

THE MILITANT

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

Report from Little Rock

The struggle to win Black political power



1,700 attended National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark. For report and analysis, see page 3.

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TERRORIST ATTACK ON 'CLARIDAD' OFFICES IN PUERTO RICO: Five persons were seriously wounded in an armed attack on the offices and printing plant of *Claridad*, a Puerto Rican proindependence newspaper, on March 16. According to the March 19 *El Diario*, a Spanish-language daily in New York, there were three separate attacks on buildings housing the twice-weekly, which is published by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Three of those wounded were not associated with *Claridad* or the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). They were simply passing by the offices when a speeding car opened fire. The two others shot were Manuel Gonzalez, a member of the PSP political commission, and Domingo Vega, administrator of *Claridad*.

Two of the attacks took place within a few minutes of each other. Another attack on the printing plant took place several hours later, but no one was hurt.

Alberto Lopez, PSP secretary of information, informed the press that although police were nearby during the attacks, they took no action.

As of March 18, police reported no progress in the investigation, although Governor Raul Hernandez Colon declared March 17 that "the arm of the law will be felt with full force on those who might be guilty."

Claridad has been the victim of previous terrorist attacks, which are believed to have been organized by right-wing Cuban exiles.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY CELEBRATION: Fifteen hundred people marched in Chicago March 9 to chants of "Equal Pay for Equal Work!" "Boycott Jewell!" "Pass the ERA!" and "Roll Prices Back!" The march commemorated International Women's Day.

The protesters called for a release of federal funds for welfare, adequate day care, support to the Farah and



farm workers' fights, and support to the struggles of women around the world.

More than 40 organizations worked to build the action, including the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, Afro-American Solidarity Committee, Illinois Union of Social Service Employees, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Chicago Teachers Union, Young Socialist Alliance, ERA Central, National Black Feminist Organization, and National Welfare Rights Organization.

Rally speakers included Florence Criley, of the United Electrical Workers and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Josephine Flores, United Farm Workers; and Vicky Cooper, Chicago Women's Liberation Union.

Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), a civil rights organization, sponsored a day of activities honoring the legacy of Black women, along with the Chicago Urban League, NAACP, and the League of Black Women.

PUERTO RICAN SUPERPORT PLANS CONDEMNED: The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, a group supporting independence for Puerto Rico, has begun a national speaking tour in the U.S. to build opposition to the proposed superport for Puerto Rico.

The tour includes the circulation of a petition to President Nixon demanding that "U.S. multinational oil companies not be permitted to violate the rights of the Puerto Rican people" by constructing the superport and oil-refining and petrochemical complex.

The petition notes that "this complex would not solve the problem of the high rate of unemployment in Puerto Rico, would create unemployment by destroying the existing agriculture and fishing industries, and would force thousands of Puerto Ricans to migrate from their homeland to the United States. . . ."

The committee's tour includes a talk and a slide show on the superport issue. To arrange for a speaker in your area, or to get copies of the petition, contact the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, P.O. Box 1240 Peter Stuyvesant Station, New York, N.Y. 10009.

ETHIOPIAN STUDENT ACTIONS IN U.S.: Members of the Ethiopian Student Union in North America occupied the Ethiopian mission to the United Nations on March 15 with the struggle in their country. A press release distributed on a picket line in front of the UN stated, "Far from arresting the popular energy for democracy and a better living condition, the mass revolt (in Ethiopia) is spreading with great temper and force. Our militant action . . . is to confine this lofty banner of struggle for democracy and national liberation in Ethiopia."

The students' demands include the abolition of the monarchy in Ethiopia; free elections by secret ballot with universal suffrage; unconditional release of all political prisoners; and implementation of genuine land reform.

Among those participating in the picket line was Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York.

Thirty students, members of the Ethiopian Student Union in North America, occupied the Ethiopian embassy in Washington, D.C., the same day. The students remained in the building for three hours, then left of their own will, meeting with reporters outside to declare their solidarity with the workers and students in Ethiopia.

CLEVELAND UNITED FARM WORKERS SET DEMONSTRATION: April 6 is the date set for a demonstration by the United Farm Workers in Cleveland to coincide with the beginning of the grape harvest in California.

Sixty-six organizations, including 44 unions, have already endorsed the action. Unions include UAW Community Action Program Council, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 78, Cleveland Newspaper Guild, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 707, Medina County AFL-CIO, and Steelworkers Local 1157. Black Unity House, the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and People Get Ready are also supporting the demonstration.

The rally at the Cleveland Public Square will feature Cesar Chavez, president of the UFW, and Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*.

RED RIVER DAM PROTEST: Opponents of a proposed dam across the Red River in Kentucky will demonstrate at the state capitol in Frankfort on April 20. Sponsors of the action include the Environmental Action Society at the University of Kentucky in Lexington, the UK student government, the Sierra Club, Audubon Society, Save Our Red River (representing 55 families who will be relocated if the dam is built), and the Kentucky Young Socialist Alliance.

The Red River is a natural showcase of plants, animals, and rock arches. Opponents of the dam fear the proposed construction will inundate the gorge with commercial enterprises upstream and ugly mudflats downstream.

The organizations most vocal in support of the dam are the Kentucky-American Water Company and the Greater Lexington Area Chamber of Commerce.

The Army Corps of Engineers, which plans to build the dam, claims that it is necessary for flood control, water supplies, and recreation. Opponents argue, however, that there are cheaper means to control floods, that there is no threat to the area's water supply, and that other recreation areas already exist.

—CINDY JAQUITH

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Need for independent party raised at National Black Political Convention

By NORMAN OLIVER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Seventeen hundred Black people made the trip to Little Rock March 15-17 for the Second National Black Political Convention.

Uppermost in the minds of most convention delegates was the question of how Blacks could organize to deal with the racist oppression Black people suffer today. Many of the speeches to the gathering reflected anger and frustration at the fact that no solutions to the problems facing Black people have been forthcoming.

The point was made again and again that through organizing to gain political power, Black people could begin to deal with unemployment, rotten housing, racist education, and so on.

Unfortunately, a strategy did not emerge out of the convention that could lead toward gaining real political power for Black people. This was because the convention organizers and most of the delegates were oriented toward working through the two-party system.

In the main speeches — a number of which were given by Democratic Party politicians — and in most of the workshops, delegates were urged to work toward electing Black officials. It was assumed, though not always stated, that this could best be done through the Democratic Party.

Imamu Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Congress of African People, played a central leadership role in the convention. Baraka and the forces around him believe that Black people can make gains in the fight against racist oppression by working as a faction within the Democratic Party.

At the same time, there were forces at the convention who argued, correctly, that the Black struggle cannot be advanced by supporting the Democratic or Republican parties. They advocated that Black people break from these parties and create an independent Black political party.

A resolution calling for a Black party was submitted to the resolutions committee by the Georgia delegation. The resolution said in part:

"Such an independent party should not only provide an independent electoral pole for the Black community, but should also be rooted in independent mass struggles in the Black community.

"A Black party should build struggles against racist education and for community control of schools. It should support the strikes and struggles of Black workers. It should champion the demands and struggles of Black women.

"It should lead the fight against Watergate-style victimization and harassment of the Black Liberation Movement. It should fight police repression and fight for a police force drawn from the Black community. It should support solidarity actions with African Liberation Movements and with Black political prisoners.

"Such an independent party while struggling around this type of program should also fight for complete control of the Black community and lead the struggle for Black self-determination.

"We can only wage such a struggle by building a party totally independent of the Democratic and Republican party, by building a party that gives no support to any Democrat or Republican in elections, be he



Imamu Baraka (at podium) favors keeping Black movement tied to Democratic Party

Black or white."

The Democratic Party supporters at the convention did everything they could to prevent a real discussion of this resolution. Maynard Jackson, mayor of Atlanta, put pressure on members of the Georgia delegation to withdraw it.

By the end of the convention, Jackson had succeeded in having the resolution watered down by removing language calling for a complete break with the Democratic and Republican parties, while maintaining the call for a Black party.

The call for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties and for launching an independent party won the support of a number of delegates. The Wisconsin delegation, which included delegates from the Black Masses Party in Milwaukee, supported the original and later the amended resolution.

Other delegations that had presented resolutions calling for a Black party included New Jersey, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Massachusetts.

When amended the Georgia resolution finally came to the floor at the end of the convention, it was killed by a motion to table. In arguing to table it, Ron Daniels, a leader of the Ohio Black Assembly, asserted that he was for a Black party, but now was not the time to begin to build one.

Gary convention

By voting to table the resolution on the Black party and by orienting the conference to a discussion of how to organize to elect Black Democrats, the Little Rock convention continued along the same course followed since the Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., two years ago.

At Gary, some 8,000 Black people gathered to discuss how to win Black political power. The idea of an independent Black party was raised on the convention floor. But convention organizers prevented a full discussion of this question, and in the two years since Gary, the national and state Black Assemblies — composed of delegates to the Gary convention — have followed a consistent policy of supporting Democrats.

Overall, the Little Rock meeting was a step backward from Gary. There was less pre-convention publicity, and

fewer people were present.

At Gary a "Black Agenda" was drawn up outlining solutions to many of the problems facing Black people. Though stopping short of advocating a Black party, the Agenda pointed to the need for independent struggles.

At Little Rock, discussion of the Black Agenda and how to implement it was ruled out of order.

Workshops

In line with the view of those organizing the Little Rock meeting that the key task was to get people to work to elect Black Democrats, key convention workshops were devoted to the technical aspects of working in the Democratic Party. The workshops were not designed to evoke political discussion and were oriented to such topics as "Financing a campaign," led by Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.), and "Party involvement," led by another Democratic politician.

The plenary discussion on resolutions was held on the last day of the convention. Only a few hours were scheduled for this discussion, and because it was put off until the end of the convention, many of the delegates had left for home before it began.

The final address was given by Owusu Sadaukai, who is the head of the North Carolina Black Assembly and a national leader of the African Liberation Support Committee.

Sadaukai pointed repeatedly to the need for a "Black fighting organization" and called for an all-out attack against racism, imperialism, and capitalism. But he stopped short of calling for a break from the two capitalist parties — the Republicans and Democrats — that are the main perpetrators of these evils.

Sadaukai called for support to the actions planned for the spring by the African Liberation Support Committee. One of the achievements of the convention was the adoption of a resolution proposed by the African Liberation Support Committee.

This resolution designated May as African Liberation Month and called for local demonstrations on May 19 and a national march on Washington, D.C., on May 26 in solidarity with the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Only a handful of Black Democratic politicians came to Little Rock. The most prominent among these were

Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, and Congressman Ron Dellums.

One of the most conspicuous absences was that of Representative Charles Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.). Diggs announced the day the convention opened that he was dropping out of the National Black Assembly, of which he was cochairman.

Many convention speakers harshly criticized the Black elected officials who failed to attend.

Some were not present because they were afraid of being associated with a gathering they felt they might not be able to completely control.

Many of these officials felt they had been burned at the Gary convention because they could not go along with some of the radical proposals outlined in the Black Agenda. Because of their loyalty to the Democratic Party, they had also been made quite nervous by the fact that the idea of a Black party had been raised at Gary.

After the Gary convention, the Black Democrats and convention organizers such as Baraka dumped the Black Agenda and drafted in its place a more moderate Black "Bill of Rights," which they used to bargain with at the Democratic Party convention in 1972.

At Little Rock, there was no evaluation of what the Black Democrats had done in this regard, nor did the convention leadership initiate any discussion of the record of the Democratic Party in failing to deal with the problems of Black people.

Black political power

To overcome the present condition of political powerlessness of Black America, it is necessary to break from the political parties of the capitalist ruling class and build an independent

Speakers available to present the socialist analysis of the struggle for Black political power include:

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; Derrick Morrison, 1974 SWP candidate for governor of New York; and Militant staff writers Norman Oliver, Tony Thomas, and Baxter Smith. All were participants in the Little Rock convention.

These and other speakers can be obtained from: Viewpoint, Speakers for Radical Change, P.O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.

Black party.

This was the all important question raised by the supporters of the Black party resolution at Little Rock, and this is the reality that the masses of Black people will come to grips with if real gains are to be made in the fight for Black liberation.

It is correct to seek the support of Black Democrats in the concrete struggles of Black people. For example, it is a good idea to get their endorsement for the African Liberation Day demonstrations. But this is totally different from the "unity without uniformity" advocated by the organizers of the Little Rock convention. Their "unity" is predicated on support to the Democratic Party, and that is a dead end for the Black community.

S.F. strike showed treachery of Democratic Party politicians

By DERREL MYERS

SAN FRANCISCO—The trade-union movement has paid heavily for the political policies of its leadership. Almost universally the top leaders insist that labor must rely on its "friends" among major party officeholders. They insist the unions must support these "friends" at the polls and accept every compromise they come up with in labor struggles.

Invariably it is these "friends of labor" who play the key role at the negotiating table in cheating unions out of gains being won on the picket line. A good example of this was the role of Mayor Joseph Alioto in the recent city workers' strike.

Alioto owes his present position to organized labor, and he is counting heavily on labor backing in his current bid for the Democratic nomination for governor. Among his most ardent supporters are the officials of the four Service Employees' International Union locals that represent city workers. They will undoubtedly argue that Alioto helped the city workers win their strike. Actually the workers won despite Alioto, and would have done better without him.

Let's look at the record.

To keep up with the current pace of inflation the SEIU determined that city employees needed an increase of \$80 a month. It was particularly important to get that \$80 because inflation has already more than eaten up the wage raises of 2 and 4 percent given city workers in 1972 and 1973.

Those small increases were "awarded" the workers by the Civil Service Commission. The director of the Civil Service Commission is Bernard Orsi. He was Alioto's campaign manager when he ran for mayor and is currently on leave to promote Alioto's bid for governor.

This time the commission had the gall to offer no increase for the 7,700 lowest-paid workers in the city and

2.5 to 5 percent for 5,000 more.

The San Francisco board of supervisors—most of whose members owe their positions to labor support—came up with a more "generous" offer of 2.5 percent for the lowest-paid and 3 percent for the rest.

At this point "friend of labor" Alioto stepped in. After months of silence on the issue, he proposed a 5.5 percent increase. That's about \$30 a month for the lowest-paid categories.

With this offer—which happens to coincide with Nixon's federal wage guidelines—Alioto persuaded John Crowley of the Morticians union and secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, to recommend postponing the strike.

When the members of the SEIU rejected his wage offer and the proposal to postpone the stoppage, Alioto branded the walkout a "wildcat strike." He knew perfectly well the strike had been officially sanctioned; he was simply trying to pit other unions against the SEIU.

When the members of the Transport Workers respected SEIU picket lines and shut down the city's transit system, "friend of labor" Alioto savagely attacked this elementary act of labor solidarity as "unconscionable."

Then Alioto led the pack in trying to whip up public hysteria around the fake issue of the closing of the city sewage plant. He knew that the supervisors could have kept the sewage disposal system operating and that they may well have deliberately chosen to have it closed down as a move against the union. He also knew the sewage system is scandalously inadequate and that raw sewage spills into the bay every time it rains—which is frequently.

Despite these facts, Alioto hypocritically assailed the sewage plant shutdown as "morally outrageous."

But slanders—coupled with union-busting court injunctions—didn't keep



ALIOTO: No friend of labor

the shutdown from spreading. And when the AFL-CIO Labor Council put the question of a general work stoppage on its agenda, Alioto decided it was time for a tactical switch.

While the chamber of commerce was braying about billion-dollar damage suits and jail for strikers, Alioto emerged as the "soft" cop.

He well understood that if the city's antiunion drive was pressed too far it could easily touch off a city-wide general work stoppage that would give San Francisco labor a power it has not had since the 1930s.

It was then that Alioto remembered he was a "friend of labor." He answered the chamber of commerce by pointing out that you can't jail 10,000 strikers. At the same time he assured the board of supervisors that his wage offer wouldn't really cost the city all that much anyway.

The union did break through the effort by Alioto and the city administration to keep it tied to percentage wage increases, which pit the few better-paid workers against the multitude of lower-paid workers. And the strikers squeezed out a few more dollars than Alioto was trying to con them into accepting. But these gains were testimony to the power of their movement, not to the worth of their capitalist politician "friends."

Alioto is like every other Republican and Democratic "friend of labor." They're the ones who make the whole two-party "fool 'em and rule 'em" game possible.

In this strike the city workers and their allies in the labor movement showed their capacity for self-reliance, militancy, and solidarity on the picket line. This same militant self-reliance is needed in politics. What's needed, and is long overdue, is the organization of a labor party locally and nationally. We've paid too much for relying on phony capitalist political "friends."

Strike highlights—'I can't find anything!'

According to *Municipal Review*, voice of SEIU Local 400, strike headquarters received a stream of calls from city officials seeking emergency passes for key employees to cross picket lines. Except for clear emergencies, they were told to fend for themselves. The paper reported one case it said would be of interest to partisans of women's liberation. Requesting a pass for his secretary, one unhappy official pleaded, "She's the only one who knows where anything is in the office. I can't find anything by myself." The response, the paper reported, was "unprintable." It added that maybe the "emergency" was that he couldn't operate the coffee pot by himself.

One fringe benefit of the strike went to car owners. With the city's meter maids joining the stoppage, no parking tickets were issued.

It just isn't true that city officials aren't concerned about the welfare of municipal workers. For example, the members of the school board just voted to raise the pay of their ailing superintendent to \$44,500 a



Militant/Howard Petrick

year. This doesn't mean more money for him, since what they did was to include his \$2,500 expenses in his salary. That way, if his heart condition doesn't improve he can retire with a higher pension.

The San Francisco Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance ordered 1,000 copies of the March 22 *Militant* featuring initial reporting on the strike. Within 24 hours they had sold more than 700 of them. YSA organizer Steve Wattenmaker said a Chicana who bought a copy while waiting in a gas line read the strike stories and bought a subscription. She said it was the first paper she had seen that told the strikers' side of the story.

— HARRY RING



State police protect scab bus during strike

Militant/Howard Petrick

Rally at S.F. State supports strike

By STEVE WATTENMAKER

SAN FRANCISCO—An outdoor rally of 400 students at San Francisco State College March 14 heard several union representatives discuss the strike by city workers and teachers that had brought the city to a near halt for nine days.

The rally, which was quite large in terms of recent actions on the campus, was organized on a day's notice by the student government; Young Socialists for Rodriguez; and the United Professors of California, the American Federation of Teachers affiliate at San

Francisco State College.

Bill Bradley, a staff organizer for Service Employees' International Union Local 400, explained why the strike was called.

"The city government thought it was picking off the weakest section of the trade-union movement," he said, "that city employees and teachers didn't have the stomach to defend their right to a decent wage. But we showed them this time. We tied the city down!"

Mario D'Angelo of the United Professors urged the entire campus community to support the strike and dis-

cussed the charge that the strike had inconvenienced the public.

"It seems," he said, "that the general public is supposed to accept gasoline going up to \$1 a gallon with only a little grumbling, but we are supposed to be outraged when we're inconvenienced by people forced to struggle to defend their standard of living."

Speaking for Young Socialists for Rodriguez, Marsha Tucker stressed that inflation was not a result of working people struggling for a living wage but the result of Nixon's \$100-billion military budget.

Shows power of labor solidarity

S.F. city workers' strike strengthens union

By JOE TERRY

SAN FRANCISCO—The nine-day city workers' strike that ended here March 15 was a powerful expression of the anger and frustration felt by working people everywhere. It was an explosive act by workers fed up with skyrocketing supermarket prices; fed up with waiting in line to pay rip-off prices for gas; fed up by the Watergate revelations of political corruption.

The union that led the strike, the Service Employees' International Union (SEIU), is not a strong union. It doesn't have legal recognition by the city and has no written contracts. A record of compromise and

Joe Terry was a participant in the San Francisco city workers' strike.

capitulation has not earned its leadership great confidence among the membership. Yet the response to the strike call was nearly unanimous among the city workers in its jurisdiction.

Virtually all public services were shut down except the police and fire departments and emergency medical facilities. Libraries and museums were closed, along with the welfare department, the water department, and, for all practical purposes, city hall itself.

One of the strongest centers of the strike was the city hospitals and health centers, where starvation wages and oppressive working conditions have generated a deepgoing militancy among the workers.

The strike, involving some 10,000 workers, was given added strength when the teachers decided it would be in their own best interest to join the walkout as an act of solidarity and to press for their own demands.

Union solidarity

And the response of other unions of city workers was phenomenal. It took but a few pickets at each of the Municipal car barns to shut down the city transit system. The members of the Transport union walked off their buses and cablecars as soon as they saw the pickets. Even though it meant sacrificing wages they could ill afford to lose, they stayed out for a week in solidarity with the strikers.

The newly opened commuter lines of the BART subway system were quickly shut down, as workers walked off the job with the appearance of SEIU pickets.

AC Transit, which brings in 40,000

people a day from the Oakland area, was shut down for 24 hours when drivers refused to move their buses through SEIU picket lines.

During the last hours of the strike, pickets appeared on the city docks, and longshoremen stayed off the job.

Ground transportation to and from San Francisco International Airport was halted. With city custodial workers on strike, the airport was knee-deep in trash. The day of the settlement the San Mateo County Labor Council was slated to sanction a sympathy shut-down by the airline unions.

As the strike movement continued to escalate, it finally reached the point where the staid AFL-CIO Labor Council had on its agenda a resolution for a city-wide work stoppage in support of the city workers and the Sears strikers. The resolution was introduced by Walter Johnson of the Retail Clerks, a major union in the city.

Commitment

An indication of the depth of the strikers' commitment was that a strike-breaking injunction didn't make a dent in their ranks. Equally ineffective were the efforts of the media to build up antistrike sentiment.

Perhaps because the strike had shown such impressive power, many members of the union were disappointed with the terms of the settlement. A good number felt they were entitled to more and could have gotten it.

The union's demands were simple and, in terms of need, quite modest. The workers wanted an \$80-a-month increase and they wanted it across the board in order to end the inequity of percentage increases. These favor the few higher-paid workers at the expense of the many lower-paid ones. In addition, they demanded a dental plan paid for by the city.

The terms of the settlement provide for an initial increase of \$45 a month, followed by a \$10 increase. The city agreed to establish a paid dental plan.

These terms were accepted by a 3-to-1 vote at a meeting of 1,000.

Hospital workers and other low-paid unionists justifiably characterized the pay increase as nowhere near what they need.

Could have won more

On the sidewalk after the meeting, one Black woman porter from a health center expressed her anger. "I get \$590 a month," she said angrily.



City workers' strike vote meeting on March 4

Militant/Howard Petrick

"I pay \$71 a month for health insurance for myself and my seven children, and take home nothing. \$45 is nothing! We could have gotten more if we'd stayed out. The union sold us out, that's what happened!"

Another striker, who said he had worked in three different departments during his three-and-a-half years with the city, said he felt that there were shortcomings but that the outcome was a victory for the union.

He thought the \$80 was really a minimum demand and that we should have started out with a higher figure. "\$80 doesn't even cover inflation for the last year," he said, "and city workers haven't had a real pay increase in three years."

But he thought it was a big gain that we got the dental plan, even though it only covers the individual worker and not the worker's family. He also pointed out that for the first time the board of supervisors was forced to deal directly with the union instead of forcing it to lobby with the Civil Service Commission.

But what impressed him the most was the extent of the support we got. His face really lit up when he talked about it. He said the walkouts by the other unions were "fantastic."

"It was surprising," he said, "that we could really shut down the city." Savoring his words, he repeated, "We really could shut it down."

My own feeling about the settlement is that the money is less than we could

or should have gotten. But it's more than we would have gotten if it had simply been left up to Mayor Alioto and the board of supervisors.

Winning the dental plan is a big gain, especially in comparison with the medical plan, for which we have to pay a big part. With the dental plan established, we can fight to get coverage extended to the entire family. The plan will also prove a gain to all city workers, since it will now be hard to deny it to other unions with municipal contracts.

New union strength

But most of all, the fact of the strike and its unexpected power gives the union a strength it never had before, and this will mean a lot in the struggles to come.

There are still problems. A lot of rank-and-file members were active in the strike. And sensitive to their own lack of credit with the membership, the leaders proposed a rank-and-file negotiating committee. But there still is not a structured, democratic decision-making process in the union.

The strike itself could have been even stronger if the leadership had followed a policy of regular mass strike meetings and a conscious program of involving even more of the strikers in the picketing.

There are good reasons why San Francisco should be the scene of this kind of explosive labor struggle. This has been a strong labor town since the days of the big strike battles of the longshoremen in 1934.

In recent years, like everywhere, there was a sharp drop in labor militancy and solidarity. But fresh life has been pumped into the unions in the last year by the militant rank-and-file carpenters' walkout, and by the persistent efforts of the Retail Clerks to develop some union solidarity in support of the Sears workers who have been on strike for more than six months.

Although the San Francisco labor tradition may be unique, the problems galvanizing workers into action here are not. Food prices are going up as fast everywhere else, and this isn't the only city where people have to get up at 4:30 a.m. to get some gas to go to work with.

Maybe some of the sparks set off by the city workers here will take hold in other places.

SWP: Strike is example for unions

SAN FRANCISCO—Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for state and local office participated in strike-support actions and issued several public statements in support of the strikers.

In a statement distributed to members of the SEIU at the end of their strike, the SWP campaigners said, in part: "The city employees' strike is a wonderful example to all working people of how to resist the mounting attack on their standard of living. They won because they stuck together and fought for their rights and because they had the support of other working people. . . .

"In this strike labor has shown its power on the picket line. That same kind of power is needed in the field



Militant/Howard Petrick

SWP congressional candidate Nat Weinstein speaks at Sears strike rally. SWP backed city workers as well.

of political action. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are responsible for the skyrocketing prices, the gas lines, and political corruption. Both of these parties work hand in glove with the employers. Both are responsible for the conditions of municipal workers.

"It just doesn't make sense to fight the bosses and politicians on the picket lines and then turn around and support them at the polls. What makes political sense is for labor to build its own political party. What's needed in city hall, Sacramento, and Washington is representatives of city workers, Muni drivers, teachers, longshoremen—not the Republican and Democratic stooges of the meat barons and oil monopolies."

3,000 march in Denver

Protest police harassment of Chicano movement

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—More than 3,000 people participated in a march and rally here March 17 to protest police harassment of the Chicano movement.

The demonstration was held one year following a brutal police assault on Escuela Tlatelolco, a school associated with the Crusade for Justice. Luis "Junior" Martinez, a teacher at the school and a Crusade activist, was killed during the assault.

Spirited feeder marches left various parts of the city to converge on the state capitol building for the rally. Marchers chanted, "Stop grand jury frame-ups now, hands off the Chicano movement!" "An attack on one is an attack on all, hands off the Crusade for Justice!" and "Free Gary Garrison!" Garrison is a Crusade activist who has recently been charged by a Denver grand jury with attempting to bomb a paint store.

At the rally a wide range of speakers indicated their solidarity with the Crusade for Justice in its efforts to organize the Chicano community of Denver against poor living conditions, a racist educational system, and police harassment.

Bert Corona and Mario Cantú, leaders of the movement to defend the rights of undocumented workers, told of the work of CASA in Los Angeles and San Antonio.

Cantú assured the Crusade: "Our brothers and sisters in Texas, in San Antonio and in El Paso, and all over are with you today."

A message of solidarity from César



March protested police attacks against Crusade for Justice

Militant/Frank Lord

Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers, was read by Richard Longoria, UFW Rocky Mountain Support Committee director.

Corky Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice and the Colorado Raza Unida Party, urged the demonstrators to consider themselves teachers who would go out from the rally and explain why the action was so important to those not yet "in the movement."

Gonzales contrasted the "great men of our time like César Chávez" and others who spoke or sent greetings

to the rally, and the gang of Watergate thieves in Washington. He explained: "When we created the Raza Unida Party, the Democrats and Republicans said that we wanted a racist party. We told them we didn't need a racist party because they already have them."

Gonzales introduced Anne Chávez, the mother of "Junior" Martinez. She said that as long as actions like this one continued to take place her son would remain alive.

Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colo-

rado in 1974, also addressed the rally. The Crusade for Justice has come under attack, she said, not only for its role in organizing mass demonstrations, but also for its role in explaining the need for an independent Chicano party.

The Crusade, she continued, has popularized the concept that "it is impossible to fight effectively against the racist policies of the two capitalist parties in demonstrations, in the community, and on the campuses 364 days a year and then turn around and vote for them on election day."

Danielson explained that despite press attempts to brand the Crusade and other Chicano organizations as "criminals," the "real criminals in this country are the robbing oil corporations and the agribusinesses trying to break the United Farm Workers. The real criminals are the banks and giant corporations that profit from inflation, fuel shortages, unemployment, war, racism, and sexism."

Many other speakers addressed the crowd, including Indian leader Russell Means.

Means had spoken, along with Dennis Banks, another defendant in the Wounded Knee trial in St. Paul, Minn., at a Wounded Knee defense rally here in Denver on March 8.

The rally, sponsored by the Denver American Indian Movement, the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, the Oyate Club, and the Militant Forum, was attended by 600 people.

San Francisco teachers display new militancy

By BOB DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO, March 18—As the teachers' strike here enters its twelfth day, negotiations are at a near standstill.

The teachers want a 15 percent raise for teachers and paraprofessionals; parity for substitutes and children's center workers; improved job conditions, and expanded educational programs, especially for minority students.

A week ago the board of education offered 6 percent, with the proviso that the money come from cutting back staff or programs.

An important role in the strike is being played by substitute teachers. They make the least money and have no job security. Traditionally they

have been used to break strikes. This time, they are among the most active and militant strikers.

Welcome support came today with a statement supporting the strike by Yvonne Golden, a leader of the Black Teachers Caucus.

The Classroom Teachers Association (CTA), rival to the striking American Federation of Teachers (AFT), initially took the position that it was up to each of its members to decide whether to respect the picket lines. Now it is telling its members to report to work. The AFT represents slightly more than half the 4,500 teachers in the district and the CTA slightly less than half.

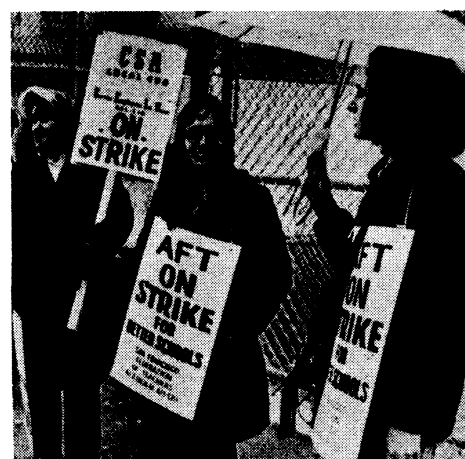
In spite of the CTA's traditional strikebreaking role, one-half to two-

thirds of the city's teachers are out, and only about 20 percent of the students show up for class. According to the AFT, the response of teachers to this strike is considerably greater than in previous ones. It is reflected in large, militant picket lines and in daily strike rallies.

Members of the Service Employees' International Union are now returning the solidarity extended them by the teachers. School clerks, janitors, and cafeteria workers are still staying out even though their strike has ended. Similarly, school bus drivers have pledged their full support.

This afternoon, in response to the arrogance of the board of education, 500 pickets gathered at the school district central office. After marching

around the building they marched right in and snaked their way through the offices chanting, "On strike, shut it down!"



Int'l Women's Day actions held in Puerto Rico

By CANDIDA BARBERENA

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—In the colonial world, national and imperialist oppression combine with an insidious system of sex discrimination and *machismo* to subjugate women more than any other sector of the working class.

In Puerto Rico, any questioning or rejection of the assigned female role brings a stigma that few women have dared to confront. In this context, the March 8 expressions of solidarity with International Women's Day in Puerto Rico are particularly significant.

This reporter observed three events commemorating March 8. On the eve of the holiday, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR) here in Río Piedras, Eneida Vázquez, organizational secretary of the Movimiento Socialista Popular (MSP—People's Socialist Movement), spoke to a group

of 40 people.

Vázquez traced the oppression of women from primitive to capitalist society, underscoring the special implications of capitalist oppression for females in the colonial world.

She also examined the consequences of applying a double standard to men and women. A social conditioning results, she said, in which "each sex is assigned certain tasks within society, leading to a division of labor based on sex. When we look at the case of Puerto Rico—particularly the kind of work done by women in the labor force and in the professional sector—what we see is an extension of this type of conditioning that is applied from childhood, to adolescence, right up to womanhood."

She emphasized that women will play an essential role in the liberation of Puerto Rico precisely because of

their double oppression.

On March 8, also at the UPR in Río Piedras, the Federación Universitaria Pro-Independencia (FUPI—Pro-Independence University Federation) dedicated the closing session of its national conference to three Puerto Rican women: Lolita Lebrón, an independentist political prisoner being held in the U.S.; Antonia Martínez, a student killed by police during a 1970 demonstration of UPR women demanding the removal of ROTC from campus; and Carmen Rivera de Alvarado, a founding member of the Puerto Rican Independence Party and member of the MSP who died six months ago.

Another manifestation of solidarity with International Women's Day took place in Hato Rey, where a women's group sponsored a slide show probing

various aspects of the life of Puerto Rican women. The slide show, presented for two days, was produced by MIA (Mujer Integrete Ahora—Women Take Part Now).

The MIA slide show graphically pointed to the tasks facing Puerto Rican and colonial women in the struggle for female and national liberation. It brought to mind the words of Eneida Vázquez:

"In the end, women must free themselves from domestic slavery, and this liberation in turn means struggling against those conditions... which is essential to releasing women from the domestic domain they 'command.'"

"In essence, this liberation can only come about within a system that has abolished capitalism—in a socialist system that has begun to lay the basis for a new man and woman."

What union women are fighting for

By LINDA JENNESS

Union women from all over the country are meeting in Chicago this weekend to discuss what to do about their second-class status in society, on the job, and in the unions.

The meeting is the first national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). It comes at a time when women workers, inspired by the growth of the women's liberation movement, are beginning to organize against the double oppression working women face: as females in a sexist society, and as working people in a society run by profit-mad corporations.

The struggle of union women is still in its beginning stages. The CLUW conference will be only the first of many such efforts to deal with the oppression of working women. It cannot be expected to resolve, or even seriously consider, the full range of problems of working women. But even if the women in Chicago tackle only a few of the issues, the conference will be significant as a first step.

The expanding, militant activities of working women in the past year or so grow out of the refusal of women to tolerate any longer the countless forms of sexist oppression women are subjected to in this society. Working women—and nine out of ten of us will work at some point in our lives—confront this discrimination in a direct way on the job and in the added burdens working women must bear off the job.

It is only natural that working women are turning to the trade unions, the powerful organizations that have been forged by the working class to defend its interests, to use as weapons in their struggle.

Equal pay and job opportunity

Women who work at full-time jobs get, on the average, only \$3 for every \$5 earned by men doing the same work.

In addition, they are shunted into the more menial, lowest-paying jobs. The door to advancement is slammed shut.

When they protest this exploitative treatment, they run up against the sexist notion that a woman's natural place is in the home and her employment is simply not as important—to her and to society—as that of men.

The bosses perpetuate the myth that women "just work for pin money" and their wages are "second incomes."

But working women are organizing to expose these myths; the facts simply contradict the self-serving, chauvinist justifications for denying women equal pay. Of the 33 million women who work, nearly 90 percent do so as a *financial necessity*.

Child care

For the 12 million working women who have responsibility for raising children, the problems are compounded. They find it harder to get decent jobs in the first place—they are told they should stay at home, that caring for the children is "women's work."

The plight of working mothers—and of their children—has given a dramatic new impulse to the struggle for child-care facilities that would be free and of high quality. Women are beginning to raise the idea that provisions for such centers, financed by the employers and controlled by the parents who use them, should be added to the contract demands drawn up by the unions.

In addition, women are organizing to win support for setting up child-care centers paid for by the federal

and state governments.

Maternity benefits

Another area in which women workers are trying to make some progress is in the area of maternity benefits called for in union contracts. Most employers treat time taken from work for childbirth as unpaid leave. Some companies go so far as to require female job applicants to take pregnancy tests before being hired.

Women have been fighting back—and have made some progress—against enforced maternity leaves at the discretion of the employer. But they are also beginning to insist that

dard of living of all workers in order to maximize profits and improve the competitive position of U.S. corporations vis-à-vis Europe and Japan.

As a result, working women are among the most determined to fight back against inflation, layoffs, and the phony fuel shortage.

Take the problems of layoffs, for example. Because women are the last hired, and the lowest on the seniority lists, they are the first to be laid off when the downturn comes. To protect all workers, and especially women, against layoffs the unions should raise the demand of a shorter workweek, with no loss in pay, in order to share

second-class position women find themselves in in the unions. The unions have defaulted in defending the interests of female workers. Women have been systematically excluded from leadership positions in the unions. The proportion of women holding leadership posts in unions is an abysmal 4.7 percent.

Even in unions with large female memberships, women are kept out of the leadership by undemocratic, sexist practices.

The most outrageous example of the second-class treatment women get in the unions is the fact that on the AFL-CIO international executive



Garment workers. Women are relegated to lowest-paying, most menial jobs.

pregnancy is no different from any other temporary disability, that it be protected by temporary disability insurance or sick-leave plans, and that union contracts protect the seniority rights of women who take maternity leaves.

Equal Rights Amendment

The battle for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has developed into a major test of strength between reactionary forces who want to keep women down and the forces fighting for women's emancipation. If the ERA is defeated it will be a setback in the fight for equality.

The role of the unions in the fight for ratification can be decisive. The amendment has been ratified in 33 states, with five more needed to make it law. At its 1973 convention, the AFL-CIO finally abandoned its scandalous opposition to the ERA, and decided to endorse it. This progressive development was the result of pressure from union women and growing feminist sentiment.

Preferential hiring for women

To help overcome the deepgoing sexist discrimination in all areas of this society, and to make up for past discrimination, women are demanding affirmative action to hire more women and to upgrade their positions. This means preferential hiring policies and training programs in all fields.

Preferential treatment is especially important for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women—who face triple oppression as victims of wage exploitation, of racist oppression, and of sexism.

Fight against inflation and unemployment

As one of the most oppressed and exploited layers of the working class, working women are hit hardest, and first, by the efforts of the capitalist government to force down the stan-

the available work among all who want to work. Such a sliding scale of hours, combined with massive public works programs, could put an end to joblessness.

Just as women need protection against unemployment, they need insurance against inflation. The best weapon for this insurance is a cost-of-living escalator clause in all union contracts, so that wages go up to match the cost of living. With such an escalator clause, unions can be free to fight for real wage gains and not always be in the position of trying to catch up with soaring prices.

Unorganized women workers

Although it is the union women who are taking the first steps to defend their interests as female workers, the problems they confront are greatly exacerbated for the millions of women in unorganized industries. The percentage of women who are in union jobs is only half that of men. Six out of seven working women have no union protection whatever. Concentrated in clerical, service, and semi-skilled factory work, unorganized women suffer even lower pay and poorer working conditions.

One of the giant tasks confronting union women is to campaign for the extension of union power to their unorganized sisters. Any serious struggle to improve the lot of working women will require a serious drive by the labor movement to organize the unorganized women.

Women workers are ready for such an effort. The heroic struggle by the Farah workers, primarily Chicanas, won the right to form a union after 22 long and bitter months of struggle. Their example is being emulated by others—including household workers, office workers, and university staffs—to win the right to form a union.

One immediate problem women unionists run up against is the

council, there is *not one* woman.

Women know that they can't have unions that fight in their interest if the leadership of those unions is an exclusive male preserve.

And, as women organize to force the unions to fight for their needs, they will give impetus to, and merge with, the broader fight to transform the union movement into one that champions the cause of all the most oppressed workers—the women, the oppressed nationalities, the unemployed, the youth.

The fight of women within the unions will be part of the process of developing a new kind of leadership that the entire union movement desperately needs—a fighting leadership that puts the needs of the rank and file first.

Such a new leadership would reject the current policy of labor officialdom, which subordinates the interests of working women and men to political support to the politicians of the corrupt capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans. These are the very parties that profit from the sexist oppression of women. So long as the union movement is tied to the coattails of these parties—which are controlled by the class enemy of all workers—the unions can't carry out an effective fight.

Women workers will be among the ones to benefit most when the unions break from the capitalist parties and begin to construct an independent labor party, based on the trade unions, that can represent the interests of working men and women.

The union women's conference in Chicago should be welcomed by all women and by all unionists. It opens the discussion on some of these and other issues, and it serves notice that a growing number of women are coming to understand that in order to make gains women have got to organize and fight for them.

Houston socialists say, 'Open police files!'

By RICK CONGRESS

HOUSTON—Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, held a news conference on the steps of city hall March 13 to open a counterattack against the Houston police department's recently admitted Watergating against the SWP and other radical groups in Houston.

The focus of the campaign is the demand that "the entire scandalous record of the admitted police infiltration and harassment of our party" be made public, Smith explained to reporters.

"The full facts must come out on this misuse of the taxpayers' money to interfere with the political rights of a legal party that has been on the ballot in the last two elections in Houston," she said.

Following the news conference, supporters of the SWP campaign appeared at a city council meeting to demand that the council take immediate action to bare the full record of Watergate-style interference in the electoral process and to press the council to put an immediate halt to this kind of police activity.

The protests were triggered by the revelation March 8, following the release of new FBI secret memos, that the Houston cops had infiltrated the SWP and other groups in Houston. City officials have refused to say whether or not the practice is continuing.

Don Sorsa, SWP candidate in the 90th Legislative District, appeared before the council to present the SWP's views. The response of the council members, far from acting to protect democratic rights, was to further slander the socialists in order to justify the police harassment.

Mayor Fred Hofheinz, a liberal Democrat, led the attack with a series of questions prepared in advance.

"Mr. Sorsa," began Hofheinz, "has the Socialist Workers Party ever advocated the use of force or violence for political objectives?"

After more baiting questioning along these lines, with the council clearly trying to make the SWP look the criminal rather than the victim, Sorsa replied:

"Our party has never been charged

with any illegal activities. As a matter of fact, we have been the victims of illegal activities. We have had our headquarters machine-gunned; it has been bombed; our members have had the tires slashed on their cars. All of this has happened, and the Ku Klux Klan has taken credit for many of these activities, but not once has a KKK member been brought to court for any of these activities."

At one point Councilman Westmoreland interrupted Sorsa to ask, "What activities have you engaged in that you would be worried about someone who belongs to the police department participating in?" In other words, if you're complaining about police infiltration, you must be doing something illegal!

Hofheinz himself engaged in some of the most inane doubletalk when questioned by reporters following the meeting.

A reporter from KPFT, the Pacifica station that was bombed by the Klan during the time the Houston cops have admitted infiltrating the Klan, pressed Hofheinz on his refusal to open the Criminal Intelligence records of the police department to public inspection. The exchange went like this:

Question: Would you consider releasing the classified information on the undercover surveillance of the So-

cialist Workers Party?

Answer: I cannot release any information, any records of the police department legally. . . . It is against the law for this administration to do that. And I really think that if the Socialist Workers Party people stop to consider what they have just asked, that the records of the intelligence division . . . be made public, if they look at the other side of that coin they will have some second thoughts.

Police intelligence reports are the most sensitive kind of police records. And all over the country the nationwide tendency is to protect the rights of individuals, with respect to what, in an intelligence way, law enforcement agencies gather in the way of information. . . .

Later the reporter returned to this point:

Q: Are you saying that you don't think the Socialist Workers Party is sensitive to the needs and rights of humans?

A: No, I didn't say that. I just said I thought that if they looked twice at what they are suggesting, there is strong argument on the other side, that the intelligence records of any police department should be kept as much under wraps as possible, because they involve pieces of information that very severely affect the private rights

of individuals.

Q: What if they involve illegal activities by the police department?

A: Illegal activities by the police department? I don't like the police department being illegal any more than anybody else. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance and that is what I was elected mayor of the city of Houston to try to prevent.

Hofheinz was also asked if he would investigate whether or not Jimmy Dale Hutto, who was implicated in bombing attacks on the SWP and KPFT and also did undercover work in SDS, was getting paid by the Houston cops. Hutto is now serving time in Leavenworth.

Hofheinz declared he was "not familiar enough" with the Hutto question, and besides, "that was some years ago."

Charges of ties between right-wing terrorist groups, especially the Klan, and the Houston cops have been widely believed here for years. The city has failed to make any arrests of those responsible for a wave of terrorist attacks against socialists, Blacks, and others here several years ago.

The issue of media access to police files is a touchy one for Hofheinz. In January of this year it was announced as city policy that there will no longer be access by the press to police files. The press has complained about this and raised questions about possible cover-ups and the right of the public to be informed about police activities.

There is a growing conviction here that, if the Houston police records were ever made public, they would be a powerful indictment of past and present city administrations and could bring out the truth about police involvement in Klan activities and other violent attacks in Houston.

The Socialist Workers Party here is trying to mobilize additional support for the demand for the publication of the secret files. A delegation of prominent political activists will be visiting Hofheinz to express their feelings and demand that the mayor make available to them and all other citizens the full story of the secret infiltration of the SWP and other groups here.



Militant/Ed Weaver

SWP members examine bullet holes following May 1971 attack on socialist headquarters in Houston. Opening of police files could prove that cops were involved in such incidents.

Hundreds hear Edelstam in Boston, St. Paul

Harald Edelstam, the former Swedish ambassador to Chile, spoke to an enthusiastic audience of more than 400 at Faneuil Hall in Boston March 12. Edelstam was expelled from Chile last December because of his aid to refugees from the repression by the rightist junta.

His two-month tour through the United States and Canada was initiated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and is being organized by a broad spectrum of civil liberties organizations, religious groups, and groups concerned with Latin America.

Edelstam told the Boston meeting that since the coup in Chile thousands of political activists have been murdered and many more are in prison. "Workers previously involved in any left political activity are left to starve as they are denied jobs," he continued. "Twenty-five thousand students are not being allowed to return to school, and 30,000 orphans remain."

A Chile Appeal Fund has been established to aid victims of the repression and to which the proceeds of the tour will go. During Edelstam's two-day stay in Boston \$1,300 was raised for the Appeal. This included

contributions from a reception held at the home of John Kenneth Galbraith and hosted by USLA, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

In Boston the tour was launched at a news conference attended by all the major media in Boston. Speakers included Edelstam, Nobel Laureate Salvador Luria, Congressman Michael Harrington, Dean Krister Stendahl of Harvard Divinity School, and Greg Perkins of USLA.

Perkins, who also spoke at the Faneuil Hall meeting, told of the complicity of the U.S. government in the Chilean coup and drew attention to the case of Theotonio Dos Santos, a Brazilian economist living in Chile who is being denied a visa to the United States by the State Department.

Edelstam's next stop was Minneapolis-St. Paul, where his three-day visit was highlighted by a city-wide meeting of 250 at Macalester College.

Also speaking was Toby Lapakko, secretary of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 6, who brought greetings from the Minnesota AFL-CIO as well as from her union, which had endorsed

the meeting at its quarterly convention.

Interest in, and support for, the Edelstam tour has been high among trade unionists. Mirta Vidal from the USLA national office in New York told *The Militant* that USLA supporters building the tour around the country have found many new opportunities to win broader support through the labor movement.

The Macalester meeting also heard greetings from the Reverend John Sinclair of the National Council of Churches, and St. Paul city councilman Victor Tedesco, who read a message from St. Paul Mayor Lawrence Cohen.

Nearly \$1,500 was raised during the tour, which included engagements at three other campuses and a city-wide meeting in Duluth, Minn.



Militant/Joanna Rohrbach

Harald Edelstam, former Swedish ambassador to Chile, addresses meeting in Boston's Faneuil Hall.

What is the political effect of terrorism?

By GENE ANDERSON

A statement purportedly issued by Bernardine Dohrn of the Weather Underground has been printed in the *Berkeley Barb* and other papers, solidarizing with the Symbionese Liberation Army and chastising those radicals who have criticized the SLA's kidnapping of Patricia Hearst.

The statement must be evaluated with more than a little skepticism. Veteran Weather-watchers point out that it does not bear Dohrn's thumbprint, formerly the stamp of authenticity for Weather Reports. But so far the statement has not been repudiated by Dohrn.

Whether or not the statement is genuine, the Weather Underground—a terrorist sect that emerged from the breakup of SDS in 1969—is virtually devoid of significance. It has carried out no known activities for years and has no influence in the labor or student movements.

However, to the extent the Weather Underground letter attempts to politically defend the SLA's terrorist methods it raises important questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics that are being discussed in broader circles.

Dohrn's first point is that "American society is maintained by force and violence" carried out by the capitalist ruling class. This truth is elementary for revolutionists, but it is hardly sufficient for working out

a strategy to effectively counter ruling-class violence.

Revolutionists support the right of those struggling against oppression to defend themselves by any means necessary. This will involve actions ranging from defending a strike picket line against scab or cop attacks to defending the socialist revolution against attempts to reimpose capitalist exploitation by force of arms.

For self-defense actions to be successful, though, they must be aimed at involving the masses of working people themselves. It is not only false but suicidal to think that a small armed band—even one with an exotic gimmick like cyanide-tipped bullets—can substitute itself for mass struggle.

Second, Dohrn says, "We support the right of people to food." Few will quarrel with this position. But no matter how much anyone might welcome a free bag of groceries at Hearst's expense, it should be obvious that such a giveaway program by an individual capitalist is no lasting solution to hunger.

In fact, the SLA's approach is simply the mirror image of liberal appeals to the rich for charity. One tells people to rely on the goodwill of the capitalists; the other tells them to rely on a Robin Hood who can extort charity when goodwill fails.

Neither the terrorist nor the liberal has confidence in the ability of the masses to wage a struggle for real improvements in their standard of living. Both are fundamentally elitist.

This is Dohrn's response to left-wing critics of the SLA: "Beware of the familiar phrases used against every kind of revolutionary action: 'it's premature,' 'it turns people off' (some people), 'it brings down repression.' The same words are used to attack sit-ins, draft-card burnings, urban rebellions, the struggle of women, G.I. revolts, or occupations of institutions."

She goes on to say: "Whether or not any of this is literally true, the important thing about revolutionary action is its political effect, its direction, what it teaches and changes and strengthens."



BERNARDINE DOHRN (& SDS COLLEAGUES): Forgets that Weather Underground's bombing campaign was a disaster.

The proposed criterion of looking at the *political effect* of an action is obviously the correct one. It is true that the capitalist state is just as anxious to repress strikes, picket lines, sit-ins, and mass demonstrations as terrorist acts.

We are concerned, however, not with the desires of the ruling class, but with the consciousness and organization of the oppressed masses, for these determine their ability to fight back for their own interests.

What is the political effect of isolated terrorist attacks on individual capitalists or their officials? In an article written in 1911, Leon Trotsky—who later organized the Bolshevik insurrection and led the Red Army—explained it this way:

"In our eyes, individual terror is inadmissible precisely because it *belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness*, reconciles them to their powerlessness, and turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator who some day will come and accomplish his mission." (Emphasis in original.)

"The anarchist prophets of 'the propaganda of the deed' can argue all they want about the elevating and stimulating influence of terrorist acts on the masses," Trotsky wrote. "Theoretical considerations and political experience prove otherwise. The more

'effective' the terrorist acts, the greater their impact, the more the attention of the masses is focused on them—the more they reduce the interest of the masses in self-organization and self-education."

The experiences of the antiwar movement and the Black liberation struggle in this country fully confirm the lessons Lenin and Trotsky explained more than 50 years ago.

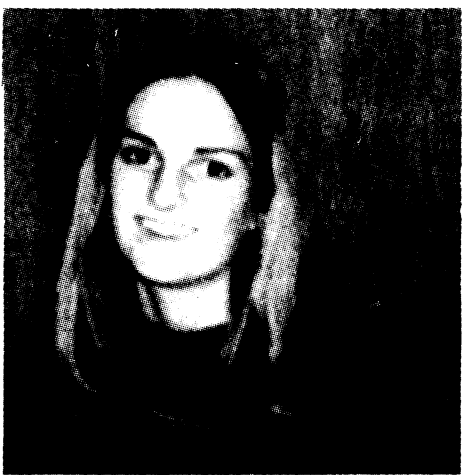
The Weather Underground itself was the final product of an ultraleft current in SDS that opposed mass antiwar actions as not "militant" enough and tried to substitute cop-fighting by small groups.

In late 1969 and 1970 the Weatherpeople took credit for a series of bombings of police stations, draft boards, and corporation offices. Needless to say, these bombings did not do the slightest damage to the war machine.

Instead, they helped the government divert attention from its bloodshed in Vietnam and brand the antiwar movement as "violent." This confused many people who opposed the war for the perfectly good reason that they opposed bombing and killing.

Especially damaging to the movement was the August 1970 bombing of an Army research facility in Madison, Wis., in which an antiwar graduate student was killed.

Continued on page 22



PATRICIA HEARST: 'I have been issued a 12-gauge riot shotgun.'

Army court refuses amnesty for war resister

By DAVE FRANKEL

FORT DIX, N.J. — When Private Lewis Simon surrendered to the FBI last December after spending almost five years in Sweden, his father said, "If they can give amnesty to Agnew and the rest, they can give it to my son."

Things didn't work out that way, though. On March 18, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Morrison sentenced Simon to seven months' confinement at hard labor, a bad conduct discharge, and forfeiture of all pay, after finding him guilty of being absent from his unit without leave. The sentence was in addition to the three months Simon had already spent waiting for trial in the Fort Dix stockade—including 29 days in solitary confinement.

In a statement submitted earlier this month to the House Judiciary Committee hearings on amnesty for war resisters, Simon explained, "I went to Sweden, not as an immigrant or expatriate, but as a political exile—one among one million victims of corrupt and criminal U.S. war policies. . . . I refused to serve in Vietnam because I knew the war to be surrounded by official lies and distortions that staggered the imagination."

Simon was prevented from testify-



Militant/Dave Frankel

LEWIS SIMON: 'The only answer is amnesty for those who refused to take part in an immoral war.'

ing before the committee in person, although his jailers were well represented. The Defense Department, in reply to a request by the committee chairman that Simon be allowed to appear, insisted that an appearance would not be in his best interests, since he might incriminate himself! Simon pointed out in a letter published in the March 18 *New York Times*:

"While the right to remain silent to avoid self-incrimination is one of our most important legal rights, it is one

that can only be invoked by the defendant himself. The Defense Department does not have the prerogative of invoking that right for me, against my own expressed desire. I see this as a hypocritical distortion of my legitimate right to remain silent, being used to infringe upon my even more basic right of freedom of speech."

As Simon's court-martial proceeded, however, it became clear that the government's refusal to allow him to testify before the congressional hearings was one of the mildest violations of his rights.

Tod Ensign, one of Simon's lawyers, and two of Ensign's assistants, described how they had been repeatedly harassed and denied access to their client. The defense was denied permission to call witnesses concerning the illegal surveillance of Simon, his lawyers, and the Safe Return Amnesty Committee, which has been coordinating his defense. Such surveillance could have led to dismissal of the charges against Simon if it had been admitted in court.

Harold Weiner, Simon's principal attorney, pointed out that while Simon, who had voluntarily surrendered and who had not yet been convicted, was denied release from pretrial confinement, convicted mass

murderer William Calley has been held under house arrest, and was then freed while his case was being appealed.

The court also refused to allow Weiner to question the Army prosecutor on command influence in his treatment of the case—a possibility indicated by the refusal to allow Simon to testify at the congressional hearings.

The approach of Lieutenant Colonel Morrison, the military judge who tried the case, was summed up in his statement that "either he [Simon] absented himself without leave or he did not, on sixth January 1969, and I am only interested in what happened on that day."

Morrison handed down the seven-month sentence despite an appeal for clemency by former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, who appeared at the trial.

Defense counsel Harold Weiner said in an interview after the court-martial that he would appeal the case. "I've got enough grounds already to appeal a dozen cases," he said.

Simon, standing with his Swedish wife, Fia, insisted after the trial: "The only answer is amnesty for those who refused to take part in an immoral war."

Oil embargo

Now that the Arab oil embargo has been lifted, President Nixon and "Energy Czar" William Simon inform us there will finally be enough fuel again. The way they tell it, we should all be rejoicing.

But many Americans learned a thing or two from the meat shortage last spring. With meat, as now with fuel, the "shortages" somehow disappeared as soon as the monopolies got their price.

The oil barons have been careful to warn us that the end of the embargo will not mean a return to pre-embargo fuel prices. In fact, they predict that gas prices will most likely stabilize at an even higher level than they are now.

To growing numbers of working people, the whole "energy crisis" was fishy from start to finish. Was there ever really any shortage of fuel in the U.S.? Did the Arab boycott really have any appreciable effect here, given the fact that the U.S. gets only about 6 percent of its oil from the Mideast? What about the oil company and government figures that didn't add up?

The American people were kept totally in the dark, because of the "business secrets" of the oil monopolies—secrets that were protected by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress as well as by the Nixon administration.

While the real facts about the energy crisis are still concealed, one thing is clear: the oil monopolies have achieved what they wanted out of the "crisis," while masses of working people were the ones to suffer.

The oil monopolies not only got greatly higher prices; they racked up one of the most spectacular profit rises ever recorded by any industry. They won their Alaska pipeline, and scored big blows against limits on air pollution, strip mining, offshore drilling, and other destruction of the environment. They boosted the profitability of the other energy industries they also have great control over, including coal and nuclear energy. They drove thousands of independent gas station owners and fuel dealers out of business.

On one level, the truckers and the West Virginia miners pointed the way to how to fight back: through the power of independent, mass action by working people. Working people also need their own party, a labor party, to fight back on a political level. The corrupt Democratic and Republican parties have been exposed as in the pay of the oil monopolies and other capitalists.

Enough of this sacrifice by the many to make profits for the rich! Open the books and records of the oil monopolies! Nationalize the energy industry so it can be run rationally under workers control for the benefit of the majority!

Amnesty debate

The brutal injustice of the war in Vietnam prompted a whole generation of American youth to rise up in anger and horror. The protest against Washington's massive bloodletting in Indochina took many forms. Millions marched in mass demonstrations. Teach-ins, rallies, and sit-ins swept the country.

Thousands of young men refused to register for the draft or, once drafted, refused to serve in the armed forces. Since July 1966 some 505,000 men have deserted from the U.S. armed forces. In addition, nearly 400,000 Vietnam veterans received less than honorable discharges, many for protesting Washington's dirty war.

Having victimized millions of people in Indochina as well as millions of Americans for the last 10 years, the U.S. government is still not satisfied. Nixon and his partners in crime want to make those who resisted the war continue to suffer as a lesson to future draftees.

Testifying for the administration before congressional hearings on amnesty for Vietnam war resisters, Lieutenant General Leo Benade insisted March 13 that amnesty "would have a serious detrimental impact on the morale and discipline of our armed forces."

"In addition," he said, "it would establish an undesirable precedent which would dangerously impair the effectiveness of any future induction system. . . ."

Those resisters who refused to fight in Vietnam committed no crime. They, along with the overwhelming majority of the American people, rejected a despicable and criminal war. Deserters and draft resisters alike should be allowed to return to the U.S. and to live here without punishment or harassment. In addition, all those who have been victimized by receiving less than honorable discharges should immediately have their full rights and benefits restored.

Vote Labour?

I have been a *Militant* subscriber for several years now and particularly admire your stand on independent working-class actions (i.e., no support to capitalist parties or politicians). However I was quite alarmed when I read your article on the British coal miners' strike (written by Patricia Fryd in the March 1 issue) in which a vote for the capitalist, corrupt British Labour Party is urged.

Could you please explain this gross inconsistency? Clearly the Labour Party in Britain is no more socialist than the Democratic Party in the U.S.!

A.M.
Tempe, Ariz.

In reply—It is true that the Labour Party is a capitalist party in its program—it aims to "reform" capitalism, not to lead a socialist revolution. But the Labour Party is also a working-class party in that it is based on and controlled by the trade unions. In this it differs from the Democratic Party, which is controlled by the rich just like the Republican Party.

Revolutionary socialists can call for a vote for the Labour Party on the grounds that it is a workers party opposing capitalist parties, while at the same time ruthlessly criticizing its program. This way revolutionists can get the ear of the British workers, reinforce their desire for independent working-class political action, and at the same time expose to them the inadequacies and betrayals of the Labour Party leadership.

S. Africa ambassador

South African ambassador to the U.S., Johan Samuel Frederick Botha, spoke before the Indianapolis Council on World Affairs Feb. 21 and was greeted by a predominantly Black picket line of approximately 120 people. The picketers carried signs blasting the racist policies of the South African white minority government.

It was noted afterward that there were more people picketing outside the Indianapolis Hilton Hotel than there were inside listening to Botha's presentation.

David Ellis
Indianapolis, Ind.

North Country Anvil

I thought *Militant* readers might be interested in the following review of *The Militant* that appeared in the February-March 1974 issue of the *North Country Anvil*. The *Anvil* is a large movement magazine in Minnesota.

"One of the worst clichés among intellectuals and liberals is that radical political writing is dull and slogan-burdened. And if there is any publication this should apply to, it is *The Militant*. For here is a doctrinaire, old-left, sectarian, socialist paper. (Have I included all the adjectives?) Well, *The Militant* makes fascinating reading. It's one of the best damned papers in this country. And it's immensely more interesting reading than the *New York Times* or any of the other big newspapers. For starters, you don't have to agree with all that's in it. *The Militant*

is published by the Socialist Workers Party, often known as the Trotskyists. They like Trotsky, and there's a lot to like in Trotsky, especially since he was a foe and ultimate victim of Stalin. But you can like *The Militant* merely for its fine coverage and analysis of the Chilean coup, the Middle East conflict (unless you're pro-Israel), the oil crisis, the truckers' strike and anything else that comes along.

"The Socialist Workers Party and *The Militant* are making an important contribution, in my judgment, to the cause of social change in this country. They are pros and they've been on the case for a long time. They've been messed over by the government for years in all the ways the government has, but they've kept on fighting. They have some weaknesses. One is their apotheosis of Trotsky. Another is their constant bickering with the Communist Party. Another is the narrowness of their politics—they have little interest in different ways of living, unless there's an expressly political angle involved. But these reservations aside, *The Militant* is one fine publication. I need it."

M.H.
Minneapolis, Minn.

Solzhenitsyn

I enjoyed the article on (rock-me-in-thy-arms-Baby Jesus) Solzhenitsyn and have read one article by *People's World* denouncing him. I agree more with your article.

Religion can have no defenders in a communist government. From my own experiences, religion is the opiate of the people, and it is horrifying to find a man of his stature chasing after Billy Graham. Still, we must support those in the USSR who have legitimate gripes.

A reader
Berkeley, Calif.

DJs like us

The Militant gets quite an extensive work-over from the time the mailman places it into our hot little eager hands and the time it is deposited in our circular files. *The Militant* has been a continuing source of excellent guest editorials, alternative views and analysis of current events, and humorous antiestablishment stories ("The Great Society"—right on!). Even our DJs and other station personnel fight to get first dibs to read each issue. *The Militant* is without a doubt one of the most comprehensive, responsible voices of the socialist cause.

WJMD is generally regarded as the best progressive rock station between Detroit and Chicago. Right now we only broadcast on-campus, but within a matter of months we hope to broadcast city-wide on an FM frequency, with an estimated listening audience of 50,000.

Jim Ketcham
WJMD news director
Kalamazoo, Mich.

Even some ministers

I do not know how many other ministers read *The Militant* regularly but I do think they might also find it helpful not only as an aid in interpreting events to their congregations, but also as an exposure to the contrasting view represented



Echeverria

by Marxism. Harry Ring's barbs at religion are often telling pictures that reach the ambiguity I sometimes feel as a person who finds the politics of *The Militant* essential for real social change but remains committed to Jesus Christ and the church.

Reverend James R. Bradshaw
Rainier, Ore.

On the SLA

The police-state is already here. You are using your excuses of condemning the SLA [Symbionese Liberation Army—kidnappers of Patricia Hearst] to hide your own inactivity. As far as comrades are concerned in the prisons, all you so-called comrades, radical groups, are worse than the pigs. Your oink has been louder than the most reactionary-to-the-core oppressors about the SLA. It seems like you're second in the line of defense next to the cops. People are starving, being murdered, imprisoned, tortured every day, and what are you doing, besides spilling ink?

A prisoner
California

In reply—An article taking up the arguments some radicals have raised in support of the SLA's terrorism appears on page 9.

Prisoners can't buy Militant

I received my copy again this week of *The Militant*; thanks a lot.

In your article about *The Militant* seeking financial contributions you state that *The Militant* goes to 91 prisons in 29 states. It says that prisoners cannot pay for *The Militant* out of their meager wages. The fact is that in most prisons the administration will not let inmates send out any of their funds for left-wing papers, books, etc. I have tried to get the administration to let me forward a few dollars to *The Militant*, and my request has been denied.

A prisoner
New York

Only the poor in prison

Enclosed is \$2 for the Militant Fund.

The Militant has given me faith in socialism and the struggle for a better world, for I was caught in the trap that Marxism and Stalinism were the same.

Your coverage of prisons and the revolutionary undercurrent is very interesting to me, as I served three years in a Georgia prison. I know firsthand the conditions and treatment of prisoners and that prisons contain only the poor, almost without exception. I can recall only one person who had wealth on the outside who couldn't buy his freedom.

W.P.
San Antonio, Tex.

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.

Vendidos (sellouts) are the Mexican-American politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of our oppressors. The function of these politicians is to restore faith in the system and the people who exploit us. Opposing *vendidos* is essential if the Chicano movement is to move forward.

Our oppressors here are the same people who carry out imperialist exploitation of *la raza* in the rest of the Americas. And like Chicanos in Aztlán, the peoples of Latin America have their *vendidos* as well, politicians who make a career of selling their people down the river to the *gringos*.

One such person is President Luis Echeverría of Mexico. Chicano activists protested when Echeverría visited this country in 1972, calling attention to his crimes against the Mexican people. As minister of the interior under the Díaz Ordaz regime, Echeverría bore heavy responsibility for the police attack on the huge demonstrations protesting the 1968 Olympics. Hundreds of students were killed.

And yet there are would-be "revolutionaries" who apparently would like us to overlook Echeverría's crimes. Carlos Calderón, writing some weeks ago in the *Guardian*, a Maoist weekly, tries to palm off Echeverría as a "progressive Latin American president." There is not a word of criticism of the butcher of Mexican students in the article titled "Mexico: A new direction?"

To demonstrate the "progressive" nature of the Mexican president, Calderón cites some nationalizations of *yanqui* holdings and the granting of asylum to Hortensia Allende, among other things.

Calderón was particularly impressed when Echeverría referred to Moscow and Peking as "our friends." "Mexico is no longer a rubber stamp for U.S. foreign policy," concluded Calderón, because it voted to admit the People's Republic of China into the United Nations.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Abortion and the death penalty

The Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments headed by Senator Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) recently held two days of hearings on proposed constitutional amendments that would prohibit abortion.

The principal amendment debated was that of Senator James Buckley (C-R-N.Y.), which states that the word "person" as used in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments (that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law) shall apply to "unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development. . . ." The amendment would outlaw abortions except "in an emergency, when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of pregnancy will cause the death of the mother."

Another amendment, offered by Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), would extend constitutional guarantees to a fetus "from the moment of conception" and make no exceptions.

These amendments, if passed, would actually go beyond overturning last year's U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. Even before the Supreme Court ruling, many states made exceptions on the basis of rape, incest, mental or physical dangers to the woman, and other medical reasons. These amendments would remove the basis for those exceptions by granting constitutional rights to the fetus.

Some legal questions are raised by these amendments. If a fetus is a "person," would women who use contraceptive devices that dislodge a fertilized egg, such as the intrauterine device (IUD), be guilty of murder? Could a pregnant woman be sent to jail if this would incarcerate the presumably innocent fetus ("person")? Can the fetus ("person") inherit property? Should it be included in the census? Does it need a passport to travel? The questions themselves show the absurdity of the proposals.

Much more important, however, is the vicious anti-woman character of the proposed amendments and those who support them. Some of these attitudes were unwittingly exposed at the hearings.

Representative John Zwach (R-Minn.) came to the

Calderón draws a totally one-sided picture in his apology for Echeverría. So he nationalized a ranch belonging to Lyndon Johnson and turned it over to the peasants who were occupying it. What about the many more peasants Echeverría has thrown into jail or gunned down for taking over the lands they work? What about the millions more who still live in grinding poverty, unable to make a living? What about the political prisoners in Echeverría's jails?

Luis Echeverría speaks for Mexican capitalists, not the Mexican people. Imperialist domination hampers these capitalists from exploiting the people as much as they would like to. The *gringos* take the lion's share. So occasionally the local capitalist politicians take token measures against the imperialists. They nationalize a company or two.

We welcome any progressive measures that are taken, such as nationalizations, the long-overdue recognition of China, and any extensions of democratic rights. But Echeverría and other capitalist demagogues like him throughout the semicolonial world are incapable of going beyond tokenism and making a real break with imperialism.

The recent meeting of Latin American leaders with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Mexico City underscores this. None of the real grievances the Latin American masses have against Washington were brought up so as not to jeopardize relations with Uncle Sam. The only country of Latin America that has broken with imperialism, Cuba, was excluded.

Antiimperialist rhetoric comes cheap for Echeverría. It is an attempt to hoodwink the workers and peasants who want to see an end to *yanqui* domination. Echeverría suppresses independent mass struggles, the only force that can really fight imperialism to the finish.

The Chicano movement must take the side of the masses, and expose the lies of the *vendidos* and exploiters, not give credence to them.

hearings to give his "expert" opinion that life begins when the egg is fertilized. But he apparently neither knew nor cared about the question of life. When asked if in his "expert" opinion life actually begins with fertilization or five to eight days later when the fertilized egg is implanted in the uterus, he became flustered and burst out his *real* opinion. There is a "sickness of Americans," Zwach said. "They have to have intercourse." He added that "virtue is self-discipline."

Then there are the four Catholic cardinals for whom the Buckley bill isn't reactionary enough. They testified that there can be no exceptions to prohibiting abortion—not even to save the life of the woman. When asked about making an exception in the case of rape, John Cardinal Krol of Philadelphia replied, "the victim of rape survives. The victim of abortion does not."

Senator Buckley outdid them all. A week after the abortion hearings he showed how real his concern for life is by voting in favor of restoring the death penalty. Then, in what must be one of the most hypocritical moves of the year, Buckley added an amendment to the death penalty bill barring the execution of a pregnant woman in order to protect the fetus!

These men have a warped, reactionary sense of justice. In weighing the life of a woman against a fertilized egg, they choose the egg. Rape to them is a joke; after all, the woman "survives." The medieval practice of execution is "necessary." Sex is a "sickness" and abstinence a "virtue."

Nobody is keeping these characters from following their own conscience. If Representative Zwach thinks sex is dirty, he is free to abstain. If Buckley's soul twitches at the thought of abortion, he needn't have one. The cardinals may snicker and preach whatever they like.

But the abortion rights movement fought for and won the right to have medically safe abortions. We also convinced the overwhelming majority of people that that is our right, and we will fight to keep it.



Scout creed—A manual issued by the Boy Scouts PR department advises that crimes by scouts or scout leaders create problems imagewise. A particularly delicate problem is crimes "with sexual overtones." However, "other crimes such as stealing, arson and embezzlement may not be too damaging to the public image." In fact, they could qualify a kid for the presidency.

Great silent majority—According to a recent poll, a solid 18 percent of the California public think President Nixon is doing a good job.

Now hear this—Blue-collar blues are a myth, according to two doctors whose findings were published in an American Medical Association psychiatric journal. They talked to a thousand workers at a Baltimore-area General Motors plant. Ninety-five percent assured them they were satisfied with their jobs and 71 percent said

no part of their work was tiring or upsetting. And they all thought they were being overpaid, right?

And take down those Marx posters!—The Czechoslovak government has banned public appearances by male entertainers with long hair.

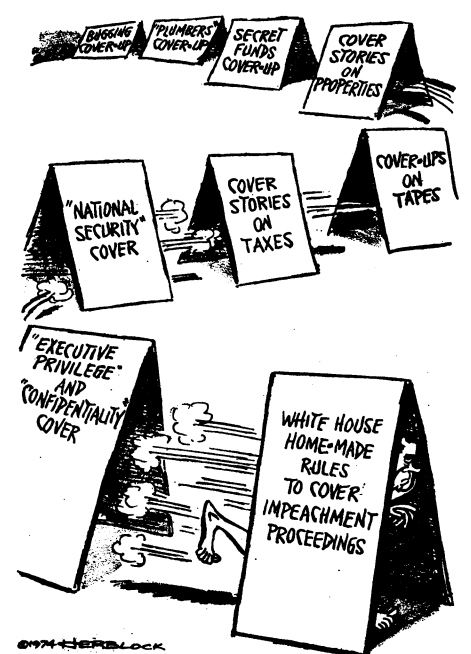
Besides, it's annoying—Dr. J. L. Steinfeld, former U. S. surgeon general and head of the Mayo Clinic cancer center, addressed the first meeting of the Minnesota Ass'n for Nonsmokers Rights. He said cigarette smoke could precipitate allergic attacks, headaches, eye irritations, nasal symptoms, and coughing and wheezing, as well as endangering those with heart or lung conditions.

To help make things perfectly clear—HEW Secretary Caspar Weinberger says the media have often failed to

adequately cover complex events. He would like to see a government-subsidized program in which reporters could take a year off to study social issues. "I would like to see more newsmen be freed . . . to sit back and do some thinking," the president's associate said.

Coping with the energy crunch—It's reported from Detroit that there's a compact Cadillac on the drawing boards. Price? A compact \$10,000 to \$12,000.

Progress report—Oklahoma repealed a law permitting a husband to sue for alienation of affections. The statute made it illegal to entice a wife away from a husband, but not vice-versa. The repeal was undertaken despite objection from a state senator who argued, "A man's wife is his property right. This bill violates the Ten Commandments."



Streaking

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Happenings at Little Rock

The famous 1954 Supreme Court decision that declared public school segregation to be illegal was based on a Little Rock case, *Brown v. Board of Education*.

But in 1957, the school segregation issue blazed again in Little Rock when nine Black students sought to desegregate lily-white Central High School.

Mobs of white racist parents tried to stop them. The bitter struggle that ensued prompted the mobilization of federal troops to back up the students, who became known as the Little Rock Nine.

The delegates and visitors at the National Black Political Convention paused, Saturday afternoon, to honor the parents of the Little Rock Nine.

Present was Daisy Bates, one of the mothers and a leader of the 1957 struggle, who gave a heart-tugging account of what happened on those autumn days 17 years ago.

"It did not take 999 persons to change the destiny of this country," she said. "It took only nine—nine children. Children who knew what they were doing and knew how important it was. . . ."

Afterward, as she was presented a plaque and

the audience rose to express appreciation for her efforts, she broke into soft sobs. "Whatever you do for me now," she managed to say, "you do for all of us."

- A group of women at the convention organized a Black women's caucus, which met twice during the convention. More than 100 women attended the first session. They discussed the special problems of Black women, including forced sterilization and low wages.

By convention's end, 200 women had signed a petition demanding a full role for women within the convention, and a full and rightful place for women on all bodies of the convention, including the Black Assembly.

The petition was adopted in the credentials report.

- One welcome sight for sore political eyes was the Pathfinder literature table. One woman moseyed past it, stopped, gazed at the revolutionary literature stacked on it, then said, "Yeh. This is just what these people need," and proceeded to gobble up some books.

Best sellers turned out to be titles dealing with

women's liberation, *The U. S. Role in Southern Africa*, and *Black Liberation and Political Power: The Meaning of the Gary Convention*.

Earlier, as the convention opened, a panting young man rushed up to the literature table and gasped, "Hotcakes." "What?" asked the man seated behind it. "*The Militant*," he replied as he grabbed a fresh bundle and darted off to sell. For more on this, see page 19.

- A few stars and luminaries were present. Clarence "Mod Squad" Williams and his actress-wife addressed one session and read a poem on the Little Rock Nine.

Another showman who was present was Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, who spiced his speech with folksy humor, joshing about his weight, Nixon, and slavery. One crack was aimed at a fellow Democrat, Lester Maddox, Georgia's lieutenant governor.

It seems ole Lester's doctor told him he had bad and awful news for him. Lester asked what the bad news was and doc said he had two weeks to live. Lester asked what the awful news was and doc said he was dying of sickle cell anemia.

National Picket Line

Steelworkers' right to strike

Steelworkers across the country are expecting a decision by April 15 on the legality of current labor-management negotiations in the steel industry. Unless the courts intercede by that date, all unresolved issues between the union and the steel corporations will go to binding arbitration under the terms of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). This no-strike agreement was signed behind the backs of the membership on March 29, 1973, by top officials of the United Steelworkers of America and representatives of 10 major steel corporations.



Alice Peurala

Thirty-five members of 14 union locals filed a lawsuit Jan. 7 on behalf of the 400,000 USWA members in basic steel, charging that the ENA

illegally abrogates their right to strike. A federal judge has promised a decision by April 15, according to plaintiffs.

The case was heard before Judge Hubert Teitelbaum in Pittsburgh March 4-6 on a motion by USWA attorneys to overturn the suit.

Steelworkers from as far away as Chicago and Los Angeles crowded the courtroom to hear and give testimony. Among the five steelworkers who testified against the ENA was Alice Peurala, candidate for president of the 8,000-member USWA Local 65 in Chicago last year and a plaintiff in the suit.

Peurala explained later the three bases for the case against ENA. One is a 1967 USWA executive board memorandum that states that no agreement on binding arbitration will be entered into by the union without first being submitted to a referendum vote of the membership.

The second is USWA convention resolutions that specifically state the right of the membership to take strike action. Thirdly, she cited Section 502 of the Landrum-Griffin Act, which is supposed to protect the right of union members to be fully

informed and to participate in policy-making decisions.

In her testimony Peurala said her USWA Local 65 had overwhelmingly adopted a resolution against ENA and had notified Steelworkers President I.W. Abel of the action. She said last year more than 2,000 steelworkers in her district had signed petitions asking Abel to repudiate ENA. Then, on Jan. 7, 10,000 more petitions were submitted. All were ignored by union officials, she stated.

The action to outlaw the ENA is supported by all three rank-and-file caucuses in the union—the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee, which has its main support in Lorain, Ohio; Rank and File Team, based in Youngstown; and the Chicago-based Steelworkers for Change. Right now they are appealing for funds to carry their case as far as the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

Contributions can be sent to: Steelworkers Legal Defense Fund, Box 801, Hammond, Ind. 46325. The appeal is signed by Gene Moser, Local 6787; Al Santer, Local 1014; Bill Litch, Local 1462; and Alice Peurala, Local 65.



Frank Lovell

Issues facing the British working class

By FRANK LOVELL

Less than a week after Harold Wilson formed the new Labour government in Britain the miners' strike was settled by granting a 35 percent wage increase, the three-day workweek was ended, a freeze was imposed on residential rents for the rest of the year, and the four-month "state of emergency" proclamation was revoked.

All this in a few days seemed like swift and decisive action for a government that had failed to receive a clear majority in the Feb. 28 general election. But these measures were dictated in advance by the rebellious mood and actions of British workers, especially those of the miners.

Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath had tried to stabilize the currency, curb inflation, and make British goods more competitive on the world market by holding down wages and reducing the living standard of the British workers. The British capitalists' policy on the home front was a carbon copy of the New Economic Policy launched by the Nixon administration in this country on Aug. 15, 1971.

The previous Wilson government of 1964 to 1970, faced with the same problems of British capitalism, had embarked upon a similar policy. The record of the earlier Labour government was one of an "Incomes policy," including a period of total wage freeze; suspension of contracts that provided wage increases; abandonment of any extension of social services; the "In Place of Strife" legislation aimed at



WILSON: Trying to solve the capitalists' problems for them.

limiting the right to strike; the sending of British troops to Ireland; and backing for the U.S. war in Vietnam.

Now Wilson promises to solve the crisis of British capitalism by means of a "social contract" that amounts to "voluntary" wage controls agreed to by the trade-union bureaucracy. He has vowed to continue the Tory statutory wage controls until this "social contract" is arranged.

Wilson motivates this as a policy of equal sacrifice by bosses and workers—like the "equality of sacrifice" that AFL-CIO President George Meany and other labor skates in this country talk about.

The labor statesmen in Britain now have the chance to introduce this more camouflaged method of governing in the interests of the capitalists (the class-harmony, "all-pull-together" method) because the British workers stubbornly resisted the open class bias and blatant injustice of the Tory government.

Mood of the workers

The mood of the British workers as expressed in interviews I conducted on the eve of the Feb. 28 general election was cautiously combative. The remarks of striking coal miner Jim

Blackburn, 22, were typical of this. He works in Comrie Colliery, Fife, Scotland. He said the election was the Tory response to the miners' strike threat. "What other reason would Heath have for calling an election?" Blackburn asked.

He thought many other issues had been raised in the campaign and he talked about them, but for him, "rising prices is the basic issue."

When I asked if he thought this was the basic issue for both the working class and the employing class, Blackburn answered Yes without hesitation.

"The state of the national economy is important for the capitalist class," he added. "If they cannot keep up a reasonable rate of profit then they have to clamp down on the workers."

"The Tories recognize," he said, "in a situation of real decline of British capitalism, that the miners can spearhead a drive by the whole working class against the Tory pay laws."

Jim Blackburn is not an "average" coal miner, as his answers to these and other questions showed. But neither is he unique among young British workers today. His insights and the attitude he displays toward the ruling class explain why more than 11 million British workers voted to kick out the Tory government. Some reservations he has about the Labour Party help to explain why this party of the working class failed to win a clear majority.

At the London headquarters of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), I had a wide-ranging interview with Jim Wheeler, union research officer and local Labour Party official. We discussed the miners' strike, the election, Labour Party policy, and the future of working men and women in Britain. Some of Wheeler's answers to the same questions I later put to Blackburn showed the differences in attitude between union officials and militant workers toward the capitalist government.

Wheeler told me that the 40-hour weekly pay of miners ranged from 25 pound for surface workers to 36.79 pound for underground workers at mechanized faces. This is about \$66 for the lowest wage and \$98 for the highest. Food prices are about the same as in the United States.

Miners struck for increased base wages to range from about \$94 to \$120 weekly—between a 22 and 42 percent raise. "This claim is now out of date," Wheeler said, "because it was submitted as a result of a conference resolution in June of last year; so there's been a good deal of inflation since then."

The Tory government had provoked the strike by trying to limit wage increases to 7 percent under Phase III of its wage-control policy.

Pay Board 'mistake'

The Coal Board, which runs the nationalized industry, had supported Heath's stand against the miners until only a week before the election. Then it switched its position and agreed the miners' demands were just.

This was right after the government Pay Board announced that a "mistake" had been made in calculating how the miners' pay compared with that of other industrial workers. The board now said miners were 8 percent behind other workers, rather than 3 percent ahead, as it had previously contended.

I was curious to find out why the mine union officials based their demands on what they call "pay relations"—that is, comparisons with the wages of other workers in com-



Miners' determined struggle helped bring down Heath's Tory government

parable jobs. It seemed to me this argument implied that since miners had been worse off than most other workers, all the NUM was asking for was an adjustment within the framework of Heath's Phase III pay-control program.

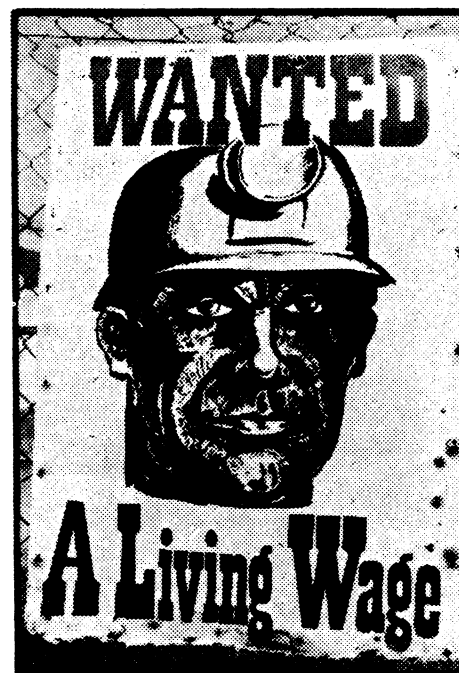
"This is what's happened," Wheeler said, "because we've been forced to find ways around Phase III."

"The claim itself is not based on relativity," he added. "It is based on social justice and the cost-of-living increase, and the need for coal in Britain, which is a new situation."

But have not all workers suffered from government wage controls, I asked? And would not the miners' position be stronger if they demanded an end to all wage controls?

Blackburn's response to this question showed that striking coal miners were convinced that their strike could end all wage controls and benefit all other workers. Wheeler's answer showed that the trade-union officialdom holds a different view.

"We are only demanding an end to all wage controls whilst we have no price controls," he said. "Control profits, control dividends, control prices, and then and only then can we seriously look at controlling wages."



He ignored the fact that all experience with "wage-price controls"—from Nixon's "wage-price controls" to the previous Wilson government's "Prices and Incomes Policy"—haveshown that a capitalist government never seriously enforces price controls, only wage controls.

British trade unions do favor an escalator clause in their contracts to keep wages abreast of rising prices. They call this the "threshold agreement." Blackburn told me, "This sim-

ply means that wage rises are related to the rise in the present Retail Price Index, which includes luxury items not used by workers."

Blackburn thought "we should try to raise a campaign for wage rises related to a price index of basic necessities."

"If we did that," he said, "we'd be getting a rise every week."

These views of a young miner and a spokesman for the official position of the miners union, however divergent on some questions, were the same on the need to get rid of the Tories. Both were for a Labour Party victory.

When he called the election, Heath had expected to isolate the miners and split the union movement. This proved to be a serious miscalculation on his part.

Heath must have thought he could win a popular mandate for his wage-control policy and his broadside attack on the union movement, and that in the process he could head off the threatening strike of coal miners. But when the returns were in on Feb. 28, Heath and the Conservative Party had suffered a resounding defeat.

His election stratagem had failed to forestall the miners' strike. They walked out on Feb. 10, refusing to give in even to the pleas by Harold Wilson that they go back to work for the election period.

Heath's three-day workweek—imposed earlier to cast blame for the "energy crisis" on the miners' slowdown—boomeranged.

His "state of emergency" proclaimed last year—ostensibly in response to a fuel shortage but intended primarily as a weapon against unions demanding higher wages—was exposed as nothing more than a thinly veiled political contrivance. Coal miners said he tried to whip up a "Dunkirk spirit."

Heath's electioneering attacks on "Communists" and "extremists" in the union movement failed to arouse popular indignation, and were widely ridiculed.

Finally, the Conservative campaign appealed to "law and order," promising that if Heath was returned with a big majority, strikers would be arrested and the wheels of industry set humming again under a strong government, and warning that a Labour Party victory would bring disaster.

This fell flat.

Most voters were convinced that disaster had already arrived, and Heath was it.

Whatever else the election returns showed, one thing was clear: the majority of British voters wanted to get rid of Edward Heath and his Conservative government.

Continued on following page

...issues facing British workers

Continued from preceding page

The election reversed the relationship of forces in Parliament. The new lineup more closely reflects the relation of class forces between workers and employers. The working class is now in a stronger political position than before. The employing class is divided, its political representatives uncertain of the future.

Seeds of downfall

The Labour Party now undertakes to solve the insuperable problems of British capitalism, and in this undertaking Prime Minister

miners were suspicious.

I also asked several shipyard workers in Clydebank if they thought Wilson would try to impose a no-strike policy on the union movement if the Labour Party won the election. What they said was the following—a kind of prediction based on their own feeling about the independence and power of their unions:

"There will not be a direct no-strike policy if Labour wins the election. A Wilson government would lose credibility by imposing such drastic legislation in a period when workers are looking for reversal of their for-

within narrow limits. "The Labour Party is based on the trade unions and what our unions do has an impact on Labour Party policy.

"However," he said, "Labour Party conference decisions are not binding on Labour Party members of Parliament."

He thinks this ought to be changed. I asked for an example.

"Suppose," Blackburn said, "my union wanted to change Labour Party policy on some important issue—something like bring all troops back from Ireland NOW. It would need to win other trade unions to this new policy so that at the Labour Party conference it would have lined up enough support to get this policy adopted.

"But in order that this could be really effective," he said, "the unions would also have to fight to change the constitution of the Labour Party to make conference decisions binding on the Parliamentary Labour Party."

These attitudes—a healthy distrust of the new government combined with the new sense of power that comes with the defeat of the old government, are indications that the British working class will continue to advance its own demands in its own way.

The socialist goal of working-class emancipation is present in the political class consciousness of the British workers, different in this respect from the present level of class consciousness of the workers in the United States.

Even the trade-union bureaucracy talks about the socialist goal—off in the future. Jim Wheeler told me, "There's the matter of whether the Labour government is going to run capitalism better than the Tory government."

Almost as an afterthought, he said, "But then there's also the principle in the longer term, of a gradual change from a capitalist economy to a socialist economy, which will take time."

Socialism for the British working class will not be an afterthought, and class conscious workers know it will mean a struggle against the big corporations to take control of industry and operate it for the needs of society, not the profits of the hereditary rich.



Wilson says trade-union bureaucrats will accept 'voluntary' wage controls—that is, they will 'volunteer' for the workers.

Wilson is sowing the seeds of his own downfall.

The British economy is plagued with a sluggish industrial machine, antiquated in many parts and poorly managed in all respects. It cannot compete on the world market with German, Japanese, and American industry.

The import-export trade is heavily weighted on the side of imports.

The British government will soon have to borrow \$8-billion from abroad to stabilize the pound, which now exchanges for only \$2.35 and is declining.

Inflation is expected to continue despite efforts of the new government to curb prices. Right now Britain has one of the highest rates of inflation of any major capitalist country.

There is a threat of growing unemployment, which will be aggravated if the government tries to slow down the economy to check inflation.

These are the economic problems endemic to the capitalist system in its declining stage. There is nothing a Labour government can do to solve them for the capitalist class. The only solution is a complete reorganization of the economy by a revolutionary workers government, a prospect not envisaged by Harold Wilson.

Wilson's announced plans do not extend beyond the renegotiation of Britain's role in the European Common Market, possible nationalization and government development of North Sea oil resources, attempts to control food prices, and his "social contract."

He has pledged to repeal the Tory-enacted Industrial Relations Act (the British version of Taft-Hartley), tax heavily the giant corporations, build public housing, and take other measures to raise the working-class standard of living. These promises are necessary in exchange for union support of Wilson's "social contract" between capital and labor in the crucial period ahead.

At mine union headquarters Jim Wheeler tried to justify the "social contract" by saying that wages would be controlled only "if all the other aspects of the economy are controlled first"—meaning prices and profits.

In the mine areas there was another view of the "social contract." Most

tunes through a Labour government. He would come into conflict with the leadership of the Trades Union Congress, who have been forced by the recent struggles—the wave of strikes—to give no guarantees about the right to strike.

"We have the right to strike," they said. There could be no mistake that they mean to keep and exercise that right.

The two most threatening problems for the working class are inflation and unemployment.

Inflation is beyond the control of unions. British workers know this, but they expect action by the Labour Party to keep prices down. Many think the Labour Party has failed to do what it could. A Clydebank shipyard worker explained why:

"As part of the Tory attack on working-class living standards they brought in the Housing Finance Act, which has greatly increased rents of public and private housing," he said.

"The Labour Party's policy on the Tory government's Housing Finance Act was one of verbal opposition.

"Labour controls more than 300 local council [public housing] authorities," he said, "which is over half the total number in Britain. Had the Labour Party refused to implement the Act it would have been inoperative. However, in all but a few exceptions the local Labour Party councilors gave in to the Tories.

Sellout leaders

"A major part of the fight against the Tories," the shipyard worker said, "will be the exposure and replacement of the sellout leaders of the Labour Party.

"If we are going to defeat this attack, the unity of trade unionists with all sections of the community who are prepared to fight the rent rises, such as tenants associations, students, local Labour Party committees, and old age pensioners, is necessary."

This raised the question of how workers can change Labour Party policy, or if there is any way for them to influence it directly.

I asked this question of union officials and rank-and-file members. The young miner, Jim Blackburn, said that in his opinion the influence workers have on Labour Party policy is kept

Victory for W. Va. miners

Southern West Virginia miners have ended their strike with a victory, forcing Governor Arch Moore to rescind his restrictions on gasoline sales.

The walkout of United Mine Workers (UMW) members began on Feb. 21. The miners were protesting Moore's order forbidding sales of fuel to anyone with more than a quarter-tank of gas. Their demand that Moore lift all restrictions on gas sales was won on March 13, when the governor announced a 30-day suspension of the fuel allocation rules.

The quarter-tank limit was a special burden to miners, many of whom travel 100 miles or more a day to and from work. But the strikers also made it clear that they were fighting against gas restrictions affecting other working people.

Underlying the action was a strong belief by the strikers that the fuel shortage has been cooked up by the energy monopolies to increase profits. As one miner in Wyoming County explained to *The Militant*, "We think the solution



West Virginia strikers take vote

to our problems is for the oil industry and these big companies to turn loose that gas and oil. We know they've got it."

The power and militancy of the strike alarmed the government and the coal operators. Miners from five counties joined the walkout, which was organized by roving pickets. The UMW did not officially authorize the strike.

Halfway measures proposed by Governor Moore—such as a sticker system to allow unlimited gas for miners driving long distances—were rejected by the men. Strike leaders threatened to "close every mine in the country" if their demand was not fully met.

The coal operators responded with violence-baiting, charging that the strike leaders were a handful of "UMW malcontents and troublemakers" who had forced the rest of the miners to join them by using "the terror tactics of roving pickets."

But the real "terror tactics" came from enemies of the strike. On March 13, someone shot at miners on a picket line near Keystone, W. Va., wounding two men and a woman. One of the men was critically injured.


The refusal of the miners to retreat from their demand despite such attacks has the coal operators and the government worried. Already there is talk of what this strike bodes for the upcoming negotiations on a new national UMW contract, where the miners will be making far-reaching safety and pension demands.

According to the March 16 *Business Week*, "The Administration fears the wildcats are only a prelude to more widespread and serious trouble. . . . 'It looks more and more as though there's got to be a strike, no matter what,' says an Administration source."

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Leon Trotsky on Britain

INTRODUCTION BY GEORGE NOVACK



Leon Trotsky's 1925-28 writings on the burning political issues facing British revolutionists: how to break the ideological hold of reformism over the working masses; how to win them to the revolutionary party; how to lead the class forward to a successful socialist revolution. Introduction by George Novack. A MONAD PRESS BOOK. 344 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45

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The Great Train Robbery

How General Motors destroyed public transit in Los Angeles



By BARRY SHEPPARD

LOS ANGELES—This city and the surrounding area of Southern California were once served by the world's largest mass transit electric rail system.

Thirty-five years ago, Pacific Electric operated 3,000 trains that served 56 cities in this region, carrying 80 million people annually. Old-timers here say this system was faster for some commuters than the present method of mass transportation—automobiles on the freeways. It was relatively cheap and smog-free.

But this system was deliberately destroyed by General Motors and other corporate giants. Between 1932 and 1956, these monopolistic concerns engaged in a conscious, successful plot to wipe out the electric surface rail transport systems in 45 cities, including Los Angeles, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, St. Louis, and San Francisco.

"Nowhere was the ruin from GM's motorization program more apparent than in Southern California," says Bradford Snell, assistant counsel to the Senate Antitrust Committee, which is currently looking into the automobile industry.

Snell has authored an extensive study, financed by the Stern Fund of New York, on exactly how this great

train robbery was accomplished.

The Snell report documents that in 1932, GM formed a subsidiary, United Cities Motor Transit, with the sole function of buying up electric rail transit systems, converting them to GM buses, and finally reselling them to operators who agreed to buy new buses only from GM.

In 1935, after protests by the American Transit Association, GM abolished this subsidiary but then proceeded to set up a new outfit to do the same thing.

Standard Oil of California and Firestone Rubber joined with GM in this new swindle, together setting up a holding company called National City Lines (NCL). By 1950, these three top corporations had given NCL \$9-million to convert 16 states to GM buses.

In 1938, GM and Standard Oil formed an affiliate of NCL that began buying and scrapping electric rail systems in Fresno, San Jose, and Stockton. In 1940 it went to work on Pacific Electric.

Eventually, more than a thousand miles of tracks were ripped up in Southern California, and the electric system was replaced by GM diesel buses.

Then, Snell charges, GM deliberately retarded improvements in the less efficient buses.

"The noisy, foul-smelling buses turned earlier patrons of the high-speed rail system away from public transit and, in effect, sold millions of private automobiles," Snell said.

"Largely as a result, this city [Los Angeles] is today an ecological wasteland; the palm trees are dying of petrochemical smog; the orange groves have been paved over by 3,000 miles of freeways; the air is a septic tank into which four million cars, half of them built by General Motors, pump 13,000 tons of pollutants daily.

"Furthermore, a shortage of motor vehicle fuel and absence of adequate public transport now threatens to disrupt the entire auto-dependent region."

General Motors says it will answer these charges later. Meanwhile, the chairman of GM, Richard Gerstenberg, has gone on the offensive. Writing in the March 4 *New York Times*, Gerstenberg deplores the fact that millions of Americans no longer accept the motto that "what's good for GM is good for the country," and think

that the monopolies are raking in too much profit.

"We in General Motors know there is no conflict between corporate profits and social progress," Gerstenberg pontificates.

"In addition to our efforts at General Motors to earn a profit, and largely because of our success in those efforts, we are helping to create a better balanced system of transportation in this country and throughout the world . . . to cleanse our air and water . . . to recruit, hire, and advance minority employees and women. . . ."

In a position paper published by the Socialist Workers Party California State Campaign Committee, Olga Rodriguez, the SWP candidate for governor, said, "Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women know that Gerstenberg's statement about advancing us is a bald-faced lie.

"And what gall this spokesman for big business has, in the face of the Snell report, to tell us that GM's pursuit of maximum profits has helped build 'a better balanced system of transportation in this country' and is helping to 'cleanse our air and water.'"

"The Snell report is concrete evidence of how the pursuit of corporate profit and social progress do indeed conflict," the socialist candidate asserted. "We are worse off in terms of mass transit in California than we were 35 years ago, thanks to GM, Standard Oil, and Firestone."

Need free mass transit

Rodriguez said there is an urgent need to develop an efficient publicly-owned mass transit system in California. "There has to be a crash program to see that this is done," she said. "And this system should be free to the riding public, with the corporations taxed to pay for it."

Rodriguez pointed out that the Snell report illustrates how the big corporations can use their power to crush competition. "In this case, a whole industry that competes with automobiles was wiped out, to the detriment of the needs of the majority of people. The bigger the capitalist concern, the more power it has in competition with the smaller ones. The 'big fish eat the little ones.'"

"But the Senate Antitrust Committee

—composed of capitalist politicians beholden to the corporations—isn't going to be able to come up with an answer to this situation. Even if this committee took some 'antitrust' action against GM, this would have no more results than the 1935 action had, when GM just changed the names to fool the public. Indeed, GM was already convicted in 1949 of having criminally conspired with Standard Oil and Firestone to replace trolleys with buses and then monopolize bus sales, and that didn't make a dent in GM.

"The monopolies have developed in the process of capitalist competition itself. It's not possible to turn back the clock. They're not going to be 'busted up.' What should be done is to take these giant corporations out of the hands of the tiny minority of the very rich, make them publicly owned, and run them under the control of the workers in the interests of society.

Profits vs. human needs

"There is another aspect of this question," Rodriguez explained. "Under capitalism, some enterprises—like mass transit—are just not as profitable fields for investment as others are for the capitalists.

"The building and maintenance of low-income housing is a good example. It just isn't very profitable to invest in this field. It is more profitable to allow housing to deteriorate while collecting rent on it. Since the basic rule all capitalists follow is the one Mr. Gerstenberg extolls—maximizing profits—the second course is the one followed by landlords.

"The same is true of mass transit. The capitalists put their money where the profits are—automobiles, gas and oil, tires—rather than into long-lasting, cheap, efficient, safe, and adequate mass transport.

"Under a socialist system, where the basic means of production have been nationalized, placed under workers control, and operated under a democratically decided national plan, such imbalances would not exist.

"Investments would be made on the basis of the overall needs of the majority, instead of for the immediate profit of a tiny handful. We could put money into areas like mass transit and housing to meet the elementary needs of the majority of the people."



Militant/Joseph Ryan

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California, calls for building efficient publicly owned mass transit, free to riders.

Campaigning for socialism

YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS CAMPAIGN FOR SWP CANDIDATES: In recent weeks 12 Young Socialist teams have spread out across the country to sell *The Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *International Socialist Review* and win support for the Socialist Workers Party 1974 campaigns.

Carol Knoll, SWP candidate for attorney general of Ohio, is touring the state with the YS team. At the University of Akron, the campus radio and newspaper interviewed Knoll, 12 campaign supporters were signed up, and two students joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

MICHIGAN-INDIANA TEAM: In a successful campaign stop at Ferris State College in Big Rapids, Mich., the Michigan-Indiana YS team sold 158 *Militants* in one week and signed up 10 students as campaign endorsers. They also organized a meeting on Black women's liberation addressed by Hattie McCutcheon, Michigan SWP campaign director.

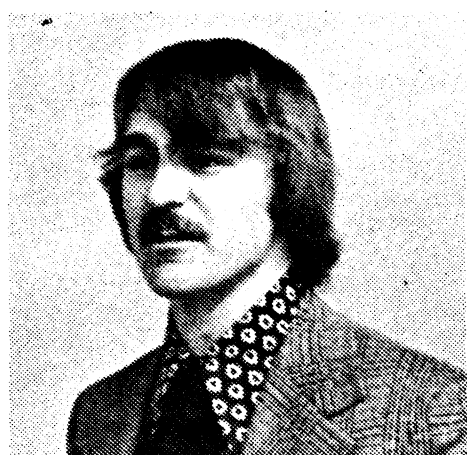
NEW ENGLAND TEAM: Four people joined the YSA at Brown University in Providence, R.I., and two more at the University of Rhode Island at Kingston through the efforts of the New England YS team. Team member Ann Verdon spoke about Watergate and the socialist alternative on a radio interview show with an estimated audience of 80,000 listeners.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA TEAM: While at the University of California at Santa Barbara, the Southern California YS team set up speaking engagements for two SWP candidates. One meeting heard Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for Congress from the 41st C.D. At another meeting Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor, spoke to 40 students on "Watergate and the Energy Crisis."

ILLINOIS SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY: More than 100 people attended a campaign banquet and rally March 9 at the headquarters of the Chicago SWP and YSA. Speakers included United Farm Workers organizer Tom Conway; Ed Heisler, candidate for U.S. Senate; and Willie Reid, candidate for Congress from the 1st C.D. A fund appeal by Linda Jenness, socialist candidate for president in 1972, raised \$2,300.

Heisler has been touring with the Illinois-Wisconsin-Missouri YS team and has found his campaign attracts interest throughout the region. Two campus newspapers at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee interviewed Heisler about his campaign and the team's activities.

The February-March newsletter of



Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

the Union of Student-Labor Socialists in Chicago endorsed Heisler's campaign, calling it a true alternative to the capitalist parties.

SOCIALIST FILES FOR CALIFORNIA SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION: Mariana Hernandez filed nominating petitions March 8 for the office of California superintendent of public instruction. Hernandez, 33, is a former farm worker and Chicano studies teacher and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Announcing her candidacy, Hernandez declared support for the teachers' strike in San Francisco: "The San Francisco board of education has ignored teacher demands. They have permitted a continued decline in the quality of our public schools. Reading levels stand below the national aver-



Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for California superintendent of public instruction.

age, and the school system continues to abuse Black, Chicano, Chinese, and other minority students. A symbol of the board's indifference to both teachers and quality education is their freeze on hiring, which constitutes a freeze on inequality in the school system."

Hernandez called for "strong teacher support for parent demands to end inequality in the schools, to begin serious affirmative minority hiring at every level, and to vastly expand bilingual education programs."

DEFEND MELISSA WARNER: Melissa Warner, a student at Indiana University, was fired from her job as opinion page assistant on the *Indiana Daily Student* because of her off-the-job support for the Indiana SWP campaign of David Colton for U.S. Senate.

Sixty-five people attended a rally March 6 called by the recently formed Committee to Defend Melissa Warner. Speaking at the rally, Warner outlined the intimidation she had faced on the *Daily* since she joined the YSA in January. "The attack on me was an attack on the civil liberties of every *IDS* staff member," she said, pointing out that a new statement of policy by editor Michael Starks forbade staff members from joining a picket line, petitioning, or joining a demonstration.

Kenneth Shafer of the Indiana University Civil Liberties Union refuted the *IDS*'s charge that political activism of staff members would damage the paper's credibility. He also noted the complete disregard of due process in Warner's case.

The Committee to Defend Melissa Warner is demanding an open hearing on her case, and her reinstatement with full back pay. — ANDY ROSE

Finch backs April 1 protest

SWP candidate blasts Con Edison rate hikes

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK — Outraged consumers here have begun to protest the Consolidated Edison Company's soaring electricity rates.

Groups have sprung up with names such as FACE (Fight Against Con Edison) and AC-DC (Active Consumers Defy Con Edison).

The latest shock was a 13.8 percent "interim" rate increase granted in February by the Public Service Commission. Together with a 3.5 percent "fuel adjustment" boost, which does not require PSC approval, this brings the average monthly electric bill to \$22.08.

This month Con Edison is demanding an additional 15.5 percent increase from the PSC.

Many of the consumer organizations advocate refusal to pay electric bills and call for direct election of the PSC, "subject to the public."

Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch attended public hearings March 14 on a Con Edison request to burn coal and dirtier oil. Con Edison executives claim these high-pollution fuels might result in lower electric bills.

SWP campaign supporters distributed a statement calling for no rate increases, no burning of poisonous fuels, and for opening the books of Con Edison and the oil trusts.

Finch proposed that delegations from the trade unions and Black and Puerto Rican community organizations inspect the records of the oil monopolies and utility companies to find out the full facts on energy production and use.

She also called for nationalization of the energy industry under workers control, to be run in the interests of working people instead of private profits.

Finch was interviewed by radio stations WNEW and WPIX, both of which reported that the socialist candidate had appeared at the hearing.

Finch and her campaign supporters are helping to build a demonstration and march to city hall called for April 1 to protest Con Edison's price gouging.

Finch recently confronted one of her Democratic Party opponents in the senatorial race, Allard Lowenstein, former congressman from Long Island's 5th C.D. and member of the Democratic national committee.

Both spoke at the March 15 Brook-



FINCH: 'The solution is to replace rule by the capitalist minority with a government of working people.'

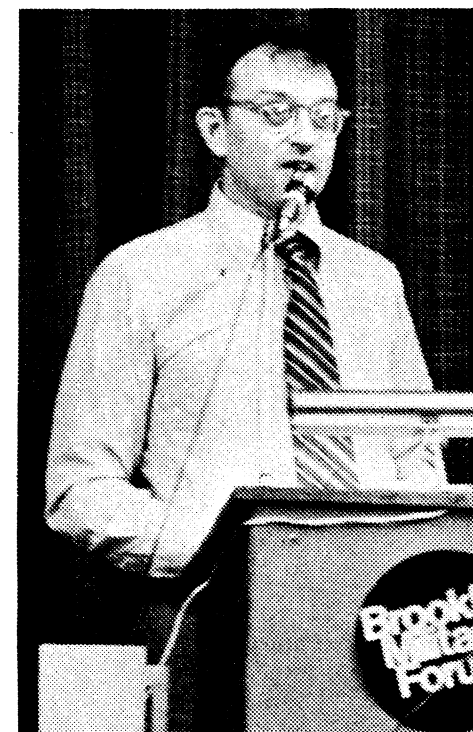
lyn Militant Forum on "Watergating: How to fight it, How to end it."

Lowenstein remarked that both he and Finch share the distinction of having been spied on—it was recently reported that FBI files on Lowenstein were made available to his Republican opponent.

Lowenstein is a supporter of the Political Rights Defense Fund's effort to publicize the SWP's suit against Nixon and other Watergaters.

Lowenstein maintained that by taking advantage of the political climate around Watergate, social justice could be brought about through reforming the Democratic Party.

Finch argued that, on the contrary, both Democratic and Republican administrations have resorted to illegal attacks on the democratic rights of those who oppose government policies.



LOWENSTEIN: Claims Watergating can be ended through reform of Democratic Party.

She pointed to the latest revelations on the FBI's plot to disrupt Black nationalist groups and the SWP as further proof, since these plans were approved under the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

Finch explained, "For socialists, the real problem of Watergating is not that there's a shift this way or that in the balance of powers between the president and Congress. Nor is it just a case of one bad apple—Nixon—in the barrel."

"The solution," Finch said, "is to replace rule by the capitalist minority with a government of working people."

Finch also recently helped petition for the "Por Los Niños" ("For the Children") slate for the special school-board elections in School District 1. This slate stands for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of schools in the district.

During the same week, SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison spoke to 45 Black and Puerto Rican youth at the Services for Education and Rehabilitation in Addiction in the Bronx.

Morrison met with a good response as he discussed the recent revelations of government attempts to crush the Black liberation struggle, including possible complicity in the killings of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

A campaign brochure has just been published by the Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison. For a free copy, write to Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Kolis tour wins support for political rights

By CARL FINAMORE

BERKELEY—During a recent two-week tour of the Bay Area, Salm Kolis walked on strike picket lines and spoke to law schools, campus meetings, and women's organizations, winning new support for her right to run for office as a socialist in San Diego.

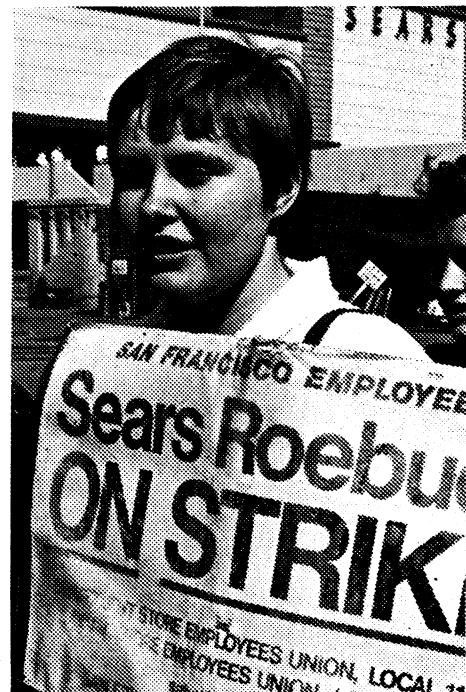
Kolis was framed up on a perjury charge last fall while running for city council. She is now Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 41st C.D.

Kolis received an enthusiastic response from striking municipal workers and teachers when she refused to cross their picket line at San Francisco City College. She had been scheduled to speak before a class, but Kolis instead asked that the students join her on the picket line.

This act of solidarity was welcomed by the pickets. Maxine Jenkins, organizer of striking Service Employees' International Union Local 400, endorsed the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK).

Kolis addressed meetings at San Francisco State University, University of San Francisco, Merritt College, University of California at Berkeley, and Berkeley High School.

In her talks, Kolis explained the suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon and other government figures, demanding an end to harassment and infringement of the socialists' democratic rights.



SWP congressional candidate Salm Kolis joins picket line of Sears strikers.

She urged support for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is publicizing and raising funds for the SWP and YSA's suit.

Kolis cited her own case as one example of this political persecution and said it highlighted the need for a national response. As a result of her presentation, most of those who endorsed the CDSK endorsed the PRDF as well.

Kolis also addressed meetings of the Berkeley-Oakland Women's Union, the regional conference of Physicians National Housestaff Association, and Delancy Street Foundation, a counseling center for ex-prisoners. A CDSK literature table was set up at a Golden Gate National Organization for Women chapter banquet that drew 750 people.

The ASUC (student senate) at UC-Berkeley endorsed the CDSK, calling Kolis's case "a current example of the government's assault on civil liberties" and stating that "a victory in this case will mean a victory for the political rights of all."

CDSK was also endorsed by the Golden Gate College Student Bar Association; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1695; La Raza Student Un-

ion at Merritt College; and the National Women's Political Caucus of Alameda County.

Among the individuals in the Bay Area supporting the CDSK are Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Professor Herb Williams of San Francisco State; Doree Friedman from the San Quentin Six defense committee; Donald Jelinek, attorney and coordinator for the Attica Brothers Legal Defense; Loni Hancock, Berkeley city councilwoman; Miguel Angel, head of Chicano studies at Laney College; and Professor Tony Platt of UC-Berkeley.

Kolis was interviewed for one hour on International Women's Day by radio station KPFA. Articles on her case appeared in *Caveat*, Golden Gate law school newspaper; the *San Francisco Bay Guardian*; and the *Berkeley Barb*, which called it "one of the most blatant cases of political persecution since the Chicago 8 trial, complete with illegal wiretap, an FBI informer, and intimidation of witnesses."

Kolis wound up her tour at a Militant Forum in Berkeley, speaking on a panel with Doree Friedman of the San Quentin Six defense and Donald Jelinek of the Attica Brothers defense.

Iranian students protest shah's executions

By MAJID NAMVAR

Three policemen and an unknown number of students were killed, and many others were injured February 16 when police in Tehran attacked a demonstration by university and high-school students. The students were protesting the sentences of Karamet Daneshian and Khosrow Golsorkhi, who were executed February 18.

According to a statement released by the Confederation of Iranian Students, the demonstrators also raised the slogans "Down with the reactionary regime" and "We want freedom."

The recent wave of judicial murders in Iran has produced broad protest actions outside the country as well. Even the shah's controlled press could not maintain its usual blackout on these protests.

The March 9 and 10 air editions of the Tehran daily *Ettelaat* reported a number of protests by Iranian students abroad. On March 8, the paper said, members of the Confederation of

Iranian Students took over Iranian embassies in Brussels, Stockholm, and the Hague. There was also a demonstration outside the Iranian Embassy in London. *Ettelaat* reported that the demonstrators carried photographs of Golsorkhi and Daneshian and signs demanding the withdrawal of the shah's troops from Oman, where they are attempting to crush the liberation forces in Dhofar.

The students who took over the embassy in Brussels used the telephone switchboard to call Agence France-Presse to explain the purpose of the international actions.

In Stockholm, police arrested sixteen of the students. Several were also arrested in the Hague.

In the United States on March 14 and 15, protest marches were held in San Francisco; Chicago; Arlington, Virginia; Gainesville, Florida; and New York. In New York about 150 persons, mostly Iranian and Ethio-

pian students, responded to a call by the Iranian Student Association to demonstrate against the shah's crimes. The demonstration took place in front of the United Nations building, with the marchers wearing masks to prevent agents from SAVAK, the shah's secret police, from identifying them.

Perhaps moved by the widespread disgust at the wave of executions, the Iranian Embassy in France issued a statement, which was published in the March 6 *Le Monde*, claiming that the six religious militants executed February 19 were common criminals and saboteurs.

The same issue of *Le Monde* carried a statement by the "Iran Liberation Movement, Foreign Section" charging that the six had actually "died under torture." It said the six were students of Ayatollah Raabani, a well-known religious leader who had been arrested by SAVAK, severely beaten, and sentenced to three years in exile.



Militant/Jude Coren

Demonstration at UN building in New York March 15. Marchers wore masks to prevent identification by shah's secret police.

Chicanos discuss problems of 'illegal aliens'

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A two-day conference to discuss the problems of undocumented workers was held here March 9 and 10. Organizers estimate that 750 persons attended the gathering at East Los Angeles College.

Chicano youth and students predominated at the event, sponsored by CASA-Hermandad, a Los Angeles antideportation organization, and the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws. The National Committee To Free Los Tres also played a large role in building the conference.

Several delegations came from out of state. Most sizable of these was the Colorado group, consisting of more than 35 young activists. José Calderón, state chairman of the Raza Unida Party, brought greetings, as did Arturo (Bones) Rodríguez, on behalf of the Crusade for Justice. It was indicated that an immigration organi-

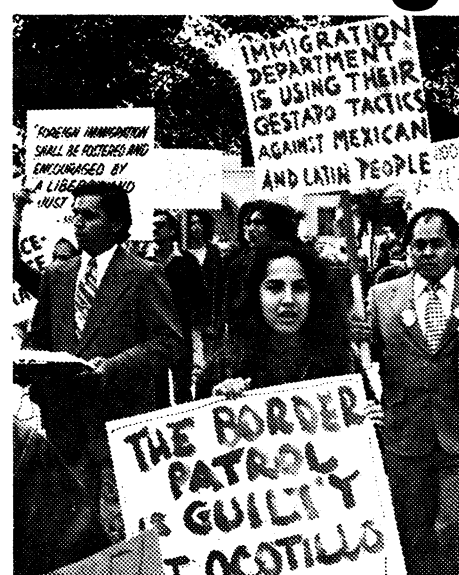
zation was in the process of being formed in Colorado.

A delegation from CASA in San Antonio, Tex., came, as did representatives of the Raza Unida Party in Chicago. The Chicago activists announced they have formed a center to deal with immigration problems.

A delegation of farm workers traveled from the Imperial Valley to attend the conference.

Most of the discussion in the workshops centered on general problems faced by undocumented workers, such as police brutality and being cheated out of Social Security and other services. Anti-immigration legislation now being considered in Congress was also discussed.

Little in the way of a concrete plan of action for the movement to follow was forthcoming. But a last-minute proposal by a representative of the



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Los Angeles demonstrators protest death of 12 workers who were killed in the crash of a Border Patrol vehicle near Ocotillo.

Los Tres defense committee for a "moratorium" demonstration against deportations to take place in Los Angeles Aug. 31 was approved.

After the conference adjourned Sunday afternoon, a rally was held to protest the deaths of 12 undocumented workers who perished in the crash of a Border Patrol vehicle as they were being deported to Mexico.

Following the rally, a spontaneous sidewalk march took place in the downtown area. It was attacked by the police on the pretext of looking for a demonstrator who had allegedly burned an American flag at the rally. Two were arrested on minor charges, and two were injured, including CASA-Hermandad lawyer Steve Hollopeter, who was jumped from behind by cops who clubbed him unconscious. Hollopeter told *The Militant* that his injuries required 100 stitches.

'Citizens Public Inquiry' brings out truth about Brookside, Ky., coal miners' strike

By CINDY JAQUITH

EVARTS, Ky. — Three hundred people gathered here March 11-12 to hear coal miners and their supporters tell the story of the eight-month-old strike against the Eastover Mining Company in nearby Brookside.

The hearings, conducted by the Citizens Public Inquiry Into The Brookside Strike, were modeled after the 1931 inquiry here in Harlan County chaired by author Theodore Dreiser. The 1931 investigation was conducted in the wake of violence and frame-ups against miners trying to unionize eastern Kentucky coal mines. One of the best known battles in those earlier struggles was the 1931 Battle of Evarts, in which four company guards and cops and one miner died.

The panel investigating the Brookside strike was chaired by Professor Dan Pollitt of the University of North Carolina. It also included former senator Fred Harris; former secretary of labor Willard Wirtz; author Harry Caudill; and Dr. Raymond Wheeler, president of the Southern Regional Council.

Others participating on the panel were Barbara Bode, president of The Children's Foundation; Professor James Barber, Duke University; Monsignor Geno Baroni; Jacqueline Brophy, Cornell School of Industrial Relations; Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard University; and the Reverend Max Glenn, executive director, Commission

water. The miners call the flooded area "Water Hole No. 3," he said.

Another miner, Hugh Jones, testified about the lack of vehicles for removal of men with injuries. "Imagine if you can," he said, "carrying a man out with a broken back or a broken leg in 38-inch coal for a mile."

Evidence was also submitted on lack of fire sensor devices, unrepaid emergency phones, poor braking equipment on locomotives, and weak roof bolting.

The men explained that their attempts to report these violations to government inspectors resulted in transfers to more dangerous jobs and other penalties. The SLU did nothing to back up the miners' request for more safety, and the government kept extending the deadlines for Eastover to correct its violations.

As a result, the miners decided that "the only protection the coal miners have is their own committee of men." They want their own elected safety committee, as provided for in the UMW contract, to function on a full-time basis in the mines. Eastover is opposed to this demand.

Safety and profits

When asked by the panel why the coal operators refuse to run a safe mine, the witnesses answered that profits are more important than miners' lives as far as Eastover is concerned.

The men pointed out that safe equipment does exist and that the killing



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Opening session of Citizens Public Inquiry. Five miners at left tell panel why they decided to strike to win recognition of United Mine Workers national contract.

less comfortable about the idea of confronting the miners themselves. Inquiry chairman Pollitt announced at the hearings on March 12 how Yarborough responded to the panel's request for a meeting. "He said he did not want to meet here," Pollitt explained to the miners and their families. "I wouldn't want to paraphrase, but it was something about how we had no crowd control."

Yarborough had been invited to testify at the hearings, as had Carl Horn, president of Duke Power. Both failed to appear, as did Doris Duke of the Duke Endowment, a "charitable" foundation, and Terry Sanford, president of Duke University and former governor of North Carolina.

The Duke Power Company is the sixth largest public utility in the country. In its home state of North Carolina, the company advertises itself as "your friendly neighborhood power company." But Duke has aroused much opposition in North Carolina in its current attempt to win a 17 percent rate hike from the state utilities commission.

A busload of North Carolina residents, including members of the Steelworkers union, textile workers, the head of the state AFL-CIO, and Duke University students, attended the Brookside hearings to show solidarity with the strikers. They have been active in North Carolina protesting Duke's proposed rate increase and picketing the company in support of the miners.

Duke evidently hopes to defeat the strike by wearing down the miners. But it has also resorted to court injunctions and violence against strike activists. One session of the hearings was devoted to these attacks.

Shooting at strikers

Several witnesses testified that they were shot at while on the picket line or in cars. One bullet fired at the truck of striker Carl Noe narrowly missed him. Scabs in cars have also tried to run down women on the picket line.

One attempt by the company to use scabs against the strikers failed, however. Jerry Johnson, a strike leader, told the inquiry that "Eastover hired only one Black—to scab against the strike. But when he saw our picket line, he joined the union instead."

Despite company responsibility for the violence, the dozens of women and men arrested have been strike supporters. Most have been charged with violating a court injunction against more than three pickets at the mine.

In the middle of the hearings themselves, the local sheriff appeared amid boos and hisses to serve warrants on

members of the Brookside Women's Club, a strike support group. Sheriff Williams strode right up onto the stage where the women were testifying and delivered the papers.

The date set for the trial of the women and several other strikers in this latest batch of charges is April 1. Strike supporters are calling for people to turn out at the Harlan County courthouse on that day to show support for the miners.

'Big shot in arm'

In an interview with *The Militant*, the Brookside UMW local vice-president, Darrell Deaton, said the hearings were "a big shot in the arm" for the strikers. The publicity focused on the strike makes it more difficult for Eastover and law enforcement officials to harass the miners, he said.

Morale among the strikers, he said, is higher than it ever has been, despite the hardships imposed by the duration of the fight. Pointing to the significance of the strike for unionizing other mines, he said:

"If the UMW lost this strike, it would mean a whole lot as far as organizing other mines. This is a big battle. It's more than just Brookside; it's the whole district; and probably the whole UMW."

In a similar vein, UMW President Arnold Miller, in a statement issued during the hearings, compared the Brookside strike to the two-year fight by Chicanas against the Farah pants company. Miller predicted that the Brookside strike's impact on Duke Power will "make Willie Farah look like a prosperous businessman before this thing is over."

The Citizens Public Inquiry is expected to release a final report on its findings within a month.



Brookside women testified at hearings about cop and company violence. Photo shows state police dragging off women last October when they lay down in road to stop cars with scabs.

on Religion in Appalachia, Inc.

The Brookside strike began late last July, after the miners voted 113 to 55 to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), throwing out the Southern Labor Union (SLU), a company union.

But Eastover President Norman Yarborough refused to recognize the national UMW contract terms. Since Nov. 28 he has refused to even negotiate with the union.

Behind Yarborough stands the Duke Power Company, of which Eastover is a subsidiary. Duke owns several mines in Kentucky and is well aware that a victory at Brookside will open the door to unionization of other mines in the area.

At the first session of the hearings, strike activists testified about conditions at the Brookside mine under the SLU. A key factor prompting the men to vote for the UMW was the issue of safety, they said.

"Whenever you go to work, you don't know if you'll be coming home or not with conditions like at Brookside," explained Leroy Helton. He described how he had nearly been electrocuted at the mine because the company forced him to work with cables in knee-deep

and maiming of miners is unnecessary. "If they can send a man to the moon, they can make the mines safe," said one.

Tied in with the demands for safety is the issue of health care. Under the SLU, miners were frequently turned away at hospitals that wouldn't accept the SLU medical card. Several thousand dollars contributed by the men to an SLU sick fund vanished into thin air when miners tried to collect.

The UMW contract would approximately triple what Eastover now pays in royalties for health and welfare. The company has thus refused to accept the UMW royalty system.

The arrogant attitude of the coal barons in this strike was brought out by Norman Yarborough himself the first evening of the hearings. Apparently alarmed at the impact of the day's testimony, he called a quick news conference to reply to the miners' charges. During the news conference, a CBS reporter asked if the press could tour the Brookside mine to see firsthand if safety violations had been corrected. Yarborough turned him down, and when asked why, he snapped: "Because I say so!"

The Eastover president was even



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Students, trade unionists, miners, and their families attended hearings.

World Outlook

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

MARCH 29, 1974

What do Soviet rulers fear?

Solzhenitsyn's letter to the Kremlin

By Allen Myers

The London *Sunday Times* of March 3 published a translation of the full text of a 15,000-word letter from Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to the leaders of the Soviet government. Dated September 5, 1973, less than two months before the publication in the West of Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago*, the letter ranges over wide areas of Soviet life and government policy, as the introductory note by the *Sunday Times* editors indicated:

"... Solzhenitsyn denounces the cardinal folly of pursuing an expansionist foreign policy when there is nothing to fear from Europe and America. He calls for an accommodation with China. He deplores the mindless policy of economic growth which has despoiled the beauty of Russia's cities and ruined the tranquillity of her countryside. He reiterates that the real wealth of Russia lies

in her own soil. He pours scorn on the dead creed of Marxism. He claims that the Russians drink far too much vodka. He advocates the end of national service, and says promotion should not depend on party membership. He pleads for kindness from Russia's rulers and peace for its citizens."

Solzhenitsyn's letter does in fact range over all these areas and more. Its overall import, however, can be summarized fairly briefly. In the letter Solzhenitsyn announces his rejection of Marxism and proposes to substitute for it a religious, Great Russian nationalism based on a return to a romanticized vision of nineteenth-century Russian peasant economy. This reactionary utopian vision is mixed in a contradictory jumble with occasional proposals that in their own right are progressive and deserving of support.

Retreat Into the Past

Addressing the Kremlin, Solzhenitsyn states that the purpose of his letter is "to suggest to you what is, for the moment at least, still a timely way out of the chief dangers facing our country in the next ten to thirty years."

"These dangers are: war with China, and our destruction together with Western civilisation in the crush and stench of a fouled earth."

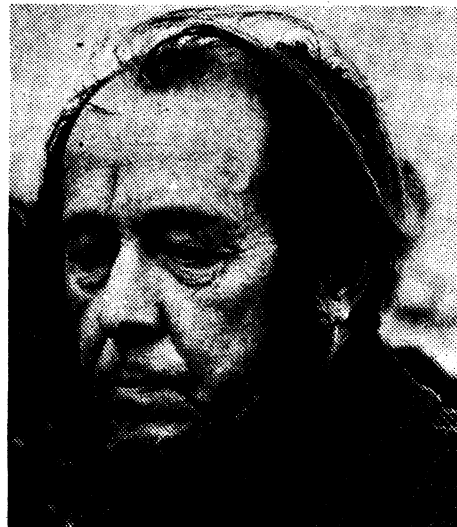
Solzhenitsyn describes the Soviet bureaucrats whom he addresses as "total realists," and he therefore presents practical arguments against war with China:

"Don't reckon on any triumphant *blitzkrieg*. You will have against you a country of almost a THOUSAND MILLION people, the like of which has never yet gone to war in the history of the world. . . . Its army and population will not surrender *en masse* with Western good sense, even when surrounded and beaten. Every soldier and every civilian will fight to the last bullet, the last breath. . . . You will not, of course, be the first to use nuclear weapons; that would do irreparable damage to your reputation, which you cannot disregard, and anyway from a practical point of view still wouldn't bring you a quick victory. . . .

"A conventional war, on the other hand, would be the longest and bloodiest of all the wars mankind has ever fought. Like the Vietnam War at the very least (to which it will be similar in many ways) it will certainly last a minimum of ten to fifteen years. . . . If Russia lost up to one and a half million people in the First World War and (according to Khrushchev's figures) 20 million in the Second, then

war with China is bound to cost us 60 million souls at the very least. . . ." (Here, and below, emphasis is in the original.)

No defender of the Soviet Union and socialism can take issue with the fact that a war between the two workers states would be a monstrous and



SOLZHENITSYN: Stalinists can't answer him.

criminal folly. It is ironic, however, that Solzhenitsyn bases his argument on "Russian national interest" when it is precisely the two bureaucracies' defense of narrowly interpreted "national interest"—identified with their own caste interests—that has brought them to their present state of mutual hostility.

Solzhenitsyn cites two factors that he considers responsible for the threat of war between the Soviet Union and China. One is the competition between the two bureaucracies to pose as the true defenders of "Marxism-Leninism." The second shows how far the novelist has gone in embracing reactionary notions; he cites "the dynamic pressure of a China 1,000 million strong on our as yet unexploited Siberian lands." Solzhenitsyn thus puts himself in the camp of the racists who attempt to drum up fears of a "yellow peril."

There are elements of Solzhenitsyn's letter besides the warning to avoid a Sino-Soviet war that deserve at least a qualified endorsement. Certainly it is possible to share his disgust with destruction of the environment by carelessly planned industrial projects, even though his explanation of its causes and his proposed remedies are worse than useless.

Solzhenitsyn also calls for an end to Russian control over the workers states of Eastern Europe and over national minorities in the Soviet Union. He urges the Soviet leaders "sooner or later to withdraw our protective surveillance of Eastern Europe. Nor

can there be any question of any peripheral nation being forcibly kept within the bounds of our country."

(The March 3 *New York Times* translated what would appear to be the same passage as follows: "... our trusteeship from Eastern Europe, the Baltic republics, Transcaucasia, Central Asia and possibly even from parts of the present Ukraine. . . .")

However, here too Solzhenitsyn motivates his proposal by a supposed Russian national interest that in this case is described as switching "attention away from distant continents—and even away from Europe and the south of our country" in order to make Siberia "the centre of national activity and settlement and a focus for the aspirations of young people."

Solzhenitsyn's proposals are all based on a viewpoint that bears little or no relation to reality. He asserts, for example, that neither European nor U.S. imperialism represent any threat to the Soviet Union. In fact, he seems to regard U.S. imperialism (Solzhenitsyn does not call it that) as a beneficent force: He does not criticize the United States for its aggression in Indochina; but seems to disparage the "internal dissension and spiritual weakness" that kept it from winning the Vietnam war! And he criticizes past Soviet leadership for having "bred Mao Tse-tung in place of a peaceable neighbor such as Chiang Kai-shek."

Solzhenitsyn's proposal to isolate Russia from the rest of the world sets the stage for an impossible retreat into a romanticized past. He proposes that the Russian economy be recon-

Continued on following page

Victor Nekrasov, a prize-winning Soviet writer, has refused to give in to Kremlin demands that he join in the officially orchestrated denunciations of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and other dissident intellectuals. On March 11 he told the press that he had been told his works would not be published unless he denounced Solzhenitsyn.

Nekrasov—a World War II veteran and member of the Communist Party for almost 30 years until his expulsion in 1972—answered:

"Surely no one seriously thinks that a decent man can allow himself to join in that shameful stream of slander which was poured on the heads of the two most worthy people of our country—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn?"

He continued: "Better let the reader get by without my books. He will understand why they are not to be seen. The reader is waiting, but not for lampoons, not for slander. He is waiting for the truth."

Nekrasov has not been one of the outspoken Soviet dissidents, but was expelled from the CP in 1972 for signing a letter in support of a Ukrainian dissident.



Government poster in Moscow street shows a Solzhenitsyn book with skull and crossbones on cover, surrounded by 'anti-Soviet orchestra.'

...Solzhenitsyn's mysticism is a diversion from

Continued from preceding page

structed on a primitive agricultural basis:

"The construction of more than half of our state in a fresh new place [Siberia] will enable us to avoid repeating the disastrous errors of the twentieth century—industry, roads and cities for example."

Solzhenitsyn justifies his argument for a "zero growth" economy by combining a glorification of peasant backwardness with neo-Malthusian worries about overpopulation.

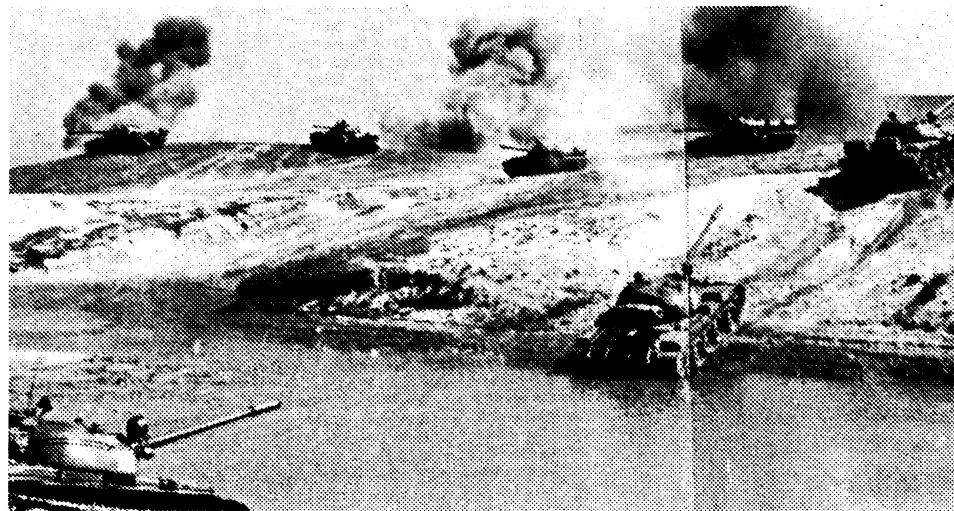
"How fond our progressive publicists were, both before and after the revolution, of ridiculing those *retrogrades* (there were always so many of them in Russia): people who called upon us to cherish and have pity on our past, even on the most god-forsaken hamlet with a couple of hovels, even on the paths that run alongside the railway track, who called upon us to keep horses even after the advent of the motor car, not to abandon small factories for enormous plants and combines, not to discard organic manure in favour of chemical fertilisers, not to mass by the million in cities, not to clamber on top of one another in multi-storey blocks. How they laughed, how they tormented those reactionary 'Slavophiles.' . . . They hounded the men who said that it was perfectly feasible for a colossus like Russia, with all its spiritual peculiarities and folk traditions, to find its own particular path; and that it could not be that the whole of mankind should follow a single, absolutely identical pattern of development.

"No, we had to be dragged along the whole of the Western bourgeois-industrial and Marxist path in order to discover, at the end of the twentieth century, and again from progressive Western scholars, what any village greybeard in the Ukraine or Russia had understood from time immemorial and could have explained to the progressive commentators ages ago, had the commentators ever found the time in that dizzy fever of theirs to consult him: that a dozen maggots can't go on gnawing the same apple forever; that if the earth is a *finite* object, then its expanses and resources are finite also, and the *endless, infinite* progress dinned into our heads by the dreamers of the Enlightenment cannot be accomplished on it. . . ."

From Stalin to Solzhenitsyn

Solzhenitsyn's vision of a utopia of peasant hovels and mud roads is not likely to win much of a following either inside or outside the Soviet Union. Despite the letter's protestations to the contrary, it seems very improbable that Solzhenitsyn expected the Soviet leaders to give his suggestions serious consideration.

It needs to be kept in mind that although political themes are important in his novels, Solzhenitsyn is not a politician but an artist. And while both the Soviet bureaucrats and the capitalist press, each for their own reasons, will attempt to portray him as a *representative* of the Soviet dissident movement, that movement in fact encompasses a broad range of views, from the reactionary nonsense of Solzhenitsyn's letter to demands for a return to the norms of Leninism,



Top, Soviet tanks in 1969 Sino-Soviet border conflict. Bottom, Soviet tank destroyed by Hungarian partisans in 1956. Solzhenitsyn is partially correct when he condemns Kremlin threats of war with China and Soviet invasions of other workers states.

advanced by such a figure as Pyotr Grigorenko.

The differing views of the various dissident currents do share a common origin, however. This is the reaction against the abominations of Stalinist rule. Solzhenitsyn considered himself a Marxist before he was arrested for the "crime" of criticizing Stalin in a letter. His present views were not adopted under the influence of capitalist propaganda: They were taught to him by the bureaucrats who herded millions of Soviet citizens into concentration camps, who crush with arms any movement for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe or the Soviet Union, who live lives of luxury rivaling that of capitalist plutocrats while mismanaging the Soviet economy.

Some of Solzhenitsyn's most reactionary positions are borrowed more or less directly from the bureaucrats themselves. His Slavophilism, for example, is justified with an appeal to Stalin himself, as in the following passage ("ideology" is the term Solzhenitsyn uses for Marxism):

"When war with Hitler began, Stalin, who had omitted and bungled so much in the way of military preparation, did not neglect *that* side, the ideological side. And although the ideological grounds for that war seemed more indisputable than those that face you now (the war was waged against what appeared on the surface to be a diametrically opposed ideology), from the very first days of the war, Stalin refused to rely on the putrid, decaying prop of ideology. He wisely discarded it, all but ceased to mention it and

unfurled instead the old Russian banner—sometimes indeed, the standard of Orthodoxy—and we conquered! (Only towards the end of the war and after the victory was the Progressive Doctrine taken out of its mothballs.)"

There is still another way in which the bureaucratic caste has contributed directly to the development of the sort of views expressed in Solzhenitsyn's letter. Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov described this contribution in another context, explaining why many of the dissidents seem unwilling to take stands on events outside the Soviet Union. His explanation, which was translated in the March 5 *New York Times*, referred to "the Western liberal intelligentsia" that expects the dissident movement to reciprocate its interest in Soviet affairs:

"These people look to Soviet dissenters for a reciprocal, analogous international position with respect to other countries. But there are several important circumstances they do not take into account: the lack of information; the fact that a Soviet dissenter is not only unable to go to other countries, but is deprived, within his own country, of the majority of sources of information; that the historical experience of our country has weaned us away from excessive 'leftism,' so that we evaluate many facts differently from the 'leftist' intelligentsia of the West; that we must avoid political pronouncements in the international arena where we are so ignorant (after all, we do not engage in political activity even in our own country); that we must avoid getting into the channel

of Soviet propaganda, which so often deceives us."

The enforced isolation described by Sakharov does more than deprive actual and potential opponents of bureaucratic rule of reliable information on which to base their political judgments. It also prevents those judgments from being tested in practice. In this artificial atmosphere, reasonable and irrational ideas can and do exist side by side.

If there were free public discussion of political issues in the Soviet Union, Solzhenitsyn's proposals to replace motor transport with horses, and Marxism with religion, could only provoke laughter and little else. The absence of such a competition of ideas grants them a life they would not otherwise have.

What Does the Kremlin Fear?

Can the Soviet bureaucrats really be so frightened of Solzhenitsyn's proposals that they had no recourse but the forced exile of the novelist? Did the bureaucrats fear that Solzhenitsyn might touch off a mass movement in favor of a primitive agricultural utopia—thirty-eight years after Stalin decreed "the final and irrevocable triumph of socialism" in the Soviet Union? Are they really *incapable* of answering Solzhenitsyn?

Part of the bureaucrats' difficulty is, as Solzhenitsyn observes in his letter, that they don't believe in their own "Marxism." But beyond this problem, it seems clear that the bureaucrats fear Solzhenitsyn's answers far less than his questions.

In this respect there is a certain parallel between Solzhenitsyn and another great Russian novelist who also turned to religion and a romanticized peasant existence—Leo Tolstoy.

"Tolstoy did not consider himself a revolutionary and was not one," Leon Trotsky wrote on the occasion of Tolstoy's death in 1910. "But he passionately sought the truth and, having found it, was not afraid to proclaim it. Truth in and of itself possesses a terrible, explosive power: once proclaimed, it irresistibly gives rise to revolutionary conclusions in the consciousness of the masses. Everything that Tolstoy stated publicly: about the senselessness of rule by the czar, about the criminality of military service, about the dishonesty of landed property, about the lies of the church—in thousands of ways all this seeped into the minds of the laboring masses, agitated millions in the populist sects. And the word became deed. Although not a revolutionary, Tolstoy nurtured the revolutionary elements with his words of genius. In the book about the great storm of 1905 an honorable chapter will be dedicated to Tolstoy.

"...no matter how sincere are the tears that liberal society sheds on the grave of Tolstoy, we have the indisputable right to say: liberalism does not answer Tolstoy's questions; liberalism cannot absorb Tolstoy; it is helpless before him. 'Culture? Progress? Industry?' says Tolstoy to the liberals. 'The devil take your progress and your industry if my sisters must sell their bodies on the sidewalks of your cities!'

"Tolstoy did not know or show the way out of the hell of bourgeois culture. But with irresistible force he posed the question that only scientific social-

real tasks facing the dissident movement'

ism can answer. And in this vein one might say that everything in Tolstoy's teaching that is lasting and permanent flows into socialism as naturally as a river into the ocean."

It seems likely that history will make a similar evaluation of Solzhenitsyn's role, at least up to the present. Now that he has been artificially cut off from Soviet society, there is a real danger that his views will serve exclusively to promote reactionary, anti-socialist causes. But his attempt within the Soviet Union to discover and portray the truth about Stalinism will contribute to the eventual overthrow of the bureaucrats and the restoration of socialist democracy despite all the limitations of his outlook.

The Soviet bureaucracy could not tolerate Solzhenitsyn because it is im-

the free publication not just of political books—God preserve us!—and exhortations and election leaflets; allow us philosophical, ethical, economic and social studies, and you will see what a rich harvest it brings and how it bears fruit—for the good of Russia. Such an abundant and free flowering of inspiration will rapidly absolve us of the need to keep on belatedly translating new ideas from Western languages, as has been the case for the whole of the last fifty years—as you know.

"What have you to fear? Is the idea really so terrible?"

The answer is that the bureaucrats can imagine few things more terrible. The truth in "philosophical, ethical, economic and social studies" would discredit the parasitic bureaucracy as

of development. The method of command-without-appeal extends in like measure to the concentration camps, to scientific agriculture and to music. The central organ of the party prints anonymous directive editorials, having the character of military orders, in architecture, literature, dramatic art, the ballet, to say nothing of philosophy, natural science and history.

"The bureaucracy superstitiously fears whatever does not serve it directly, as well as whatever it does not understand. When it demands some connection between natural science and production, this is on a large scale right; but when it commands that scientific investigators set themselves goals only of immediate practical importance, this threatens to seal up the most precious sources of invention, including practical discoveries, for these most often arise on unforeseen roads. Taught by bitter experience, the natural scientists, mathematicians, philologists, military theoreticians, avoid all broad generalizations out of fear lest some 'red professor', usually an ignorant careerist, threateningly pull up on them with some quotation dragged in by the hair from Lenin, or even from Stalin. To defend one's own thought in such circumstances, or one's scientific dignity, means in all probability to bring down repressions upon one's head."

Stalinism and Leninism

Solzhenitsyn's explicit rejection of democracy and his willingness to accept continued bureaucratic rule provided only that it behave in a slightly less brutal fashion are the more disappointing in that the novelist once showed an awareness of other alternatives to the Kremlin's mismanagement. While he now accepts the bureaucrats' claim that their ideology is "Marxism-Leninism," in his brilliant novel *Cancer Ward* Solzhenitsyn had his characters pose the conflict between Leninism and Stalinism.

In one of the most dramatic passages of the book, the political prisoner Kostoglotov and the bureaucrat Rusanov engage in a debate touched off by the latter's remarks that a scandalous case of official corruption can be traced to the culprit's "bourgeois social origins."

"Why do you keep cackling on about social origins like a witch doctor?" Kostoglotov replies. "You know what they used to say in the twenties? 'Show us your callouses! Why are your hands so white and puffy?' Now that was Marxism!"

Kostoglotov brushes aside Rusanov's objections and continues: "All right, maybe I am the son of a merchant, third class, but I've sweated blood all my life. Here, look at the calluses on my hands! So what am I? Am I bourgeois? Did my father give me a different sort of red or white corpuscles in my blood? That's why I tell you yours isn't a class attitude but a racial attitude. You're a racist!"

Another character intervenes to ask if Kostoglotov knows the phrase "a hereditary proletarian."

"It makes no difference if you had ten proletarian grandfathers, if you're not a worker yourself you're no proletarian," boomed Kostoglotov. "He's not a proletarian, he's a son of a bitch. The only thing he's after is

a special pension, I heard him say so himself.' He saw Rusanov opening his mouth, so he decided to give it to him straight in the guts. 'You don't love your country, you love your pension, and the earlier you get it the better.' . . .

"I don't need any pension," shouted Kostoglotov, finishing what he had to say. 'I haven't got a bean, and I'm proud of it. I'm not trying to get anything, I don't want a huge salary, I despise such things.'

"Sh-sh," hissed the philosopher, trying to stop him. 'Socialism provides for differentiation in wage structure.'

"To hell with your differentiation!" Kostoglotov raged, as pigheaded as ever. 'You think that while we're working toward communism the privileges some have over others ought to be



Brezhnev and one of his luxury cars. They include a Citroen-Maserati sports car, a Cadillac Eldorado, a Mercedes Benz, and a Rolls-Royce Silver Cloud.

increased, do you? You mean that to become equal we must first become unequal, is that right? You call that dialectics, do you?"

The librarian Shulubin then intervenes in the debate:

"He stood in front of the philosopher, raised a finger and waited till the room was silent. 'Are you familiar with the April Theses?' he asked.

"Why, aren't we all?" The philosopher smiled.

"Can you list them point by point?" continued Shulubin, interrogating him in his guttural voice.

"My dear sir, there's no need to go through them one by one. The April Theses discussed the methods of transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. In this sense . . ."

"There's one point I remember," said Shulubin, moving the bushy brows above his unhealthy, tired, tobacco-colored, bloodshot eyes. 'It runs, "No official should receive a salary higher than the average pay of a good worker." That's what they began the Revolution with.'

"Is that so?" said the professor in surprise. 'I don't remember that.'

Lenin's fullest explanation of the character of government in a workers state was made not in the April Theses but in *The State and Revolution*, in which he rescued the nearly forgotten lessons that Marx and Engels had drawn from the experience of the Paris Commune.

"It is still necessary," Lenin wrote, "to suppress the capitalist class and crush its resistance. This was particularly necessary for the Commune; and one of the reasons of its defeat was that it did not do this with sufficient determination. But the organ of suppression is now the majority of the population, and not a minority, as

Continued on following page



Stalin inspects limousines produced for privileged layer of Soviet bureaucrats. Lenin's view was that all state officials should earn no more than average skilled worker.

possible for the Kremlin to permit artistic, scientific, or cultural freedom while denying the political rights of the majority of the Soviet population. Solzhenitsyn's September 5 letter eloquently describes the cost of these restrictions to Soviet society:

"... there was another special feature of the old Russian towns, a spiritual one which made life there enjoyable even for the most highly educated. . . . Many provincial towns—not just Irkutsk, Tomsk, Saratov, Yaroslavl and Kazan, but many besides—were important cultural centres in their own right. But is it conceivable nowadays that we would allow any centre of independent activity and thought to exist outside Moscow? Even Petersburg [sic] has quite lost its lustre. There was a time when a unique and tremendously valuable book might be published in some little place like Vyshni Volochek—could our ideology conceivably allow that now? The present-day centralisation of all forms of life of the mind is a monstrosity amounting to spiritual murder. Without these sixty or eighty towns Russia does not exist as a country but is merely some sort of inarticulate rump."

Near the end of the letter, Solzhenitsyn returns to this theme:

"Allow us a free art and literature,

much as any number of political leaflets.

It is simply illogical for Solzhenitsyn to concede, as he does, the "right" of the bureaucrats to rule while asking them to permit intellectual freedom.

"Everything depends," he wrote, "upon what sort of authoritarian order lies in store for us in the future. It is not authoritarianism itself that is intolerable, but the ideological lies that are daily foisted upon us."

The bureaucracy, because it is a parasitic growth on the Soviet workers state, requires "ideological lies" to maintain its authoritarian rule. The bureaucrats realize that, even if Solzhenitsyn does not.

In *The Revolution Betrayed*, Trotsky in 1936 described, as follows, the connection between the bureaucracy's political dictatorship and its stunting of artistic and scientific development:

"In the process of struggle against the party Opposition, the literary schools were strangled one after the other. It was not only a question of literature, either. The process of extermination took place in all ideological spheres, and it took place more decisively since it was more than half unconscious. The present ruling stratum considers itself called not only to control spiritual creation politically, but also to prescribe its roads

...Solzhenitsyn's letter

Continued from preceding page
was always the case under slavery, serfdom and wage-labor. And, once the majority of the nation itself suppresses its oppressors a 'special' force for suppression is no longer necessary. In this sense the State begins to disappear. Instead of the special institutions of a privileged minority (privileged officials and chiefs of a standing army), the majority can itself directly fulfil all these functions; and the more the discharge of the functions of the State devolves upon the masses of the people, the less need is there for the existence of the State itself.

"In this connection the special mea-

labor!

"The struggle for the freedom of the trade unions and the factory committees, for the right of assembly and freedom of the press, will unfold in the struggle for the regeneration and development of Soviet democracy."

It is this program, based on the preservation and expansion of the gains of the October Revolution, that provides a way forward for the Soviet working class to recover the powers usurped by the bureaucracy. Solzhenitsyn's retreat into the dead end of mysticism and a romanticized past is in some ways a victory for the bu-



Members of the Left Opposition in the Soviet Communist Party (Trotsky in center) on their way to exile in 1928.

asures adopted by the Commune and emphasized by Marx, are particularly noteworthy: the abolition of all representative allowances, and of all special salaries in the case of officials; and the lowering of the payment of all servants of the State to the level of the workmen's wages. Here is shown, more clearly than anywhere else, the break—from a bourgeois democracy to a proletarian democracy; from the democracy of the oppressors to the democracy of the oppressed; from the domination of a 'special force' for the suppression of a given class to the suppression of the oppressors by the whole force of the majority of the nation—the proletariat and the peasants. And it is precisely on this most obvious point, perhaps, the most important so far as the problem of the State is concerned, that the teachings of Marx have been forgotten."

If Marx's teachings were forgotten by the Second International, the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy, in order to maintain its authority, deliberately suppressed them. The revolutionary program of Marx and Lenin was preserved only by Trotsky and his followers, preserved not in mothballs but as a living program of struggle for the restoration of Soviet democracy.

"A fresh upsurge of the revolution in the USSR," the *Transitional Program*, the founding document of the Fourth International, proclaimed in 1938, "will undoubtedly begin under the banner of the struggle against social inequality and political oppression. Down with the privileges of the bureaucracy! Down with Stakhanovism! Down with the Soviet aristocracy and its ranks and orders! Greater equality of wages for all forms of

reacrats who fear him, for his proposals are a diversion from the real tasks facing the dissident movement.

Within that movement, those currents searching for a Marxist program have, unlike the bureaucrats, shown no fear of confronting Solzhenitsyn's ideas. The historian Roy Medvedev, in his review of *The Gulag Archipelago*, concluded:

"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."

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World news notes

Thai students mobilize

Students in Thailand have launched a campaign against the terror tactics of the government's counterinsurgency forces. Their first major protest action was a recent rally in Bangkok, estimated by the March 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review* as more than 10,000 strong.

The protests occurred after government troops killed four villagers and looted and razed an entire village in northeast Thailand on January 24. The military at first claimed the massacre had been carried out by "communist terrorists," but an investigation conducted by student leader Thirayudh Boonmee brought out the truth. (Thirayudh was one of the thirteen activists arrested by the old regime just before its downfall in October. He is now a coordinator of the People for Democracy Group, which led the demonstrations against U. S. Ambassador William Kintner and the CIA in January.)

Students brought villagers to the Bangkok rally to give firsthand accounts of the government atrocities.

Leaders of the two largest student groups—the National Student Center of Thailand and the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand—pledged at the rally to join with the People for Democracy Group in a united fight against government counterinsurgency efforts.

In face of the protests, Premier Sanya Thammasak has promised an "official inquiry" into the destruction of the village.

Left gains in Austrian high schools

According to an *Intercontinental Press* correspondent from Vienna, recent elections to the Österreichische Hochschülerschaft (ÖH—Austrian Student Organization) produced "the greatest leftward swing in Austrian student elections since 1945." The left student organizations increased their total vote by 14 percent over 1970 results, while losses by reactionary, procapitalist student groups reached 12 percent.

"The bourgeois press," writes correspondent Raimund Loew, "commented indignantly that the elections showed the impact of the 'lefts,' the 'Communists,' and 'Trotskyists.'" The slate of Trotskyist candidates put forward by the GRM (Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten—Revolutionary Marxist Group, Austrian section of the Fourth International) received 3 percent of the vote nationally, and 5.6 percent in Vienna. The student organization of the Communist Party of Austria received about the same nationwide, but only half as many as the GMR in Vienna, where there is the most politicized climate.

According to Loew, "During the 1960s in Austria, there were only minimal beginnings of a student movement, imported from West Germany. Only in recent years have parts of the student body begun to move, parallel with the formation of revolutionary organizations." Students have become active over opposition to rationalization and regimentation of the schools, as well as solidarity campaigns around Vietnam, Chile, Greece, and the African liberation struggles.

Kent-Ake Andersson

A leader of the Swedish revolutionary socialist movement recently died after a long illness. He is Kent-Ake Andersson, a member of the Revolutionära Marxisterna Förbundet (Revolutionary Marxist League, Swedish section of the Fourth International).

Mullvad, the newspaper of the RML, writes, "Kent-Ake was one of the founders of the Trotskyist movement in Sweden. In the discussions that were carried on in 1967-69, his arguments played a very important role in the decision to set up a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Sweden.

"In the years since then, he was a mainstay in the work of building a Swedish section of the International. Kent-Ake Andersson Whether it was drudgery or political struggle that was called for, he always did his assignment with the same precision and persistence."

Andersson's most important contribution to the building of the Swedish Trotskyist movement was a series of articles, pamphlets, and a book, *The Renaissance of the Lie*, which answered Maoist and other Stalinist theories and slanders against Trotskyism. None of his writings have ever been answered by the Maoists, and this polemic was an important factor in the weakening of these currents in the Swedish left.

Andersson was the author of the article "Spy scandal explodes myth of 'neutral,' 'progressive' Sweden" that appeared in the World Outlook section of the Jan. 18 *Militant*.



Sales high at Little Rock convention

Response to Militant 'exceptional' on gas lines

By SHARON CABANISS

During the sixth week of our campaign to reach weekly street sales of 10,000, reported sales totaled 7,665. This was for the March 8 issue, headlined "Anger grows over gas lines, gov't lies."

This is lower than the previous week's sales, but many areas hard hit by the fuel shortage found an enthusiastic response to *The Militant* at gas lines.

From the Oakland/Berkeley area, sales director Ernie Mailhot explains, "Gas lines were exceptional again this week. Many salespeople sold at gas lines on their way home from work." Angry motorists bought 250 *Militants*.

Seattle made their sales goal for the first time, and 145 of these were sold at gas lines. Supporters in the Los Angeles-West Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance also made their goal with 88 sold at gas lines.

As weather improves, weekend outdoor sales are becoming an important factor in reaching our goal. Sales teams in Boston, for example, sold a total of 320 *Militants* during Saturday



Militant/Norman Oliver

Interest in *The Militant* and other revolutionary literature was high at the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock. Participants bought 400 copies of *The Militant* and 75 subscriptions.

sales. San Diego supporters sold 75 papers at the beaches, and Philadelphia sold 98 in front of city hall.

In addition to sales listed on the scoreboard, the Young Socialist teams sold 1,267 *Militants* last week. *The Militant* is also sold in many cities not reported on the scoreboard. For example, last week new bundles were ordered by supporters in Lafayette, La., and Tuscaloosa, Ala.

All *Militant* readers are encouraged to join the hundreds of supporters around the country who sell *The Militant* each week. If you can take a weekly bundle to sell, just send in the coupon on this page.

Although we do not yet have the final results of our subscription drive for 7,000 new subscribers, the 12 YS teams sold another 240 subscriptions during their second week on the road. This brings their total to 576, and two of the teams are just starting out.

The experience of the Texas team on one campus is typical of the re-

sponse among students to the revolutionary press and socialist ideas. Team captain Bill Rayson reported, "We found it very easy to sell at San Antonio College, which is mostly Chicano." Students there bought 108 *Militants*, 90 *Young Socialists*, 30 subscriptions, and \$38 in Pathfinder literature in a few days. The campus bookstore ordered another \$85 in Pathfinder titles.

The Southeast, Mid-Atlantic, Pennsylvania, and New England teams also made their weekly goals of 100 *Militants*, 100 YSs, and 30 *Militant* subscriptions last week. The New England team is the first to make its total subscription goal with 94 sold so far.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance attending the recent National Black Political Convention in Little Rock found an enthusiastic response to *The Militant*.

More than 400 copies of the March 22 issue, featuring documents on the "FBI plot to crush the Black movement," were sold. Distribution of a leaflet reprinting *The Militant* article "Gary to Little Rock—outlook for Black liberation" helped spur interest in the paper. Seventy-five introductory subscriptions were sold.

In addition, conference participants were interested in the *Young Socialist's* analysis of the energy crisis and its feature interview with an Attica defendant. One hundred copies were purchased.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
L.A. (West Side)	350	424	121
Twin Cities	350	368	105
Nashville	60	61	102
Bellingham	30	30	100
Columbus	20	20	100
Huntsville	4	4	100
New Paltz	5	5	100
Seattle	425	427	100
Tucson	10	10	100
Vermillion	20	20	100
Pittsburgh	350	342	98
E. Lansing	40	38	95
Logan	20	18	90
St. Louis	325	291	90
Philadelphia	400	356	89
Detroit	400	350	88
Oakland/Berkeley	800	669	84
Amherst	50	41	82
Lower Manhattan	500	410	82
Portland	325	253	78
Boston	700	513	73
San Diego	325	238	73
Cleveland	350	252	72
Denver	450	318	71
Brooklyn	450	311	69
Austin	60	40	67
Houston	500	320	64
Washington, D.C.	400	247	62
Upper West Side	475	269	57
San Francisco	525	281	54
Atlanta	500	250	50
L.A. (Central-East)	350	185	53
Chicago	700	304	43
TOTAL SOLD	10,000	7,665	78
LAST WEEK			

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Meeting discusses Ukrainian political prisoners

By CLIFF CONNER

A two-day Conference in Defense of Soviet Ukrainian Political Prisoners was held in New York the weekend of March 2. It was sponsored by the Ukrainian student magazine *Novi Napriamy—New Directions*—and was hosted by the New York City Ukrainian Student Hromada [Association].

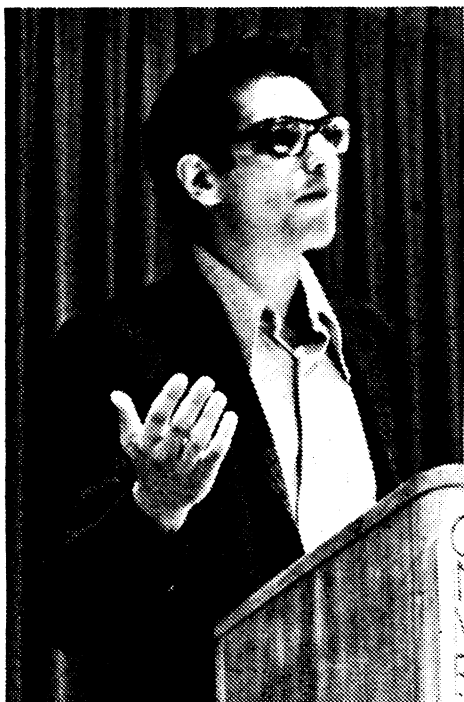
The opening session was a panel discussion featuring reports from representatives of defense committees in New York, Chicago, Toronto, and London, England.

On the evening of March 2 a panel of former Russian dissidents and Ukrainian political activists led a four-hour discussion of the national question as it affects the Ukraine. The panel was comprised of former Russian dissidents Vadim Belotserkovsky and Yuri Gendler, and Vasyl Hryshko, a leader of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, and Vsevolod Holubnychiy.

The internationalism of the event was symbolized by the fact that the Russians spoke Russian and the Ukrainians spoke Ukrainian (in Soviet Ukraine mixed conferences are invariably conducted in Russian only).

The March 3 afternoon session opened with a talk by Peter Reddaway of the London School of Economics, who is currently a visiting lecturer

at Columbia University. Reddaway is a widely recognized authority on the Soviet dissident movement and is best known for his book *Uncensored Russia*. This book contains the material in the first eleven issues of the samizdat journal *Chronicle of Cur-*



Militant/Bill Hutton

DAVE FRANKEL: Called self-determination for Ukraine a key demand in struggle for socialist democracy.

rent Events.

Reddaway spoke on the nature of the Soviet penal system. His talk was factually informative but politically marred by a failure to distinguish between Lenin's revolutionary government and Stalin's reactionary regime.

The final session, March 3, was a panel discussion titled "The American Left and the Struggle in the Soviet Union." Speakers were Dave Frankel, staff writer for *The Militant*, representing the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party; Julius Jacobson, editor of *New Politics*; and the Reverend Paul Mayer, a leader of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Mayer created a stir last October by speaking out in defense of Soviet dissidents at a Stalinist-organized international peace conference held in Moscow.

Frankel explained that revolutionary Marxists call for a political revolution in the Soviet Union to throw out the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy while maintaining the economic structure of the Soviet state—planned economy and nationalized property—that was won in the 1917 revolution. The struggle for democratic rights in the USSR, such as freedom of speech and press—including for non-Marxists such as Solzhenitsyn—contributes to this ultimate goal, he said.

One of the most potentially powerful components of an antibureaucratic

Soviet revolution, Frankel continued, is the pent-up resentment of the oppressed nationalities against their Great Russian chauvinist overlords. He noted that Leon Trotsky emphatically supported the right of self-determination for the Ukraine and considered the fight for Ukrainian independence to be of key importance to the world revolution. The SWP continues to advance this position today.

Julius Jacobson said virtually nothing about the Russian dissident or Ukrainian national movements, concentrating instead on attacking the SWP as pro-Stalinist and "soft on Stalinism" because the SWP considers Soviet and Chinese property forms to be advanced over capitalism.

Reverend Mayer returned to the subject of the present struggle in the USSR, describing his criticisms of the lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union. He also told how he had been gavelled down and ostracized at the Moscow peace conference for having questioned some policies of the Stalinist bureaucrats on their home territory.

Mayer, who had been a cochairman of the American delegation to the conference, explained that when he sent letters to the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the *New York Times* offering corrections to their distorted coverage, both were printed only after long delays and then in censored form.

DEMOCRACY IN ISRAEL: THE REAL STORY

Democratic Freedoms in Israel by Sabri Jiryis. The Institute for Palestine Studies. Beirut, 1972. 109 pp. Paper \$2.80. (Available in U.S. from Institute for Palestine Studies, Box 329-A, R.D. No. 1, Oxford, Pa. 19363.)

Among the most popular arguments in support of Israel is the story that it is "the only democratic state in the Mideast"—democratic presumably because it has a European parliamentary system where numerous parties are allowed to bargain and quibble. But democracy is just what is most lacking in Israel, as Sabri Jiryis's book demonstrates with the most thorough documentation.

The maintenance of a Jewish settler-state on Arab land has always been a massive violation of the Palestinian Arabs' democratic right of self-determination. The Arabs were the majority in Palestine.

Books

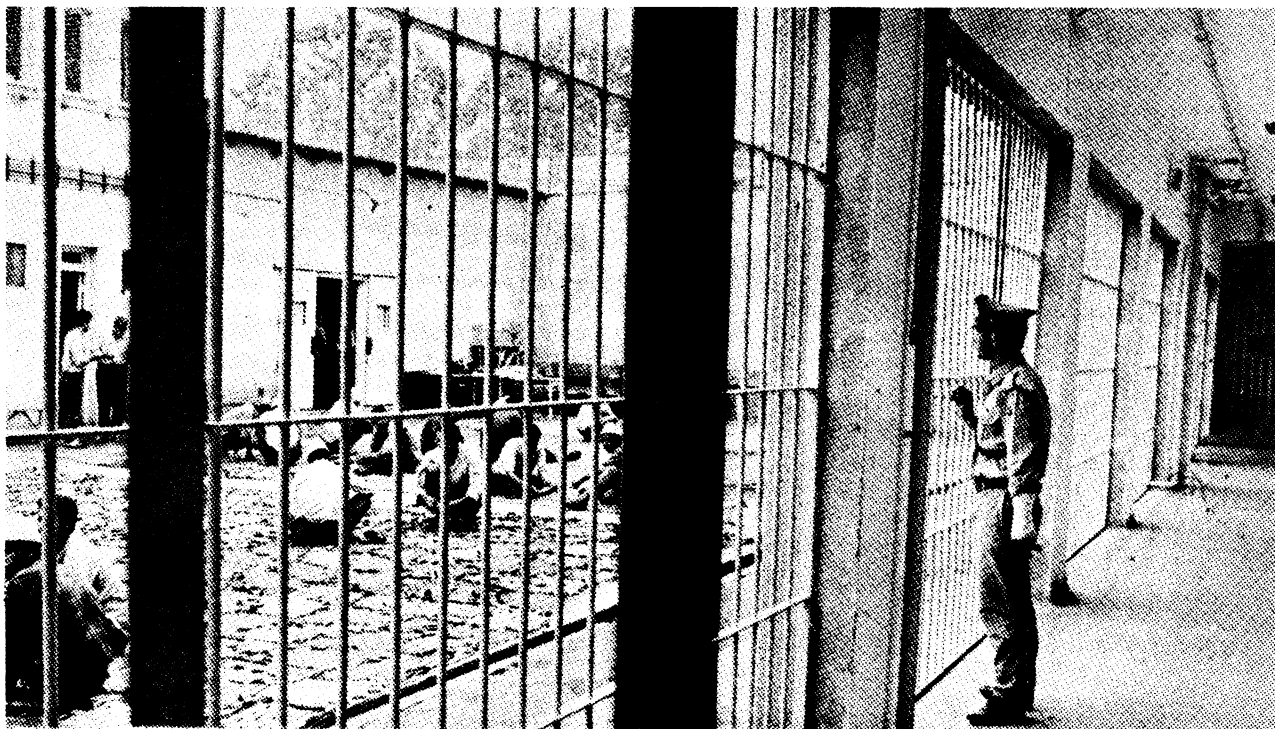
The establishment of the state of Israel meant the establishment of minority rule.

In addition, the special privileges Israel gives to organized Judaism violate the rights not only of Moslem Arabs but also of nonreligious Jews. Civil marriage and divorce, for example, are forbidden.

Jiryis writes, "Within the framework of Zionist thought, the Israeli citizen can enjoy democratic freedoms. But it is a different matter when there is an attempt to oppose the Zionist entity or to change it, even by democratic methods, or when there is a demand for national political rights."

This is especially true for Arabs in Israel. Political action by Arabs independent of the Zionist parties is made almost impossible. Such organizations as the Arab Workers Congress and the Arab Front were eliminated by administrative measures. Even Arab sports club members are harassed.

In 1965, the election campaign of the Arab nationalist party al-Ard was destroyed by the arrest and forcible transfer of al-Ard candidates to towns with no Arab inhabitants. Today, the Rakah party, the predominantly Arab Communist Party in Israel, is only able to function openly because of



Prison for Palestinian Arabs in Israel

its conciliatory stance toward Zionism. Even so, Rakah has many members in jail or under house arrest.

The contradiction between formally democratic institutions and the undemocratic reality is being resolved today in the direction of the elimination of many democratic rights.

The Zionist regime has increased its crackdown on anti-Zionists by using the code of so-called Emergency Regulations. These regulations date from the period of British rule over Palestine. In "democratic" Israel, a formal state of emergency has been in effect since 1948.

Under it, the Arab areas were ruled by a Military Government until 1966, when the civil government took over the administration of these areas. The change was administrative only—the Emergency Regulations are still applied. Military commanders even today are allowed to restrict the movements of any individual by simply issuing an order. The regulations sanction censorship of

all Israeli newspapers, especially those in Arabic.

The trend of development in Israel was shown clearly by the political trials held in Haifa in the first half of 1973, after Jiryis's book was published. During one of these trials, the judge declared that the political program of the Red Front, an anti-Zionist organization, violated the law because it attacks "the sovereignty of Israel" by proposing a secular Jewish-Arab Palestine in place of a Jewish state. Marxist ideas were thus made illegal under the Emergency Regulations.

Democratic Freedoms in Israel illustrates the point made by Lenin that a people oppressing another people cannot itself be free. For Israel to become a democratic state, it would have to cease to be Zionist—cease to be Israel. Such a secular solution would be based on the self-determination of the Palestinians and would respect the cultural rights of Arabs and Jews alike, as well as the political freedoms that are violated daily by the Israeli regime. —DAVID KEIL

AN ANSWER TO SINCLAIR'S 'AMERICANS'

The Americans by Gordon Sinclair. Westbound Records.

On a dull morning last June, Toronto broadcaster Gordon Sinclair was looking for a story for his daily radio program. Having, I suppose, nothing much better to talk about, he did a piece on the United States, describing how generous the U.S. was to other countries, and how ungrateful those other countries were in return.

Little did anyone know that within a few months, Sinclair—who had been best known previously for his hysterical campaign against fluoridation of water—would be a recording star. But in recent

Records

weeks, his record *Americans* has been selling briskly across the U.S., drawing plaudits from John Wayne and Richard Nixon, among others.

Nixon, presumably with a straight face, congratulated Sinclair for his "insight and eloquence."

Against those who expressed their revulsion at U.S. imperialism's genocidal assault on Indochina, Sinclair leaps to the defense: "The Marshall Plan . . . the Truman Policy . . . all pumped billions upon billions of dollars into discouraged countries. Now newspapers in those countries are writing about the decadent warmongering Americans."

"... and I'm one Canadian," he drones on, "who is damned tired of hearing them kicked around."

Sinclair bemoans the fact that no one came to the rescue of American railway companies that



went bankrupt. He claims that American "draft dodgers" who fled to Canada "are not pursued and hounded." (We Canadians know that one's just a plain lie!)

And to top it off, he even has an apology for Watergate: "You talk about scandals and the Americans put theirs right in the store window for everybody to look at." The White House cover-up, the lies, distortions, and evasions don't rate a mention here.

What Sinclair offers is a cheap con job for the U.S. ruling class—the railway magnates, the factory owners, the financiers—who have at their disposal the biggest and most brutal murder machine in world history. That's nothing to applaud.

The "Americans" that Sinclair talks about are not the millions who opposed the Vietnam war and won't buy Watergate no matter how much window dressing Nixon and his friends put on it. Canadian working people, women, students, the Québécois and native people, have a lot more in common with the American women, students, workers, Blacks, and Chicanos who are fighting capitalist oppression than they do with the American or Canadian ruling classes.

Sinclair's record, with "America the Beautiful" playing in the background, is nothing but cynical propaganda for U.S. imperialism in all its forms—from its military aggression to the "aid" it dishes out to keep the colonial world tied to the capitalist system.

Nobody should take it seriously. But then, maybe Sinclair is out to replace Billy Graham as Nixon's spiritual adviser. . . . —GEORGE ADDISON

[George Addison is the editor of *Labor Challenge*, which reflects the views of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

Watergate and the left

Maoist groups fail to offer working-class alternative to capitalist political parties

By CINDY JAQUITH

In an earlier article on "Watergate and the Left," we described how the pro-Moscow Stalinists in the U.S., organized in the Communist Party, are seeking to keep anti-Nixon sentiment within the confines of the two-party system (*The Militant*, March 8).

The CP's answer to Watergate is to replace Nixon with the Democrats. It offers no working-class alternative to the system of corruption and lies that both the Democrats and Republicans uphold.

Despite their criticisms of the CP's "right opportunist" line, the pro-Peking Stalinist groups in the U.S.—such as the October League, Revolutionary Union, and the *Guardian* newspaper—also fail to put forth a clear class alternative to capitalist politics.

Sometimes, because of its leftist-sounding rhetoric, Maoism appears to be more radical than the Moscow brand of Stalinism. But in practice there is little difference.

Watergate & fascism

Like the CP, the Maoists say Watergate represents the imminent threat of fascism. "The real issue," declared an editorial in the December *Call*, newspaper of the October League, "is the stemming of the fascist offensive which Nixon has launched. . . . This is why we have raised the slogan, 'Dump Nixon—Stop the Fascist Tide!'"

This view—shared by the *Guardian* and Revolutionary Union (and by the CP, too)—simply does not conform to the objective situation. As we explained in our first article, there is no mass fascist movement in the U.S. today.

Stalinist slanders

In the Feb. 6 *Guardian*, Carl Davidson attacked the Socialist Workers Party view that fascism is not an immediate threat in the U.S. Instead of basing his argument on the facts themselves, Davidson resorts to the typical Stalinist method of argument: repeating worn-out slanders to try to discredit an opposing viewpoint. Davidson accuses the SWP of "defending Nixon":

"... the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party has taken upon itself, in effect, the dubious task of defending Nixon from charges that these measures are fascistic or steps toward fascism. . . . One wonders whether any lawyers within the SWP are looking for a little work on the side."

Socialist view on Watergate

WATERGATE AND THE MYTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY by Les Evans and Allen Myers. 208 pp. \$9, paper \$2.45.

WATERGATE: THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT. Anthology with an introduction by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. 96 pp. \$5, paper \$1.25.

THE WATERGATE CONSPIRACY: WHAT IT REVEALS ABOUT AMERICAN CAPITALIST SOCIETY by Allen Myers, Peter Seidman, and Barry Sheppard. 25 cents.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690.

But let's look behind this absurd and dishonest argument and examine the political line Davidson defends.

Davidson correctly condemns the way the Communist Party raises the specter of "fascism" to justify support for Democrats: "The right opportunists have often exaggerated tactical clashes within bourgeois democracy into 'fascist threats' requiring left support for bourgeois reformists, the most notable of which was supporting Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater in 1964," he writes. On this, he agrees with the SWP.

But having made this point, who does Davidson then quote on how to fight fascism? None other than Georgi Dimitrov, who in 1935 became the mouthpiece for Stalin's new strategy

up the factories they had seized, in order to maintain a bloc with the capitalists. This strategy paved the way for Franco's victory.

In France, the CP's response to the revolutionary upsurge of the 1930s was to support the popular-front government of Léon Blum, who succeeded in demoralizing and derailing the masses of workers who had been moving in a revolutionary direction.

In Chile in 1973, the popular-front strategy led to disaster because it told the workers to rely on the bourgeois government and army, and left them totally disarmed in the face of the September coup.

Chairman Mao also backs the popular-front strategy. His advice to Indonesian Communists to support

capitalist politicians.

Let's take a look at some recent examples.

Guardian & McGovern

In the 1972 elections, the *Guardian* endorsed none of the presidential candidates. But in its Aug. 23, 1972, issue, the newspaper made the intentionally ambiguous statement, "We do not oppose the growing trend among the masses who intend to vote for McGovern—just as we do not oppose any action which objectively assists the struggle of the Vietnamese people." Such a statement would hardly convince a McGovern supporter to break with capitalist politics!

In the 1973 elections, the *Guardian* again failed to call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans, or to urge a vote for the SWP candidates, who ran on a socialist program. *Guardian* readers were given no orientation to the very important campaigns of Black Democrats Coleman Young in Detroit, Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, or Maynard Jackson in Atlanta.

The December issue of *The Call*, however, said that Jackson's election as mayor of Atlanta showed "the local power structure of bankers, realtors, corporate heads and downtown businessmen can no longer decisively influence local elections." The implication was clearly that liberal Black Democrats are somehow not controlled by the capitalist political setup. This prompted a letter of protest from one of *The Call's* readers. The February *Call* then ran a self-criticism by the authors of the original article, who attributed their error to "sloppy analysis."

This type of fundamental error cannot be passed off so easily, however. Even in their letter of self-criticism, the authors avoided taking a position on whether it is ever principled for Marxists to support capitalist politicians.

Confusion on Watergate

Given such deep-going confusion on such a basic question, it's not surprising that the Maoists are incapable of formulating a principled class-struggle approach to the question of Watergate and how to mobilize the working class in action to defend its rights against the police-state methods employed by the ruling class.

The Maoists frequently point out that Watergate is the product of capitalism, not just Nixon. The December *Call*, for example, said, "the aggressive and exploitative policies of the capitalist system are not simply a question of Nixon's state of mind, but rather are a product of the system itself and of the drives of the monopoly class." So far, so good.

But when it comes down to action that can be taken to defend working people against Watergate, the Maoists call for impeachment without putting forward a class alternative. Typical is Revolutionary Union's slogan: "Throw the Bum Out! Organize to Fight!" But *how* should working people fight back, and against whom?

Of course all socialists are in favor of getting rid of Nixon. But by confining the issue to the need to "Dump Nixon" rather than the need for the working class and its allies to mobilize in opposition to *both capitalist parties*, Revolutionary Union's slogan fosters illusions that a different capitalist poli-

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Watergate protest at Nixon speech in Chicago. Maoists don't direct anti-Nixon sentiment toward break with capitalist parties.

of the "Popular Front"—the origin of the Communist Party's "right opportunist" strategy!

Davidson cites the 1935 speech in which Dimitrov said, "Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism but on the contrary facilitates that victory."

The Stalinists' line on how to prevent a fascist victory was for the workers parties to give political support to the "progressive" capitalists in an "anti-fascist" or "popular" front. These were not united fronts, based on agreement around a specific action or demand, but programmatic fronts based on support for capitalist politics.

Strategy of popular front

Through this popular-front strategy, the Stalinists have betrayed revolutionary struggles of the working class time and again. During the Spanish civil war, for example, the Communist Party joined in a popular-front government with capitalists. Rather than carrying the upsurge of the Spanish workers to its logical conclusion, a socialist revolution, the Stalinists held back the workers and made them give

the Sukarno government in 1965 paved the way for the bloody coup and the slaughter of half a million CP members.

Popular frontism in U.S.

In the U.S., Dimitrov's popular-front speech paved the way for the CP to break sharply with the tradition in the workers movement of voting for workers candidates against the capitalists. In 1936 the CP gave thinly veiled support to the Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. The CPUSA still supports Democratic Party candidates to this day.

So while Davidson criticizes the CP for its "right-opportunism," he winds up supporting the fundamental premise of the CP position. It's not surprising, then, to find out that the Maoists take no principled position against workers giving political support to capitalist parties.

Do the Maoists in the U.S. actually think it's permissible for Marxists to support Democrats? The answer to this question is unclear. Perhaps Davidson or his cothinkers will help make it clear as the discussion continues. In the meantime, we must say that their confusion on this question leaves the door open to support to

Calendar

BOSTON

FIRSTHAND REPORT FROM THE LITTLE ROCK BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION. Speaker: Baxter Smith, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

WOMEN IN THE UNIONS: A REPORT ON THE CLUW CONFERENCE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

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THE DRIVE TO RESTORE THE DEATH PENALTY. Speaker: B.R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of Michigan. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

'RAZA SI, MIGRA NO'—THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DEPORTATIONS. Speakers: representative from CASA; Miguel Pendas, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE VETERANS' STRUGGLE AGAINST THE VA HOSPITAL. Speakers: Ron Kovic, American Veterans Movement; Dr. Marc Stretten, steward, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1061, victimized by VA for dissident views; Rhea Butler, president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1061. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

BENEFIT CONCERT: AN EVENING OF SOLIDARITY WITH VICTIMS OF REPRESSION IN CHILE. Performers: El Grupo, Michelle Collison ("Chile Song Cycle"), Thiago De Mello (Brazilian jazz guitarist), Tanbou Libete (Haitian cultural group), and report on current situation in Chile. Sat., Mar. 30, 8 p.m. Macintosh Hall, Barnard College, 116th Street and Broadway. Donation \$2.50. Ausp: U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. For more information call (212) 691-2880.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE CASE AGAINST NIXON, WATERGATE, AND THE FBI. Speakers: Frank Askin, national board member, ACLU, professor of law, Rutgers Univ.; John Shattuck, member, national staff, ACLU; Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, plaintiff in SWP suit against Watergaters. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

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WOMEN IN PRISON. Speakers: Maryann Weathers, Women's Jail Project; Christina Epifania, Women's Legal Educational Project. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PITTSBURGH

WATERGATE AND THE AMERICAN CRISIS. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

ST. LOUIS

WOUNDED KNEE ON TRIAL. Speakers: Charlotte Caldwell, member, Menominee tribe and American Indian Movement; Carter Revard, associate professor of English, Washington University. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

TWIN CITIES

IRELAND IN REBELLION. Speakers: Charles McCafferty, Minnesota Irish Northern Aid Committee and former resident of the Bogside; Nick Coleman, staff writer, Minneapolis Tribune; Pat Coleman, student of Irish history; Ralph Schwartz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Minnesota. Fri., Mar. 29, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Maoists

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tion would be better than Nixon.

The capitalist politicians cannot put a halt to Watergating, because it is an integral part of the system these parties support.

That's why the Socialist Workers Party believes that the burning issue confronting the American people today is the necessity for political action independent of the capitalist parties. So long as the working class looks to the capitalist parties to solve its problems, rather than relying on its own strength, it will be politically paralyzed.

The first step is for workers to break with the capitalist parties and form a party to represent them *as a class*, a labor party based on the trade unions. Such a party would not only oppose the secrecy and police-state methods of Watergate, but would mobilize workers to fight against inflation and unemployment, expose the energy crisis fraud, and defend the least privileged workers—the Blacks, Chicanos, and women.

But there is not a word in support of a labor party in the Maoist press.

The Maoists are also silent about the question of an independent Black political party. And they have virtually ignored the development of the Raza Unida parties in the Southwest, independent Chicano parties that have been challenging the Democrats and

Republicans in the elections.

Where do the Maoists stand on such independent formations?

Carl Davidson was opposed to a Black party when he wrote an article in the Sept. 27, 1972, *Guardian* criticizing the SWP presidential campaign. Attacking the SWP's call for such a party, Davidson counterposed "the necessity of a united class struggle against white supremacy" and denounced "the narrow nationalism and petit-bourgeois leadership within the Black liberation movement."

Similarly, he criticized the call for a labor party as "entirely within the outlook of trade-union reformism." But if Davidson considers it "reformist" to call for a labor party, he will have to explain what alternative the Maoists pose for working people. Does he see any perspective for fighting Watergate through the Democratic Party? If not, how do Davidson and his Maoist co-thinkers propose to win workers away from capitalist politics?

...SLA

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Far from "teaching" people to use "more militant" methods of struggle, such actions merely discouraged people from joining antiwar protests. The truly militant strategy was to build a movement that could set *masses* of people, including the unions and growing numbers of GIs, into action against the war.

This strategy proved to be effective. It played an important role in forcing Washington to withdraw its troops from Vietnam.

In the Black movement, the demoralizing effects of the Black Panther Party's ultraleftism in the late 1960s are still felt. The Panthers never actually carried out an organized terrorist campaign. But their rhetorical emphasis on individuals or small groups "picking up the gun" proved disastrous.

The government was out to destroy the Panthers by shooting them down or railroading them to prison. There was no way the Panthers could meet this attack on a gun-for-gun basis. A *mass* defense by the Black community was required. While sympathy for the victimized Panthers was widespread, their ultraleft tactics hindered an effective defense and made them

unnecessarily vulnerable.

It was Malcolm X who made "by any means necessary" a byword in the Black struggle. Malcolm's approach—which emphasized the *right to defense*, not idle threats or braggadocio—should be studied carefully and contrasted to that of the Panthers.

The role of police agents in inciting terrorism in the antiwar and Black movements has now become well known. Those who wish to evaluate the political effect of terrorism should seriously ask themselves: Why are cops and agents the most persistent advocates of bombings and small armed actions? Whose interests do such terrorist actions serve?

Certainly the SLA's recent declaration that "SLA elements were at Wounded Knee" is more likely to be welcomed by the government prosecutors than by the Indian militants now on trial.

A message of solidarity with the SLA from the Black Liberation Army has similar indications of cop involvement or at least utter disregard for the defense of the 60 Attica Brothers now facing trial. The supposed BLA letter is signed "Attica State Prison."

Further questions about the character of the SLA kidnapping were aroused by the March 9 taped message from Patricia Hearst, in which she attacks her parents and announces, "I have been issued a 12-gauge riot shotgun" for defense against the FBI.

Randolph Hearst felt compelled to say that he didn't "see any reason to believe" his daughter was in league with the SLA.

Whatever turns out to have been the motivation for the Hearst kidnapping, and whatever forces are involved, this much is already clear: Contrary to the sideline cheerleading by the long-defunct Weather Underground, the political effect of the SLA's action has benefited only our oppressors.

Marxism vs. Neo-Anarchist Terrorism

by George Novack. 25 cents. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

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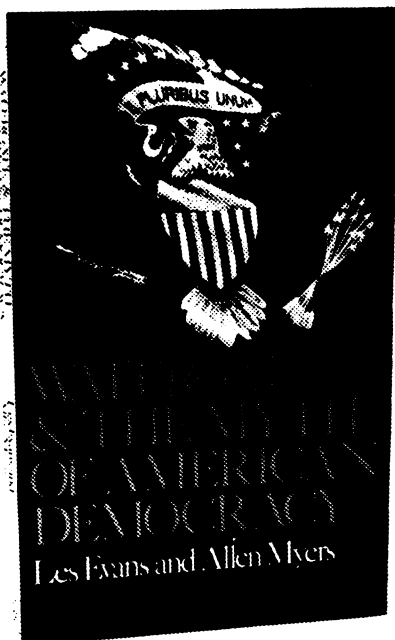
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'Just a party line,' says gov't

Defense: FBI had illegal wiretap at Wounded Knee

ST. PAUL, Minn.—A major breakthrough for the defense has occurred with the discovery of government wiretapping against defendants during last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D. The revelations may result in dismissal of the charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, the Indian leaders currently on trial, as well as the dozens of other activists facing federal charges for their role in the spring 1973 seizure.

"If my worst fears are realized," said Judge Fred Nichol March 13, "it may well mean dismissal."

Nichol began a special hearing on the wiretapping evidence on March 18. The key witness was Joe Pourier, who works for the Bison State Telephone Company in Pine Ridge in South Dakota.

Pourier testified that on Feb. 27, 1973, a man named Tommy Hudson, who was the administrator of the U.S. marshals at Pine Ridge, instructed Pourier to install an extension to the one phone inside Wounded Knee. Pourier installed the extension at a federal roadblock one and a half miles from the trading post, where the phone used by Wounded Knee protesters was located.

The extension on this trading post line was kept in a cardboard box by FBI agents at the roadblock. The defense believes it was in use throughout the seizure.

According to an affidavit filed by Mark Lane, attorney for the defense, Pourier "said that the telephone maintained by agents of the FBI could easily serve as an efficient telephone tap to overhear conversations between persons speaking from the trading post who were engaged in conversations with others."

The March 14 *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that the FBI had tried to "persuade" Pourier not to testify about the wiretap. FBI agent David Price visited the telephone employee March 12, and tried to intimidate him. "He wanted to know who paid for it and who told me to do it," Pourier said. "I told him to ask me when I get on the witness stand."

A party line?

The prosecution is now trying to argue that the extension phone was merely a "party line" and that eavesdropping on the defendants did not occur. But other witnesses taking the stand have refuted this lie.

Phyllis Fast Wolf, an Oglala Sioux from Chicago, testified that on her way to Wounded Knee she was stopped at the roadblock where the extension phone was located. While there she said she heard conversations from the trading post being amplified.

Mark Lane also took the stand, relating how he specifically inquired of the government last year if Wounded Knee phone calls were being tapped, before he engaged in conversations with his clients. Kent Frizell of the Justice Department, the main government negotiator at Wounded Knee, assured him there was no wiretapping, Lane said.

The government also lied to Judge Nichol. Lane said that Joseph Trimbach, the FBI agent in charge during the Wounded Knee seizure, told the judge there were no wiretaps.

Perhaps most damaging, on March 19 the FBI released two memorandums on conversations recorded from the Wounded Knee phone. One conversation was between defendant Dennis Banks and entertainer Dick Cavett, to whom Banks was



Militant/Skip Ball

FBI eavesdropped on conversations of Wounded Knee defendants Dennis Banks (left) and Russell Means

appealing for a special TV show on the occupation. The second conversation was between Banks and Carter Camp, another Indian charged in the seizure.

The prosecution has yet to explain the source of these memos if the FBI phone extension was merely a "party line." They will also have to explain receipts from a Rapid City, S.D., store for equipment that is used to amplify voices. The defense has acquired the receipts and says that FBI agents made the purchases.

Parallels to Ellsberg case

Similar illegal surveillance led to the dismissal of charges against Daniel Ellsberg last spring in Pentagon papers case. When wiretaps on Ellsberg were uncovered, and the government refused to release the transcripts of the taped conversations, the judge threw out the charges on the basis of "government misconduct."

In the present case, Judge Nichol has pointed out that wiretapping "happens to be a felony" if done without a court order. The prosecution's dilemma is compounded by the fact that defendants' discussions with their lawyers were overheard, as in the case of Mark Lane.

"If the telephone was tapped under those circumstances," explained the March 14 *Minneapolis Tribune*, "the confidential lawyer-client relationship was breached, putting in jeopardy all criminal

charges filed against about 130 people. . . ."

Dismissal of the frame-up case against the Wounded Knee activists would be a tremendous victory for the Indians' fight against racist oppression. And it would be a powerful indictment of the secret-police tactics employed by the government against those working for social change.

Withholding of documents

The newly uncovered wiretaps are not the only worry of the prosecution. Judge Nichol has ordered the FBI to give the defense access to thousands of files on Wounded Knee that have previously been kept secret. The judge himself toured the FBI office in Minneapolis on March 11 to look at documents.

The revelation that some 315,981 FBI documents exist on the case came when a witness testified that a prosecution exhibit had been doctored. The document was a copy of a petition by Wounded Knee residents, with notations next to some of the names.

When Nichol demanded the original petition from the FBI, it turned out there were no notations. The documents "were either doctored, or there had been things placed on these documents," Nichol later said. "To compound matters, you had a situation where they were making a xerox copy of a xerox copy that had notations on it, which made it look as though it were the original."