socialist Alliance, and several church-related groups.

Under this pressure, International House administrators announced Feb. 17 that they had withdrawn the invitation to host the ball. Organizers of the protest are planning to make the March 2 teach-in a victory celebration.

CHICAGO FEMINISTS PLAN ACTION: The Chicago International Women's Day Coalition has called for a march and rally March 9 to celebrate International Women's Day and to demand equality and economic justice for women.

The march will assemble at the Board of Trades at 12 noon, and march down State Street to a rally at the Civic Center.

The coalition includes several women's liberation groups, day-care center groups, and others. Some of the demands of the coalition are passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, rollback of prices on food and fuel, more

funds for day care and other human services, and support to the struggles of women workers such as the Farah Pants strike and the United Farm Workers struggle.

AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS BACK FARM WORKERS: The national conference of the Australian Union of Students, meeting in Canberra last month, voted unanimously to declare its solidarity with the strike of the United Farm Workers of America. A message of support was sent to the farm workers.

The action was taken after the delegates heard an account of the farm workers struggle by Harry Ring, staff writer for *The Militant*, then visiting the country.

In the discussion following Ring's presentation, it was noted that the Safeway chain, a prime target of the UFW grape and lettuce boycott, has stores in Australia. The delegates were agreed that the AUS should consider possible action against Safeway markets there.

The AUS represents more than 200,000 college and university students throughout Australia.

'HARLEM SIX' VICTORY OVERTURNED: Last July 17 a federal district court in New York threw out the conviction of Robert Rice and said he must receive a new trial. On Feb. 7 of this year an appeals court reversed that decision.

Robert Rice is one of six Black youths who were framed up 10 years ago for a murder during an attempted robbery in Harlem. The chief prosecution witness admitted later that he had lied during his testimony. It was on this basis that Lewis Steel, a lawyer for Rice, had moved that the conviction be overturned.

Judge J. Edward Lumbard, speaking for the appeals court, said that there was reason to "doubt that the verdict might have been different" even if there had been perjured testimony, a charge that the appeals court denied.

Steel said he expects to appeal the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court. He also pointed out that there is a separate appeal still pending in the state court of appeals.

Rice is now serving a life sentence.

AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH PLANNED: The African Liberation Support Committee has called for a month of activity in solidarity with African liberation struggles this May. The ALSC has set the weekend of May 19 (Malcolm X's birthday) as the date for nationally coordinated local demonstrations.

The ALSC has also called for a national demonstration in Washington, D. C. on May 25. This demonstration will be the culmination of a week of activities in the capital, including a teach-in on "Racism and Imperialism."

As with earlier African Liberation Day demonstrations, the ALSC plans to seek broad support from groups and individuals in the Black community.

Local chapters of the ALSC will be meeting soon to work out concrete plans for the May activities.

— NORMAN OLIVER

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Phase Five: worst inflation ever

Results of Nixon's wage-price controls: prices & profits soar, real wages down

By ANDY ROSE

After two-and-a-half years of promising to hold prices down, the Nixon administration has finally admitted that its "price controls" are a fake.

"I don't think we know how to restrain inflation," said John Dunlop, head of the federal Cost of Living Council, which is supposedly in charge of doing just that.

Dunlop went on to observe philosophically, "I do not believe it's clear that mankind today knows how to constrain inflation."

Nixon's chief economist, Herbert Stein, commented, "We know that the controls won't stop the inflation."

Of course, this was hardly an earth-shaking revelation to anyone who has tried to buy food or other necessities in recent months.

Phase 5 unveiled

The unveiling of Phase 5 was the occasion for these unusually candid statements. The administration portrays Phase 5 as essentially a Phase Out.

Dunlop and Treasury Secretary George Shultz laid out the following proposals for Phase 5 to a Senate subcommittee on Feb. 6:

- All mandatory controls would be lifted except for health care, petroleum products, and possibly a handful of other industries.

- The Economic Stabilization Act, the law giving the president authority to impose mandatory controls, would be allowed to expire April 30.

- The Cost of Living Council would continue as a "watchdog" agency to gather information, hold public hearings on wage or price hikes it considers excessive, and "work with" labor and business in collective bargaining.

There has been some quibbling over the exact details among Democratic and Republican politicians, economists, and businessmen. Nearly 100 new wage-price bills have been introduced in Congress in recent months, many designed to maintain standby authority to impose mandatory controls.

But there is basic agreement in the ruling circles on the broad outlines of Nixon's plan to lift controls.

The AFL-CIO leadership opposes any extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, although they originally approved of its passage and still endorse the idea of "wage-price" controls — provided the controls are "fair."

Will Phase 5 be any better for working people than Phases 1, 2, 3, and 4? Not by a long shot.



"It says here the full impact won't be felt till next month."

Virtually all economists agree that in the months ahead prices will shoot up even faster than before. In January the wholesale price index measured by the Department of Labor jumped 3.1 percent.

In the last three months this index has risen at the staggering annual rate of 32.3 percent, by far the highest on record. These skyrocketing wholesale prices will soon hit consumers at the retail level.

This impending wave of inflation was probably one consideration in abandoning the sham "price controls," because the government's already battered credibility could only suffer further blows if it pretended to be controlling prices in the midst of the worst inflation in decades.

The worst news will again be food prices. According to the government's own predictions, notoriously optimistic in the past, supermarket food prices may well rise 16 percent this year — as much as in 1973.

Beef and pork prices are expected to jump 15 percent just in the first half of the year.

The devastating effect of last year's food price inflation has already shown up in Department of Agriculture statistics on food consumption. These reveal that the average American ate 1.5 percent less food last year than in 1972 — and 6 percent less red meat.

These figures directly contradict the

arrogant claims by administration spokesmen last year that meat prices were climbing because people had become so "affluent" and were eating more meat.

Cover-up

All the moaning about how price controls have turned out to be a failure is a cover-up pure and simple. Nixon and his advisers knew from the beginning that prices could not be controlled, and they never had any intention of doing so.

Their real aim was quite different. They intended to make the working class pay the costs of improving U.S. capitalism's competitive position on the world market, which was increasingly challenged by Japanese and West European capitalism with their far lower labor costs.

To carry out this assault on the workers' standard of living, the power of the federal government was to be used to hold wages down. Phony "price controls" were merely the sugar coating on the very real wage controls Nixon hoped to shove down the throats of American workers.

The real objectives of Nixon's "New Economic Policy," proclaimed on Aug. 15, 1971, have been met rather successfully: real wages are going down; profits are booming; and the U.S. monopolies have strengthened their position in relation to their competitors.

Union policy

Why have the government and big business succeeded in rolling back real wages without provoking more resistance?

There is no question that most workers are angry about the fall in their standard of living and would be willing to fight to change this.

But the union leaders, despite a few militant-sounding declarations, have spared no effort to stifle and divert this anger. At every step they have avoided fighting for wage increases that would keep up with inflation, since this would necessarily mean a fight against the government wage controls.

Such a struggle is inconceivable to the union bureaucrats because they are firmly tied to the coattails of the Democratic and Republican parties,

both of which support the wage control policies and demand adherence to them.

Thus, despite the widening gap between prices and wages, in 1973 work time lost through strikes dropped to an all time low of one day in 700.

The union misleaders have even lent their authority to the wage controls by sitting on antilabor government boards like the "Labor Management Advisory Committee" to the Cost of Living Council.

Cooperation with the controls has meant stabbing in the back those militant workers who try to defend themselves by striking for higher wages — such as the hospital workers in New York City and the carpenters in Northern California.

In both of those strikes last fall, top union officials were sitting on the committees that decreed cuts in previously won wage increases.

Precedent set

If wage controls are in fact allowed to lapse this spring, it will be because the ruling class hopes that with the cooperation of the union bureaucrats, real wages can be held down without

Continued on page 22

Real record of wages, prices

Here is the real record of Nixon's "Wage-price" controls:

PRICES UP

Consumer Price Index annual rate of increase:

Phase 1 "freeze"	1.9%
(Aug.-Nov. 1971)	
Phase 2	3.6
(Nov. 1971-Jan. 1973)	
Phase 3	8.3
(Jan.-June 1973)	
"Freeze 2" and Phase 4	9.6
(June-Dec. 1973)	

PROFITS UP

Total before-tax corporate profits:	
1971	\$85.4-billion
1972	98.0-billion
1973	126.5-billion

WAGE SETTLEMENTS DOWN

Average first-year wage increases in contracts covering 1,000 workers or more:

1971	11.6%
1972	7.3
1973	5.8

REAL WAGES DOWN

Spendable average weekly earnings of a worker with three dependents, measured in 1967 dollars:

1971	\$92.43
1972	96.40
1973-Jan.	95.25
1973-Dec.	93.88

Note: In 1965 this figure was \$91.32. It scarcely rose from then until the 1972 boom, then began to fall in November 1972 and has fallen rapidly in recent months. Thus American workers have had virtually no real wage gain in almost 10 years.

Poll shows workers 'disillusioned'

Mounting anger over inflation and government corruption have produced a mood of "dangerous disenchantment and disillusionment" among union members.

That was the conclusion reached by leaders of the 900,000-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers after a poll of the union's ranks.

The poll showed 71.2 percent were opposed to extending the "wage-price" controls; 60.6 percent believed the controls had held down wages but not prices.

Nearly 63 percent did not think the government was handling the fuel shortage fairly. One out of five re-

ported layoffs in their shops as a result of oil or power shortages.

The machinists' dissatisfaction is not limited to the economy. Forty-nine percent would like to see Nixon resign, and 23.2 percent favor his impeachment.

Machinists President Floyd Smith commented, "Never before have I known machinists and mechanics to be so distrustful of so many leaders of our government in both the executive and legislative branches."

"They are becoming convinced that their government is rigged for the benefit of the big corporations and the richest families," Smith said.

The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn

The struggle for democratic

50 years of Stalinist repression

By DAVE FRANKEL

For the last 50 years a narrow-minded, conservative bureaucracy has been telling the Soviet people to sit back and shut up. Its credo is the same as Louis XIV's: "I am the state." Those who challenge the bureaucracy's right to run Soviet society in its own narrow interests are told that they are anti-Soviet, antisocialist, and agents of imperialism.

The expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union is the latest act in a whole history of repressive measures aimed at maintaining the political monopoly of the bureaucracy. At first, when the bureaucracy was consolidating its power, the repression was aimed at political leaders and activists. Thus, in 1927 Leon Trotsky, who was the central leader of the Russian Revolution along with Lenin, was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and exiled to a remote town in central Asia. When Trotsky continued to speak out, he was stripped of his Soviet citizenship and forcibly deported to Turkey in February 1929.

Under the leadership of Stalin, the bureaucracy assured its position by systematically destroying the revolutionary heritage of Bolshevism. The Bolshevik program of world revolution was transformed into the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence"—making deals with imperialism at the expense of revolutions abroad.

The history of the party and the revolution was rewritten; the socialist goal of drawing the masses of people

into political activity and cultural life was replaced by the Byzantine rule of Stalin; and in the Moscow show trials of 1936-38, practically the entire generation of Bolshevik leaders who had carried through the revolution and the civil war was murdered.

But having established its power and privileges by driving the masses of people out of political activity, the bureaucracy was forced to maintain itself by the same methods. No discussion could be allowed. Even examination of the past could lead to questions about the present. Those who insisted on speaking out were eliminated.

What had begun in the political sphere was extended to all areas, including culture, science, and philosophy. The Moscow trials were followed by vast purges in the Soviet military apparatus. A Stalinist agent was even sent to Mexico to assassinate Trotsky.

The purges continued throughout World War II and the postwar era, and on the eve of his death Stalin was preparing a new series of show trials—the famous "Doctors' Plot."

The need of the Soviet bureaucracy, shown once again in the case of Solzhenitsyn, to mobilize the whole force of the state against the most modest dissent, reveals the insecurity of the whole ruling caste. After all, if the regime were secure, if there were no undercurrent of mass resentment and opposition, what harm could one or 100 or even 1,000 writers do in a country of 250 million people?

The capitalists, of course, have welcomed Solzhenitsyn with open arms. They hope to win his soul and use him, not to defend the rights of the Soviet people—for which they care nothing—but to put forward the idea that democratic rights can only exist under capitalism.

Whether Solzhenitsyn will lend himself to this remains to be seen, but whatever his course, the fight inside the Soviet Union will go on. The most dramatic proof of this came a few



Solzhenitsyn with fellow Nobel-prize-winning author Heinrich Boll in West Germany.

days after Solzhenitsyn's expulsion, when the Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko issued an open letter challenging the bureaucracy, following a private appeal to Soviet officials.

Yevtushenko's action was particularly important since he had seemed to have made his peace with the bureaucracy, and has a worldwide reputation as an official Soviet representative.

"Extremely agitated" over news of Solzhenitsyn's arrest, Yevtushenko says, "... I addressed not a government of a foreign country, not the United Nations, not foreign correspon-

dents, but rather appeal with great confidentiality to the leadership of my own country. . . .

"In my telegram [to the Central Committee of the CPSU], I even emphasized that I did not agree with many views of Solzhenitsyn.

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

"I do not know who is responsible, but my concert was canceled. I was summoned to the secretariat of the Union of Writers. . . .

"This cancelation of my concert is nothing but the beginning of discrediting my poetry as a whole.

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

Yevtushenko pointed out that "however great the mistakes of Solzhenitsyn, the bloody blunders of the Stalinist past are beyond comparison with him."

He attacked the bureaucracy's refusal to reissue anti-Stalinist works published in the early 1960s and the painting over of Stalin's crimes, saying, "The disparity between historical reality and the description of history in books and newspapers can lead our youth only to lack of belief, to cynicism, whereas we need belief, but real belief can be based only on the truth."

Using a Russian proverb, Yevtushenko summed up the entire history of Stalinist repression in the Soviet Union, from the time when Stalin thought that he had finally laid to rest the ghost of opposition with the murder of Trotsky.

"A lie is like a bow. You hide the ends in water but the middle protrudes. You hide the middle, and the ends stick out."

Capitalist 'democracy' and the right to asylum

Many newspapers have remarked on the parallel between the expulsion of Leon Trotsky from the Soviet Union by Stalin in 1929 and the deportation of Solzhenitsyn. One aspect of Trotsky's case they have remained silent about is the refusal of the capitalist "democracies" of Europe and the U.S. to grant the exiled revolutionist political asylum.

In his autobiography, *My Life* (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, \$3.95 in paper), Trotsky wrote of this experience as follows:

"The democratic right of asylum obviously does not consist in a government's showing hospitality to people who hold views similar to its own. . . . Nor does it consist in a democracy's admitting exiles only with permission of the government that exiled them. The right of asylum consists (on paper) in a government's giving refuge even to its opponents, provided they undertake to observe the country's laws."

Trotsky applied for asylum first to the Social Democratic government in Germany, but, "in the course of a few weeks, the democratic principle was three times truncated. The right of

asylum was at first reduced to the right of residence on a specially restricted basis, then to the right of [medical] treatment, and finally, to the right of interment. But this meant that I could appreciate the full advantages of democracy only as a corpse. . . .

"The variety of reasons that induce democracies to refuse a visa is great. The Norwegian government, if you please, proceeds solely from consideration for my safety. I had never imagined that I had so many considerate friends in high places in Oslo. The Norwegian government is of course unreservedly in favor of the right of asylum, just as are the German, French, English, and all the other governments. The right of asylum, as every one knows, is a sacred and impregnable principle. But an exile must first of all submit to Oslo a certificate guaranteeing that he is not going to be killed by any one. Then they will extend hospitality to him—provided, of course, that no other obstacles arise. . . .

"Much wittier was the French government, which simply pointed to the fact that the order for my expulsion from France as issued by Malvy [during World War I], had never been

rescinded. An utterly insurmountable obstacle in the way of democracy! . . . And at present, the position is this: asylum in France would doubtless be accorded me if the archives of the French police did not contain an order for my expulsion from France issued at the demand of Czarist diplomacy. . . .

"Be that as it may, the right of asylum has been banished from France as well. Where then is the country in which this right has found its—asylum? Perhaps England?

". . . My application for a visa was flatly refused. Clynes, the Labor Home Secretary, defended this refusal in the House of Commons. . . . According to Clynes, the right of asylum does not mean the right of an exile to demand asylum, but the right of the state to refuse it. . . .

"Mr. Clynes, it is to be hoped, will soon arrive at the conclusion that the right of freedom of speech stands not for the right of citizens to express their thoughts, whatever they may be, but for the right of the state to forbid its subjects to entertain such thoughts. . . .

"There is no need to mention America."



LENIN & TROTSKY: Capitalist ideologues complained Bolsheviks had no faith in bourgeois democracy, but when Trotsky was exiled right of asylum was denied him.

rights in the Soviet Union

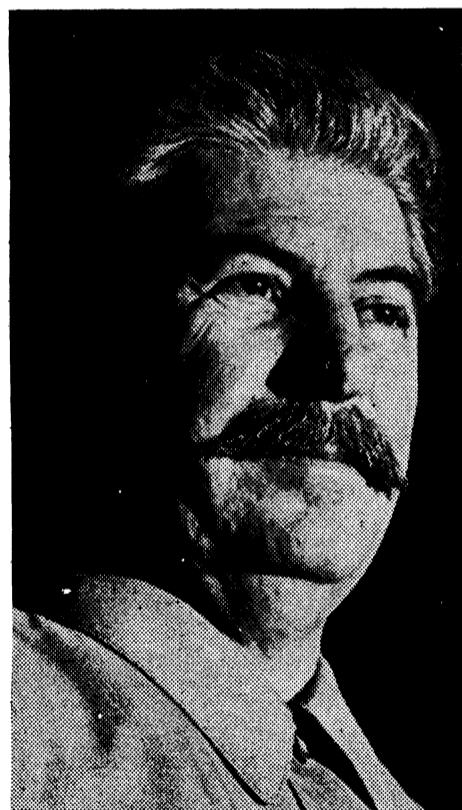
Communist parties on the spot

The Soviet bureaucracy has handed its followers around the world a hot potato with its expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the USSR. This act of crude repression has resulted in such widespread revulsion that a number of pro-Moscow Communist parties have dissociated themselves from it.

On Feb. 14 *L'Unita*, the newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, insisted that the party had always been "against administrative or judicial measures being taken against opponents." According to the Feb. 14 *Washington Post*, *L'Unita* said, "We hold the view that, even faced with arguments which are unacceptable from the political and ideological point of view, the response should be in the field of ideas."

A similar position was expressed by the Swedish CP, which said, "Reactionary opinions must be fought in free and open debate and not by censorship and by police intervention."

Both the Socialist and Communist



STALIN: Communist Party is unable to face up to real history of his crimes.

parties of Japan called for guaranteeing freedom of speech and the press in the workers states, while the newspaper of the Belgian CP, *Le Drapeau Rouge*, held that "ideological confrontation should have sufficed" to answer Solzhenitsyn's "reactionary and antisocial ideas."

In contrast to these parties, which have some degree of mass influence they would like to retain, and which have hopes, at least in Italy and Japan, of forming electoral blocs with other parties, the American CP echoed the villification of Solzhenitsyn that has been pouring out of the Kremlin. "The Soviet Union did a bit of housecleaning when it expelled Solzhenitsyn," the *Daily World* assured its readers Feb. 15.

The last few weeks have seen one article after another in the *Daily World* repeat the claim that Solzhenitsyn is

a profascist, as are those who support him. The CP refuses to even mention the real issues involved in the persecution of Solzhenitsyn: the suppression of democratic rights in the Soviet Union, and the nature and origin of Stalinism.

The absurdity of these articles is shown by the statements of those Stalinist parties that have been forced to address the real issues, however inadequately. What is involved in the *Daily World's* treatment of the Solzhenitsyn affair is simply the desire to avoid discussion. The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 caused deep divisions in the ranks of the CP, and the Stalinists are trying hard to prevent a similar eruption. — D.F.

Another dissident speaks out

From *Intercontinental Press*

In a major development in the controversy over Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*, Soviet historian Roy A. Medvedev on February 6 issued a 7,000-word review praising Solzhenitsyn's contribution to the history of Stalinism and defending his right to publish such a work.

It is clear from Medvedev's essay, excerpts of which were published in the *New York Times*, that the dissident historian, unlike the official critics, had taken the trouble to read Solzhenitsyn's book before commenting on it. In defending *The Gulag Archipelago* against the distortions of the Soviet press, Medvedev was able to draw on his own extensive studies of Stalinism, which were summarized in his 1971 book *Let History Judge*.

Medvedev also has criticisms of Solzhenitsyn's views, but these will not endear him to the Kremlin bureaucrats. For Medvedev attacks the myth, propagated by the bureaucrats and accepted by Solzhenitsyn, that the bureaucratic methods of the Soviet rulers are the lawful continuation of Leninism and the Bolshevik revolution.

"I cannot accept certain of Solzhenitsyn's evaluations or conclusions," Medvedev wrote, "but I must firmly state that all the basic facts given in his book and all the details about the life and torments of prisoners from the moment of their arrest to the moment of their death (in rare cases, up to the moment when they were released) are completely authentic."

While disagreeing with some of Solzhenitsyn's statements of fact, Medvedev considers any inaccuracies as "infinitesimally few for such a significant book." In some cases, he regards the errors as minimizing, rather than overstating, the scope of Stalin's crimes:

"I think that Solzhenitsyn exaggerates the number of peasants evicted during collectivization (15 million). But if we add to those victims the peasants who died of hunger in 1932-33 (in the Ukraine, alone, not less than three million to four million people died), then we will get a figure larger than the one Solzhenitsyn gives."

Medvedev defends Solzhenitsyn against the slander that he justified the action of soldiers who after their

capture fought for the German fascists in the second world war. In the course of this defense, he provides a burning indictment of the criminal policies with which Stalin undermined the defense of the Soviet Union:

"For Solzhenitsyn, not his own arrest, but the cruel and awful destiny of millions of Soviet prisoners of war of his own age and of the age of the Great October Revolution, who made up the major part of our professional army in June, 1941, became a deep personal tragedy.

"This army was destroyed and surrounded in the first days and weeks of war because of criminal miscalculations of Stalin, who was unable to prepare either the army or country for war; because of Stalin's absurd and stupid orders on the first day of war and abandoning his post during the first week, and because of the shortage of experienced army commanders and commissars."

The lack of experienced personnel was due, of course, to the decapitation of the Red Army in the course of the Stalinist purges. Medvedev's father, an army political commissar, was one of the victims of those purges. Medvedev described the consequences:

"More than three million soldiers and commanders landed in prison camps and one million others were later imprisoned. . . . But Stalin's Government betrayed its soldiers in prison, too, by refusing to recognize Russia's signature on the international prisoner-of-war convention. As a result, Soviet prisoners did not get help through the International Red Cross and were doomed to die of hunger in German concentration camps.

"Once again, Stalin betrayed those who survived when, after victory, almost all were arrested, increasing the population of 'The Gulag Archipelago.' This triple betrayal of Stalin's soldiers is what Solzhenitsyn considers the worst, gravest crime of the Stalinist regime.

"Solzhenitsyn does not justify and praise those desperate and unfortunate people [who collaborated]. But he is asking the tribunal of their descendants to take into consideration certain circumstances that would diminish their guilt. Those young and often illiterate fellows, most of whom were from villages, were demoralized by the defeat of their army; and they were repeatedly told in concentration camps: 'Stalin denounced you' and 'Stalin does not care about you.'"

The capitalist press of course has its own reasons for wishing to reinforce the bureaucrats' claim to being the continuators of Leninism. The excerpts from the essay published by the *New York Times* (less than half of the full text) therefore must be treated with particular caution where Medvedev



MEDVEDEV & SOLZHENITSYN: 'Marxism will only benefit from debate. . . .'



Soviet prisoners of war in German camp. Their fate 'became a deep personal tragedy' for Solzhenitsyn.

dev discusses this failing of Solzhenitsyn's book. It is difficult, for example, to judge from paragraphs like the following the extent, if any, to which Medvedev regards the present rulers of the Soviet Union as not being Stalinist:

"Solzhenitsyn is wrong in assuming that this [Stalinist] system has been preserved in its basic features up to the present day. But it has not departed entirely from our social, political and spiritual life. Solzhenitsyn's book strikes a powerful blow at Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. None of us has done more in this regard than Solzhenitsyn."

There are also occasional ambiguities in Medvedev's criticism of Solzhenitsyn's identification of Stalinism and Leninism, although here his position is clearer than in the passage just quoted. Medvedev begins by quoting the following passage from *The Gulag Archipelago*:

"In the years before prison and in prison itself, I thought for a long time that Stalin had given a fateful direction to the course of the Soviet state. Then Stalin quietly died. But how much has the course of our ship of state changed in fact? The particular personal imprint he gave to events was dismal stupidity, willfulness and self-glorification. Otherwise, he simply followed exactly in the footsteps."

Medvedev replies that while there is a continuity between the Communist party of 1917 and the party today, "that continuity is not tantamount to identity. Stalin did not 'follow in the footsteps.' In the very first years after the revolution, he did not always follow in Lenin's footsteps. And certainly afterward, with every step he led the party astray.

"Stalinism in many respects negates — and is bloody annihilation of — Bolshevism and all revolutionary forces. In a certain sense, it is a real counterrevolution. Of course, we do not contend that the Lenin legacy and the Lenin period in the history of our revolution do not require most serious, critical analysis."

Such a study of the real history

Continued on page 22

Socialists pledge fight for full disclosure FBI refuses to turn over files on

By CINDY JAQUITH

The FBI has refused to release its documents on the "Socialist Workers Party-Disruption Program" because to do so, the agency says, would "expose confidential informants, would disclose intra-governmental documents," and "would disclose investigative files and techniques of the Federal Bureau of Investigation." In addition, the FBI claims the documents are protected by "executive privilege."

The request for the files was made by attorneys for the SWP as part of the suit against Nixon and other Watergate figures.

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, denounced the FBI refusal as "a virtual admission that the government has only revealed a fraction of the crimes committed against the SWP and YSA members."

"We intend to press for full disclosure of these documents," he said. "The government says that anything they do to us is 'legal.' But if it's legal, why are they hiding the documents from us?"

"The FBI excuse of 'executive privilege' is no more convincing than Nixon's claim of executive privilege for his tapes."

Dixon added that the refusal to release the FBI documents "confirms our charge that these practices against us continue to this day."

The FBI documents are being sought under the pretrial "discovery" proceedings as evidence in the suit against government harassment. Constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin is representing the SWP and YSA, who cite government wiretapping, mail tampering, use of informers, burglary, and bombing against their members and supporters.

In response to the socialists' charges, the government had earlier been forced to admit that it conducted an "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1969, and that it carried out electronic surveillance against the plaintiffs beginning in 1945.

On Feb. 5, FBI Director Clarence Kelley turned down the request for documents on the disruption plan. But one of Kelley's aides, Special Agent

Hugh Mallet, responded in a sworn statement to a series of questions, or "interrogatories," from attorneys for the socialist suit.

Mallet's statement revealed that William Sullivan, a former assistant to the director of the FBI, initiated the disruption program against the plaintiffs in 1961.

Sullivan, a Nixon confidant, is a key Watergate figure. Now retired, he was once head of the FBI's Internal Security Division, which played a role in drawing up the 1970 Huston spy plan. At the Senate Watergate hearings, testimony disclosed that Sullivan handled Nixon's wiretapping of National Security Council aides and supervised initial FBI operations related to the Daniel Ellsberg case.

'Neutralize the SWP'

According to Mallet's statement, Sullivan began the SWP Disruption Program to "alert the public to the nature and activities of the SWP and thus to neutralize the SWP."

The program was necessary, says the FBI, "because the SWP and its members advocated the ideology of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky and dedicated themselves and the SWP to activities the purpose of which was communist revolution in the United States."

Mallet stated that the tactics of the program included the following:

"The FBI furnished information to appropriate law enforcement agents regarding violations of the law by SWP and YSA members, furnished to the news media pertinent information regarding the objectives and activities of SWP, YSA and its members, and furnished information concerning the nature and activities of SWP and YSA to organizations and individuals associated with SWP, YSA or their members."

Commenting on the FBI statement, Dixon said, "The excuse that these practices were to 'alert the public' is absurd. The Socialist Workers Party



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

MACEO DIXON: 'If FBI attacks on us are legal, why are they keeping documents secret?'

has been trying to get our ideas out to people for more than 40 years. Did the FBI only discover this in 1961?

"This disruption program has nothing to do with publicizing our ideas," Dixon charged. "It is designed to intimidate supporters of SWP campaigns, single out our members for discriminatory treatment, and distort our views."

He likened the furnishing of information to "appropriate law enforcement agents" to the persecution of "White House enemies" through the Internal Revenue Service. "In both cases," Dixon explained, "opponents of government policy are being singled out, not because of infractions of the law, but for political reasons."

Frame-ups

A current example of how the FBI and local law-enforcement agencies cooperate to harass socialists is the Salm Kolis case. Kolis was recently convicted on a trumped-up charge of perjury stemming from her campaign as an SWP candidate in the 1973 San Diego elections. She is now appealing her conviction, in part based on the fact that an FBI informer was



WATERGATE WILLIAM SULLIVAN: Gave orders to 'disrupt' and 'neutralize' Socialist Workers Party.

New documents on COINTELPRO spy plan

The following two documents on the COINTELPRO spy operation have been released to the Socialist Workers Party by the FBI. Two other memos, also dealing with COINTELPRO, came to light when NBC newsman Carl Stern gained access to FBI files. These earlier documents were reprinted in the Dec. 21, 1973, Militant.

William Sullivan, former assistant to the FBI director, initiated the SWP Disruption Program. Charles Brennan is former assistant director of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division.

DATE: 5/9/68

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: C. D. Brennan
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM INTERNAL SECURITY DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Our Nation is undergoing an era of disruption and violence caused to a large extent by various individuals generally connected with the New Left. Some of these activists urge revolution in America and call for the defeat of the United States in Vietnam. They continually and falsely allege police brutality and do not hesitate to utilize unlawful acts to further their so-called causes.

The New Left has on many occasions viciously and scurrilously at-

tacked the Director and the Bureau in an attempt to hamper our investigation of it and drive us off the college campuses. With this in mind, it is our recommendation that a new Counterintelligence Program be designed to neutralize the New Left and the Key Activists. The Key Activists are those individuals who are the moving forces behind the New Left and on whom we have intensified our investigations.

The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt and otherwise neutralize the activities of this group and persons connected with it. It is hoped that with this new program their violent and illegal activities may be reduced if not curtailed.

General instructions are being furnished to all offices relating to the purpose and administration of this new program. Briefly, these instructions require all offices to submit an analysis of possible counterintelligence operations on the New Left and on the Key Activists on or before 6/1/68, including any specific recommendations for action. Thereafter, all offices will submit a 90-day status letter setting forth a summary of their accomplishments and future plans.

Each office will maintain a pending case and assign experienced personnel to this program. All proposed counterintelligence action must be approved

at the Seat of Government prior to instituting it. This new program will be supervised at the Seat of Government by a Special Agent supervisor in the Internal Security Section.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1) That the Domestic Intelligence Division be authorized to immediately initiate a coordinated Counterintelligence Program directed at exposing, disrupting, and otherwise neutralizing the New Left and Key Activists.

2) That the attached letter setting forth instructions for the administration and immediate enactment of the program be forwarded to all offices.

DATE: 4/27/71

TO: Mr. W. C. Sullivan
FROM: Mr. C. D. Brennan
SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS) INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

To afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations, it is recommended the COINTELPROS operated by the Domestic Intelligence Division be discontinued.

At the present time this Division operates seven COINTELPROS as follows:

COINTELPRO — Espionage
COINTELPRO — New Left
COINTELPRO — Disruption of White Hate Groups
COINTELPRO — Communist Party, USA
Counterintelligence and Special Operations
COINTELPRO — Black Extremists
Socialist Workers Party — Disruption Program

These programs involve a variety of sensitive intelligence techniques and disruptive activities which are afforded close supervision at the Seat of Government. They have been carefully supervised with all actions being afforded prior Bureau approval and an effort has been made to avoid engaging in harassment. Although successful over the years, it is felt they should now be discontinued for security reasons because of their sensitivity.

In exceptional instances where counterintelligence action is warranted, it will be considered on a highly selective individual basis with tight procedures to insure absolute security.

ACTION:

If approved, attached airtel will be sent to all field offices discontinuing our COINTELPROS.

'SWP Disruption Program'

operating inside the SWP throughout her campaign and sat in on meetings to map out her defense strategy.

Dixon also charged that the "pertinent information" the FBI provides to the news media "is in reality slanders and lies aimed at discrediting the SWP and YSA and organizations our members participate in."

"It is a well-known fact," he said, "that the capitalist press denies our candidates equal time with the Democrats and Republicans. But these same newspapers are more than willing to run red-baiting articles against us, fed to them by FBI agents and right-wing elements."

He cited as examples news coverage of the giant April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstration, where numerous articles appeared "exposing" the role of the SWP and YSA in helping build the action. Conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, for example, charged that the SWP and YSA "dominated" plans for the protest, and deplored the "well-meaning students, housewives, and politicians pouring into Washington . . . at the mercy of backstage power struggles between minute leftist groups."

Even cruder was a cartoon printed in the *Boston Herald-Traveler*, depicting Leon Trotsky shouting at the April 24 demonstrators, "Forward, March!"

FBI role in red-baiting

But this barrage of attacks, aimed at frightening away potential marchers, failed; nearly a million people joined the actions in Washington and San Francisco that day.

"This red-baiting is not limited to the press, but extends by the FBI's own admission to 'organizations and individuals associated with SWP, YSA and their members,'" Dixon charged. He noted that the FBI has previously conceded that its agents visit landlords, employers, and families of SWP and YSA members.

"But this new statement also suggests that government agents help inspire red-baiting attacks within groups where the SWP and YSA are active," he pointed out. This conforms to the strategy outlined by J. Edgar Hoover when he initiated the COINTELPRO—New Left disruption program in 1968. "In every instance," Hoover said, ". . . no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts in their leadership."

Dividing movement

Red-baiting is a particularly effective way to do this, since it obscures the real political issues and sows divisions within movements fighting for social change.

In the struggle to repeal abortion laws, for instance, differences over tactics were frequently clouded by vicious red-baiting attacks against members of the SWP and YSA, who along with other women advocated a mass-action strategy to win repeal.

This red-baiting sometimes took mysterious forms, such as the distribution of a bogus news release on the stationery of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) prior to the coalition's Nov. 20, 1971, demonstrations.

The release purported to be written by a WONAAC staff member who had defected. The statement, which was sent to the media and to all the scheduled speakers for the demonstration, claimed that "WONAAC is completely controlled both politically and financially—and always has been—by the



Militant/Peggy Brundy

FBI's disruption program is aimed at intimidating potential supporters of Socialist Workers Party election campaigns, such as GIs who attended this Fort Dix, N.J., rally for Linda Jenness, SWP candidate for president in 1972.

Socialist Workers Party and its Young Socialist Alliance."

After this release was distributed Billie Jean King, who had agreed to speak at the rally, canceled out.

The true source of the phony release has never been identified, but whoever wrote it clearly had no interest in furthering the struggle for abortion rights. It fits in perfectly with the FBI's disruption tactics.

In his statement, Dixon argues that the disruption of the SWP continues, as well as similar harassment of other radical groups.

"The FBI refused to give us documents we requested on the COINTELPRO—New Left operation, on the pretext that we were not included in this program," he said. "Many of our members, however, have been active in groups classified by the FBI as 'New Left,' such as the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War."

Dixon noted that the FBI response itself provides new information indicating that none of the disruption programs were in fact canceled.

The FBI answer to the SWP interrogatories says that all the disruption programs were ended in 1971, "following public disclosure of the FBI's New Left counterintelligence program." (This is a reference to the March 1971 raid on the Media, Pa., FBI offices, during which many documents were "liberated" and later published.)

One of the FBI memorandums announcing the end of the programs makes it clear that the termination was in an official sense only. The memo, written on April 27, 1971, states, "To afford additional security to our sensitive techniques and operations, it is recommended the COINTELPROS . . . be discontinued."

"In other words," Dixon said, "the FBI was afraid of adverse publicity after the Media raid, so they formally discontinued the COINTELPROS 'to afford additional security.'"

Tighter FBI security

"But the memorandum itself stipulates that the operations will not end: 'In exceptional instances where coun-

terintelligence action is warranted, it will be considered on a highly selective individual basis with tight procedures to insure absolute secrecy."

Dixon charged that "the use of 'sensitive techniques and operations' against the left is still going on. This is why the FBI says that to release its documents would 'expose confidential informants' and 'disclose investigative techniques.'"

"Our supporters, members, and candidates, such as Salm Kolis, continue to suffer harassment from the FBI. Since the disruption program supposedly ended, SWP headquarters have been bombed and burglarized.

"We are determined to fight these attempts to intimidate us and drive away our supporters. In this year's elections we are running more than 100 candidates in 15 states and the District of Columbia. Our candidates are 'alerting the public' to the real program of the SWP and YSA—the building of a socialist alternative to the Watergate politics of the Democrats and Republicans."

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is publicizing the Watergate suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, is making a special effort to gain labor support.

César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO, and Lou Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers, have endorsed the PRDF, as have several local unions and other trade-union officials.

After a PRDF representative described the suit at a recent meeting of Local 1880, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), in Detroit, the membership voted unanimously to endorse the suit and contribute toward its legal expenses.

Local 1880, composed mainly of young welfare workers, has a tradition of political activism. Many members participated in the antiwar movement and in last spring's protests against high food prices. One union member pointed out that by supporting the PRDF, Local 1880 would help protect its own right to speak out.

The local also voted to buy \$30 worth of the PRDF Watergate button

designed by cartoonist Jules Feiffer.

In Los Angeles, Local 1061 of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) invited a PRDF speaker to address its executive board meeting. Rhea Butler, president of the union, became a sponsor of the suit.

Most members of Local 1061 are Black women who work in Veterans Administration hospitals. During the discussion on the PRDF, one member compared government harassment of federally employed SWP members to similar victimizations of politically active Local 1061 members.

At the University of Texas in Austin, 100 students turned out for a recent PRDF forum. Texas humorist and civil libertarian John Henry Faulk addressed the meeting and called the socialist suit "even more important than Watergate itself. If the SWP and YSA don't win an injunction, no one in the U. S. will have their rights secure."

Faulk remarked that "there are enough charges in the SWP suit to keep the government lawyers busy for 15 years."

To contribute to the PRDF, or to arrange for a PRDF speaker, send in the coupon.



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

() Please send me more information on this suit.

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

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Gary to Little Rock: the outlook for Black liberation



Gary convention, 1972

Militant/B. R. Washington

By BAXTER SMITH

The size and militancy of the Gary, Ind., Black Political Convention inspired many people with the hope that independent Black political action was in the offing. Some 8,000 Blacks attended that momentous gathering two years ago.

A second National Black Political Convention will be held March 14-17 in Little Rock, Ark. This convention provides an opportunity to reexamine the situation facing Blacks and to assess what has happened since Gary.

The significance of Gary can be seen in several ways.

Blacks of all political persuasions met in an effort to chisel out a strategy for Black liberation.

The mood of participants was militant. Keynote speeches were militant too, tongue-lashing the two-party system and the white power structure. Many of the resolutions demanded Black control of the institutions in the Black community.

Jesse Jackson, in one of the most applauded speeches, threatened the capitalist rulers with the formation of a Black political party. He declared, "We did not gather our tribes from all over this country to come to Gary and sell out to either political party."

Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, one of the convention coconvenors, spoke along similar lines: "We are through believing. We are through hoping. We are through trusting in the two major white American political parties. Hereafter we shall rely on the power of our own Black unity. . . ."

Despite these remarks, however, despite this militant rhetoric, which touched off corridor discussion of a Black party, no serious discussion of a Black party was allowed on the convention floor. No critical analysis of the Republican and Democratic parties was made and no steps were taken toward creation of a separate, independent Black party.

Instead, the National Black Assembly (NBA) was created. The Black Assembly—spearheaded by the Pan Africanist Congress of African People, led by Imamu Baraka—is composed of 427 people, 10 percent of the number of delegates to the convention. It is the ongoing body designed to carry out the work of the convention. Baraka is its secretary-general; Congressman Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) is its president, and Hatcher is chairman of its political council.

In its two years of existence, the Black Assembly has not charted a course independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Instead the leadership of the assembly has oriented toward trying to win concessions for Black people through the two-party system.

The Black Agenda

A Black Agenda, composed of convention resolutions and calling for an "independent Black political movement," was drawn up at the Gary convention. Defined as "an initial statement of goals and directions for our own generation," the Black Agenda is a radical document that outlined solutions to many of the problems facing Blacks.

The Agenda and the resolutions in it could have served as the basis of a program for a Black party. But instead it was taken to the 1972 Democratic Party convention as a bargaining tool with Democratic politicians for the Black vote.

So today Blacks are still without a party that represents their interests at election time and that organizes their struggle on a day-to-day basis.

What does this continued dependence of Blacks on the Democratic Party mean in terms of the conditions Blacks face today?

It means conditions have worsened.

The latest Census Bureau report states that the proportion of Black families classified as poverty stricken increased from 1971 to 1972 in relation to the total number of families so classified. The report defines poverty as an annual income less than \$4,275 for a non-farm family of four.

This grim economic picture is compounded by the effect of rocketing inflation.

Consumer prices rose in 1973 at a yearly rate higher than any other since 1947. Food and household commodities rose the highest. A rise in the cost of these items affects Blacks more than whites, since more of the Black income will now be spent for food and other basic items necessary for survival.

While the price of food and other basics is rising, so is unemployment, especially now with the energy crisis.

The jobless rate for Blacks has always been higher than that for whites. According to Labor Department statistics, the December unemployment figure for Blacks, 8.7 percent, was almost twice that for whites. Black veterans and teenagers were

hardest hit; unofficial Black teenage unemployment climbed to 45 percent.

The meager social welfare programs initiated as a result of the independent struggles carried out by Blacks in the 1960s are being slashed. In September, Nixon announced his decision to freeze all new federal housing allotments for low-income families, claiming these allotments were "wasteful" of tax dollars.

And in his newest budget Nixon proposes to scrap even more educational and welfare gains.

The record of the Black Democrats

The flaw of relying on the Democratic Party is clearly shown by the record of the Black Democrats.

These Democrats have no alternative to Nixon's program for inflation or the energy crisis. They have no answer to the problems of unemployment, housing, and inadequate schools that shriek out for solutions.

The Black Democrats, enslaved to a party controlled by the super-rich, are no more able to deal with these issues than their white fellow party members.

Following Gary, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) jettisoned the Black Agenda and drew up a less militant Black "Bill of Rights" for the Democratic Party convention. Needless to say, these misleaders got nothing in return for their pleas from the white Democratic leaders.

The Black Democrats have also failed, time and again, to take any meaningful action in support of the struggles of Blacks.

When 21 Black sailors on the *Kitty Hawk* were framed on racist charges last year, for example, they sent appeals for help to the CBC, but the Caucus made no response.

When two Black students were gunned down Nov. 16, 1972, at Southern University in Baton Rouge during a two-month struggle to change conditions at the school, the CBC declined to help organize protest.

Most recently, the CBC has failed to take any action on behalf of Blacks in the face of the Watergate disclosures, which showed that the Black liberation struggle has been a central target of government Watergating.

In an article printed in the October 1972 *Black World* Baraka laid bare the villainous role of the Black Democrats in regard to the Gary convention. He wrote: "The Congressional Caucus, as a body, copped out on the convention completely from the very inception. . . ."

"The main movers in the Caucus, who are Louis Stokes and Bill Clay, never felt comfortable with the idea of the convention, for reasons I have already tried to mention. And they tried, I am now convinced, on several occasions, and in several ways, to sabotage it."

Baraka's strategy

Despite all this, Baraka and the leadership of the Black Assembly continue to pursue the Democratic Party politicians. The most recent example of this was a meeting held Jan. 10 where a dozen or so prominent Blacks, including Baraka, Hatcher, Louis Stokes, Jesse Jackson, Walter Fauntroy, and others, met with Robert Strauss, the Democratic Party national chairman, to complain that the Democratic Party is "falling behind" on its commitment to Blacks and to demand seats on various national committees of the party.

The *Washington Post* newsman covering this meeting reported hearing "raised voices" inside, and Hatcher conceded the discussion was somewhat heated.

The question then arises: Why doesn't Baraka realize the futility of courting the Black Democrats



Militant/John Hawkins

BARAKA: 'We must work through the American system'



Congressional Black Caucus retreated from Black Agenda. It prefers closed door meetings with white party leaders rather than organizing Blacks.

and chart a course toward independence?

In the January-February issue of *Black New-Ark*, Baraka condemns the role of the Democratic Party. He writes: "The Democratic party buys and sells negroes to stand in front of cameras, to shake hands and grin, to be its standard bearers, yet it is literally the co-partner of the *white capitalist dictatorship* in America as well as the Republican." (Emphasis in the original)

But Baraka's conclusion is that it is nevertheless necessary to work in, around, and through the Democratic Party to achieve Black liberation. Thus, in the *Black World* article he writes: "While a Black political party was a definite need, what was at this time more clearly possible to create was a political structure which could function much like a political party without driving away too many people by calling it a Black political party and forcing them to get out because they would say it was 'premature,' when what they meant is that it would keep them from functioning in the Democratic and Republican parties."

So Baraka's strategy is to criticize the Black Democrats and Republicans but not rebuff them entirely by building a real alternative to the two capitalist parties. This strategy has meant retreating from the demands outlined in the Black Agenda and attempting to trick Blacks into thinking that some form of independent structure can be built through the Democratic Party.

Baraka rationalizes his opposition to the formation of a Black party on the basis that he is really for such a party, but now is not the time to build it. In the Dec. 26 *Black News* he makes his theory crystal clear:

"We must work through the American system now, to build the strength of the organized masses.

"If at times we seem like reformists it is only because reform is one fruit of the struggle to make revolution. But we must guide our people through the illusions of american democracy until they are faced with the ultimate stone wall we already know exists."

Baraka says we must wait until we strike the "stone wall" before we take the path of independent political action. But we have already struck the wall, and more and more Blacks are looking for political alternatives, for a way out.

The task at Little Rock

Instead of trying to organize Black Democrats, the Black Assembly should take the Black Agenda and a perspective of independent political action to the Black masses.

Instead of muzzling those who favor a Black party, the Black Assembly should be educating people about the true nature of the Democratic Party.

The Black Assembly will have to recognize the error of asking Blacks to support a party controlled by the rich—the very people who benefit from and continue the oppression of Blacks.

It should realize that there is nothing wrong with urging Black Democrats to support a particular struggle of the Black community. But this is different from seeking unity when support to the Democratic Party is a condition of that unity.

We must remember that the gains Blacks have won were made only when the masses engaged in independent struggle.

With all this in mind, looking forward to Little Rock, it is useful to recall what Baraka himself told the recent convention of the New Jersey Black Assembly: "You only get what you're willing to struggle for. You don't get any more than you're willing to struggle for. And you can tell how hard the struggle has been fought—if you don't see no great progress, there hasn't been no great struggle."

Haitians demand asylum in U.S.

By MIGUEL PENDAS

NEW YORK—About 200 people joined a Feb. 14 picket line outside U.S. State Department offices here to protest government refusal to grant asylum to Haitian refugees. The spirited action drew sympathetic responses from many passers-by on the crowded noontime sidewalks of Fifth Avenue.

The Ad Hoc Committee for the Defense of the Haitian Refugees called the picket line as part of a campaign to reverse a government decision to deport more than 400 Haitians who have fled to Miami in an attempt to escape the terror of the Duvalier regime's secret police.

More than 100 of the refugees are now being held in jail. If deported, they face arrest, torture, and death.

Some of the demonstrators were Haitians already living in the U.S. There was a delegation from Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers union and from the Joint Board of Fur, Leather and Machine Workers. Also joining in the action were the Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Among the demonstrators was one of the refugees who was rescued after spending nine days at sea in a sailboat. She told *The Militant* how she became a refugee. She lived with her parents, who rented to a member of the *tontons macoutes*, one of Duvalier's police terror units. The *tonton macoute* was five months behind in rent, but when asked to pay up he had the whole family arrested instead.

The daughter was not at home when the arrest occurred, but hearing about it from friends, she thought it best not to return home and fled the country. Upon landing in the U.S. she was charged with "illegal entry."

One of the chants of the demonstrators, "Asylum for Cubans—Why Not For Haitians?" pointed to the hypocrisy of the government in welcoming anti-Castro Cubans by the hundreds of thousands but keeping out the Haitians.

A demonstration organizer told reporters that the excuse offered by the U.S. for not granting asylum is that the regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier is allegedly less repressive than that of his father "Papa Doc," who died a few years ago. But, he explained, only the head of the government has changed; the regime and its apparatus of terrorism remain the same.

A statement by New York Socialist Workers Party candidates demanding asylum for the exiles was distributed in Creole and English. It said, in part, "We see the State Department's actions as an attack not only on the rights of the individuals directly involved, but an attempt by the government to suppress political activity with which it disagrees. It is therefore an attack upon all

who are struggling for social change, and we believe that all should join in the fight to reverse this policy."

The SWP candidates called for an international campaign of solidarity with the Haitian exiles.

By CATHERINE SISKRON

SAN FRANCISCO—On Feb. 14 the Berkeley and San Francisco chapters of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) organized a picket line at the Federal Building here. About 50 people picketed and chanted slogans such as, "Stop the Deportations!" and "Asylum or Death."

James Herman, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 34, denounced the deportations and announced his support of the Haitian refugees: "The Ad-Hoc Committee for the Defense of the Haitian Refugees deserves full and total support in their struggle to halt deportations of over 400 Haitian refugees from south Florida and Texas back to Haiti. . . . I support their efforts to remain in this country and I pledge to work in their behalf until their security is achieved."

Marie-Jeanne, a Haitian national recently returned from Haiti, called upon the American people in the name of the Haitian community: "We the Haitian people appeal to the American people to come to the defense of over 400 of my Haitian brothers and sisters who are being held in captivity in Florida and Texas. I appeal to your senses of concern and awareness, so that you can bring forth enough public pressure to win this victory from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Services Department."



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Haitians picket State Dep't offices in New York, Feb. 14

USLA to tour Swedish official

By NORMAN OLIVER

Known in Swedish diplomatic circles as the "Black Carnation," Harald Edelstam played an important role in aiding victims of the right-wing junta's terror in Chile. Edelstam was then the Swedish ambassador to Chile. Beginning March 5, Edelstam will be on a two-month speaking tour sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the committee has announced.

Edelstam was appointed ambassador to Chile in September 1972. He was expelled from the country Dec. 4, 1973, for his defense of victims of the junta's repression. Under the Allende regime, Chile granted political asylum to Latin American activists who faced imprisonment or death under their own repressive regimes.

Since the coup, the junta has directed much of its terror against these refugees. Edelstam was in the forefront of diplomats in Chile seeking to help refugees. Among the many he aided was Hugo Blanco, well-known Peruvian peasant leader, who Edelstam helped to flee the country.

The event that precipitated Edelstam's expulsion from Chile was his defense of Mirtha Fernandez Pucurull (also known as Consuelo Alonso Ferreira). She is the widow of a slain Tupamaro leader. Fernandez was under the protection of the Swedish embassy. When she began to hemorrhage from the cancer she suffers from, Edelstam requested and got permission from the junta to take

her to a clinic in Santiago.

After her operation, a group of armed police and soldiers broke into the clinic and attempted to take Fernandez into custody. Edelstam, who had escorted Fernandez to the clinic, protested this breach of safe-conduct. He was then beaten by the police and soldiers. French Ambassador Pierre de Menthon, a West German diplomat, and four of Edelstam's aides were also attacked. The soldiers stopped only when ordered to by their colonel.

As the result of international protest, Fernandez was released and allowed to go to Sweden.

Edelstam was declared persona non grata in Chile and ordered to leave the country. The Chilean undersecretary of foreign affairs, Enrique Carvallo, charged Edelstam with exceeding his diplomatic duties and interfering in Chile's internal affairs.

Edelstam has also been credited with single-handedly preventing troops from storming the Cuban embassy and for providing protection for the 20 Chilean, Brazilian, and other refugees who had sought asylum there.

When the members of the Cuban mission left the country after the coup, Edelstam began sleeping in the Cuban embassy to protect the refugees there.

The former ambassador hopes to build international support for Chilean refugees and political prisoners through his tour of the U.S.

For more information of the tour contact: USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room. 703, New York, N.Y. 10010. The telephone number is (212) 691-2880.

Capitalist hypocrisy

Commenting on the expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger said, "The United States has always looked with sympathy, with great appreciation, at the expression of freedom of thought in all societies. We have regretted some of the manifestations that interrupt this."

The United States government—the supplier of arms to Thieu's corrupt police state in South Vietnam, the organizer of international police torture training schools, with 40,000 troops in South Korea and its sunny relationship with every reactionary dictator from Franco in Spain to Marcos in the Philippines—who could doubt its "sympathy," its "great appreciation for freedom of thought?" Who, indeed?

And, since Solzhenitsyn hasn't written anything against the U.S. government yet, Kissinger was happy to offer him asylum in the U.S., assuring the world that the writer would "certainly be welcome."

Kissinger's protestations in behalf of freedom might be a little more convincing if he were to speak out on the right of victims of the Chilean junta to asylum in the U.S. Thousands of Chileans, fleeing the generals' bloody persecution, are still trying to find a country that will take them in. But Kissinger's "sympathy" is inoperative in their case.

And what about the 400 Haitian refugees the Immigration Department is trying to send back to torture and death in Haiti?

Kissinger has a special opportunity to prove his "great appreciation" for freedom in these cases since the State Department he heads participates in setting immigration policy.

But Kissinger's cant about freedom is intended solely for propaganda purposes. U.S. imperialism justly deserves its reputation as the greatest enemy of freedom and democracy around the world.

Through their persecution and expulsion of Solzhenitsyn, the Stalinist bureaucrats in the USSR, who claim to represent socialism but in reality serve only their own narrow interests, have once again given the enemies of socialism a weapon. Imperialist spokesmen like Kissinger are only too happy to seize on the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn to further their argument about the supposed democratic virtues of capitalism.

Both the apologists for capitalism and the defenders of the Soviet bureaucracy maintain that the current regime in the USSR is the legitimate continuation of Leninism—the Stalinists in order to justify their rule, and the capitalists in order to discredit all of Marxism.

In fact, however, genuine workers democracy in the Soviet Union will only be achieved by a political revolution, which will occur when the Soviet workers rise up and throw out the privileged bureaucratic overlords, while maintaining and extending the socialist economic forms established by the revolution of 1917. Such a political revolution would guarantee democratic rights such as freedom of speech and self-determination for the oppressed nationalities.

That is the goal of true Leninists.

More bull from Butz

If you make a lie big enough and tell it often enough, the Nixon administration evidently assumes, somehow you can get people to believe it. Now Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz is insisting that consumers can afford to pay more for food. According to Butz, American workers have enough money to purchase whatever we want.

This is the same Earl Butz who says that if women did not have "such a low level of economic intelligence" they would know "you can't get more by paying less."

Working people have enough "economic intelligence" to know we are paying *more* and getting *less*—and government statistics prove it. Contrary to Butz's claim last year that "it is consumer demand which pushes beef prices upward," the Agriculture Department reports that per capita food consumption in the U.S. has *gone down*—red meat consumption by 6 percent.

Butz's arrogant lies are also contradicted by a report from a Senate committee on nutrition. "Americans are eating less, and less well nutritionally," said the preface to the report. The committee found that shoplifting and human consumption of cat and dog food have increased, and that medical experts believe there is more hunger in the country today.

All of Butz's lies will not fill these empty stomachs. Nor will they allay the rising anger of the victims of agribusiness profiteering.

Whose tendentious diatribe?

My original intent was to disregard and ignore much of what I read in your article in the Nov. 9 issue of *The Militant* on the Palestinian situation as a tendentious diatribe.

It was with a broad brush that Mr. Rothschild sought the culpability of the perpetrators of violence in Israel but no mention or comment on the counter-measures—the terrorism of the Fedayeen; the PLO; the constant incitement and exhortations by Yassir Arafat and George Habash; the attacks on Kibbutzim, school buses, unarmed Israelis, Jews and Arabs alike, by these villainous hooligans. The civilized peoples will not condone such fanatical, monstrous madmen.

The Arabs in the Middle East are easily aroused by propaganda appeals to ignorance and superstition; in essence they are as inert as 1,000 years ago. And it is because the overlords of Islam see this fact so clearly that they fight so bitterly any alliance of Palestinians and Jews.

Harry Bloom
Downey, Calif.

Back to Russia?

The "Let's Hear It" column in our local newspaper, the *Akron Beacon-Journal*, recently asked readers:

"Should the FBI have kept a file on the 16-year-old high school girl who wrote a letter to the Socialist Workers Party?"

Only 25 percent said "Yes." Their comments ranged from "This girl should be deported to Russia" (!) to "Age should be no barrier" to "They should also check the school that required the letter."

Of the 75 percent who said "No," there were comments like "Students need to learn the pros and cons," "As an American she is free to write to anyone she pleases," and "It's just another indication of a police state."

S.M.
Akron, Ohio

Sold like wildfire

Last week I took a sales quota for eight *Militants* and have already sold them. Your Feb. 15 issue sold like wildfire. If I keep this up and can continue to sell my bundle I will in a couple of weeks raise it. Good luck on your sales campaign.

John Bowles
Baltimore, Md.

Militant movie reviews

A question is implicitly raised by one review after the next in the pages of *The Militant*: Should *The Militant* review books and movies at all?

For it seems you have only one thing to say about most of them and it is something we already know: they weren't written by, published by, acted in, or directed by revolutionary socialists.

Case in point: The Feb. 22 *Militant* reviews three movies. The first two are on Latin America and Mirta Vidal concludes, "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."

Fine! The point has more than convincingly been made in your newspaper for the last three years.

The second review of the Feb. 22 *Militant* concerns *Serpico*, and its

point, which is sufficiently made in the headline, is "The Only Good Cop is No Cop."

"Please! That's hardly news to a movement that has been fighting cops in demonstration after demonstration for a decade, not to speak of the police harassment of radicals you have so thoroughly exposed in relation to *Watergate*."

I think most of us know when we're going to the movies we're not going to get the revolutionary solution. On this score our only hope is that someone is selling *Militants* on the movie lines.

We go to most movies (and we read most fiction) to be entertained—by the skills of the authors, directors, and actors. And that should be the concern of reviewers.

E.C.
New York, N.Y.

Wants moderation

When I read the "In Brief" section of your Jan. 25 edition, I was so disgusted that I had to say something.

You referred to the Jewish Defense League (JDL) as "a gang of racist thugs." Now, granted, it's your newspaper, and you can say whatever you like. But comments like the one mentioned above are so stupid and so ridiculous that I doubt that anyone who read the article would believe such garbage.

You need not get so carried away with people and groups that annoy you. Try a little moderation next time. "Look before you leap."

Q.Z.
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

San Quentin Six

Concerning the article in the Feb. 8 issue of *The Militant* about Howard Moore's speech at the San Francisco Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 25 about the San Quentin Six.

I think *The Militant*, or its correspondent Michael Schreiber, committed (unintentionally, I'm sure) an injustice against the other speaker at that same forum, Doree Friedman.

Ms. Friedman, a leading activist of the San Quentin Six Defense Committee, gave one of the most effective and well-prepared speeches heard at the S.F. Militant Labor Forum recently. In it she outlined the life stories of the six defendants in a way that showed, effectively and concretely, how the prison system is used as a method of class and national oppression in America, and how that system attempts to degrade and destroy those inmates who dare to assert their human rights and dignity.

She also outlined the past and future activities of the San Quentin Six Defense Committee.

Richard Wadsworth
Woodacre, Calif.

Nationalize the railroads

Tricky Nixon has come up with another pork barrel scheme of \$18-billion for transportation, to be administered by bankrupt politicians.

Transportation for the people is vitally needed, but it can never be solved by the capitalist government. The profit system operates on the basis of "What's in it for me?" which is readily demonstrated by crooked politicians who steal any project dry. The \$18-billion transportation funding will give each elected politician an opportunity to fatten his own nest,



and won't produce any effective results.

The railroads must be, and should have been, nationalized. That goes for the oil industries too.

Let the fat cats be relegated to some lush tropical island, then let us working people nationalize the basic industries and get to work.

Otto Thomas

New Hyde Park, N.Y.

Helping out a brother

The enclosed dollar is for a three-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for my brother. He reads the *Guardian* and is in dire need of principled politics. My discussions with him are effective, but too infrequent to do enough good.

A reader

Bloomington, Ind.

15 months waiting trial

I am once again writing you for a complimentary subscription to *The Militant* paper, for I am still incarcerated here. I have been here now 15 months and am still awaiting trial. I am on the trial calendar, but at the very bottom of the list still.

I enjoy reading the paper for many different reasons. I also at this time would like to thank our readers who contribute to the prisoners fund, and make possible the sending of this informative paper.

A prisoner

New York

Link to 'outside world'

When I complained to one of my fellow inmates about the capitalistic rags of newspapers that are supplied to us by the prison, he showed me his collection of *Militant* issues. He has been receiving them for over a year. I am now a regular subscriber myself, and I consider it to be the most relevant and worthwhile newspaper I have ever read. It is my most reliable link to the "outside world."

A prisoner

Pennsylvania

It's the real thing

There is just no two ways . . . *The Militant's* reporting and interpretation just really reflect events and happenings of our day. It makes sense and harmonizes with the living experience.

A proliferation of the press in views, interest, cultural, and attitudinal values would be a wonderful thing in America these days. But your news features explain a bit of that matter, too. We look forward to receiving each issue. Right on!

Once in a while, when you see or hear the real thing, one must stand to acknowledge it.

B.K.

Washington, D.C.

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.

Truckers strike and 'violence'

The following is a guest column written by Herman Kirsch, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio.

The federal and state governments tried to isolate striking truck drivers by launching a "law and order" campaign and smearing the strikers as "violent." The capitalist propaganda mills did their part with enthusiasm. Newscasters, editorial writers, and television announcers worked overtime to build up an impression of "highway violence." Every truck accident was portrayed as the work of a rifle-toting or rock-throwing striker.

Leaders of the Council of Independent Truckers (CIT) in Ohio took every precaution to avoid violence, including the use of safety patrols and even the offer to drive vehicles carrying essential commodities. Nevertheless, Ohio Governor John Gilligan called out the National Guard, as did the governors of seven other states.

George Rynn, president of the CIT, asked for the removal of the National Guard. "We don't want another Kent State," he declared. Rynn has a good memory.

In May 1970 Ohio Governor James Rhodes, running for reelection on a "law and order" platform, sent the National Guard onto the Kent State campus with orders to crack down on students demonstrating against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. Rhodes's demagoguery set the stage for the cold-blooded killing of four students when the Guard opened fire the next day.

Then as now the real victims of violence are those who protest the crimes of the government and big business. During the recent strike the CIT's office in Barberton, Ohio, was the target of repeated telephone threats, including threats on Rynn's life.

One night an anonymous phone caller warned that a Teamster goon squad was being sent from Pittsburgh to deal with the CIT. The Teamsters union bureaucrats were among the most vicious opponents

of the truck shutdown.

President Nixon slandered the striking drivers as "desperadoes." This seemed more than a little ironic in Cleveland, where Hell's Angels gang members, some of them armed, were hired as guards for scab trucks. It was not reported whether this idea was suggested by the Teamsters leaders, who also hired Hell's Angels as thugs to attack striking farm workers in California last summer.

One of the most vituperative antistrike statements was issued by Peter Brennan, Nixon's secretary of labor. As a former union bureaucrat, Brennan presumably was given this assignment in order to show that workers opposed the strike.

"This needless trucking halt, brought about by a few dissident owner-operators, is having a serious adverse effect on the lives of a growing number of working people and the nation's economy," Brennan said.

The truth is that the truckers stoppage won the sympathy of many workers, including even those laid off as plants closed for lack of materials. One laid-off meatcutter in Idaho was asked his opinion of the strike as he walked out of the plant. "I blame the oil companies and Nixon," he commented, "not the truckers."

On a radio call-in program in Cleveland a Teamsters union member took exception to the antistrike attitude of the station broadcaster. "I'm in sympathy with what they [the CIT] are doing," the Teamster said. "The working man pays for it all. I'm rolling only under threat of losing my job. The union will not defend you."

These expressions of solidarity would undoubtedly be seconded by other rank-and-file Teamsters, machinists, oil workers, auto workers, longshoremen, and many more of the working people who make up the majority of this country. But their union leaders, sad to say, did not have one word of support for the truckers.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



'Lucia' is finally here

In 1969 I was part of a Young Socialist Alliance delegation that spent five weeks in Cuba to participate in the tenth anniversary celebration of the Cuban revolution. A special treat on our tour was seeing the movie *Lucia*, which had just been released. I wrote a review of the movie for the *Young Socialist*, the YSA's magazine. That review is now part of the pamphlet *Women and the Cuban Revolution* (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 35 cents.)

Lucia was banned in the U.S. for several years. In March 1972 its U.S. premiere at the New York Festival of Cuban Films was cut short when the Treasury Department closed the festival for alleged violations of the "Trading with the Enemy Act."

But *Lucia* is finally here. It is scheduled to open on March 8, International Women's Day, in New York City. It is available through the Tricontinental Film Center, 244 West 27th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10001. Telephone: 212-989-3330.

Last week I attended a press screening of the film and it's terrific, even better than I remembered.

The film, directed by Humberto Solas, is divided into three sequences. The episodes depict the evolution of Cuban society through the evolution of Cuban women. It's the only film I know that views a historical struggle for national liberation in terms of the role of women.

The first Lucia lives in 1895 during one of the insurrections by Cuban nationalists against the Spanish empire. The setting for the second episode is 1933 during the overthrow of Gerardo Machado, one of a long line of Cuban dictators. The last sequence, by far the most lively and inspiring, takes place after the 1959 revolution.

Several themes thread their way through the film: love, betrayal, and nationalism. These themes are perhaps clearest in the first sequence. Lucia of 1895, doomed to spinsterhood by the decimation of the male population in the war, falls in love with a

Spanish stranger. The Spaniard uses her to lead the Spanish troops to the revolutionaries' hideout in the mountains. The Cuban rebel army is massacred, Lucia's brother among them. Lucia is driven mad.

The modern revolutionary episode is the best. It's lively, funny, and wallops you with its point, while "Guantanamo" plays in the background.

The new Lucia marries a young worker, Tomás, accurately described by a leader of the town's Communist Party as "an ass." His obsessive jealousy leads him to lock Lucia in the house, refusing her permission to work or even visit her mother.

"And what about the revolution?" asks one of the women leaders who urges Lucia to return to work in the fields. "Tomás says *he* is the revolution," laments Lucia.

"Lucia can't read or write. She's the victim of Yankee imperialism," is the argument used to convince Tomás to allow a young teacher, part of the literacy campaign, to stay in his home.

Mistreated, bored, and backed up by the teacher, Lucia finally leaves Tomás and returns to work. In her newly learned handwriting she scribbles a note: "I'm leaving. I'm not a slave."

The conflict between Tomás and Lucia is never resolved. Torn between their love for each other

and the clash of new and old ideas, they are still battling it out as the movie ends.

The best scene in the last episode has Tomás chasing Lucia to take her back home from the fields, and the women of the town are chasing Tomás to hold him back. The women outnumber and overpower him.



LUCIA



Theology dep't—The Archbishop of Canterbury decried the rash of claimed cases of possession by the devil stimulated by the film *The Exorcist*. "There are genuine exorcisms," he said. "But there is also a lot of phony superstition around." And, he might have added, it's the phony superstition that gives the scientific kind a bad name.

Officers' mess they call it?—The Pentagon's private dining room for top brass features a \$2.10 blue-plate special twice daily. Lobster for lunch, steak for dinner.

Consistent, anyway—Mrs. Jaquie Davidson, president of HOW (Happiness of Women, Inc.) opposes the Equal Rights Amendment, thinks feminism is defiling the word housewife, and feels the energy crisis "may be a good experience in a way." And

further, "We may just give up our heated swimming pool."

Sounds reasonable—Barry Goldwater warned the steel industry it faces a similar attack as oil. "I would predict," he advised, "that very shortly you gentlemen may find yourselves on the witness stand accused of conspiring to cause a steel shortage, bringing about inflation and causing unemployment. You can expect to be accused of reaping windfall profits at the expense of helpless consumers and taxpayers."

Where there's smokers . . .—Of the 11 million building fires in 1972, 10 percent were caused by smokers, according to the Nat'l Fire Prevention Ass'n. Also, there were 69,000 fires caused by children. Children, the association notes, are more likely to find matches in homes where people smoke.

Fast change artists—Dollar changing machines at the new Dallas airport return 95 cents. The other nickel? "Service."

Plump power next—The director of a New York-based executive employment agency said a survey showed that fat executives get paid substantially less than lean ones. The overweight, he said, "have become America's largest, least protected minority."

Good deeds dep't—During the past decade, the Asthmatic Children's Foundation raised \$9.9-million. Of this amount, \$7.4-million—75 percent—went to a Chicago ad agency for solicitation fees and expenses. The director of the foundation said he saw nothing out of line about this. He draws \$25,000 per annum.



'Our dollars are buying more—The country is in great shape—He's innocent—And this is a lovely steak dinner.'

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Demand Nixon open the doors

An estimated 30,000 *gusanos* have begun to crawl into the United States from Spain. *Gusano* (worm) is the name given by Cuban revolutionaries to those who have turned against the revolution and deserted to search for greener pastures.

The Nixon administration has dispensed with immigration restrictions that had kept the exiles temporarily hung up in the land ruled by Franco.

They will be joining over three-quarters of a million *gusanos* who have made their way to the U.S. over the past 15 years. A special category under the immigration laws, granting asylum to political "refugees," has made it possible for them to enter the United States over and above the immigration quotas. *Gusanos* even enjoy a privileged category of welfare benefits created especially for them.

Meanwhile, other Latin Americans who try to come here in an attempt to escape the poverty caused by *yanqui* imperialist domination of their countries are kept out by the quotas. Most who make it here end up being exploited and humiliated as "illegal aliens." In the last year alone, hundreds of thousands of undocumented *raza* workers, mostly Mexicans, were deported.

But even the laws that allow special dispensations for political "refugees" are selectively enforced, with

asylum being denied to most genuine victims of repression.

Take the examples of Haiti and Chile. One would be hard pressed to find two more brutal, repressive regimes than those of "dictator for life" Jean-Claude Duvalier ("Baby Doc") and the Chilean military junta headed by Pinochet.

In the past 13 months some 400 refugees have come here from Haiti, fleeing Duvalier's terror. U.S. immigration authorities responded by jailing 100 and they are trying to deport the rest.

In Chile, thousands took refuge in foreign embassies when the military dictatorship began its mass executions. Many were already exiles who had found asylum under Allende from other Latin American dictatorships. Countries such as Sweden, Mexico, Canada, France, East Germany, and Argentina have granted asylum to a few of the exiles. Cuba has accepted refugees without restriction. But the United States still refuses to open its doors.

In spite of the grave threat to the lives of these *compañeros*, the Soviet Union has only accepted six persons so far, all of whom are married to Soviet citizens.

According to the Jan. 5 *Washington Post*, "Moscow's lack of enthusiasm for the non-Chilean refugees is understandable, diplomatic sources said,

since many of them are Trotskyists or other unorthodox leftists who have been critical of the Soviet Union."

The *Post* went on to say that "Moscow's failure to welcome these refugees, many of them in desperate situations, has caused some bitterness among Latin American leftists."

The response of the Maoist regime in Peking has also been outrageous. The Mao regime has gone so far as to extend diplomatic recognition to the military dictatorship and has closed the doors of its embassy in Santiago to the refugees, thereby taking a more reactionary stance than many capitalist countries.

The United States thus far has admitted only one family of refugees.

We can do a great service to the *compañeros* who are being hunted down by the Chilean generals. We can join with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and other groups in demanding that the U.S. open its doors to the victims of the right-wing terror.

The spirit of international solidarity among *la raza* demands that these victims of capitalist terror be helped, regardless of the political tendency to which they belong.

By Any Means Necessary

Black History Week

As I write this column, the forty-seventh annual commemoration of Black History Week draws to a close. Each year the observance follows the second Sunday in February and pays tribute to the many Black figures and struggles that white textbooks seem to forget.

The month of February is rich in Black history. It marks the birth of Langston Hughes, Benjamin Banneker, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, and W. E. B. DuBois; the death of Malcolm X; the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment; and the anniversary of the first Pan-African Congress.

Feb. 1 was the fourteenth anniversary of the first sit-in in Greensboro, N. C.

The sit-ins, the start of the civil rights movement that toppled Jim Crow, began when four Black students at predominantly Black North Carolina A&T College grew tired of segregated lunch counters at the local Woolworth store and protested. They walked in and plunked down at the "whites only" food bar. They were refused service.

In following days they returned in growing numbers. In a week's time, the students forced the

closing of Woolworth's and the downtown Kress store also.

News of the protest touched off other sit-ins. Within two weeks, protests had spread to lunch counters in cities in Florida, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Virginia. North Carolina lunch bars were peppered and Black students took the lead.

The Militant of Feb. 22, 1960 termed it "the most important thing now happening in the United States." On April 11, 1960, *The Militant* wrote:

"The Negro students in the South have poured out of the class rooms to join the march of world history. They have struck with such power at the decaying structure of white-supremacist rule that it will never recover from it. Their magnificent initiative, courage, discipline and inventiveness have inspired a broad movement of solidarity among the masses of students in the North."

But while the sit-ins were peaceful, white violence raged. Frenzied mobs of whites attacked participants. The Ku Klux Klan rode roughshod. Cops blustered. Arrests mounted. Bombings occurred. Lynchings spread.

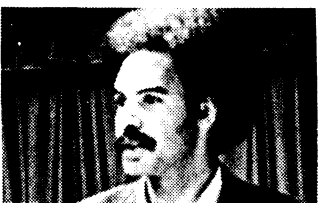
The NAACP launched a nationwide boycott of

Woolworth, Kress, Kresge, and Grant stores. Hundreds of activists went South. Thousands picketed in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Cleveland. Soon, tens of thousands of civil rights supporters demonstrated in behalf of the Southern crusaders.

"Whites only" signs began to fall. And after years of battles, Jim Crow segregation was knocked down.

The sit-in pioneers thus wrote a whole new chapter in Black history. But the full story, like the others, is never told in white textbooks. Malcolm X, who often spoke on Black history, put it this way:

"When we send our children to school in this country they learn nothing about us other than that we used to be cotton-pickers. Every little child going to school thinks his father was a cotton-picker. Why, your grandfather was Nat Turner; your grandfather was Toussaint L'Ouverture; your grandfather was Hannibal. Your grandfather was some of the greatest black people who walked on this earth. . . . But the textbooks tell our children nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans. . . ."



Baxter Smith

NYC appeals decision on new Dist. 1 election

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

The city of New York has decided to appeal the recent federal court ruling that ousted a racist school board in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

Judge Charles Stewart's Dec. 26 decision had ordered a new election in School District 1, ruling that the May 1, 1973, school board election had been conducted in a racially discriminatory manner against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters, whose children make up 93 percent of the school population.

The ousted board, which was predominantly white and which had been endorsed by the reactionary leadership of New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT), had attempted during

the city government was never strained. Shanker made no demands on the city for funds to protect teachers' jobs, and they made no demands on him.

Instead, the "solution" to the budget impasse was to force District 1 and other districts to use much-needed special education funds earmarked for such programs as bilingual education, Black studies programs, and reading and math labs, to retain teachers.

While this arrangement is not as much of a hardship on schools as the original plan, it does deplete the special education funds, and it denies parents their right to select the kinds of programs to be implemented and the personnel to staff them.

It has also resulted in tremendous



District 1 parents point out that city has funds for court appeal, but not for schools

its few months in office to force its racist rule on the oppressed communities.

Community activists greeted the city's decision to appeal the ruling with a demonstration. On Feb. 14 an emergency picket line was held outside the headquarters of the city's central board of education. The picketers were protesting the city's willingness to spend thousands of dollars on an appeal in order to deny the Lower East Side community the right to elect a school board—in the face of a recent severe cutback in funds for education in the district because of a supposed "lack of city resources."

The board of education had originally threatened a million-dollar cut in the District 1 budget, which would have resulted in drastic cuts of teachers and the elimination of key bilingual staff positions and district office personnel.

Faced with planned demonstrations by parents and community activists and a possible school boycott, the "city fathers" rethought their original plan and bargained with the federal government for additional funds that will temporarily keep all the teachers employed.

Their rethinking was also influenced by growing militancy among younger teachers in the district, who were angered over the threatened loss of their jobs and UFT President Albert Shanker's do-nothing approach to protecting their jobs. Ignoring Shanker's admonition not to become involved in any activities with parents, teachers had met with parents to discuss possible joint actions against the proposed cutbacks. The UFT leadership was strongly opposed to any parent-teacher alliance.

Despite the fact that the city was responsible for the proposed cut of more than 100 teachers in District 1—and many more throughout the city—friendship between Albert Shanker and

disruptions in the schools. Many classes have greatly increased in size because the "borrowed" money provides for teachers to be paid, but its legal provisions removed many teachers from regular classroom teaching assignments to "special projects."

The solution reached by reactionary "educators" in the city government and UFT leaders is only temporary; the special funds will run out in June. But the misleaders of education do not care what happens to the lives of children or teachers in the future. They are only concerned with cooling off a potentially explosive situation.

Miriam Gonzalez, a leading Puerto Rican activist in District 1, expressed the sentiment of many parents, students, and activists in a statement to the press at the Feb. 14 picket line: "Chancellor Anker of the central board of education has appointed three men from his staff to serve as our 'school board' until a new election is held. Do they represent us? They have taken teachers out of our classrooms, cut our district office staff drastically, and refused to give us bilingual teachers we were promised. They say the city has no money to pay them."

But, Gonzalez explained, "The city is preparing to spend thousands of dollars to appeal the decision giving us a new election. The board of education was a defendant in that case. What right do they have to spend money denying us our rights while they tell us they have no money for education!"

In a statement distributed at the picket line, Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, said, "We protest this attempt to throw aside the desires of the District 1 parents. After months of racist rule, first by an illegal school board and now by trustees appointed by the city, the District 1 community wants the opportunity to elect a community school board that represents them."

Balto. teachers reject offer; strike continues

By MARK UGOLINI

BALTIMORE—An angry crowd of 3,000 Baltimore public school teachers, assembled in the downtown civic center, on Feb. 15 rejected the latest offer from city officials and Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel to end their two-week strike.

Karl Boone, president of the Public School Teachers Association (PSTA), was greeted with loud cheers and shouts of approval when he announced the negotiating team's recommendations to reject the offer, which fell far short of teachers' demands.

Reflecting the militancy of the teachers and the tone of the gathering, Boone told teachers, "I think it's time now, folks, to take off the gloves, because it's open war." The PSTA and the Baltimore Teachers unions are calling for intensified picketing and mass leafleting to gather further support for the strike.

The walkout began Feb. 4 after Baltimore Mayor Donald Schaefer refused to accept a proposal, worked out by arbitration, for a new contract to replace one that expired in July.

Teachers are demanding a 3 percent across-the-board wage increase retroactive to September and a package of wage and fringe benefits

totaling 11 percent for the next fiscal year. Having been denied pay increases for more than three years, Baltimore's 8,600 public school teachers are now the lowest-paid city employees.

In addition, the teachers' demands include a wide range of non-economic issues, including smaller class size, regulations restricting involuntary teacher transfers, and a provision that the school administration provide teachers with adequate supplies.

The city administration sees the strike as a threat to its attempts to drastically cut city funds to education and public services.

The strike has been gaining public support and has been effective in shutting down the city's 186,000-student school system. Because of the wide sympathy from parents for the teachers' demands and the effectiveness of the pickets, the city has failed in its attempts to use aides and substitutes to break the strike.

The teachers have been acting in defiance of a back-to-work injunction issued, the first day of the strike, as well as repeated threats of fines and arrests of strike leaders. No arrests have been made, however.

Active public support from parents

Continued on page 22

Phila. group demands child care at U of Penn

PHILADELPHIA—About 250 people gathered at the University of Pennsylvania Feb. 14 for a rally demanding child care.

Speakers included Betty Mintz from Local 590 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Terry Fortuna and other women from the West Philadelphia community; Elsa Green, coordinator of Women's Studies at the university; and Eileen Gersh, a university professor and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The rally was sponsored by the Child Care Coalition (CCC) and endorsed by the Philadelphia National Organization for Women and the West Philadelphia Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C's).

The rally was seen by the CCC as a first step in building support for child care at the university. A meeting on Feb. 28 will plan further action in the campaign.

Last September the university opened a Children's Center with places for 35 children between the ages of 3 and 5. There were more than one hundred applications. The 35 children enrolled were representative of all campus groups—administration, faculty, staff, and students—as well as families in the surrounding community. The

university provided rent-free space with utilities and paid for renovation and equipment. Fees were charged on a sliding scale from \$20 to \$40 a week.

It was immediately apparent that the one center was inadequate, even for 3 to 5 year olds. There are even more children under 3 for whom there is still no child-care facility at all. There is also need for facilities that would take children by the hour and accommodate school age children after school hours until their parents leave work.

A group of parents whose children were on the waiting list, along with other concerned people, formed the Child Care Coalition. The CCC is demanding that the university provide free child care and expand the present facility to accommodate all the children who need it.

The University of Pennsylvania accords child care a very low priority. \$30,000 was spent last semester on new uniforms for the campus guards, and an estimated \$500,000 is budgeted to convert two streets into brick-paved walkways. Yet funds have not been made available for the needed child care.

CCC has collected 1,900 signatures on petitions for subsidized child care.



Rally of 250 begins campaign for adequate child care

Militant/Jon Flanders

The truth about Wounded Knee



By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The story of Indian people in America is a grim one, a story of genocide, broken treaties, and mistreatment by a vicious, racist white government.

Another chapter of that story is being written today in St. Paul, where two Indians—Dennis Banks and Russell Means—are standing trial in yet another example of capitalist "justice."

They are accused by the U.S. government of having led a band of "outside agitators" in an insurrectionary takeover of Wounded Knee, S.D.

They are accused of taking hostages, of violating a slew of federal laws.

Banks, Means, and the other Wounded Knee defendants, who have raised the banner of liberation of American Indians, now face charges that could send some of them to prison for life.

What really happened at Wounded Knee?

Who, in reality, is guilty?

To understand why Wounded Knee took place, it is first necessary to grasp the conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the scene of the occupation.

Russell Means, in an interview with *The Militant*, described some of those conditions.

Poverty and unemployment

"The median family income on the Pine Ridge Reservation is \$900 a year," Means said. "Unemployment on the reservation fluctuates between 70 and 80 percent." He said that the suicide rate among teen-agers is high, and that approximately two-and-a-half years ago an 8-year-old boy committed suicide on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Although millions of federal dollars are appropriated to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and to Indian programs, little trickles down to the Indians themselves. Means said 90 percent of the federal money goes for administrative costs.

"Approximately 53 percent of the work force at the BIA are of Indian descent," said Means. "Pretty good stats, right? However, less than 8 percent are in administrative posts. Of course, we do the shoveling, the sweeping, the shining, and the typing."

"The BIA has total control over the Indian on the reservation. He cannot buy, sell, or lease land without the

express consent of the Secretary of the Interior or his agents. The BIA can declare any Indian incompetent, and there is no redress. The BIA is in fact, in effect, along with the Secretary of the Interior, our God.

"Dogs have more laws protecting them than American Indians."

The word "tyranny" has often been used to describe the rule of Dick Wilson, president of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Last year, Wilson prohibited Indians from holding the Sun Dance, a sacred Indian ceremony, on the reservation.

Defendant Dennis Banks was ushered off the reservation by tribal authorities, "forbidden ever to return," said Means. Restraining orders were handed down in November 1972 by the tribal court, prohibiting Means and another Indian from attending any meetings on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

"This violates every constitutional right that you could think of," said Means. His appeals to the BIA and William Clayton, U.S. attorney for South Dakota, were rejected.

Meanwhile, Wilson was augmenting the BIA reservation police with a goon squad paid for with federal funds, explained Mark Lane, a defense attorney. Threats and beatings were administered by the goons and fierce resentment was building fast against Wilson.

Wilson was in office less than 10 months when impeachment proceedings were brought against him. One impeachment petition had 1,400 names on it, nearly half the registered voters.

Mockery of justice

But as tribal chairman, Wilson was permitted to preside over his own impeachment hearing, a mockery of justice. At the fourth such impeachment hearing, held shortly before the occupation, Means recalled that Wilson "would not allow any evidence introduced that was against him. It was the last straw."

In Rapid City, S.D., members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) waited in late February 1973, receiving reports of developments on the reservation. "We were on a standby type of notice," said Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader who faces charges in a frame-up trial that hasn't begun yet.

"We were well aware of the tyranny that was going on on the reservation. We were ready to move in if they would invite us. We would not go in there without that type of invitation."

The invitations came.

They came from the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. They came from traditional chiefs and other Indian leaders who met with AIM leaders at Calico Hall on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Means said that 800 attended the Calico meeting, of whom 600 were members of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization.

A decision was made to caravan to Porcupine, S.D. Between Porcupine and Calico is Wounded Knee.

"When we got to Wounded Knee," said Dennis Banks in a talk to the Twin Cities Militant Forum, "we stopped there for a moment and we suddenly realized that we could go no further."

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

"One of the things that the establishment press continues to say," said



Young Indians celebrating during Wounded Knee occupation

Militant/Skip Ball

Means, is that the caravan was made up of "a band of 200 renegades, malcontents, outside agitators, a communist-inspired group of vagabond Indians. [Senator George] McGovern called us a ragtag bunch of Indians."

In reality, more than 400 made that first journey to Wounded Knee, said Means. "Less than 50 were off-reservation AIM members. The rest were Oglala Sioux."

Roadblocks were set up by the goon squad. The government moved in with military equipment and surrounded Wounded Knee.

The Big Lie

Then, what followed was The Big Lie, circulated from coast to coast by the capitalist press: that the Indians were holding hostages.

Means said that the day Senator McGovern, Senator James Abourezk, and aides of Senator Edward Kennedy arrived in Wounded Knee, Dennis Banks told three of the whites on the reservation they could go. But they wanted to stay.

Another lie was spread as well. The story was released that Indians who lived in Wounded Knee were forced out of their homes and from the community by the protesters. In reality, the opposite was true.

Lane told *The Militant* that on March 8 federal marshals allowed 36 Indian families to leave to go shopping, and promised that they would be allowed back into Wounded Knee that night.

They were never allowed back.

A petition was circulated among the 36 families, Lane said, asking that the armored personnel carriers be removed, that food be allowed in to the people, and that the families be allowed back in themselves. Everyone over ten signed the petition, Lane said, except one man whose house had been burned by the marshals. He didn't think he was eligible to sign the petition because he no longer lived in Wounded Knee.

Two Indians killed

Two Indians who joined the occupation paid with their lives. Frank Clearwater, who had hitchhiked 2,200 miles to Wounded Knee carrying food and medicine, was shot dead while sleeping in a church.

Also killed was another Indian, Buddy LaMont. "He went to Vietnam



Militant/Greg Cornell

Feb. 12 protest in St. Paul, scene of trial. Support actions for defendants will play important part in winning their freedom.

twice," Banks recalled, "and came home and told his mother that the real fight was in America, and that he too must go to Wounded Knee. He came to Wounded Knee to fight for his true country, the Oglala Sioux Nation, and he died a true warrior."

The Indians suffered the only deaths, but the government had two casualties, an FBI agent who was shot in the hand, and a marshal who was shot and paralyzed. Means says the marshal was shot by another marshal.

Says Means: "The Indians took the first casualties and the only deaths, but the press played up with headlines across the country that a marshal and an agent had been shot."

The occupation ended May 8, 1973, but for the American Indian Movement and other Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation, the ordeal had only begun.

Government intimidation

Lane, in a lengthy motion for the dismissal of the charges against Banks and Means, described how buildings were ransacked in Wounded Knee by marshals after the occupation had ended. The press was brought in and told that the ransacking had been done by the Indians. A reign of terror on the reservation was administered by the BIA, Wilson's goon squad, and the FBI, making many witnesses fearful of testifying for the defense.

In the motion Lane told of beatings and threats, and the murder of Indian leader Pedro Bissonette, shot by a BIA policeman.

The motion for dismissal—as all motions for dismissal in this frame-up trial—was denied last week by U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol.

Complicating the frame up is the fact that two separate trials are going on simultaneously. While Banks and Means are currently on trial in St. Paul, more than 100 others arrested at Wounded Knee face trial in March in Sioux Falls, S. D.

Holding two trials in two different cities has further burdened an already overloaded defense effort.

The defendants have filed suit against Nixon and other government officials, asking for damages of \$25,000 each in connection with their harassment.

Asked in the interview about the Socialist Workers Party suit against government harassment, Lane said, "I think it's marvelous. I think every organization in this country that's been harassed by the federal government should file such a suit."

Lane has endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP suit.

1868 Sioux Treaty

The defendants say that the heart of their defense will be the 1868 Sioux Treaty, signed at Fort Laramie, which set aside for the Sioux the land in South Dakota west of the Missouri River.

The government violated the treaty last year, says the defense, by setting up roadblocks and sending in federal marshals. The U.S. forces, not the Indians who occupied Wounded Knee, were the trespassers.

Means, in the interview, elaborated: "Sam Ervin, the acknowledged Constitutional expert in the Senate, said in a speech to the Senate that treaties are on par and equal to the Constitution of the United States, which is the law of the land. Any time this country violates a treaty it violates the Constitution of the United States."

Judge Nichol has said that he has not yet decided whether he will allow the treaty in evidence, although his remarks in court indicate that he is more interested in the so-called "crimes" Banks and Means have committed, and less interested in their political motivations and justifications, including the Sioux Treaty.

Support actions

It is clear that the support built outside the courtroom will be a powerful factor in the trial. The government will take into account the gathering groundswell of support for the defendants in deciding whether or not a conviction is worth the price.

A speakers bureau has been formed and groups seeking defendants or defense attorneys to speak should contact the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee at 333 Sibley St., St. Paul, Minn. 55101, or call (612) 224-5631. Substantial speakers fees are being sought.

Socialists back Means, Banks

The following statement in support of the Wounded Knee defendants was issued Feb. 14 by the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party 1974 candidates, Jane Van Deusen for governor; Ralph Schwartz for lieutenant governor; and Ed Jurenas for U.S. Congress in the 5th C.D.

The trial of the Wounded Knee defendants is nothing short of a frame-up.

All charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks and the rest of the Wounded Knee defendants should be immediately dropped. They committed no crimes. They broke no laws. They are only guilty of standing up and saying, "Enough" to the centuries of oppression against American Indians, "Enough" to the poverty and mistreatment, "Enough" to the corrupt practices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Enough" to a white government that has consistently denied Indians the right to control their own reservations.

It was the government who was the trespasser at Wounded Knee. It was the government who set up the blockades last year and created the confrontation. It is the government and the Nixon administration who should be on trial in St. Paul—not Russell Means and Dennis Banks.

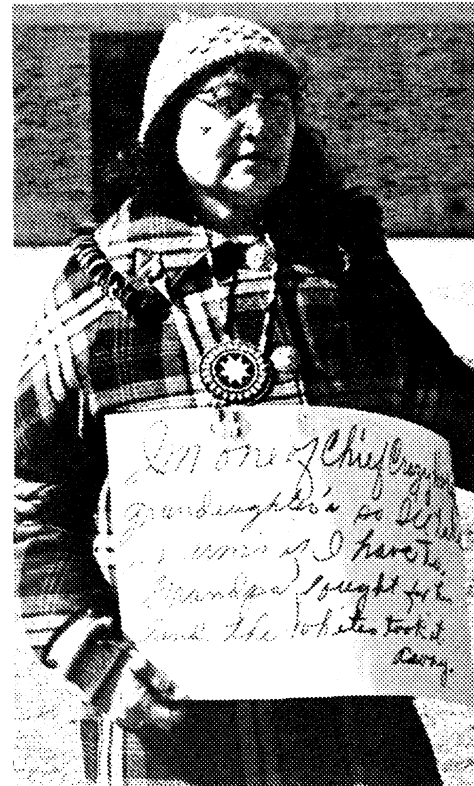
Massive amounts of money are being spent by the U.S. government to secure a conviction, the sole purpose of which is to destroy the American Indian Movement and set back the entire Indian struggle. The Socialist Workers Party calls on Minnesota citizens to support the Wounded Knee defendants, help the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, and join in the actions on Feb. 27, the anniversary of the Wounded Knee occupation.

We say drop the charges and stop the prosecution—now!

A rally demanding that the charges be dropped is scheduled for Feb. 27 at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis.

William Kunstler, another defense attorney interviewed by *The Militant*, recommended circulating petitions, holding demonstrations, and forming support groups to aid the defendants.

"It's very important," he said, "for those in power to know that there's a swell against the trial, and that this isn't purely an Indian swell, or a radical swell, but is a national and international reaction."



Militant/Skip Ball

Demonstrator at Wounded Knee

George 'Custer' McGovern

ST. PAUL, Minn. — He's called George "Custer" McGovern by participants in the Wounded Knee occupation.

Russell Means, a defendant in the Wounded Knee trial, remembers Senator McGovern as one of the most outspoken opponents of the occupation. The South Dakota Democrat began calling for the arrest of the Indians soon after the seizure began and persisted in attacking the protest throughout its 71-day duration.

Means told *The Militant*: "George 'Custer' McGovern parlayed the antiwar movement into his candidacy for the presidency of the United States of America. By using the antiwar movement he condemned the U.S. and the Nixon administration in attacking hamlets in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia."

"However, when the nitty-gritty came down to it, in his own backyard in the state of South Dakota, he wrote a letter to the then Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, advocating that the Justice Department move in on the old people, men, women and children that were inside the independent Oglala nation at Wounded Knee."

Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement who will

face trial later, said that McGovern's "only concern was the so-called hostages" at Wounded Knee. When it turned out that there weren't any hostages, McGovern continued his efforts to discredit the occupation.

Bellecourt said, "McGovern wrote that the government should use all the force necessary to rout the 'hoodlums' and militants that occupied Wounded Knee. He said we didn't represent the people there," said Bellecourt, "that we're outside agitators and that they [the government] should move in."

"Since then," says Bellecourt, "he has attacked the American Indian Movement across the nation, saying that we represent less than 5 percent of the Indian population and that in South Dakota we didn't even represent that much."

Typical of these attacks was a blast McGovern leveled at AIM in September 1973. "I'm against AIM. I don't like their tactics and regard them as rip-off artists exploiting the Indian problems, for their own selfish ends. They're lawbreakers and they're violent."

It is not difficult to understand how McGovern got his middle name. — G. C.

Street sales top 7,000 in Militant drive

By SHARON CABANISS

Street sales of the Feb. 8 issue of *The Militant*, headlined "The Real State of the Union," topped 7,000. This is higher than the goal of last year's spring sales campaign and puts us well on our way to achieving 10,000 weekly street sales by May. These sales are in addition to subscriptions, and sales from newsstands and by individuals that aren't counted in the weekly scoreboard.

Detroit supporters found that the back page feature, "Why Coleman Young can't meet the needs of Black people," ensured making their sales goal for the first time. "People are very interested in what is going on with Young and his administration," reports Detroit Socialist Workers Party sales director Steve Beumer. "Black students, especially at Wayne State, were also very interested in what we have to say. We sold 208 on campus last week."

Other areas reported that the article on Young enhanced sales in the Black community. Atlanta reported that Saturday morning shopping center sales went particularly well, especially to Blacks. A team of three sales people found a good response in downtown Newark. In one-and-a-half hours 30

Militants and 33 *Young Socialists* were sold.

Chicago supporters not only found single copy sales high on the South Side (they sold 114), but sub drive director Dave Wulp said they have also begun selling subscriptions in the Black community. "We find that getting subscriptions door-to-door goes at a rate as high as or higher than on the campus," Wulp reported.

Twin Cities supporters again made their weekly goal. They found that the Wounded Knee trials and activities around them have resulted in increased interest in *The Militant*. "The *Militant* offers consistently accurate and honest coverage of the frame-up," explained sales director Ed Jurenas, "so it sells very quickly, especially at protest meetings and demonstrations."

In January they sold 138 *Militants* at different Wounded Knee rallies. "When we arrived at the picket line to protest the opening day of the trial, many of the Oglala Sioux, who had just arrived from the Pine Ridge Reservation, came up and thanked us for our support. They bought most of the papers we had with us," Jurenas said.

Oakland/Berkeley supporters sold 582 *Militants*, the highest number sold

of any area for the second week in a row. They, along with the supporters in San Francisco, sold 122 *Militants* at a recent rally in support of the Sears strike.

Bobbie Bagel from San Francisco related, "We were really excited by the kind of response we got to the article 'Painters union activist proposes program for building trades' at the rally; people all over the place were reading the paper. Many of the Sears strikers from Local 1100 said they read the paper regularly down at the union hall. One hundred and twenty-eight out of the 350 papers we sold this week were at union meetings and work places, including 20 to painters and 13 to carpenters."

Other areas found a similar response among workers. Mike Downs spoke at his I. L. W. U. Local 19 meeting in Seattle and pointed out the paper. "Afterwards," he reported, "thirty-three people came up and bought a copy. It wasn't just the coverage on labor struggles, either. They were interested in what *The Militant* had to say about many other issues as well." Seattle supporters sold another 17 issues at the Longshore hiring hall that week.

Steve Beumer from Detroit adds that "the unemployment lines are our new sales spot. With a reported 8.1 percent unemployment in Michigan, it is a crowd with a reason at hand to buy. We sold 25 copies with modest effort." Other areas have also found unemployed workers a reliable audience for *The Militant's* strategy for fighting back against the government's attacks on working people. Minneapolis supporters, for example, sold 33 at the unemployment office there.

One of the most important aspects of *The Militant's* sales effort this spring is publicizing the SWP 1974 campaigns around the country. As election activity gets into a high gear, *Militant* sales will be an integral part of it.

Young Socialists for Scherr and Adachi kicked off their campaign last Saturday with a day of street activities in Philadelphia. They sold 288 copies of *The Militant* and 158 Y.S.s. Sales director Laurel Kelly reports, "We sent teams to our regular sales spots—in the Black community, around City Hall, in the student areas,

gas lines, and shopping centers—but we really stepped up our sales. We set up tables with campaign literature to pass out, and 35 people endorsed the campaign."

Many readers and supporters around the country are taking individual bundles ranging from five to 25 *Militants* to sell each week on their campuses, at their jobs, or in their local neighborhoods. Last week new orders came in from readers in Big Rapids, Mich., and Toledo, Ohio. If you want to help sell *The Militant* in your city, send in the coupon on page 23.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
E. Lansing	40	50	125
Detroit	400	429	107
Twin Cities	350	374	107
Athens	25	25	100
Austin	75	75	100
Indianapolis	50	50	100
Logan	30	30	100
Milwaukee	30	30	100
Nashville	60	60	100
San Diego	325	275	85
Seattle	425	351	83
Cincinnati	50	39	78
Pittsburgh	350	272	78
Oakland/Berkeley	800	582	73
Brooklyn	450	326	72
Portland	325	233	72
Houston	500	350	70
Atlanta	500	340	68
Lower Manhattan	500	335	67
San Francisco	525	350	67
Philadelphia	400	262	66
Bloomington	100	65	65
Boston	700	447	64
St. Louis	325	202	62
Madison	70	42	60
Cleveland	350	198	57
Hartford	45	25	56
Washington, D. C.	400	223	56
L. A. (West Side)	350	191	55
L. A. (Central-East)	350	190	54
Denver	450	234	52
Ann Arbor	30	15	50
Lexington	30	15	50
Chicago	700	309	44
Upper West Side	475	150	32
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	10,000	7,144	71



Militant/Bob Connolly

St. Paul, Minn., Feb. 12. Many of the Oglala Sioux picketing Wounded Knee trial bought copies of *The Militant*.

Pathfinder literature key to SWP campaigns

Sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets about current issues will be an important part of the New York Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaign, according to campaign manager Janice Lynn. Ten pamphlets and two books

News from Pathfinder

dealing with the central campaign issues will be listed on the platform and brochures.

These and other books and pamphlets will be available in the campaign headquarters. Campaign literature tables will display them in addition to campaign buttons, stickers, and brochures.

During the first weeks of the New York campaign, senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch visited several campuses in New York state. She was accompanied by Jane Roland, 1974 New York State Coordinator of Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison.

At each campus they set up a literature table. I asked Finch about the response. "It was fantastic," she said. "At Cornell University, we were only

allowed to have the table up for two hours. We sold \$20."

Best-selling pamphlets on the campaign swing were *Tragedy in Chile* by Gerry Foley and Malik Miah (\$.35) and *The Watergate Conspiracy: What It Reveals About American Capitalist Society* by Allen Myers, Peter Seidman, and Barry Sheppard (\$.25).

Increased efforts to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets as campuses reopened after the holiday recess brought in some good sales suggestions and comments.

A member of the Young Socialist Alliance in Bloomington, Indiana, wrote: "We've had very good sales this week. Sales are usually good during the first week of classes since people are in the habit of buying books, but the sales exceeded all of our expectations. We sold \$55 altogether."

"One improvement was having the literature table in the Commons of the Union Building instead of at the library."

A member of the Nashville Young Socialist Alliance wrote describing their experience with a literature table at Vanderbilt University. They first began setting it up regularly in February 1973.

"The introductory pamphlets on our

politics (such as *How to Make a Revolution in the United States* by Peter Camejo) were consistent sellers as we made an attempt to use our literature table and our introductory class on socialism together to build the YSA."

He reports receiving a letter from a former student at Vanderbilt who wrote: "If I have the time I would like to set up a literature stand here (in New Jersey). . . . Even though I al-

ready had a passing interest in socialism before I came to Vanderbilt last year, it was probably the YSA literature stand that was mainly responsible for attracting my attention." Our Nashville correspondent comments: "It is a real credit to Pathfinder that your literature does not just intellectually titillate its readers but rather makes them become more active."

—PEGGY BRUNDY



Texas SWP announces 1974 candidates

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—At a Feb. 13 news conference at the Houston Press Club, the Texas Socialist Workers Party officially announced its 1974 candidates for six statewide offices.

Sherry Smith, the Houston coordinator of the May 5th Coalition Against High Prices, a past national staff member of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition, and organizer of a women's studies program at San Diego, will head the ticket as candidate for governor.

As the 1972 Texas SWP campaign manager, Smith toured the state with Debby Leonard, the party's candidate for governor, who received 24,000 votes in that election.

In a last-minute decision Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, chairwoman of the National Women's Political Caucus, who forced Governor Dolph Briscoe into a runoff in the 1972 Democratic primary, announced her decision to run against Briscoe again in 1974.

Ramsey Muñiz, La Raza Unida Party candidate who received 220,000 votes in the 1972 race, had announced earlier. Also in the gubernatorial race are candidates of the Republican Party and the American Independent Party.

In her statement to the press, Smith pledged the Socialist Workers Party to "a campaign of unrelenting opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties and to everything they stand for—from the lying and thievery that has come to be known as 'Watergate,' the erosion of basic democratic rights, the ravaging of our air and water, to the wholesale robbery of the American working people.

"We hold the twin parties that equally represent the oil monopolies, the banks, and millionaire landholders in Texas, jointly responsible for the drastic decline in the standard of living of the majority of people. We hold them responsible for the meat shortage, the fuel crisis, continuing racist and sexist discrimination, skyrocketing inflation of over 9 percent, the decline of real wages by 3.3 percent, and the policies which put the threat of another war continually before us."

In its coverage of the news conference the Feb. 13 Houston *Chronicle* wrote, "Smith said that both the Demo-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Sherry Smith, socialist candidate for governor of Texas.

cratic and Republican parties favor 'guaranteeing the private profit of the capitalists' whereas the SWP supports government ownership of all industry under the control of the persons who work in each industry."

Citing the importance of independent political action by working people, Smith told the media, "We believe the formation and growth of the Texas Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party, is an extremely significant development. It sets a valuable example for working people and Blacks, whose struggles could be advanced through their own political parties."

Dan Fein and Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidates for lieutenant governor and attorney general, hit hard on the phony energy crisis, inflation, and unemployment.

Fein teaches physics in a Houston high school. During his campaign for mayor in 1973, the Houston Teachers Association, an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), went out on the first teachers strike in Texas history. Fein gave his full support to the strike as a picket captain at his school and as an active member of the HTA. As a result of his activity, he was elected to the HTA Legislative Assembly.

In his statement, Fein backed the truckers strike: "The SWP campaign supports the truckers fight. They are

fighting for all workers and consumers and should be supported by the Teamsters and the entire labor movement. Actions such as the truckers strike, mass rallies, picket lines, and demonstrations are needed to mobilize people into action and to end the price-gouging presently going on. The trade-union movement must take a leading role in exposing the energy crisis fraud."

He pledged the SWP campaign in Texas to a continuing fight for repeal of the reactionary antiunion "right-to-work" law and to building support for the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party to win an injunction against the government's use of illegal wiretaps, harassment, intimidation, mail-tampering, and burglary.

Pedro Vázquez, candidate for attorney general, is a long-time activist in the Chicano movement in Texas. He was a founding member of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization), an organizer of Raza Contra La Guerra, and has organized support in Texas for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). Vázquez blasted the undemocratic election laws that will force the SWP to collect 35,000 signatures to qualify for the ballot.

"The role of the attorney general in Texas has always been to uphold the injustices of the capitalist system and to protect the interests of the wealthy," Vázquez said. "I believe it is the responsibility of this office to represent the majority of the people in this state. That would mean prosecuting the oil monopolies, which have created a phony shortage and are reaping windfall profits from the suffering of the majority. It would mean ruling in favor of public employees when they go out on strike. I would rule against laws which limit access to the ballot solely to the twin parties of capitalism."

Other candidates announced at the news conference were: Rick Congress, a construction worker and member of Laborers International Union, Local 18, for railroad commissioner; Bill Rayson, regional organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance, for land commissioner; and Sas Scoggins, an activist in the women's movement, printer, and member of the Graphic

Arts International Union, for controller.

The news conference was attended by the major news media in Houston, including the three major TV stations, the two daily newspapers, and major radio stations. Wire services reported the story throughout the state. Special coverage of the announcement was given by Channel 11 in a 10-minute feature on Sherry Smith.

The campaign will be launched at a March 1 rally at the campaign headquarters, 3311 Montrose in Houston; and at a March 8 rally in Austin. Local candidates will be announced at that time.

The Texas socialist campaign made its presence felt this weekend at the Texas Classroom Teachers Convention Feb. 14-16 in San Antonio.

Supporters of the SWP campaign passed out 1,000 copies of a statement by Dan Fein calling for merger of the American Federation of Teachers and the NEA; for an escalator clause in all contracts; for the right of public employees to strike; for an end to the racist way schools are funded in the state; and for support to Black and Chicano control of education in their communities.

A number of teachers came back to request additional leaflets for their delegations, and a dozen teachers asked about having SWP candidates visit their classrooms.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for attorney general.

Minn. socialists launch campaign for governor

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS—Several movement activists have publicly endorsed the Socialist Workers Party election campaign, which announced a statewide ticket this week headed by Jane Van Deusen, who will run for governor.

Van Deusen, 25, appeared at a news conference Feb. 14 with Ralph Schwartz, 28, who will seek the lieutenant governor's seat, and Ed Jurenas, 26, who will run for Congress from the Fifth District. Schwartz, a school teacher, is vice-president of Local 1244 of the American Federation of Teachers. Jurenas, now a college student, was discharged from the army for his antiwar activities.

Endorsing the SWP at a campaign kickoff rally were Tomás Padilla, a United Farm Workers organizer in Minneapolis; Tim Campbell, a gay activist; and Jeff Roy, an activist with the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

The rally drew 85 people, and \$1050 was raised for the statewide

campaign effort.

Padilla, in a brief statement, praised *The Militant* for backing the Farm Workers strike, and observed that the Socialist Workers Party was "out there on the picket lines even on the coldest days."

"The only political group that's really for the workers is the Socialist Workers Party," said Padilla. "They're out there to defend the rights of the workers, not the profits of the corporations."

Padilla encouraged the audience to continue to support the wine boycott. About 80 percent of the scab wines in the Twin Cities area have been removed from the liquor store shelves as a result of the picketing.

Tim Campbell told the campaign rally that gays were "sick and tired of being discredited, discounted, and disowned."

He endorsed the Van Deusen campaign, asserting he would be "working until November, getting every gay vote out for the Socialist Workers



Militant/Greg Cornell

SWP candidate for Minnesota governor, Jane Van Deusen, at demonstration to support Wounded Knee defendants.

candidates."

Campbell has been leading a fight in nearby Hopkins, Minn., where a teacher who allowed a gay to speak in a public school has come under attack from the school board.

Jeff Roy blasted the Democratic and Republican parties, which, he said, "speak for the fat cats."

"There is no alternative for working people," he said, but to vote for the SWP.

He said that Wounded Knee and Watergate were symptomatic of the capitalist system "that puts profit over people." He said that through the Democratic and Republican parties, "Indian people have never had the slightest redress for their grievances."

At a news conference last week, Van Deusen attacked her Democratic Party opponent, Governor Wendell Anderson, who she said spoke in the interests of the oil trusts, because he blamed the oil shortage on the "incredible wastefulness" of the state's citizens instead of pointing to the soaring profits of the oil monopolies.

Oppose terrorist strategy

Blacks, radicals against SLA kidnapping

By BOB SCHWARZ

SAN FRANCISCO—The reaction in the Black community and among radical groups here to the Symbionese Liberation Army kidnapping of Patricia Hearst has been overwhelmingly negative. Although there is little sympathy for the financial loss the Hearst family publishing empire may suffer if Randolph Hearst complies

with ransom demands, few think the strategy of the SLA can bring any meaningful changes in this society.

Many agree with the viewpoint of *The Militant's* Feb. 22 editorial, which said that the kidnapping "can do nothing but harm to the revolutionary movement and to all organizations fighting against the capitalist government."

The SLA first came into view when it claimed responsibility for the assassination Nov. 6 of Oakland school superintendent Marcus Foster, a Black administrator supposedly responsible for a plan to put police and guards in Oakland schools.

The killing of Foster was extremely unpopular among Blacks. Many turned out for his funeral, including such national figures as Coretta Scott King.

The UC Berkeley independent student paper, *The Daily Californian*, recently reported a poll of 33 Black shoppers at an Oakland supermarket. Twenty-seven disapproved of the kidnapping, most of them indicating they wouldn't even take the food the SLA demands that Hearst distribute to the poor.

Black Panther Party newspaper editor David DuBois called the kid-

napping "antirevolutionary" and speculated that the SLA is "an arm of the most right-wing forces in this country."

Bruce Franklin, former leader of the defunct Maoist organization Venceremos, who was fired from his job at Stanford University because of his political activity, was quoted in the press as saying the kidnapping would "alienate the masses . . . revolutionaries should try to educate and organize, like the Weatherpeople did."

Many left groups have pointed out that the real crime is the poverty that the kidnapping was supposedly carried out to alleviate. The six groups designated by the SLA to oversee the food distribution issued a statement that said, in part, "The oppressive conditions of our society are a reality, and the majority of the people with whom we work are poor and disenfranchised. However, we do not condone terrorist activity whether it is carried out by the SLA or the establishment." The six groups are: the American Indian Movement, Black Teachers Caucus, Nairobi College, United Prisoners Union, National Welfare Rights Organization, and Glide Memorial Church.

In a recent editorial, *The Daily Californian* reflected a view shared by

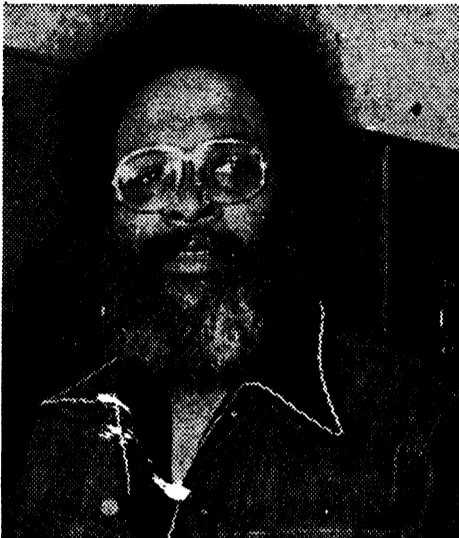
many activists: "While we do not condone the many injustices that exist in American society today we do not see how more killings and kidnappings can do anything other than provide a springboard for police repression."

The press and TV here, while milking the story for all its worth, have been hesitant to launch a smear campaign like those in the late 1960s that tried to brand all politically active Blacks, Chicanos, and students as disrupters and terrorists.

Several articles have pointed to the similarities between the SLA tactics and those of the Tupamaros of Uruguay, the ERP in Argentina, and some Palestinian groups. "There is a developing consensus," wrote the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "in some official and academic circles that the kidnapping of Patricia Hearst signals the arrival in the United States of Latin American-style political terrorism."

But at the same time, statements by radical groups dissociating themselves from the SLA have been given prominent treatment. One *Chronicle* article quoted an unnamed "Stanford authority" as saying "the Socialist Workers Party, for example, has come out against individual acts of terrorism

Continued on page 22



Reverend Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial Church was among those issuing statement against kidnapping.

Chi. rally protests appointment of racist top cop

By BOB KISSINGER

CHICAGO—The Concerned Citizens for Police Reform (CCPR) held a rally here Feb. 15 in opposition to Mayor Richard Daley's appointment of James Rochford as superintendent of police. The rally was attended by 1,200 people.

Rochford was the top cop in charge of Daley's shoot-to-kill operation during the 1968 Black ghetto rebellion that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. His appointment follows the recent resignation of Police Superintendent James Conlisk. Conlisk stepped down after exposure of massive police corruption, including the conviction of several top police officials.

One of the speakers at the rally was Reverend Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH. Jackson stated there are rumors that Democratic Representative Ralph Metcalfe, chief CCPR negotiator, had made a deal with Daley to accept the Rochford ap-

pointment.

Metcalfe was the main speaker at the rally. "Rochford did not qualify according to our criteria," he said, calling for vigilance to "see if the promises of the new superintendent will be upheld."

Metcalfe ended by saying, "I hope I am wrong about the new superintendent, and if time proves me wrong I'll be the first to admit my mistake."

Charles Hayes, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and president of the Black Labor Leaders of Chicago, chaired the rally. Other speakers included Leon Finney, executive director of the Woodlawn Organization; Edwin Berry, former president of the Chicago Urban League; and James Compton, present executive director of the Urban League.

A resolution on police reform was passed at the rally. It called for an independent fact-finding commission on police brutality, an end to discrim-

ination against Black and Latino cops, psychological testing for police applicants, and for two-fifths of the police board to be comprised of representatives of the Black and Latino communities.

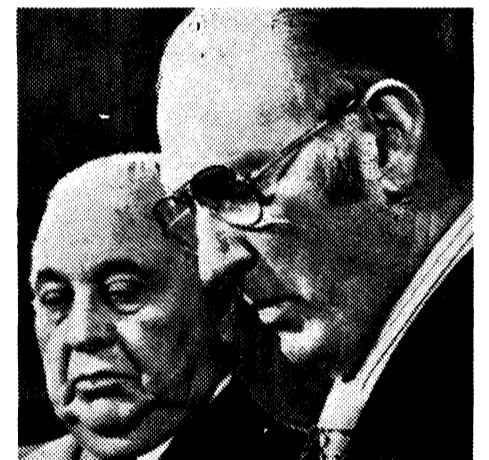
In contrast to this resolution, Willie Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 1st Congressional District, issued a statement to the rally that pointed the way toward mobilizing the Black community in action against cop brutality.

She stated: "To subordinate our demands to negotiations with Daley and verbal promises demonstrates a lack of serious commitment to our priorities."

"The intimidating and harassing role that the police play in the Black and Latin communities will not be changed by 'blue-ribbon panels,' 'police reform,' or 'internal review boards.'"

"The solution lies within our community. As Black and Latin

people we must fight for the total withdrawal of the police from our communities. We must replace them with people drawn from our communities, organized by our communities, and controlled by our communities."



DALEY & ROCHFORD: Organized shoot-to-kill operation against Black community in 1968.

L.A. law & order: perjury & forced confessions

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Two new revelations about Los Angeles area police suggest why it will take more than the current rash of TV police shows to improve the public image of a cop.

Last November, 25 people died in one of the city's worst fires. The blaze erupted in an old apartment building without fire doors. Several years earlier, a similar fire in an old hotel claimed almost as many lives. After the hotel fire, the city council passed a law requiring installation of fire doors.

But ever sensitive to the financial needs of slumlords, the council voted a five-year grace period on the necessary safety renovations. Unfortunately for those who died this past November, the grace period hadn't expired.

It was the kind of tragedy that should have sparked enough of a public outcry to force a public investigation and, perhaps, even some remedial

gesture by the "city fathers."

The Los Angeles Police Department intervened.

Within 24 hours of the fire, the authorities announced an arrest. It was not, needless to say, the owner of the death trap nor the city officials complicit in the absence of fire doors. The guilty party was an 18-year-old "pyromaniac" from Tuscon, Ariz.

Michael Altenburger was apprehended several hours after the fire sleeping on a bus stop bench 15 miles away. How the police determined he was their man was murky. But he had confessed—not once, but twice. The entire matter disappeared from the media until Feb. 10, when the police announced that the murder and arson charges against the twice-confessed "pyromaniac" were being dropped. It had been definitely established that Altenburger had been on the other side of town when the fire occurred. It was not explained why he or how

he had "confessed."

The same day Altenburger was released, a federal judge set aside the conviction of William DePalma, a truck driver for a catering service who had been found guilty of robbing a Buena Park bank five years ago.

DePalma had served two years in prison and was on the first of 12 years of parole when he was cleared.

Throughout he had insisted on his innocence. At his trial, 10 witnesses swore he was tending his catering truck at the time the robbery took place.

But one teller positively identified him as the robber and another teller was reasonably sure.

The clincher at the trial was the testimony offered by Buena Park police Sergeant James Bakkan. He testified that a fingerprint found on the teller's window was DePalma's.

Officials decided to drop the case when a public defender acting on De-

Palma's behalf moved for a new trial. He informed the judge that two experts would testify that they could prove by scientific tests that the fingerprint was actually lifted from a document—not the teller's counter.

Bakkan will reportedly face trial on nine counts of perjury and one of preparing false evidence.

Commenting on the two years he served, DePalma said, "The penitentiary is as close to hell as I would want to get."

These two cases are not exceptional. It need only be recalled that the "Plumbers" break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist was originally solved with the confession of a Black convict with a long record of burglaries.

Then with the Watergate revelations, it was established he was in jail at the time of the break-in to which he "confessed."

"Law and order" they call it.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 1, 1974

Mass discontent rises in Bangladesh

Nationwide general strike protests Rahman regime

By Ernest Harsch

In the first major challenge to the Awami League regime of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD—National Socialist party) called for a "People's Resistance Day" on January 20. On that day the entire country was shut down by a general strike in protest of the regime's repressive acts, staged in violation of a government decree banning all gatherings of more than five people.

The JSD, in response to both verbal and physical attacks against it by the Awami League and its goons, has stepped up its own agitation against the regime. At a mass rally of more than 100,000 on December 30, JSD president, Major M. A. Jalil, a former leader of the armed resistance during Bangladesh's liberation struggle in 1971, had called for the January 20 action. The January 6 issue of the

was the first time that such a ban had been invoked since the creation of Bangladesh. The next day Jalil and Abdur Rab, general secretary of the JSD, called a press conference and demanded that the ban be lifted.

After another press conference on January 18, several hundred JSD members, led by Jalil and Rab, marched in the streets in defiance of the government decree. They were attacked by the police, tear-gassed, and clubbed. According to the regime, eleven persons were arrested. In response to this attack, the JSD called for a general strike in Dacca on January 19 and throughout the country on January 20.

On January 19, Chittagong, Khulna, Comilla, Noakhali, Sylhet, and Narayanganj were shut down by strikes. The following day, the entire country was paralyzed by the general strike.

niversary of Bangladesh's independence from Pakistan, have become almost commonplace. "The celebration of December 16," wrote the December 23 *Holiday*, "was marred by explosions and armed clashes in different parts of the country, including the capital.

"Some people had thrown some explosives on the House of Soviet Culture on December 14, and at Sadarghat and in front of the offices of the Daily Banglar Bani and of the Indian Air Lines on December 15. A railway culvert near North Shahjahanpur, Dacca was blown up by explosives and railway tracks near Bhairab Bazar were removed on December 16. According to a Dacca daily, at least 25 hand-bombs were exploded at Barisal Town on December 16, many persons were injured and the office of the Communist Party of Bangladesh caught fire.

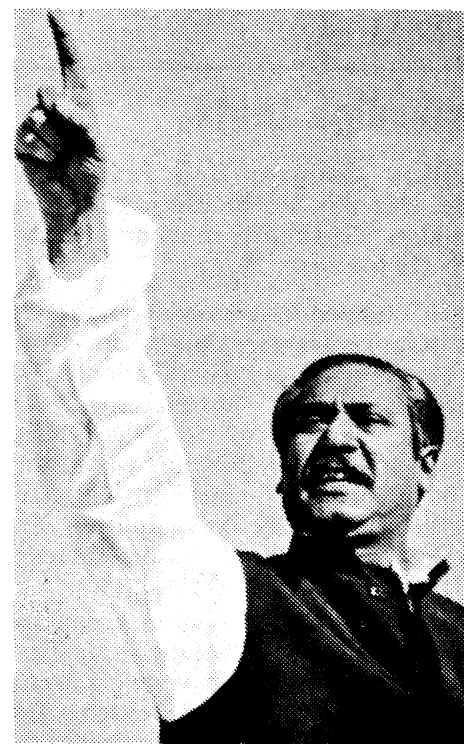
"Three police stations at Nalchhati in Barisal, Manikganj and Louhajang were attacked by armed people on December 15." The Communist party of Bangladesh supports the Rahman regime, a fact which may explain the attacks against its offices.

Many of the clashes of so-called miscreants with the government forces appear to be of a defensive nature or in response to the Awami League's reign of terror against its political opposition. "Combing" operations have been carried out by Rahman's Rakkhi Bahini and the BDR (Bangladesh Rifles) in many of the isolated rural districts in efforts to flush out the "miscreants." The December 26 issue of the JSD's newspaper, *Ganakantha* (People's Voice), reported that in the Sirajganj Subdivision alone more than 500 persons had been killed by the government forces. The Awami League regime also began to arrest members of the JSD and the National Awami party (Bashani), another opposition party.

In a speech to Parliament on January 15, Mujibur Rahman expressed Dacca's attitude toward those opposed to his regime, implicitly directing his remarks against the JSD: "We believe in democracy. We have allowed democratic rights to all. . . . But the time has come to ponder whether those who talk of armed confrontation in the name of democracy and revolution have that right—possibly, they do not have that right—nay, they do not have that right."

While January 20 did not result in the final showdown between the Awami League and the JSD that some people expected, it did mark an important political step by the growing opposition to the Rahman regime.

The January 27 *Holiday* reported that hundreds were injured by the government forces throughout the country



RAHMAN: Believes in democracy for his supporters.

and that about 1,000 were arrested. "The day dawned on the city of Dacca," *Holiday* wrote, "with an ominous lull. The Rakkhi Bahini [paramilitary government forces], the BDR and the police were positioned at different strategic places. Truck loads of Rakkhi Bahini and police fitted with machine guns and rifles patrolled the city streets."

Since the JSD never officially canceled the rally it had originally called (although the JSD leaders failed to mention it in their calls for the general strike), thousands of demonstrators in numerous processions converged on the site.

"From 2:00 in the afternoon till dusk," *Holiday* continued, "the law enforcing agencies attempted to repulse the onrush of demonstrators. They used rifle-butts, lathis [clubs] and tear-gas to ward off the pressure of the angry crowd. But those were to no avail."

While the repression on January 20 was serious, it was nowhere near the level that the government pronouncements indicated it might be. The massive turnout may have been one reason for such "restraint." As *Holiday* observed: "The government and the ruling party might . . . have been taken aback by the massive spontaneous response of the people. They might have calculated that if they had used bullets, the situation might have gone out of control. So, they might have decided to make a tactical retreat and wait for a better opportunity to crush the JSD."

The JSD later called for another general strike, on February 8, to protest the government attacks on January 20.



Mukti Bahini guerrillas during independence struggle. First anniversary of independence was marked by widespread struggles against new regime.

independent leftist Dacca weekly *Holiday* reported the December meeting and Jamil's call. "Blood is boiling in the veins of the oppressed people," he said. "Revolution is the order of the day. The workers are preparing for revolution; they have realised who are depriving them of the fruit of their labour. The peasants have also realised who are depriving them of the crop which they produce with their labour."

On January 4, the Awami League announced that it would also have a mass rally at the same site one hour after the one scheduled by the JSD, in an obvious attempt to intimidate the JSD. When it became clear that the JSD would not back down, the regime declared on January 13 that all political meetings, rallies, and demonstrations were banned for three weeks, "to prevent breaches of the peace." This

The JSD's increased actions against the ruling Awami League have taken place in an atmosphere of mass discontent with the regime, a discontent fired by economic stagnation, food shortages, and widespread corruption. Most of this unrest has been of a spontaneous character, without any real political direction. The January 6 issue of *Holiday* described the situation at the beginning of the new year: "Strikes, *gheraos* [mass actions to surround and sequester business or governmental officials], demonstrations, are rocking the country. Industrial belts are in ferment. The low-paid employees are seething with discontent. The peasantry is getting aggressive. Wheels are not moving in the mills and factories. Offices are not functioning in government corporations and banks."

The kind of disturbances that took place around December 16, the an-

Uruguayan dictatorship faces growing isolation

[The following article appeared in the January 23 issue of the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista*, organ of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

When the puppet Bordaberry assumed dictatorial power after defeating last year's heroic general strike, we pointed out in *Avanzada Socialista* that the new regime was beginning its administration with a narrow base of support.

More than six months have gone by since the coup, and Bordaberry's regime is no stronger. If it survives despite the failure of all its plans, it won't be because of its strength, but rather because of the weakness of the Uruguayan workers movement, which still hasn't rebounded since the general strike. The revival of the workers movement, small, initial signs of which are already visible, could mean the collapse of the regime.

Following the coup, the Bordaberry-military duet puffed and prated about their wonderful "development plans" that would soon lift the Uruguayan economy out of its depression. They held two big meetings (San Miguel and Nirvana) that were attended by the military, technicians, businessmen, etc. At the conclusion of each of these gatherings they ceremoniously announced that "in forty-five days" plans would be published for the fishing industry, for the countryside, for the Río de la Plata petroleum industry, etc. The time has long passed, and now they don't even talk about plans. Publishing incoherent decrees that in a few days time are replaced by other equally ineffectual ones, the government no longer knows how to deal with the crisis.

All of their plans have fallen through. Six months ago the dictatorship announced that it had a foreign trade surplus of nearly \$150 million. At the end of 1973 when accounts were reckoned, the balance was only \$12 million. For a country like Uruguay, which was built on profits from foreign trade, the situation couldn't be more catastrophic.

The causes of all this lie in the relative positions of meat, wool, and petroleum on the world market; in a backward agrarian structure; and in the nation's industry.

Uruguay has to import all the petroleum it uses down to the last drop. The impact of the rise in prices has therefore been devastating. Short of tremendously raising the price of gasoline, transportation, etc., Bordaberry has been unable to take any coherent measures. In order to save electric energy—which is mainly generated by petroleum—the government issued decrees that it was unable to enforce; for example, one decree required mandatory layoffs and the shutdown of fac-

ories by zone for three weeks annually. No one obeyed the decree, and even the government has already forgotten that it existed.

The situation of the wool and meat industries is no better. Uruguayan wool, a traditional export product, does not have a good rating abroad. The kind of wool produced by Uruguay is of a quality such that hardly anyone buys it any more. That is the price of the indolence and backwardness of the Uruguayan oligarchy.

The meat industry, which was the big hope, has discovered that the present European economic crisis is tending to narrow its market. Meat supplies are building up, hanging on butchers' hooks in freezers. Cows continue grazing, with no buyers in sight. Although Brazil has made important purchases from Bordaberry, it hasn't been able to offset this situation.

The cattle raisers, the most powerful sector of Uruguayan bosses, have



BORDABERRY: Revival of workers movement could mean collapse of his regime.

flown into a fuming rage. The Rural Association has begun publicly attacking the government, which in addition to refusing to guarantee a market, has doubled the annual tax on agriculture (improme).

Moreover, the Uruguayan gorillas had counted on imperialist aid to get them out of their jam. Bordaberry's submissiveness to the Brazilian dictatorship has gained armaments and meat sales, but nothing else.

Bordaberry's government is lining up less and less with the big cattle-raising bosses and the weak industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. Moreover, it is becoming more and more hated by the workers and the important Uruguayan middle class.

The dictatorship's social isolation is clearly seen in the absurd Council of State, with which it replaced parliament. It's an assembly of fascists. With



Prisoners rounded up in Montevideo following military coup last year

the exception of the Council's oldest fascist, President Etchegoyen, its members are all illustrious nobodies. *None of the important bosses wanted to embarrass themselves by becoming members of the Council of State.* Something similar has happened in the University of Montevideo since the government intervened following a left-wing electoral victory. The government hasn't found anyone who is willing to serve as a dean. As a result, most of the faculties are without heads.

Bordaberry's weak social base explains why he can't set up a regime along the lines of Brazil's or Chile's. Bordaberry's situation now looks something like Onganía's last days: Most of the bosses are opposed to him, and he has mainly based himself on bayonets of the military-police apparatus. But in contrast to Onganía's situation, the Uruguayan working class and middle class are not mobilized. This is the reason for the survival of Bordaberry's dictatorship.

Despite this absence of mobilization, the situation has had an impact within the armed forces. A division in the armed forces was publicly revealed in two weeklies backed by unclearly identified wings of the army. On the one hand, the far-right weekly *Azul y Blanco* [Blue and White] advances a semifascist solution based on the Brazilian model. On the other hand, the newspaper *Nueve de Febrero* [Ninth of February] puts forth a "Peruvian" solution based on the famous "Comuniqué 4 and 7" imposed last year by the army's nationalist wing, which amounted to nothing more than promises.

Nueve de Febrero has begun to hawk a political plan for getting out of the "impasse": a constituent assembly of all Uruguayans (including the Frente Amplio?) to reorganize the country. That is, a Uruguayan "Great National Accord." With an extremely correct class analysis, *Nueve de Febrero* warns that with the present government there is the danger of a big rise in workers struggles winning over the middle class and leading to an insurrectional situation that would be difficult to stop. The plan for a "constituent assembly of all Uruguayans" would be the inoculation against this.

Nueve de Febrero has decided to go from propaganda to agitation: It has called a public meeting for mid-February in Montevideo. It goes without saying that the Communist party has firmly latched on to this "progressive" military wing and is urging peo-

ple to attend the meeting. The fact that this wing of the military is looking for "mass support" is another sign of the dictatorship's crisis.

The relationship of forces between the different military factions is still unknown. But it is symptomatic that Bordaberry hasn't dared to lay hands on *Nueve de Febrero*. We have yet to see if he'll allow the public meeting to be held.

The present government's survival, and the road that would open up should it be replaced, are directly conditioned by the form of action that the workers movement follows in the future. Although the defeat of the general strike wasn't a catastrophe on the scale of Chile, it led to demoralization, the firing of hundreds of activists, etc. The government outlawed the CNT [Convención Nacional de Trabajadores—National Workers Congress], but it hasn't touched the trade unions. It established ultrareactionary trade-union "regulations," but it was forced to "freeze" them in the face of the danger that, even with these rules, by calling for trade-union elections the left-wing would win as in the University.

The workers movement has been hit primarily on the level of factory activists, *internas*, etc. The CNT Stalinist bureaucracy could do nothing to defend them. But it is precisely here that the initial signs of a recovery can be seen. First of all, the people's spirit has changed. After the coup many workers thought that "the dictatorship would last twenty years." Now many workers already view the government as weak and divided. Besides this change in the morale of compañeros, a few struggles, although still small and restricted, are beginning to surface. The people too are beginning to realize that something has to be done to protect wages.

Sooner or later the recovery of the workers movement will be aided by the present government's own weakness and the divisions among the bosses. But, if this recovery takes shape under the aegis of the old Stalinist bureaucracy, the workers could face another disaster like last year's. The fact is that the CP hasn't learned a thing from this experience, and it blindly follows its line of having the workers tail-end the "progressive" civilian or military sectors of the bourgeoisie. There is only one way to avoid this danger: to construct a revolutionary workers party that can offer the workers a different alternative.

Workers mobilization sweeps French Antilles

[The following article appeared in the February 1 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The workers of *France-Antilles*, the colonial rag put out in the Antilles by the Hersant press trust, have been on strike for more than two months. They are demanding decent wages, the right of collective bargaining, and recognition of their union.

Since January 10 the construction workers have been in struggle against low wages and the high cost of living. They are demanding a 25 percent wage increase, which would bring the salary for an unskilled worker to 6.25 francs an hour [about US\$1.25], that is, 1,087.50 francs a month [about US\$217]. In an interunion general assembly they decided to go on strike indefinitely beginning January 10.

Since January 8 student youth in Martinique and Guadeloupe have been engaged in a powerful movement against increases in the price of room and board and partial board.

Since January 16 the agricultural workers at Vivé au Lorrain (in Martinique) have been on strike. They are demanding a daily wage of 35.60

francs, an increase of 6.05 francs a day.

At Fonds Brûlé and at Acier the agricultural workers are also mobilizing against the landowners.

At the Martinique International Paper Company, at Eux du Sud, in the hospitals, at SPEDEM, and at SPEDEG (in Martinique and Guadeloupe), everywhere the workers are in struggle.

In face of this mobilization, the regime is not pulling any punches. It is responding with the club and with class justice. The cops invaded the offices of *France-Antilles* and threw the workers out. Two workers were tried and sentenced. The mobile guard burst into the high schools and clubbed the young strikers. The police department decided to close all the schools.

The employers, strengthened by government support, have deliberately sabotaged the so-called negotiations. *France-Antilles* is being peddled by cops! It's unprecedented.

But the workers and youth are not taking it passively. The exemplary struggle of the *France-Antilles* workers has spread like an oil slick and has touched off a virtually general movement of workers mobilization.

That general movement was concretized by a general strike on January 8 to support the *France-Antilles* workers. Powerful mobilizations united the student youth and the workers of Fort-de-France. Also in Pointe-à-Pitre (Guadeloupe), the youth are demonstrating against the increase in boarding rates.

This wave of struggle is living proof of the sharpening contradictions of the colonial system. But the various struggles are not yet unified; they are not converging toward a general confrontation with the French colonialist regime. The task of the Antilles revolutionary Marxists, of our comrades of the Groupe Révolution Socialiste [Socialist Revolution Group], Antilles section of the Fourth International, is exactly to fight for the unification, extension, and politicization of these partial battles.

They are doing this by calling attention to the forms of struggle (democratically elected strike committees, support committees, self-defense against the colonial armed bands). And they are doing it by raising in the union meetings and the support committees demands against unemployment and the high cost of living that can be taken up by all the workers.

The most important of these demands are: sliding scale of wages under workers control; against low wages, equal increases for all; against unemployment and layoffs, reduction of the workweek with no cut in pay.

And they are also doing it through their Jeunesses d'Avantgard [Vanguard Youth] circles by calling on the high-schoolers in struggle to join in the battles of the workers. Dissemination of news and linking of the various struggles are assured by distribution of a weekly workers bulletin called "Le Travailleur Rouge" [The Red Worker].

The main unions in Martinique, supported by the political organizations, have raised the slogan of an "unlimited general strike" beginning February 11. On this island, where the clanging of the chains of slavery still rings out, where helicopters keeping watch are in the air constantly, where ten barracks of soldiers keep watch over three high schools, where the population is threatened by a contingent of legionnaires recently posted a few thousand kilometers away in Guyana, every development of popular struggle is immediately exposed to colonial repression.

Internationalist solidarity in France was never more decisive!

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Rumanian Stalinists help out Chilean junta

By Ted Harding

The Stalinist bureaucrats of Rumania will invest \$3 million in Chilean mines according to Santiago sources quoted in the January 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

The Rumanian company Geomin, according to the report, is attempting to obtain permission to invest in a Chilean mining company. Chilean officials say that the Rumanian investment will be split—\$1 million going into materials and \$2 million into capital investment.

Rumania has continued its diplomatic relations with Chile since the military coup. Shortly before the coup (on September 2, 1973), a Chilean-Rumanian agreement was signed for the construction of a copper plant in both countries. This agreement has not been canceled. If the deal involving Rumanian investment goes through, then the September 2 agreement will probably also be carried out.

This latest development comes four months after a six-country tour of Latin America by CP boss Nicolae Ceausescu.

During this tour he was to have visited Argentina and Chile. The Argentine tour was canceled because of the presidential election there and the Chilean visit because of the military coup.

But the Rumanian population received no explanation for the cancellation. On his return home, Ceausescu made no mention of the projected Chilean visit in his airport speech, and neither did the extensive resolution of the Communist party Executive Committee of September 26, which evaluated the Latin American tour.

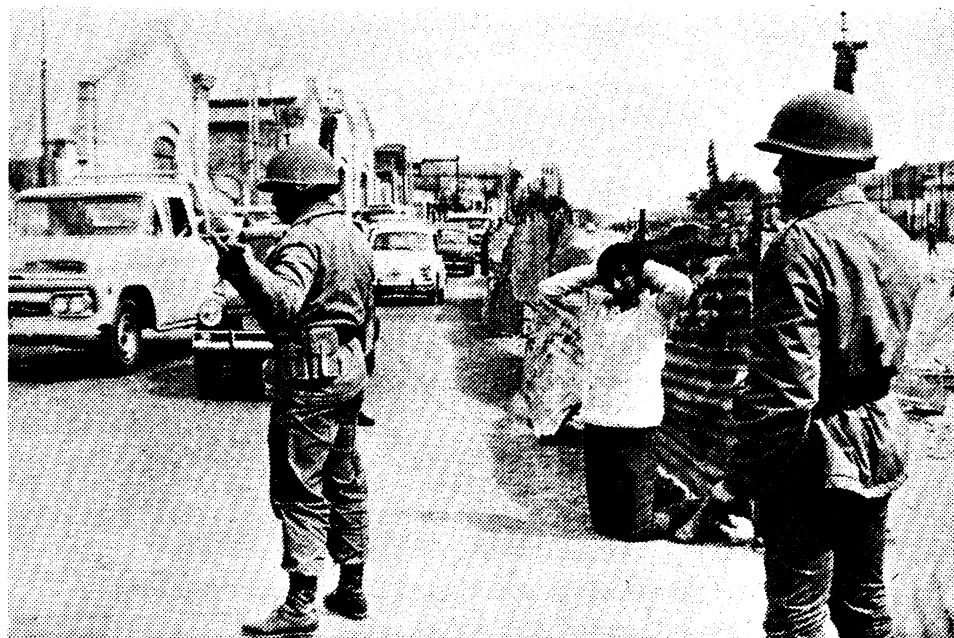
Although the official Rumanian press has protested against the repression in Chile, and the party leadership was even charitable enough to offer Luis Corvalán political asylum were he to obtain permission to emigrate,

the bureaucracy has decided that events should not interfere with "business as usual."

This new move of Rumanian foreign policy is no surprise. For the past decade or so, the Rumanian bureaucracy has been carrying out a reactionary foreign policy that has been hailed by both bourgeois and Stalinist commentators for its "bold independence." This diplomacy has led it to embrace some of the world's leading reactionaries: Morocco's Hassan II, former premier Papadopoulos

of Greece, the shah of Iran, Franco.

During his stopover in Peru on the Latin American tour, Ceausescu gave that country's military government unqualified support. In an official communiqué issued September 20, he expressed support for the "measures taken by the revolutionary government of the armed forces" and for the "political, economic, and cultural transformation that was designed to establish a new and free national humanist society based on social justice."



Chilean junta has been doing its best to attract foreign capital to help sagging economy. Rumanian Stalinists have obliged despite savage repression.

Amnesty International's 'Report on Torture'

"Though a state may admit that it holds political prisoners," write the authors of the Amnesty International report on torture, "it will never admit that it uses torture. The confrontation between the individual and the limitless power of the state, between the torturer and his victim, takes place in the darkest recess of political power."

In this comprehensive report, Amnesty International undertakes to direct some light into the "darkest recess." The report has the aim of "arousing public opinion to the danger which threatens the citizens of every country, however long its tradition of civilised conduct. For nothing is clearer from the record which follows than that once one group of citizens has been set on one side as licensed to torture, and another as a group so far beyond consideration as human beings that any brutality can be inflicted on them, the fatal step has been taken. The group of victims is rapidly enlarged while, at the same time, the apparatus of the state moves in to protect the torturers from punishment or, even, from enquiry."

More than half of the report is devoted to a country-by-country survey of allegations of torture around the world. Amnesty does not pretend that its survey is exhaustive; on the contrary, the authors point out that regimes that maintain their power by the systematized use of torture may be more capable than a democracy of concealing their crimes:

"... in the countries where torture is used the collection of evidence on the practice becomes difficult, if not impossible. The atmosphere of terror and intimidation created in that way prevents enquiry, from inside or outside the country concerned."

Despite such difficulties, Amnesty has compiled a depressingly long list of countries in which torture is practised by those in power. It would appear to be most widespread in Latin America. Costa Rica, the report notes, "is the only Latin American country from which Amnesty International has received no allegations of torture."

This is hardly fortuitous. Not only are most of the governments in the region extremely unstable, but the area is also, perhaps more than any other, the special preserve of U.S. imperialism. While Amnesty finds no evidence



Saigon police drag away protesters. Torture is widespread in outposts of the 'free world' closely linked to U.S.

that torture is systematically used as an administrative policy in the United States, the report again and again notes the most institutionalized use of torture in countries where the regime is a special client of Washington: Bolivia, Brazil, Greece, Paraguay, South Vietnam, etc.

Report on Torture by Amnesty International. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1973. 224 pp. £1.50.

Torture, the authors note in their introduction, "is not simply an indigenous activity, it is international; foreign experts are sent from one country to another, schools of torture explain and demonstrate methods, and modern torture equipment used in torture is exported from one country to another."

Torturers who want the "best" equipment naturally tend to shop for it where technology is highly advanced. In July 1972, the London *Times* revealed that the Pakistani military attaché in the United States was purchasing "instruments of torture." Bhutto's

government denied ordering the purchase, claiming that it had been authorized by Yahya Khan. But nobody denied that torture instruments were available for sale in the United States.

The internationalizing of torture and its increased use are not difficult to trace to the needs of imperialism threatened by the revolt of its subjects, whether they are rebelling directly against the imperialist oppressor or its native puppet. If torture is more widespread in South Vietnam than in Northern Ireland, the reason is not any British "tradition of civilized conduct" but the greater advancement of the Vietnamese revolution.

In the era of the death agony of imperialism, torture takes on a new function. Whereas historically it was primarily a means of extracting information or confessions, it is now chiefly a weapon of intimidation.

"The deliberate infliction of pain by one human being on another to break him is a special horror," the authors write in their introduction. "It is significant that torture is the one form of violence today that a state will always deny and never justify. The state may justify mass murder and glorify those that kill as killers, but it never justifies torture nor glorifies those that torture as torturers."

"And yet the use of torture has by all indications increased over the last few years. The continual limited wars of our time—civil wars, colonial wars, and territorial wars—account for part of this, but an increasing proportion is accounted for by states who use torture as a means of governing. Torture in those countries plays an integral role in the political system itself. Its function is not only to generate confessions and information from citizens believed to oppose the government; it is used to deter others from expressing opposition. For those who govern without the consent of the governed this has proved to be an effective method of maintaining power. To set torture as the price of dissent is to be assured that only a small minority will act. With the majority neutralised by fear, the well-equipped forces of repression can concentrate on an isolated minority."

There is very little effective defense of torture victims available at present,

Amnesty concludes. The United Nations and other international bodies cannot be expected to oppose the practice seriously when their member governments themselves make use of it. The pressure of public opinion may sometimes be helpful, but this is difficult to mobilize when the victims are little known and the government involved denies and conceals its use of torture.

A potentially very powerful means of publicizing cases of torture and mobilizing world opinion against it does exist. The governments of the degenerated and deformed workers states have the means at their disposal for a powerful international campaign against the brutalities of decaying capitalism.

But such a campaign would require clean hands on the part of the governments of the workers states and a devotion to the interests of the oppressed rather than to diplomatic deals with their oppressors. Both these prerequisites are lacking.

The use of torture, particularly psychological torture, against Soviet dissidents has been well documented by such samizdat publications as the *Chronicle of Current Events* and is summarized in the Amnesty report.

It is therefore not surprising that the Soviet bureaucrats are prepared to overlook similar or even more barbaric measures on the part of potential diplomatic friends. The report describes the case of Greece:

"Relations [between Moscow and Athens] began to improve in the 1960s as part of the general détente, but it was with the advent of the Colonels that the Soviet bloc made a special effort to improve relations with Greece. Russian policy has shown a marked preference for this regime and economic, political, and cultural relations have expanded."

"While the media in the Soviet bloc have been critical of the Greek regime, particularly at its outset, the most astonishing aspect was that the line among party members in Eastern Europe is that the Colonels 'have done many things.' Most shocking has been the action of the Bulgarians in returning escaped Greeks who asked for political asylum."

—David Burton

Appeal for end to torture in Brazil

Amnesty International appealed January 15 for a general amnesty for all political prisoners in Brazil and for an end to the torture and killing of dissenters.

Amnesty International, which published a major report in September 1972 on torture in Brazil, said the torture of political prisoners was still going on, according to reports it has received since then.

A new and worrying trend was the disappearance of more and more people without trace. Also growing was the number of persons whom police claimed were "killed while trying to escape." Amnesty International is compiling a list of persons who have died in custody in Brazil. The list will be presented to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights when it holds hearings on Brazil early next

month.

Amnesty said it was seeking support from churches, trade unions, professional organizations and similar bodies throughout the world for its campaign to persuade the Brazilian government to release political prisoners. Focal points for the campaign are the inauguration of the president on March 15 and the tenth anniversary of the present military regime on April 1.

"A great deal of publicity has been given to the 'economic miracle' which the Brazilian government says it has achieved," an Amnesty spokesman said. "We believe the government would demonstrate its confidence in this achievement by freeing all political prisoners now and taking steps to end the torture and killing of real or suspected political dissidents."

'A NEW STAGE IN POLITICAL LIFE'

ISRAEL AFTER THE WAR: AN INTERVIEW

The following interview with Michel Warshawsky, one of the main leaders of the Israeli Trotskyists organized in the Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), was obtained Jan. 12, 1974.

In the Dec. 31 parliamentary elections referred to in the interview, the ISO urged a vote for the Israeli Communist Party (Rakah). In a leaflet explaining its election policy, the ISO said:

"Under present conditions voting for Rakah in no way means endorsing this party and its ideas. It is a protest vote against the regime's policy, the Zionist policy, for Rakah is neither a Zionist party nor a bourgeois party.

"We Trotskyists have deep differences with Rakah, both on general policy and on daily practice. Rakah attacks us violently, calling us 'adventurists,' 'agents of reaction,' and 'anti-Soviet elements.'

"Rakah uncritically supports the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful co-existence. We oppose this policy vehemently, for it is counterrevolutionary. It is a policy that sacrifices the class struggle and the revolutionary war of the oppressed peoples on the altar of the détente between American imperialism and the bureaucracy in power in the Soviet Union.

"Rakah sings the praises of any regime that maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union. We, on the other hand, determine our attitude toward each regime on the basis of its class character and its action in the world revolutionary struggle, not according to its relations with the Soviet Union. . . .

"Rakah says that it is possible to achieve peace and to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 242. We affirm that this is an illusion and a dangerous error. There cannot be peace based on an agreement among the great powers, an agreement that recognizes the existence of the state of Israel and the Arab bourgeois regimes, an agreement concluded at the expense of the Palestinian Arabs.

"As long as full national rights are denied the Palestinian Arabs, there can be no solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict. Any accord that does not grant those rights will only prepare the ground for the next round in the war that has set Jews against Arabs for three generations.

"Rakah disagrees with us on this and on many other questions. But in the Knesset elections, these questions are not at stake. The problem is to know how to express the broadest possible opposition in the elections to Zionist policy.

"For us, there is only one way to do this: Vote for Rakah, which is neither Zionist nor bourgeois."

The interview with Warshawsky is abridged from the Jan. 18 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

Question. What have been the consequences inside Israel of the October War?

Answer. First off, the October crisis has produced a challenge to the leadership of the Zionist state. For six years, ever since June 1967, the situation of no war, no peace had been presented as the best possible one for Israel. The myth of the invulnerability of the Zionist state made that belief



Arab women in 1968 protest in Jerusalem. October war has spurred reemergence of Arab nationalist sentiment.

credible. So the partial defeat of October 1973 no doubt marks a new stage in political life here.

This new state of affairs was crystallized in the recent elections [on December 31]. There was a significant increase in the vote for the right-wing bloc, Likud. But we should note immediately that this did not represent a popular desire for a harder line. Essentially it was an expression of defiance of the existing government. The government came out of the election in a weakened position. Under the pressure of the "doves" in the Labor party, and in order to avoid a debacle, the Labor coalition presented itself as a peace coalition. But, paradoxically, its general weakening will strengthen the party's right wing, especially Dayan and Golda Meir.

Q. Hasn't the Yom Kippur War intensified the economic crisis in Israel?

A. Yes; in fact, the war has been very costly. Inflation today is running at rates comparable to those in Latin America. The cost of living has recently gone up by 60 to 100 percent. There are various causes of the crisis. First, the necessity to construct an arms industry way out of proportion to the rest of industry. Then, the direct or indirect mobilization of hundreds of thousands of people has disorganized production. Finally, to this has been added a slowdown in the influx of credit owing to the impending international recession.

Q. What repercussions did the war have in the occupied territories?

A. Just after the sharpest phase of the conflict, a very severe repression came down in the occupied territories. The Zionist state will not tolerate the emergence of an alternative leadership to the rotten, corrupted old notables. The main organizers of the alternative leadership were deported. For more than a month there were strikes in the high schools and among Arab students. The lack of clear goals for these struggles caused them to peter out. Today, the high schools have been reopened.

Nevertheless, the most important result of the 1973 war has been the reemergence of Arab nationalist senti-

ments, both in the occupied territories and among Israeli Arabs. Today an alternative policy could emerge leading toward a Palestinian state.

Q. The Rakah Communist party appears to have been the big winner among the Arab population during the recent elections. What is the meaning of that development?

A. Rakah got 55,000 votes and won one additional Knesset deputy. You have to understand that Rakah is seen not as the party of the working class, but as the party of the Arab population. As against Rakah, the Arab parties affiliated to the Labor party suffered a stinging defeat. Those parties won only three deputies, two of which were elected thanks to the votes of Israeli-Jews.

Basically, the Arab population voted for Rakah to show its opposition to Zionism. You have to understand that since the 1967 war Rakah has been moving continually to the right. It has been severely criticized, even among its own members, for accepting UN Resolution 242, for seeking to set up a peace front with parties to its right, and especially for seeking to establish a base among the Israeli-Jews. In the past year, many second-level cadres have quit.

Nevertheless, the attacks unleashed since the October War by all the Zionist parties, from far-right to left, have helped Rakah a lot.

Our decision under those circumstances to vote for Rakah was especially well-founded. We were not a credible alternative against Rakah; we would not have had the forces to organize the people who would have voted for us. And at the same time, our real influence in the Arab villages would have declined in favor of Rakah and this would have been a demoralizing factor.

Q. What are your aims in the present situation?

A. The 1973 war has generally freed up our ability to intervene. After 1967 it was difficult to explain to an Israeli that Zionism offered no solution to the problems of the Jewish people, that Israel could not continue indefinitely to live in a hostile environment. Today, with the myth of Israeli power

put in question, there is a greater receptivity to our analyses. During the election campaign, we held larger meetings than ever before. Our circles have grown considerably. In Haifa and Jerusalem, we have hegemony in the high-school movement.

The economic crisis will trigger the development of workers struggles. Today, we don't have the strength to launch them, or even to instigate them. Nevertheless, our tasks in building solidarity when they do break out will be very important.

Q. How about the consequences of the war inside the army?

A. We repeat that the demoralization is terrible. The Israeli army is a reserve army. The soldiers have been mobilized for three and a half months now and they have been told that they won't be demobilized before April. Many of them have families and problems with their jobs. Their economic situation is worsening. These things are heavily felt. The right-wing coalition got a majority of votes in the army. But as I said, this signifies defiance of the Labor party rather than a rise of fascist tendencies. Our comrades who were taken into the army are continuing their propaganda work. In fact, they were even able to distribute a leaflet.

Q. How do you view the Geneva negotiations?

A. Israel went to Geneva under international pressure, especially U.S. pressure. The Israeli leaders are counting on dragging out the talks for two or three years. There is one crucial problem for them: changing around the current cease-fire lines. Because their present length and complexity demand a strong mobilization that is incompatible with the functioning of Israeli society.

This is the meaning of the latest Dayan-Kissinger proposals. Retreat from the west bank of the canal will offer Israel more favorable lines of defense. Once that problem is solved, Israel could drag the negotiations out until the diplomatic situation is more favorable to it. The Israeli leaders hope that American pressure will then diminish.

FUEL CRISIS SWINDLE EXPOSED

The Last Play: The Struggle to Monopolize the World's Energy Resources by James Ridgeway. E.P. Dutton, New York, 1973. Cloth, \$10. 448 pp.

"The domination of oil, gas, coal, and uranium by large energy trusts has helped to create its own energy crisis, raising prices, changing markets, carving out new resource colonies, leading to growing disparity between rich and poor."

This is James Ridgeway's conclusion in his exposé of the "fuel shortage" fraud. Author of two previous books on the corporate giants, *The Closed Corporation* and *The Politics of Ecology*, Ridgeway knows what kind of predatory beast he is hunting. Unlike Big Foot or the Loch Ness Monster, there are plenty of signs that the Energy Monopoly is real, even if Ridgeway is not entirely sure how to slay it.

The book is divided into two parts: "Monopoly in Energy" (an indictment of the trusts) and "A Guide to the Energy Industry." The latter is a compilation of facts on the production, use, and control of fuels. It includes a dossier on every major energy corporation and shows their directors, owners, "interlocks" with other corpora-



Greed of capitalists is cause of unsafe working conditions in mines. Recently oil monopolies have increased their holdings of coal mines, and now control over a third of coal industry.

of industry statistics on profits and reserves, the oil import quota that until recently kept prices high by excluding cheaper imported oil, the criminally lax health and safety inspections of the Bureau of Mines that allow operators to turn miners' blood into cash, and the dizzying array of tax loopholes exploited by the trusts.

Another friend-in-greed has been the labor bureaucracy. Under the slogan "more for fewer" United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis accepted mechanization under terms that meant the firing and impoverishment of a large percentage of UMW membership.

Ridgeway quotes Lewis as saying: "Because we recognized that in this free enterprise system that exists in the United States, investment for profits, reward for incentive, capitalism, call it what you may, could only endure in the world of international competition if it could expand its processes. . . . we just had to improve the processes of mining coal, and we accepted the machine."

Today a new miner leadership is less thoughtful about the competitive needs of a boss class that does not give a damn whether miners live or die, and it is demanding that workers share in the benefits of mechanization through a shorter work-week and safe working conditions. Ridgeway's

book is helpful in understanding their struggle, and that of the miners in Britain.

He goes so far as to use the term "resource colony" even to describe the Appalachian region, whose people "find themselves in a position analogous to that of people living in the Middle East, in Canada, and in South Africa. . . . Production of energy necessitates ever-increasing amounts of money for heavy, semiautomated machinery. Declining amounts of money are spent to employ people."

The Last Play ends by outlining sweeping reforms, beginning with independent public surveys of energy resources and leading to binding overall energy and economic plans drawn up by elected public agencies. Rather than trusting bureaucrats, Ridgeway recognizes the need for mass participation in this process.

"In Logan County, scene of 1972's disastrous flood, such a community organization of survivors and miners might well apply for and win control of the five Pittston Co. mines. . . . the men who work the mines, and whose lives are directly affected by them, would control the mines, and they would work the mines to develop their own communities. . . ."

This plan is similar to the plan of Senator Adlai Stevenson and other liberal Democrats to create a federal oil and gas corporation to develop the energy reserves on public lands. Although reformist socialists such as Michael Harrington wax enthusiastic over the bill (*Village Voice*, Dec. 6, 1973), such a scheme would only use public money to make U.S. capitalism more competitive in the world market, since development is the most expensive and risky aspect of the industry.

As Stevenson himself wrote in the Jan. 19 issue of *Environmental Action*: "Far from providing a forerunner for nationalizing the American petroleum industry, this corporation would create a free enterprise system in the oil and gas industry worth preserving." By not explaining what is to be done with the *existing* industry, which he so thoroughly explains has already established an iron grip on current production, transport, and distribution, Ridgeway leaves the door open to an interpretation of his ideas that would only prop up a collapsing system.

Despite this confusion over how to establish democratic control over energy production, *The Last Play* is an invaluable handbook for the truckers, miners, consumers, environmentalists, and other Americans beginning to fight back against the oil bosses. —STEVE BECK

Books

tions, and the hidden forces—the banks, foundations and insurance companies—that stand behind them.

In Ridgeway's view, rising nationalism in the oil producing Arab countries convinced the trusts to "diversify." They branched out so as to dominate the development of coal, uranium, natural gas, and petroleum in other parts of the world as these gained in importance. While, embargo or not, the oil majors continued to reap huge profits from Middle Eastern oil, they were purchasing the largest coal firms, taking over 45 percent of the nation's uranium reserves, bidding eagerly for offshore gas fields, and beginning to explore for oil in Southeast Asia.

Such a game plan required a crooked referee. "Within the United States," Ridgeway writes, "this industrial realignment was carried forward with cooperation, indeed, encouragement of the federal governments under both Republicans and Democrats. . . ."

He blasts the pliant state and federal agencies packed with "oil men," their gullible acceptance

TWO HOURS OF PSYCHIC ABUSE

The Exorcist. Directed by William Friedkin. Produced and written by William Peter Blatty.

Although the book *The Exorcist* wasn't the best piece of literature I've read, it was immensely better than William Friedkin's movie. I say this despite all the hullabaloo about how much Friedkin adheres to the spirit, if not the detail, of the novel. The book and the movie are about two totally different things.

The book was about the effect of a small girl's (Regan) possession on the people who surrounded her. It is the story of a life and death struggle between absolute good and absolute evil. This battle is set in a modern community whose moral standards are ambiguous to say the least. William Peter Blatty, who wrote the book and the screenplay, uses Father Karras as the focus of the novel. This is done because the Devil's target isn't Regan at all. The struggle between her and the first exorcist, Merrin, is the fight between God and the Devil for Karras's soul.

While it's old-hat, the moral vision of Blatty's novel is at least well-defined.

In directing *The Exorcist*, Friedkin has substituted his preoccupation with gimmickry for the novel's spirit. He simply flipped through the book and tossed out anything his horror machines couldn't handle. The movie is contoured exclusively around the individual sequences of horror. Friedkin is not in the least bit concerned with ideas, story, pacing, or even common sense. The movie is concerned only with visually depicting the effects of the demon on Regan (in the novel, it's the exor-

cist who is central).

Ironically, the film, with its literal approach to the possession, is far less convincing than the book. That's not to say it isn't scary. It is. But that fear is based on an anxiety over whether or not you'll be able to stomach whatever takes place the next time they open Regan's bedroom door. You don't believe anything—you're just worried about being grossed out.

When you read in the book about Regan's head spinning 'round in its socket or her levitating above her bed, you can imagine it. When you see this on the screen you'll probably do what I did—say "Right On!" to the special effects coordinator, Marcel Vercoutere. The movie is gimmicky.

Now, I admit that the vast majority of people seeing *The Exorcist* aren't worried about the points I've raised. Sitting through a showing of the film in a typically packed theater convinced me of this.

Film

The audience responds to this film exactly the way Friedkin directed it—a test of psychic endurance. Hundreds of thousands of people are paying money to prove to themselves and their friends that they can take it. It's like playing "Chicken"—you get abused, but you prove how hard you are. When you get home, you can brag about how you sat all the way through to the credits.

Another indication that this is the attitude of the mass of moviegoers to *The Exorcist* is the increased numbers seeing the film despite horror

stories about people fainting, vomiting, having miscarriages, and even becoming possessed themselves. (For those who are interested, aside from being disgusted with the film, I suffered no ill-effects from seeing it.)

The novel is the kind of book that a good director could improve on. To do this would have meant sticking to the spirit of the book. Friedkin's approach totally butchers what good there was in Blatty's novel.

Perhaps Friedkin's unexpected success with *The French Connection* went to his head. Nevertheless, he went in over it when he tried to tackle *The Exorcist*. —NORMAN OLIVER



THE DEVIL: Power at box office not in question

...British miners battle Tory wage controls

Continued from page 24

polled said the miners should be taken as a special case outside the government's incomes policy, while 60 percent said they should not. But this month 50 percent are for settling the miners' dispute outside Phase 3 limits, while only 44 percent are opposed.

The Tories also face mounting economic problems caused by the three-day workweek. This measure was intended, when Heath imposed it in mid-December, to mobilize public opinion against the miners. Its failure to do so has merely left the Tories with escalating economic dangers as output slumps even further than its current 25 percent drop from normal output levels.

By late March, according to the National Economic Development Council, manufacturing output will be 40 to 50 percent below normal. Unemployment, which already includes at least 2 million registered as temporarily unemployed due to the three-day week, will spiral as industry grinds to a halt.

'Economics of catastrophe'

The Feb. 6 *Guardian* suggested that the government might be forced to put industry on a two-day workweek if the miners' strike leads to a swift decline in coal stocks.

"Then," the influential capitalist paper continued, "we are into the economics of catastrophe. For many firms it would not be worth continuing production. The fall in living standards, the damage to the industrial structure, the utter social chaos that would fol-

a new mandate for further attacks on the miners.

The Conservative Party election manifesto published Feb. 11 charged: "The choice before the nation today, as never before, is a clear choice between moderation and extremism.

"We therefore appeal, at this critical time in our country's affairs, for the support of the great moderate majority of the British people, men and women of all parties and no party, who reject extremism in any shape or form."

The manifesto stressed the party's determination to stand by Phase 3 and force a settlement within its terms on the miners.

In addition to whipping up antiunion feeling and launching a scare about "extremists," the Tories have begun to gird themselves for a vicious, bitter struggle against the miners' strike. In a speech to a Tory rally Feb. 8, Attorney-General Sir Peter Rowlison warned the miners that any repetition of their mass "flying pickets" used so successfully in the 1972 strike to block all movements of coal would be considered illegal by the government.

The government threat to interfere with the right to picket has already intimidated the NUM leadership. Just before Heath's election announcement the NUM brass sent out strict instructions to NUM area secretaries that pickets should not include more than six people.

In Nottinghamshire, NUM officials said that they would ask the police to move on any groups other than miners who turned up at picket lines.

If these bureaucrats succeed in preventing effective picketing, the miners will lose one of their most valuable weapons in the struggle that lies ahead.

Red-baiting

The labor leaders have also been totally unable to answer the red-baiting tactics of the Tories. Indeed, desperate to dissociate themselves from Communists and trade-union militants, the Labour Party leaders have themselves joined the chorus of McCarthyite witch-hunters.

The Communist Party, too, has proved unable to throw back the red-baiting attacks.

The Labour Party's attacks on the CP revolved around a statement by Michael McGahey, vice-president of the NUM and a member of the CP's political committee, at a miners' rally in Aberdeen on Jan. 27. McGahey said that "if the government employs troops, if necessary I will appeal to them to assist and aid the miners."

Faced by the Labour Party's attacks, McGahey and the CP beat a hasty retreat. On Jan. 29 he denied any intention to agitate among the troops if they were sent to break the miners' strike and reaffirmed the CP's view that socialism would only be achieved through Parliament.

"I would not ask one single soldier to countermand an instruction he received . . .," McGahey contritely pledged. "I reject the terms that have been directed against me, about overthrowing the government. I have never used such terms in my life. Defeat the Government at the ballot box—that is our position."

Labour leaders' treachery

The Labour Party leaders' treacherous role in the miners' struggle was fully confirmed by party leader Harold Wilson's attempts to persuade the NUM to stop their strike plans for the duration of the election campaign.

The Labour Party's election manifesto, released on Feb. 8, revealed Wilson's procapitalist and anti-working class approach to the crisis.



NUM's GORMLEY (left) & HEATH: Neither has been able to dampen miners' struggle.

The manifesto openly committed the party to support for an incomes policy, saying, "Only practical action by the government to create a much fairer distribution of the national wealth can convince the worker and his family and his trade union that an 'incomes policy' is not some kind of trick to force him, particularly if he works in a public service or a nationalised industry, to bear the brunt of the national burden."

No party of the workers should attempt to cajole them into thinking that an incomes policy—"voluntary" or otherwise—is anything other than an attempt to drive down real wages and boost profits.

The manifesto also promises "substantially to extend public enterprise," but it is clear that this promise falls far short of what is needed. In order to plan the use of resources for the needs of the people, a Labour Party government should nationalize the land, the big industrial monopolies, and the financial institutions and operate them under workers control.

Labour Party and Ireland

Most striking about the Labour Party manifesto is the absence of any reference to the attitude of a future Labour government to the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination.

To date the Labour Party brass have backed the Tories all down the line in their campaign against the Irish people. It was, after all, the last Labour government that first sent British troops to Ireland in 1969.

A real socialist policy would call for a mass campaign in Britain to get the troops immediately withdrawn, release all Irish political prisoners, and acknowledge the right of the Irish people to determine their own affairs.

The Labour leaders' shameful complicity with the oppression of the people of Ireland is paralleled by their pro-Zionist support for the colonial settler-state of Israel.

Wilson, rather than solidarize with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, proposes to *increase* the British government's military aid to Israel beyond that already given by the Tories.

It is only consistent that the manifesto then reconfirms the party's support for NATO and other imperialist war alliances.

Another failing of the manifesto is its proposal that the terms of entry into the Common Market be renegotiated. A policy really in the interests of the workers movement would repudiate the Common Market altogether, for its only purpose has been to advance the interests of European big business and cut into workers' living standards.

The Labour Party should call for an immediate withdrawal from the Common Market and fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.

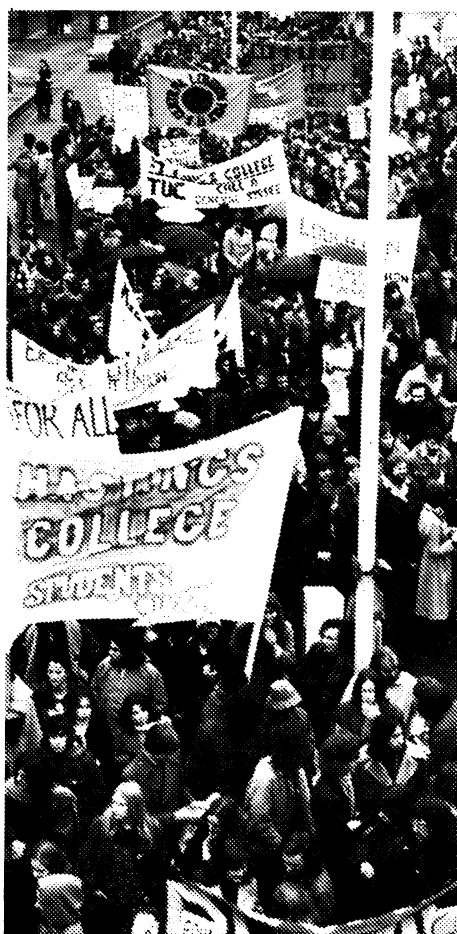
A class vote

The bureaucratic leadership of the Labour Party presents itself as a major obstacle in the struggle for socialism. Its red-baiting attacks on the miners at the height of their struggle and its right-wing manifesto proposals only hold back the working class movement and do nothing to advance it.

While vigorously criticizing these misleaders, however, socialists will be calling for a vote for the Labour Party in the coming election to defeat the Tory government.

Many bourgeois commentators have correctly noted that the approaching election will be the most bitter and polarized along class lines for many decades.

As the Feb. 8 *Times* editorial put it: "This will be a very difficult and perhaps a very bitter election. It is the first election in British history to be forced by an industrial dispute. . . . It is the first election since 1931 to be fought in a period of economic crisis. It is an election which affects fundamental social and economic relationships in our society."



Thousands of students march in London to support miners' strike and demand more financial aid for students.

low would create a situation beyond rational contemplation."

According to the *Guardian*, "at best, the government has about 6 weeks in hand. That is roughly how long coal stocks would last at present levels of consumption before the danger level was reached."

These dangers have prompted some industrialists to caution Heath to pull back from his confrontational stance toward the miners, even if that means a temporary retreat from Phase 3.

But Heath, determined to defend Phase 3 at all costs, responded to the miners' strike decision with further intransigence: a general election employing the crudest antiunion demagoguery and red-baiting in a bid to win

U.S. miners declare solidarity

"We refuse to lend aid and comfort to a government which has declared war on British coal miners," declared Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW).

"We would never knowingly mine coal to break a strike and we sincerely and respectfully request our brothers on the docks of England not to unload any American coal shipped for that purpose."

In his statement, issued Feb. 15, Patrick said, "We have information which leads us to believe that coal is now being diverted to England in increasing quantities via trans-

shipment through continental European ports. . . .

"We believe that coal from a number of American mines is finding its way to England. Under federal law we are powerless to stop these exports ourselves, but we can and do urge dockworkers in England to refuse to unload these shipments. . . .

"We have no direct control over American coal once it leaves the mines. But we stand shoulder-to-shoulder with brother miners in England and we regard any attempt to break their strike as a direct attack on us."

...Soviet

Continued from page 5

of the period when Lenin—and Trotsky—led the Bolshevik party would be even more of a threat to the Kremlin bureaucrats than is Solzhenitsyn's study of Stalin's concentration camps. *The Gulag Archipelago*, a work consciously anti-Marxist, can nevertheless stimulate Soviet Marxists to rediscover the Leninism that has been hidden and distorted for decades by Stalinist bureaucrats.

While defending the right of non-Marxists like Solzhenitsyn to participate in this work, Medvedev concedes nothing to Solzhenitsyn's erroneous ideas. Noting that the novelist has turned to religion in his reaction against Stalinism, Medvedev comments:

"... for the overwhelming majority of the Soviet people, religion is no longer and cannot become the truth. Young people in the 20th century would hardly find guidance in belief in God.

"I do not very much like these ideals of Solzhenitsyn. I am deeply convinced that for the foreseeable future, our society should be built on a combination of socialism and democracy, and that specifically the development of Marxism and scientific Communism will allow creation of the most just human society."

"Before the arrest," Medvedev notes, "Solzhenitsyn considered himself a Marxist. After he went through the cruel tests described with such merciless truthfulness in 'Gulag Archipelago,' Solzhenitsyn lost his belief in Marxism. . . .

"Marxism will certainly not perish for loss of one of its former adherents. We even think that Marxism will only benefit from debate with such an opponent as Solzhenitsyn."

Medvedev is certainly right on that point. The losers in such a debate will be only the Stalinist bureaucrats.

...inflation

Continued from page 3
mandatory controls.

Direct controls have certain liabilities for the ruling class. They expose to the workers the antilabor role of

the government, and hold the danger that wage disputes can escalate into head-on confrontations between the unions and the capitalist state.

All sorts of less direct government pressure will be exerted on wages. Arbitration schemes will be pushed, with the no-strike pact signed by I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers union hailed as a model.

Especially useful, the government has found, is involving the union bureaucrats themselves in setting "voluntary" wage limits.

In a recent article entitled "Labor, the Sleeping Giant: Settlements Are Moderate, But Prices and Profits Are Almost Embarrassing," *New York Times* labor writer A. H. Raskin explained what the ruling class is looking for.

He wrote, "Indications are strong that the first half of 1974 will see an increase of only 2 or 3 per cent in the 5.8 per cent level of pay settlements negotiated last year." That, of course, would still be far below price rises, and would leave real wages still falling.

At the same time, the precedent of direct government action to hold down wages has been established, thanks to the capitulation of the union leaders.

If the unions threaten to get out of line this precedent will be invoked. And if it becomes necessary, Congress can pass new mandatory wage-control legislation in a matter of hours, just as efficiently as they have passed special strike-breaking laws in the past.

The giant is not really sleeping, though—it has been drugged and tied down by an incompetent leadership. And as more workers become conscious of this fact, the giant is liable to wake up abruptly and trample over the best-laid plans of both the capitalist rulers and the union bureaucrats.

...teachers

Continued from page 13

and students has been key to holding firm against Schaefer's strike-breaking efforts. Alfarata Le Teour, an elementary school teacher and PSTA secretary of school region 9, told *The Militant*: "The support of the parents has been an inspiration to us. It has come mainly through PTA's that have orga-

nized in our behalf to show that a victory for Baltimore teachers will mean a step forward for the educational system as a whole—a victory for quality education."

Parents and students have joined teachers at numerous rallies and picket lines. Last week 2,000 parents rallied at Poly Western Auditorium in support of the striking teachers.

Donald McAneny, president of the Yorkwood Elementary School PTA, told reporters these parent protests are to remind city officials "that there are other issues at stake that go far beyond the dollar issue."

These include general school conditions and the school system's "responsiveness to parent-child needs," McAneny said.

William Bowen, a picket captain at City High School, explained to *The Militant*, "We're just damned tired of being ripped off. We're being played for suckers by the school administration. For years we put up with a bad situation, the inflation and all. But it's intolerable now. We all know that the money is there and we're damn ready to take it down to the wire with this one."

...SLA

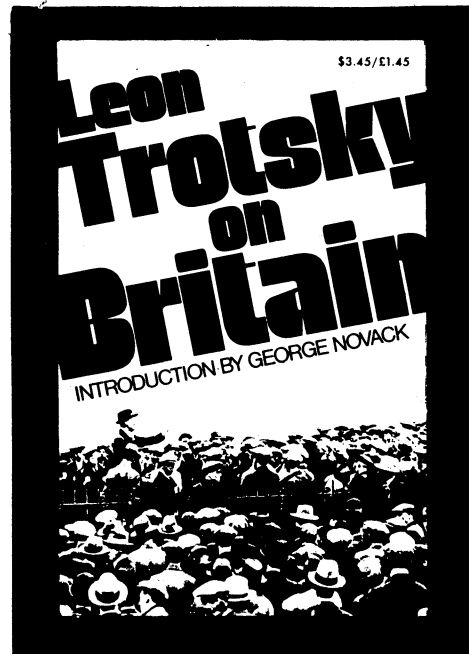
Continued from page 18

in the U.S."

Tim Findley, the *Chronicle's* "expert" on the radical movement, has even explained, with appropriate quotes, that Lenin himself opposed individual terrorism.

Perhaps one factor forestalling a hasty smear campaign aimed at discrediting the entire left is Watergate and the resultant skepticism about the role of police in terrorist acts. As Findley pointed out, "authorities themselves took a page from Weatherpeople history. In several cases, government provocateurs actually triggered violent incidents that shattered protest demonstrations into violent confrontations."

But whatever the ruling class decides to make of the kidnapping, one of the negative effects of terrorism is already beginning to appear. A demonstration called by the Coalition for Social Rights of the Disabled and Blind to protest food-stamp reductions for disabled and elderly people was canceled for fear that it might be misunderstood as support for the SLA.



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BENEFIT DANCE FOR UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION. Dance and speaker: Richard Chavez. Sat., Mar. 2, 8:30 p.m. St. Theresa's Church Auditorium (corner of Classon Ave. and Sterling Place). Donation: \$1 in advance; \$1.50 at door. Ausp: Crown Hts. Farm Worker Support Committee. For more information call (212) 771-3813 or (212) 622-5012 (eves).

BOSTON

BRITAIN'S CRISIS: WORKING PEOPLE VS. THE GOVERNMENT. Speaker: Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

IN DEFENSE OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS. Speaker: Alexander Yesenin-Volpin, former member, Initiative Group for Human Rights in Moscow, exiled in 1972. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

TRUCKERS AND THE ENERGY CRISIS: Speakers: Tom Borer, president, Northwestern Ohio chapter, Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, member Teamsters Local 407; Mike Kelly, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL/EAST SIDE

TRUCKERS' STRIKE: FIRST MASS ACTION AGAINST ENERGY FOUL-UP. Speaker: Michael Parkhurst, publisher of Overdrive magazine. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND THE CASE OF ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN. Speaker: Karen Crawford, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK STATE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1974 CAMPAIGN KICKOFF RALLY. Speakers: Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor; Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Maceo Dixon, cochairman, SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee; Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. Fri., Mar. 1, 6:30 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., rally, followed by a cabaret. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West. Donation: \$2. Ausp: New York State 1974 SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

PHILADELPHIA

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PORTLAND

ONE YEAR SINCE WOUNDED KNEE. Speaker: John Talley, cochairman of Bear Paw Clan, American Indian Movement. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark #501. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

ST. LOUIS

SOLZHENITSYN AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE SOVIET DISSIDENTS. Speaker: Marilyn Vogt, contributor to Intercontinental Press. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BAY AREA CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez; Dan Styron; and Northern California congressional candidates. Sat., Mar. 2, 8 p.m. Also, three talks by Dan Styron on socialist electoral strategy: Sat., Mar. 2, 12 noon & 3 p.m.; Sun., Mar. 3, 11 a.m. 1519 Mission St., San Francisco. Donation: \$1.50, rally; \$3, entire weekend. Ausp: SWP California Campaign. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

THE ENERGY CRISIS: REAL OR CONTRIVED? Speakers: Tim McKeown, research associate, MPIRG; Ed Finkley, executive director, Environmental Services Bureau; Nanci Kimker, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Mar. 1, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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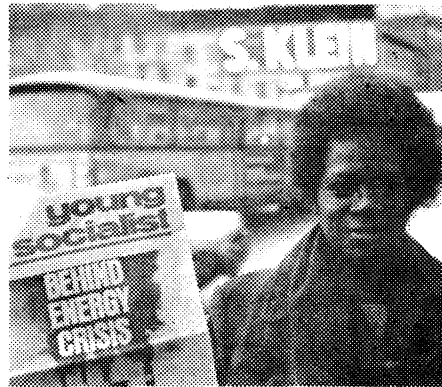
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THE MILITANT

Class struggle & elections

British miners battle Tory wage controls

By PATRICIA FRYD

LONDON — The coming general election, scheduled for Feb. 28, will be held in the most turbulent period of class struggle in Britain since the general strike of 1926.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath called the election in response to the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) decision to launch an all-out strike by its 270,000 members.

The strike decision by the NUM leadership followed a national ballot in which 81 percent of the country's miners voted in favor of strike action. No less than 22 of the NUM's 23 areas endorsed the strike call, compared with only 12 in the ballot preceding the 1972 miners' strike.

The miners' overwhelming backing for strike action showed their determination to stand up to the Tories' Phase 3 wage controls and take militant action to defend their standard of living.

Solidarity actions

Plans were immediately drawn up throughout the country for picketing and solidarity action. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) asked all affiliated unions to honor the miners' picket lines.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions stated they would do everything possible to help the miners. The train drivers' union, the General and Municipal Workers Union, and the Transport and General Workers Union have all agreed not to handle coal or oil deliveries to power stations and gasworks.

The Miners International Federation, with member unions in 34 countries, has agreed to support the NUM and has asked unions throughout the world to stop all coal exports to Britain. Already, on Jan. 21, the United Mine Workers of America had sent a \$5,000 contribution to the NUM in support of its overtime ban.

The International Transport Workers Federation has alerted dockers and seamen in France, Belgium, and other countries against shipping coal supplies to Britain during the strike. Meanwhile dockers at Immingham, the principal port for deliveries of foreign coal to Britain, have voted to refuse to handle imported coal.

The miners' decision to strike in



Militancy of rank-and-file miners has forced union leadership into confrontation with Tory government.

support of their demand for an £8.21 to £12.72 increase in their basic wages came as a major blow to the Tory attempt to impose the Phase 3 wage controls.

Anger in the pits has reached the boiling point. A prostrike Durham miner, told by a journalist that Durham miners were considered moderate, replied, "We were, but the prime minister has changed all that."

A Yorkshire miner, as the strike ballot approached, said, "If necessary I can stay out forever. I am one that doesn't come back to this industry if something isn't done."

Attempts to stop strike

The miners' seething anger prevented the NUM leadership from calling off the strike during the election period, following an appeal by Heath to do so "in the national interest." NUM President Joe Gormley bowed to this plea, saying, "we ought not to fight an election in the current climate, and therefore a strike ought to be deferred."

But the NUM national executive, afraid of widespread unofficial strike action if the strike was not reaffirmed, voted to go ahead with the strike.

After the decision Gormley explained that "the argument by the lads for continuing with the strike was that if

it was called off, the members might walk all over us."

Indeed, in some parts of the country miners had already come out on strike before the NUM leaders had their meeting. At Bilsthorpe colliery in Nottinghamshire, miners walked out early on Feb. 7 after foremen had refused to support the proposed strike. They left 23 foremen 1,500 feet underground, refusing to wind them to the surface for several hours.

Throughout the miners' struggle the militancy of the ranks has stood in sharp contrast to the timidity and hesitations of their leaders. The NUM bureaucracy refused for nearly three months to step up its action beyond the overtime ban first called on Nov. 12, thus wasting the crucial winter months when coal consumption is high and when a strike would have hit hard and quick.

Up to one week before the decision to hold a strike ballot the Communist Party, which is strongly represented at all levels of the NUM, opposed a strike.

When the ballot was held it was carefully worded to give the national executive powers to call a strike if necessary. It did not actually call for a strike. The NUM bureaucrats hoped that the vote would give them added bargain-

ing weight in continued negotiations with the government.

But the intransigence of the Tories and the massive support for strike action gave the bureaucrats no choice but to call the strike.

Escalator clause

The inadequacy of the present NUM leaders has also been highlighted by their failure to fight for an escalator clause to defend miners' living standards from inflation.

The 1972 miners' strike ended in victory and the collapse of Heath's "voluntary incomes policy." All the miners' gains, however, have been eroded by inflation because of the failure of the NUM leaders to win an escalator clause that would offset price rises with automatic wage increases.

Prices are now rising at an annual rate of 11 percent, and in 1973 food prices soared by 19 percent. If an escalator clause had been won in 1972, the miners would not be forced to fight again merely to regain what they have lost since then, but could be fighting for real wage advances justified by the huge increases in productivity in the mines.

Despite their inability to lead the struggle forward, the NUM leaders are being forced to confront the government by the sheer frustration, anger, and determination of the miners.

Students back miners

Another threat to the Tories is the growing public support for the miners' cause. Only one day after Heath's election announcement, more than 35,000 students marched through London in solidarity with the miners and in support of their own demands for higher grants.

Student unions are arranging to provide housing for miners' "flying pickets," to join miners' pickets themselves wherever they are needed, to collect large amounts of money for the strikers, and to hold campus meetings to build support for the miners' struggle.

Over the last month there has been a great swing of public sentiment toward the miners, according to a poll published in the Feb. 7 *Daily Telegraph*.

In December only 28 percent of those

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Solzhenitsyn and the struggle for socialist democracy in USSR/4