

WORKERS WORLD

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite

New ban on Farah boycott.... p. 3

AIM trials.... p. 4

Medvedev's defense of Solzhenitsyn.... p. 7
by Sam Marcy

Vietnam truce assessed.... p. 11

British workers back miners.... p. 12

MIR calls for international
solidarity.... p. 16

Vol. 16, No. 4 February 22, 1974

25 cents

Oil monopolies' crimes hidden for 40 years

The real story behind U.S. oil price fixing

Now it comes out—after 40 years! The U.S. government has been shielding the seven biggest oil monopolies in the world from criminal antitrust prosecution. A Senate subcommittee on multinational corporations revealed testimony on February 20 charging the oil monopolies with drawing up "one of the most explicit detailed cartel agreements ever written."

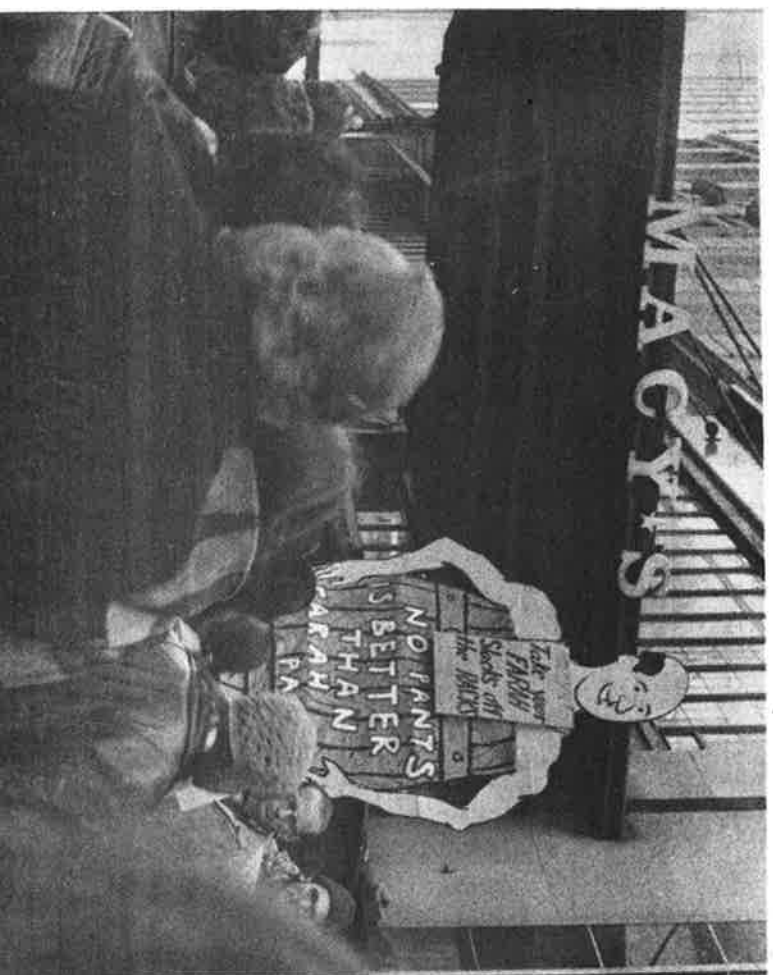
When did they first do it? In 1934!

The 7 oil giants named were Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, Standard Oil of California, British Petroleum, and Royal Dutch Shell. The cartel agreement included the "limiting of production to prop up prices," "maintaining prices in each market," and "obtaining the consent of other companies for a member's advertising budget in each market."

In 1953, the Eisenhower Administration quashed a criminal case against the "seven sisters" for operating an international cartel. At the time, the National Security Council, the State Department, and the Justice Department justified dropping the case on grounds of "national security."

These criminal corporations have been robbing the people all this time and the government has been covering up for them! Only the present crisis, where people are going cold and without any means of transportation, has forced a few of their crimes out into the open. Isn't it time the people took action against these crooks?

For more energy news, see centerfold.

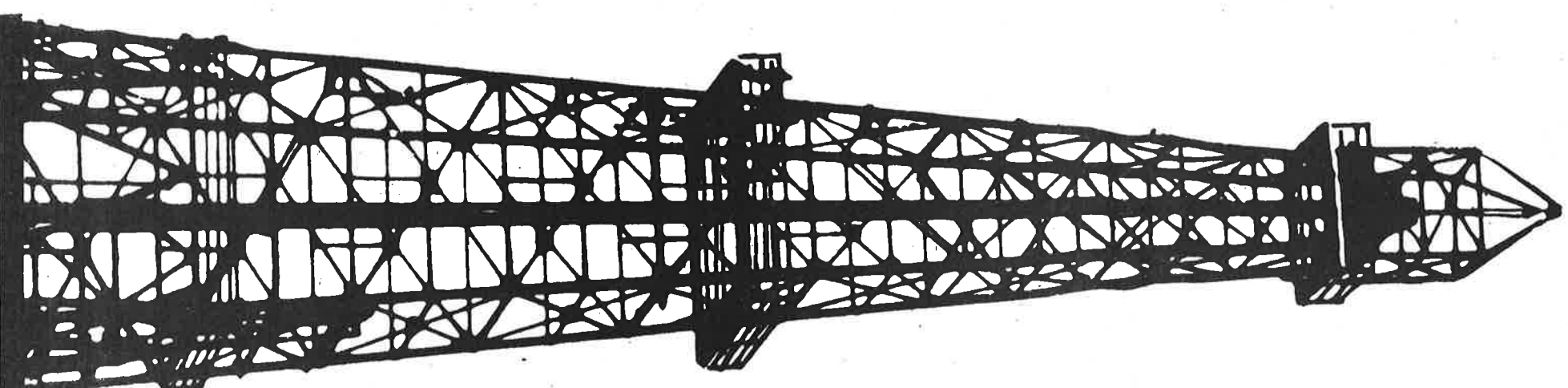


"Harry," the Farah boycotter, and CULA friends picket Macy's.

WW photo: Mary

**Court slaps
second ban on
Farah boycott**

See story, page 3



index

- 2—Milk Commission formed
- 3—New ban on Farah boycott; Workers & steel talks
- 4—AIM trials; Protest against Ford
- 5—Houston 12; Commuters save fare; Farmworkers boycott
- 6—Editorial: Latin American resistance groups unite; Decline & Fall
- 7—Sam Marcy on Medvedev and Solzhenitsyn
- 8-9—Little energy, lots of crisis
- 10—S. Africans forced off land; World news in brief
- 11—Vietnam treaty—one year later; Ervin opposes anti-genocide pact
- 12—Labor solidarity in Britain; W. German strike victory
- 13—The real Siberia; Two civil wars
- 14-15—Political Prisoners
- 16—MIR calls for international solidarity

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N.Y. commission to probe milk prices

NEW YORK, Feb. 20—The newly formed New York State Commission for a Fair Milk Price has chosen 14 commissioners to carry out an investigation of milk pricing in the state. The 14 people—13 women and 1 man—represent a cross section of New York's poor and working people, those who are most affected by rising food prices.

The Commission was set up in January, largely on the initiative of Women United for Action (WUA), a national group credited with the widest organization in last spring's meat boycott.

For some time WUA has been investigating the operations and pricing policies of the milk monopolies in New York State and has not been able to find one organization or governmental agency to take responsibility for setting or regulating prices for dairy products.

Speaking for the milk group, Commissioner Claudette Furlonge pointed out that the price of fluid milk and milk products in New York State has skyrocketed 50-60 percent in the last two years alone, dramatically reducing the ability of consumers and working people, especially the poorest, to purchase adequate quantities of milk for their families. "These increases have been due largely to monopolistic production and pricing practices in the milk industry," Ms. Furlonge stated.

Another newly selected milk commissioner, Joyce Kaessinger, told *Workers World*, "We have written to many government agencies inquiring as to the possibility of public hearings so that consumers can voice their demands for reasonable milk prices. The agencies we have written to include the Department of Consumer Affairs, Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Justice, and many others. All the replies we have received from these agencies claim they lack authority or jurisdiction to hold public hearings."

"We have decided to form a commission composed of representatives of workers, consumers, and the poor, to be called the New York State Commission for a Fair Milk Price. If no one else will regulate milk prices fairly, we must claim the authority to regulate milk prices as well as the jurisdiction to hold public hearings."

"We want the truth about why milk

prices are rising. We want the right for the poor and working people to make their needs heard. And most of all, we want the right to have a say in price policy and production practices of this basic necessity; to hear testimony from producers, processors, and government agencies."

The Commission is demanding recognition from Dairylea, North East Milk Producers Association, Eastern Milk Producers, the Metropolitan Dairy In-



stitute, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the New York Department of Agriculture, and the Federal Milk Marketing Administration.

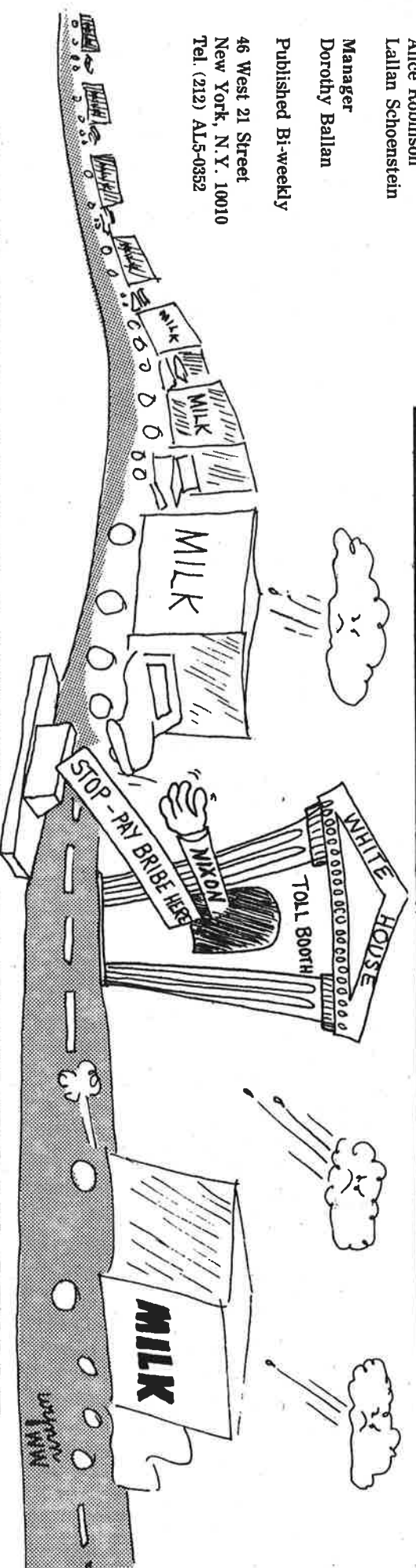
Recognition of the Commission would include: 1) the right to collect data in the form of records and witnesses from both production and pricing practices from both industry and government; 2) the Commission must have the right to act as a bargaining agent in the interest of both the consumers and working people of New York

State; 3) both government and industry would be bound to honor decisions arrived at through this bargaining; and 4) all information collected and bargaining agreements reached by the Commission should be brought directly to the public through the mechanism of public hearings.

The commissioners selected to carry out the investigation of the New York milk trust are: Jenia Becker, Chairwoman of the Albany Area Inflation Council; Ellen Catalinotto, who has been active in the struggle against rising food prices since 1967; Geraldine Miller, a household worker and founder of the Household Technicians in New York City; Claudette Furlonge, a WUA organizer who was active in coordinating the hundreds of groups that sprang up in response to rising meat prices in 1973; Libby Copeland, a retired laboratory technician involved in struggles of older people and in the movement for publically funded day-care centers; Diane Stropoli, an office worker and member of Women United for Action; Alice Diaz, a mother and office worker who was a founding member of WUA; Betsy Harris, a welfare mother and a founder of the Buffalo chapter of HELP (Help Enforce Lower Prices) in Endicott, N.Y.; Marguerita Sandoval, a welfare mother with two children who is active in the fight for the rights of the poor; Laurie Fierstein, who acted as WUA's counsel in its suit against monopoly practices in the beef industry; Katherine Hoeg, a housewife and mother of two, instrumental in organizing the Midwood Chapter of WUA in Brooklyn; Joyce Kaessinger, a working mother of two and one of the founders of WUA; Bob Powsner, a member of the executive board of the Concerned Consumers of Lower Ulster County; and Hortense Germany, a mother and community activist from Brooklyn, N.Y.

Thousands of names are being gathered on petitions by WUA to force recognition of the Commission by the milk trust and the government.

For more information about this campaign contact New York State Commission for a Fair Milk Price, c/o Women United for Action, 58 W. 25th Street, New York, N.Y. 10010, tel: (212) 969-1252.



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Court slaps second ban on Farah boycott

ROCHESTER, Feb. 19—In a vicious, new attack against the Farah strike, District Court Judge Harold Burke has placed a sweeping injunction against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and the Center for United Labor Action (CULA).

Superseding an earlier injunction of his that had been overturned by the Federal Court of Appeals, Burke's latest anti-labor diatribe forbids the CULA and the ACWA "from picketing at or in the immediate vicinity of Sibley's... where an object of such picketing is to force or require Sibley's, or any other person, to cease using, selling, handling, transporting or otherwise dealing with the products of, or to cease doing business with Farah."

The ACWA has been striking Farah for union recognition since May 1972. The Center for United Labor Action, an organization of working people, has been supporting the strike-inspired boycott of Farah pants in Rochester and other cities across the U.S.

FARAH RULES EL PASO

Willie Farah, the boss of the giant Farah Manufacturing Company, rules El Paso in the tradition of the Texas "padrones," boasting about how good he is to his "hands," who are 95 percent Chicano and 80 percent women. The average Farah worker takes home \$69 a week. In 1971 Willie brought home \$6 million.

Besides owning the largest men's and boys' slacks business in the U.S., Farah also sits on the board of directors of the El Paso National Bank. His good friend and fellow director of the bank, Dorrance Roderick, publishes the El Paso Times, the town's labor-baiting daily paper.

Willie Farah has employed every dirty method in the arsenal of a Texas union-buster to break the strike of the 3,000 workers. Strikers have been routed out of bed in the early hours of the morning by the El Paso police; pickets have been run down by cars (one driven by Willie Farah's wife); Catholic priests have been enlisted to denounce the strike.

One of these "men of God," Father Daniel Lyons, of Rochester, is the Jesuit editor of a racist and anti-Jewish rag, Twin Circle. Lyons is the author of "An open letter to the citizens of Rochester," which denounced the Farah strike as the work of a small number of union militants and called for an end to the boycott of Sibley's.

The police, the clergy, hired goons, scabs, the chambers of commerce, the capitalist press—Willie Farah has employed them all in his frenzied campaign to crush the ACWA.

HIT FARAH'S POCKET

But Willie Farah is losing. Despite huge Pentagon orders for Farah slacks and the

continued marketing of these products by Associated Dry Goods (which owns Sibley's), the boycott forced Farah Manufacturing Company to close down several of its plants in 1973 and last month Willie Farah's bookkeeper gave him the worst news of all: his company was several millions of dollars in the red.

The boycott of Farah slacks has spread to Europe and Asia, and even the workers in

the Farah plant in Hong Kong refused to sew the scab goods shipped from the striking El Paso area.

Willie Farah finally agreed to negotiate, but he has far from given up his dream of smashing the union. Even as a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge opined that Willie's conduct during the strike had been both "evil" and "unlawful" (but didn't order Farah to

recognize the ACWA as the bargaining agent for the workers), Farah stepped up his campaign to break the boycott.

Willie Farah has found an enthusiastic ally in Judge Harold Burke. Burke's latest court order simply outlaws the boycott. The bill of rights is thrown out the window. In Rochester, there is freedom of speech if you say what Judge Burke wants to hear. But don't say "Boycott Farah pants" or "Boycott Sibley's" or Judge Burke will put you in jail.

Just hours before Burke's latest injunction was served on the Rochester CULA, 50 members and friends of that organization were out in front of Sibley's, exposing Willie Farah and the department store bosses for the strike breakers they are.



Workers walk in on steel talks

By TOM MITCHELL

Negotiations for new contracts between the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and the big ten basic steel companies began in Washington, D.C., on January 30. The negotiations are being conducted under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) that was instituted last year by USWA President I. W. Abel without any membership ratification, and that gave away the right to strike over contract demands in favor of compulsory arbitration.

The 1973 profits of U.S. Steel, the biggest producer, increased over 100 percent (to \$325 million), but R. Heath Larry of U.S. Steel, the chief industry negotiator, insists that the 3 percent minimum wage increase provided by the ENA is all the companies can afford. While working conditions get worse from speedup and real income shrinks by 10 percent and more a year, I. W. Abel is praised by government and industry officials as a "model labor statesman."

Abel has negotiated "industrial peace" by surrendering, but he will not be able to paper over the daily oppression and exploitation of the 300,000 workers in the plants.

SPARROWS POINT WILDCAT

On January 9, at the opening of the USWA Basic Steel Conference to formalize demands for the upcoming negotiations, about 100 workers from the Baltimore Point Bethlehem Steel plant picketed outside and then marched into the meeting to demand that the union take up their grievances.

On January 25, these workers held another picket line at the coke oven clochouse at Bethlehem Steel. This line began a four-day wildcat strike over health conditions in the coke ovens, the first wildcat since Abel signed the ENA. The strike involved 450 workers. The death rate for coke-oven workers is ten times greater than for workers in any other area of the steel industry, especially from "red lung" disease.

Traditionally, work in the coke ovens has been the lowest-paid, dirtiest, and hardest job—reserved for Blacks, who were kept there because there was only departmental and not companywide seniority in bidding on other jobs. The struggle of Blacks for equal rights resulted last year in a government ruling ordering Bethlehem

Steel to recognize plantwide seniority, but the conditions in the coke ovens remain as bad as ever.

Abel dispatched Edward Plate, USWA Director for District 8, to handle negotiations that followed the wildcat. But similar conditions in the coke ovens exist all across the country where there are steel plants. Once again, Abel is burying a national issue for steelworkers under the weak machinery for resolving local grievances, grievances that have piled up for years because the companies ignore them.

Now Bethlehem Steel is retaliating by suspending workers three days for every one they stayed out and suspending stewards and committeemen five days for every one. But does Abel see fit to bring this up in negotiations?

WHAT'S THE RUSH?

No, Abel is in a rush to get a contract before the wage-control guidelines are lifted April 30! On February 1, Abel concluded negotiations covering 35,000 workers in aluminum, providing increases of 5 percent, 3 percent, and 3 percent over the next three years. But the aluminum contracts do not expire until June 1, when the 5.5 percent wage limit is supposed to be off. What was his hurry?

I. W. Abel gets a salary of \$60,000 a year, plus expenses, but no matter how much he wants the friendship and esteem of his even better-paid counterparts in management, Abel cannot sell out the interests of the rank and file without forcing these workers to organize to throw him out and replace him with real worker militants.



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167 W. 21 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

BY VINCENT COPELAND

50 cents

REMEMBER

Malcolm X
Born 1925

—assassinated Feb. 21, 1965

They can kill a revolutionary, but they can't kill the revolution.

Wounded Knee heroes on trial

By ANDY STAPP

FEBRUARY 21—The opening week of the trial of American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks has been punctuated by demonstrations outside the courthouse in St. Paul, Minnesota, and by the eviction from the trial of the defendants' lawyers following a moving statement to the jury by Means. The government has charged the two Indian leaders with 10 felony counts for their role in last year's occupation of Wounded Knee.

The jury selection for the consolidated Means-Banks trial began on January 8, and by February 4 the last juror was picked. In the tradition of all government frameups against the peoples of oppressed nations, these two Native American defendants face a jury purged by the prosecution of all Afro-Americans and Indians. Black and Native American jurors were peremptorily dismissed from the panel by the prosecution for being "too sympathetic."

This has left jurors like Kathrine Valo, the daughter of a Honeywell Corporation executive who told the court that while she knew nothing about Wounded Knee (she plans to become a Carmelite nun and does not read newspapers, only biographies of the saints), she felt: "We have to trust the government." And there is Fran J. Aiken, a Honeywell employee who said, "It's nice the government gives them (Native Americans) land to live on." And James Putman, who believes, "Indians are still human beings."

There is, in fact, only one Third World person on the jury. He is Richard Garcia, a 32-year-old telephone installer for Northwestern Bell, who is a Chicano. Garcia said that the U.S. government had treated Indians "very badly."

In another case arising out of the Wounded Knee takeover, a mass trial of Indian defendants is beginning in Sioux Falls, S.D. On February 4, the government was forced to drop the charges on four of the 19 defendants in this trial.

On the night of February 12, 65 traditional Native American leaders of the Oglala Sioux Nation came to St. Paul, where Means and Banks are being tried. A number of the delegates were men in their eighties

and nineties who had survived the genocidal slaughter of their people by the U.S. army at Wounded Knee in 1890. St. Paul's mayor, Lawrence Cohen, invited the 65 to a dinner in their honor, but when he gave them symbolic keys to the city, one of the chiefs, Frank Fool's Crow, said, "I would rather have the real keys so I could open the jail and release Means and Banks."

Federal District Judge Fred Nichols, presiding over the trial, is a former "Americanism" officer of the American Legion and a friend of George McGovern (who had sent a letter to Nixon during the Wounded Knee occupation saying the federal government—should crack down harder on the "militants"—after federal marshals had killed two Indians). Judge Nichols has admitted that he "used to be against the mixing of the races but not anymore." On the first day of the trial he decided that he didn't like the defense lawyers and had all three of them thrown out of court.

The spectacle of a judge ordering his marshals to physically haul three lawyers from a trial because one of them had made a routine objection was so mind boggling to the press and jury that Nichols had to readmit them to the trial and apologize, saying, "I guess I didn't listen very carefully."

JUDGE YELLS, 'SHUT UP!'

In fact, Judge Nichols became so excited yelling "Remove him!" and "Shut up!" as the stunned lawyers were pushed out of the room by armed federal cops (the last lawyer was expelled simply for asking for a recess), that he then threatened to throw Dennis Banks out of his own trial for objecting to the manhandling of his legal defense.

While more than 100 people marched outside the courtroom protesting the racist frameup, Means began his opening statement to the jury.

"This should be the trial of the United States of America against the Indian people," Means said. He told the jury how, "It was the Indian people who were shot first," how Frank Clearwater was killed by a police sniper while he sat in a church at

Wounded Knee, how the government broke the Treaty of 1868, and how the 1973 armed occupation of Wounded Knee was a struggle against the destruction of the Sioux people by the federal government "destined to change the course of Indian history."

Chief Fool's Crow, who watched Means speak, told reporters later, "We called on our brothers in the American Indian Movement to help us because we were being oppressed and terrorized. They answered our call. We now call upon all people to honor our people and our treaty rights."

"If Dennis Banks and Russell Means go to jail for supporting the dignity of the Sioux Nation and the promises made to us, you must be ready to send us all to jail."

NATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH WOUNDED KNEE

WEDNESDAY,
FEB. 27th
5:00 P.M.
Broadway
at 42nd



DEMONSTRATE

Partial list of sponsors for the demonstration—

Organization of Arab Students; Iranian Student Assoc.; American Servicemen's Union; Black Panther Party; New York Consulate of the Republic of New Africa; Carlos Feliciano Defense Comm.; American Comm. on Africa; Youth Against War and Fascism; Nat. Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Lincoln Detox Program; N.Y. American Indian Movement; Indo-China Solidarity Comm.; Prisoner Solidarity Comm.



WW photo: Deb

Outside Ford's \$100-a-plate dinner in Detroit, crime, jail Nixon and Ford," and "Profits up, prices soar, we won't take it anymore, throw out Nixon and Ford."

"Crisis for the poor, profits for the rich," a slogan on many CUIA signs, summed up the various issues which that group raised in the demonstration. One of the banners reflected the CUIA's answer to the massive layoffs in Detroit—"Fire Nixon, hire the unemployed!" Workers on the picket line voiced their feelings about the attacks on poor and working people, with signs like, "We won't freeze with honor," and "Throw out racists Nixon and Ford!"

When a contingent of the United Farmworkers (UFWOC) marched to the picket line with red and black UFWOC flags flying, the demonstrators welcomed them by chanting, "Nixon and Ford eat scab lettuce and grapes, WE support the United Farmworkers, throw out Nixon and Ford!"

Although passersby responded en-

Cold reception puts heat on Ford

By KAREN PAULICH

DETROIT, Feb. 9—When Nixon's newest accomplice in crime, Gerald Ford, arrived in Detroit today to speak at a \$100-a-plate Republican fund-raising dinner, he was greeted by more than 100 angry picketers, shouting "Jail Nixon and Ford!"

The demonstration was sponsored by the Detroit chapters of the Center for United Labor Action (CUIA), an organization of rank-and-file workers and the unemployed, and Women United for Action (WUA), a group of poor and working women fighting high food prices. Also attending the picket line were members of the United Farmworkers, the United Auto Workers Wixom plant local, the Great Lakes Steel Women's Committee, the Consumer Alliance of Michigan, the Young Workers Liberation League, rank-and-file Teamsters, students from Detroit high schools, unemployed auto workers, and rank-and-file members of various United Auto Workers (UAW) locals.

Speakers from the Center for United Labor Action, Women United for Action, and the United Farmworkers denounced Nixon and Ford, and explained why these enemies of the workers and poor should be thrown out.

"It's time we say no to Nixon, Ford, and their big business government!" declared CUIA member Jerry Goldfarb. "Working people around the country are letting these rich crooks know that we won't stand for

unemployment, the wage freeze, inflation, the energy crisis, racism, war spending, and all their other crimes against us." Diane Bukowski, a spokeswoman for WUA, pointed out that, "While Ford and his rich friends are stuffing themselves at the price of \$100-a-plate, many of us can't afford to feed our families anymore. If Nixon and Ford have their way, our meager dinners may soon be costing us \$100 a plate!"

"We too are here against Nixon and Ford," affirmed George Delgado of the United Farmworkers. He then explained how Nixon and Ford have conspired with the big growers in union-busting and strikebreaking against the farmworkers.

During the demonstration, Women United for Action carried a bright red and white polka-dot banner which emphasized their concern with high food prices: "High prices and empty pockets, we won't take it any more—Roll back food prices, roll out Nixon and Ford!" Among the Women United signs were "wanted" posters of Nixon and Ford, "for stealing food from our families." One picketer wore a "peanut-butter" sandwich board, which complained that "Peanut-butter sandwiches are all we can afford," and another Women United member bore an orange sandwich board shaped like a milk bottle which proclaimed, "We won't cow to rising milk prices."

Marchers eagerly took up the chants led by WUA which included, "High prices are a

thusiastically to the demonstration, members of the CUIA and Women United described the reaction to leafletting as even better. In less than two weeks, these two groups publicized the demonstration by distributing over 20,000 leaflets at unemployment centers, meetings, factories, high schools, supermarkets, and shopping centers. Everywhere, people would gather around, eager to take extra leaflets and to express their grievances against Ford and Nixon. The most typical reaction to the demonstration against these crooks was, "It's about time!"

Because of the strong and spirited protest in front of the dinner, Ford and many of the other big shots arrived late and snuck in the back way. But it won't be long until Ford, Nixon, and their big-business partners in crime discover that they can't hide from the just anger of the workers and oppressed whom they have victimized.

Houston 12 confident of victory over frameup

Special to Workers World
HOUSTON, Feb. 7.—Backed by a courtroom full of supporters, the five members of the Houston 12 accused of "attempted murder of a police officer" won important victories in their pretrial hearing today. The trial set for February 25 was postponed until April 8, and a vicious attempt by the district attorney to split up the five for separate trials was defeated.

As daylight broke over the city, more than 35 people picketed in front of the Family Law Center in downtown Houston. Among the slogans on the signs they carried were "Stop this racist frameup," "Drop the charges against the Houston 12," "No Vietnam in the Middle East, no frameup in Houston," and "Police brutality must end." By the time the hearing began later in the morning, over 80 supporters had crowded into the courtroom of Judge Wallace C. Moore and still others stood in the outside corridor. The large majority were Chicanos, joined by a number of Blacks and whites.

In the hearing 22 defense motions were presented by attorneys Larry Sauer, John Sayer, Cam Cunningham, Brady Coleman, Robert Turner, and Jerry Gardner. Coleman and Cunningham were two of the lawyers who won an acquittal for the eight VVAW activists last year in Gainesville, Florida. Apparently the DA took the defense very seriously, as he had written responses to five of the motions, an unusual occurrence in Texas courts.

Assistant DA Stu Stuart urged the judge to deny a postponement of the February 25 trial date. Stuart openly coached the cops present, the state's prime witnesses, to say that a trial in May would be impossible because it would conflict with their vacations. The judge readily agreed, and it then looked like there would be no change of the February 25 trial date. But the defense attorneys continued to press the judge in front of the anxious audience. After further discussion, Moore suddenly agreed to set April 8 as the day for the trial of the five brothers, giving the Houston 12 an extra six weeks to prepare their case and to build political support.

It was on the issue of a full investigation of electronic surveillance that Moore exposed his outright cooperation with the DA. Moore immediately accepted the prosecutor's lame answer that he personally had talked with various police agencies and was assured there is no surveillance of Youth Against War & Fascism nor any of the Houston 12 Defense Committee. The judge said that this was good enough for him. Open anger in the audience met this blatantly biased ruling.

It was then that DA Stuart asked for separate trials for the five, adding that he wanted to try Bartee Haile first. In 1971 Stuart was one of the prosecutors who tried to railroad Bartee on a charge of attempted murder of a cop who wounded him in the ambush of People's Party II, a local Black liberation group, the night of July 26, 1970. Again the judge hesitated, but finally ruled that it was up to the defendants to decide how they would stand trial. Despite this scheme to divide them, the solidarity of the five held firm, and they voted unanimously to go to trial together on April 8.

Later in the hearing the judge was compelled to permit testimony from the policemen who attacked the October 9, 1973, demonstration held by YAWF against the war in the Middle East.

The first to take the stand was officer A.R. Finch. If awards were given for surly, dull-witted cops, then Finch certainly should be nominated. Despite instructions from Stuart to say as little as possible, Finch did make some interesting statements. First, he said that he had no idea who struck him on the head during the attack on the picket line. Second, he said he was hired by the group that held the pro-war rally on October 9, and that although off-duty, he wore his Houston police uniform. Third, Finch admitted that

two of the defendants were brought before him in the hospital later that evening for the purpose of illegal identification.

It was learned that local fascists tried to mobilize their forces in support of the police and to take away seats in the courtroom from the Houston 12 supporters. A leaflet signed by "Responsible Citizens in Action" charged that the aim of the Houston 12 Defense Committee is one of "fomenting mass racial hatred and agitating violence toward the Houston Police Department and our judicial system." But apparently there is a severe shortage of "responsible citizens" in Houston. A grand total of six showed up.

Monday, April 8, Miguel Trujillo, William Christiansen, Jose Barriga, Bartee Haile, and Alex Rodriguez will go on trial for "attempted murder of a police officer." If convicted, they face sentences of two years to life imprisonment. Speaking for all five of the brothers on February 7, Alex said, "The Houston 12 are absolutely innocent of the charges which have been made against them. We are not the people who should stand trial. The Houston police should be judged for their attempt to maim and murder us on October 9th and their acts of

Commuters unite, save fare

By JOSEPH WEXLER

NEW YORK, Feb. 17.—Due to the active opposition led by the Center for United Labor Action, the workers who must travel daily between New Jersey and New York City to get to their jobs have forced the New York-New Jersey Port Authority to back down for the second time from its plans to raise the fare. A 67 percent increase by Trans-Hudson (PATH) railway would have raised the fare from 30 to 50 cents.

The Center for United Labor Action (CULA) is a multinational organization of workers in both unionized and nonunion shops, and has been active in fighting transit and utility rate increases. It has also participated in or organized many other struggles of workers and the unemployed.

Last July, when Port Authority spokesmen announced that they were seeking this 20-cent increase, they said the rail line would not be able to continue functioning without getting the hike immediately. The Port Authority is a supposedly nonprofit corporation with status as a bistate government agency, which means that the holders of over \$1.7 billion in bonds collect interest tax free! These interest payments are made from the PATH fare collections, tolls on the Lincoln and Holland Tunnels and the George Washington Bridge, plus proceeds from enormous tax-free real estate holdings that include the two highest buildings in the world, the World Trade Center.

CULA MOBILIZES FIGHT

The Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) decided to hold a hearing in Washington, D.C., over 250 miles away, on a workday, Wednesday, August 8. The Center for United Labor Action countered with massive leaflet distributions both at the stations and on the PATH trains during morning and evening rush hours and announced a demonstration at the ICC during the Suspension Board hearings in Washington.

Just as the picket line formed, the demonstrators were told that the ICC had decided beforehand to suspend the Port Authority (P.A.) request. The P.A. pushed for new hearings to begin September 24. These hearings were to be used to allow the ICC to rubberstamp the P.A. request.

But the Center for United Labor Action polled the commuters on where they wanted the hearings to be, and when. Thousands of workers voted to have the hearings in New

Jersey in the evening after work. All the hearings had been scheduled for the daytime, when most people have to work, but one hearing was set for New Jersey in the evening. The CULA had collected over 20,000 signatures on a petition against any fare increase and hundreds of depositions opposing the fare increase from commuters who wanted them read at the hearings.

The Port Authority asked for and got an adjournment of these hearings, which they had wanted in order to iron out a difference between the New York and New Jersey board members. New York Governor Rockefeller, whose family bank, Chase Manhattan, is a large P.A. bondholder, decided that it would be better to hold down the fare increase from 20 cents to 5 cents. Up until then 20 cents was "necessary" to keep the line running. The New Jersey members still wanted to push for 20 cents.

Hearings were resumed February 11, at which time CULA presented the petitions with 20,000 signatures taped together on an enormous scroll and 703 written depositions by commuters who opposed the rate increase.

WORKERS' STATEMENTS

The CULA delegation to the hearings

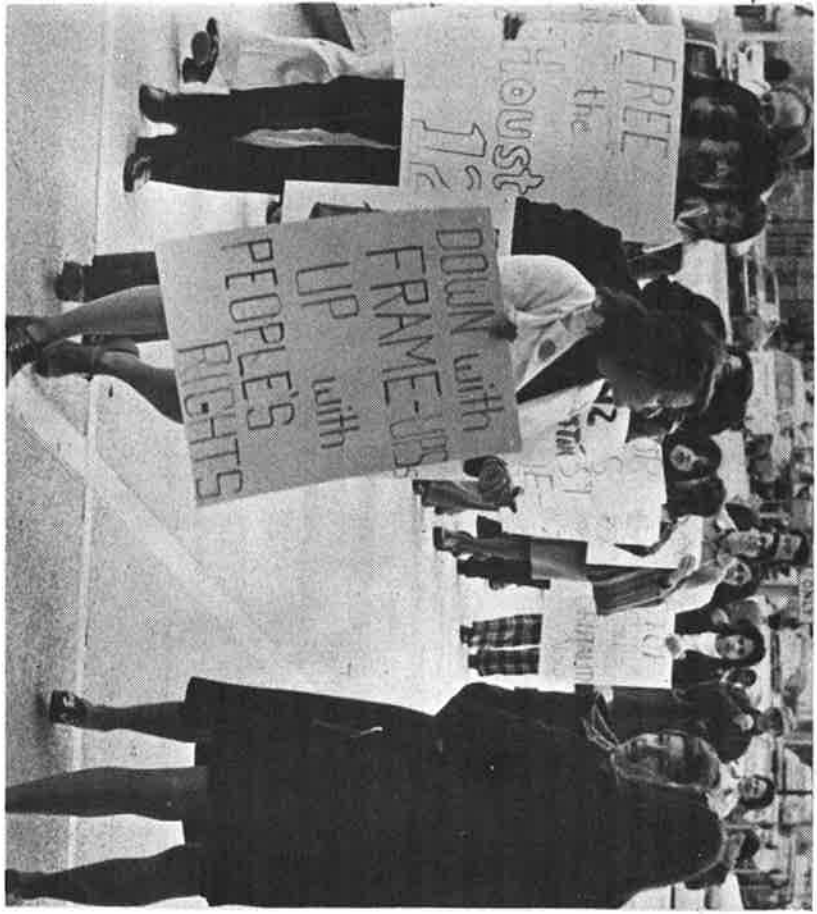
Can't sell scab lettuce and grapes

CHICAGO, Feb. 10.—The struggle of the United Farmworkers to unionize and win decent wages and working conditions for farm laborers, one of the most oppressed sections of the working class in this country, continues. The strikers in California are preparing to fight another round in their long battle against the combined efforts of the growers, the state and federal governments, and the Teamster bureaucracy, when the harvest season begins in April.

In Chicago, support work for the strikers is accelerating. Over 70 strikers from Arizona and California are presently in Chicago organizing a boycott of Jewel supermarkets, the largest carrier of nonunion lettuce and grapes in the area.

Last year, the boycott committee's picket lines forced A&P to agree to carry only UFW lettuce and grapes in its Chicago stores. With that victory, the target was switched to Jewel, which controls 30 percent

for the movement to put a stop to police violence and terror. Victory for the Chicano people's right to determine their own destiny. Victory for the movement to prevent a disastrous war in the Middle East. The Houston 12 will be freed!"



The people turn out for Houston 12 at pretrial hearings at Family Law Center in Houston.

WW photo: John

was joined by a large number of commuters who actively supported CULA's fight against any increase. Also present were members of the Jersey City People's Committee, who have also been polling commuters and circulating petitions. The Center for United Labor Action presented its petitions and depositions, and the P.A. attorneys tried to have them dismissed because they were not notarized. But the hearing judge, seeing the anger of the commuters who crowded the hearing, decided to enter the statements as evidence.

A worker from Jersey City stated, "I can't afford it. My wages were frozen at 5½ percent while everything has gone up and up out of reach of many people. This increase would put their way of getting to work out of reach too."

Workers' statements also hit the poor service on the commuter line. A working woman from Jersey City said, "They get more than enough money now by the way they pack the trains. Some mornings at Journal Square we pack in like animals—they just keep the doors open and keep on packing us in. It is like a cattle train."

The hearings were postponed again until Thursday, the 14th, but on that day the "nonprofit" P.A. announced that it was dropping its request for its "necessary" fare increase. The working people of New Jersey and New York had won a victory.

of the Chicago retail food market. Every week picket lines are set up at 30 to 40 Jewel stores. The organizers estimate that they have turned away about 250,000 shoppers since September.

In addition, mass demonstrations are periodically held at selected Jewel stores. During the first week in January, over 400 people demonstrated for several hours in 6 degree weather. On February 10, about 150 picketers chanted and sang as they drastically cut business at a Jewel supermarket on the southwest side.

The next major demonstration will be held on March 16 at Jewel's Grand Bazaar store, 54th and Pulaski, one of the largest supermarkets in the country. The farmworkers hold an open potluck dinner every Sunday at 4 p.m. at the Methodist Church on 54th and Blackstone. For more information on these and other activities, contact the United Farmworkers, 1300 S. Wabash, Chicago 60605 (938-5210).



Latin American resistance groups start 'revolutionary collaboration'

From a clandestine press conference held somewhere in Argentina has come news of extreme importance for the development of the unfolding socialist revolution in Latin America.

Leaders of the outlawed People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) told newsmen that a united front of four armed revolutionary groups has been formed to carry out joint operations in all four countries. The four organizations are the ERP, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) in Chile, the Tupamaros in Uruguay, and the National Liberation Army (ELN) of Bolivia.

This report is confirmed in the MIR statement published in this issue of Workers World.

Three leaders of the ERP—Domingo Mena, Enrique Gorriaran, and Juan Manuel Carrizo—spoke at a news conference, according to an Associated Press dispatch that appeared February 16 in the Miami Herald. Domingo Mena said that while ideas and some material had been exchanged by the groups before, "now we have reached a second stage and are prepared to do combat under a joint command."

A joint declaration of the four revolutionary organizations described their goals: "The larger development of our organizations, the strengthening of their concepts and international action, will allow us to take better advantage of the potential of our peoples to erect a powerful force capable of overthrowing for good imperialist-capitalist reactionism, to annihilate counterrevolutionary armies, expel Yankee and European imperialism from Latin American soil, country by country, and initiate the construction of socialism in each of our countries..."

ANSWER TO FASCIST REPRESSION

This extremely promising development for the Latin American struggle comes at a time when police repression and outright fascist terror have replaced "normal" bourgeois rule in country after country. The constitutional government in Uruguay was replaced with a military-police dictatorship last June; less than three months later came

the unspeakably bloody fascist coup in Chile; Bolivia has been under army rule since 1971; and Argentina, which had suffered under a military dictatorship for years, enjoyed a brief period of political freedom when huge popular demonstrations erupted after Hector Campora was elected last March. However, since Juan Peron's return to the presidency, this time with the agreement of the Argentine bourgeoisie and military, Peron has reinforced the right-wing and begun a campaign against left parties and trade unions.

U.S. imperialism has played an open role in the counterrevolution in Chile, while it has worked through its Brazilian agents to assist the military coups in Uruguay and Bolivia.

INTERNATIONALISM

Imperialism has long ago "internationalized" Latin America. It has done it in a military way, sending Marines into a dozen countries without the slightest regard for national boundaries or sovereignty. It has brought the military brass and police to its international schools for classes in terrorism and counterinsurgency.

And it has virtually erased national boundaries economically, with its multinational corporations and their habit of turning whole countries into plantations—this one to produce bananas, this coffee, this copper—all for the international market.

Proletarian international solidarity is the strongest weapon against this "internationalism" of the oppressors. The MIR statement published in this issue speaks of how this new coordination between Latin American revolutionaries is reviving the "virtually forgotten acts of proletarian internationalism"—acts upon which the communist movement was founded.

Workers World hails the development of this new revolutionary united front in Latin America. Its formation proves that the cruel setback occasioned by the murder of Comrade Che Guevara was only temporary, and that the road of armed resistance taken by the Cuban Revolution will be followed to victory by the revolutionary workers and peasants of this hemisphere.

—MIR statement

(Continued from page 16)

peals, the constant denunciations of the crimes of the "gorillas" are an important aid to the Chilean resistance. To multiply all these forms of solidarity, to put pressure on the governments, to redouble efforts in the collection of money will be still more important in the future.

Today, in particular, it is vital to conduct a worldwide campaign to stop the execution and bring about the end of the torture of our comrade Bautista van Schouwen, member of our political commission, doctor of 30 years of age, and to stop the execution of Dr. Alejandro Romero, member of our central committee who was condemned to death by a phony summary trial though his only "crime" was being a leader of the MIR.

We live in an historical epoch in which imperialism is decadent, but in spite of everything remains powerful today. In Latin America, faced with the progress of the mass movement, and the revolutionaries, it takes up its iron gloves and calls out the watchdogs of capitalism, the reactionary armies, to put down the people with blood and fire. It has won temporary victories in Brazil, in Bolivia, in Uruguay, and in Chile, while it polishes up the weapons for the Argentine bosses.

But today, the people and the revolutionaries have established contact on the international level different from that of decades past. The socialist camp has strengthened itself. Imperialism has been struck down in the Middle East and in



The LEGACY of LENIN

HEAR SAM MARCY
Chairman of WORKERS WORLD PARTY

An appraisal of the historical role of Stalin, Trotsky, and Mao Tse-Tung—What the influence of each has been on:

- The world working class
- The national liberation movements
- The course of the world revolution

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exit through the front door.

"Well, one went through the front and one went through the back, but we managed to take them at gunpoint..." he said.

"Samuel J. Tripolone, 28, and Paul Campbell, 31, were charged with breaking and entering and possession of burglar tools.

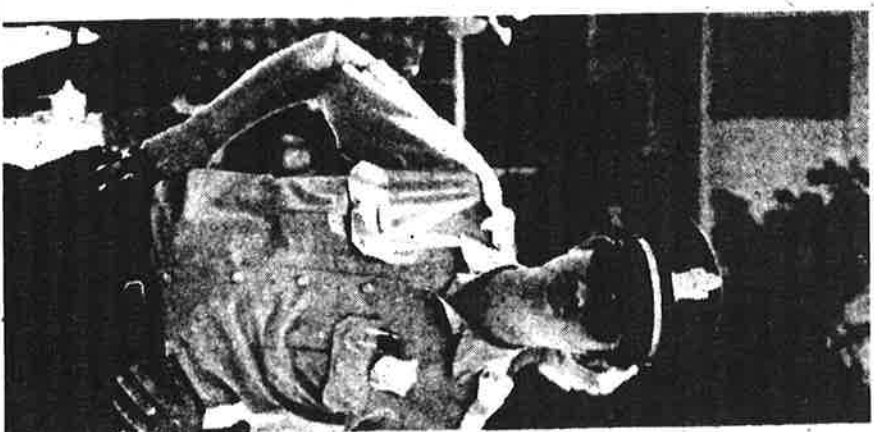
"Polio said both men had been on the force for about four years. He has suspended them for five days."

'What shall we do with this person, Richard Nixon'

From a full-page advertisement in the December 30 New York Times, taken by Reverend Sun Moon, founder of the Unification Church International:

"I have been praying specifically for President Richard Nixon. I asked God, 'What shall we do with the person of Richard Nixon?' The answer did come. The second word God spoke to me was 'Love. It is your duty to love him.' We must love Richard Nixon. Jesus Christ loved even his enemies. Must you not love your President? You must love the President of the United States."

"This nation is God's nation. The office of the President of the United States is, therefore, sacred. God inspired a man and then confirms him as President through the will of the people. He lays his hand on the word of God and is sworn into office. At this time in history God has chosen Richard Nixon to be President of the United States of



No bribe too small—or big.
America. If God decides to dismiss this choice of His, let us have faith that He will speak."



The Police: Liars...

Chicago Daily News, Feb. 11:

"Seven top Chicago policemen failed lie detector tests aimed at uncovering police corruption, Police Supt. James M. Rochford announced Monday."

"Last Nov. 8, a week after he was named acting police superintendent, Rochford requested that top policemen submit to the polygraph tests to detect possible organized crime links to the scandal-ridden department."

"Since March, 1972, when U.S. Atty. James R. Thomson began a crackdown on police corruption, 61 policemen have been indicted for extortion."

"Since the crackdown by Thomson began, 30 policemen have been found guilty and 9 have been found innocent."

... And extortionists...

Chicago Daily News, Feb. 11:

"Former Police Capt. Mark C. Thanasouras was sentenced Monday to 3½ years in prison and fined \$20,000 for masterminding the extortion of tavern

... And burglars

The Boston Globe, Feb. 11:

"Two Braintree policemen were arrested early yesterday during a stakeout of the Mai Tai restaurant in Braintree."

"Police Chief John Polio and three other officers maintained a four-hour watch of the restaurant after Polio received a tip a burglary might occur."

"We watched the place for about four hours and at 3:41 a.m. we took our positions," Polio said. "Using loudspeakers, I ordered whoever might be in the building to

The critical issue in Medvedev's defense of Solzhenitsyn

By SAM MARCY

Roy A. Medvedev's defense of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (see *New York Times*, Feb. 7) is bound to provoke a great deal of interest in socialist and progressive circles—but it will create an even greater amount of confusion, because Medvedev is widely regarded not only as an anti-Stalinist, but as a Marxist, at least in the West.

WHO IS MEDVEDEV?

Medvedev, a historian living in the USSR, is the author of *Let History Judge*, which was published in the United States in 1971, after it was refused publication in the Soviet Union. The book presents his views on the role of Stalin in the post-Lenin period, dealing extensively and with much documentation, some of it new, with the purges and mass terror of the 1930s. It particularly deals with the imprisonment and execution of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims in the period beginning with the Kirov assassination and culminating in the Moscow Trials.

Roy Medvedev was born in 1925. His father, a teacher at a military-political academy, was caught in the mass purges of the thirties. A twin brother, Zhores, is a biochemist who had been imprisoned by Soviet authorities and is now living in Britain.

First a history teacher and then principal of a secondary school, Roy Medvedev later became a research associate in the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. He joined the Soviet Communist Party only after the 20th Congress in 1956.

THE TURN UNDER KHRUSHCHEV

It was at the celebrated 20th Congress that Khrushchev presented his "secret" report denouncing Stalin, a report whose revelation stunned the world and created a crisis in many Communist parties following the Moscow line. Khrushchev did more, however, than just reveal the abuse of power by Stalin: the mass terror of the thirties, the way Stalin ruled without any regard for the norms of working class and party democracy set under Lenin.

Khrushchev and his collaborators also set into motion a sharp turn to the right, in both domestic and foreign affairs. (It is this aspect of Khrushchev's departure from Stalin that is not understood by some Western radical groups, such as the Socialist Workers Party, but has been well understood by the world bourgeoisie from the very beginning.)

Khrushchev's so-called democratization of the USSR opened up a Pandora's box of bourgeois reaction, not only in the Soviet Union but even more virulently in Eastern Europe. And it strengthened bourgeois reformist policies, especially in the parties of the West. However, Khrushchev's rule did loosen the rigorous police control practiced during the Stalin era.

The so-called liberalization did not, however, enlarge the rights of the workers, peasants, and the lower echelons of the Soviet intelligentsia when it came to exercising greater control over the bureaucracy. Nor did it restore the Leninist norms of working class democracy, a fundamental and indispensable necessity for a healthy proletarian dictatorship—for a sound workers' state.

NEOBOURGEOIS ELEMENTS SURFACE

The real benefactors of Khrushchev's liberalization were the bureaucracy and the neobourgeois intelligentsia. He opened the door wide to them, enlarging their rights. But such is the dialectic of history that the very social groupings to whom Khrushchev catered, the very ones who gained most by his ascendancy, revealed themselves to be a developing form of bourgeois reaction which threatened to consume Khrushchev, his collaborators, and the bureaucracy as a whole.

Aside from loosening the grip of police rule over the population generally, lessening political repression as a whole, Khrush-

chev's ascendancy failed to bring to the fore what had been expected by some in the way of genuine reforms of a socialist character, reforms which, for instance, would narrow the income gap between the privileged upper stratum of society and the mass of the people. On the contrary. The tendency toward greater privileges that was first cultivated by Stalin was greatly reinforced during the Khrushchev period.

In other words, what had been heralded in the West as the "greater flexibility of the Khrushchev regime," the "flowering of liberal tendencies," and the "new emphasis on empiricism and pragmatism in Soviet intellectual and political life" was merely a headlong plunge from the adulteration of Marxism under Stalin to its outright brutal renunciation under Khrushchev.

But this entailed great dangers. Unable to stem the tide of developing bourgeois reaction in the intelligentsia, the bureaucracy could find no other way to deal with the situation than to unceremoniously oust Khrushchev and some of his supporters and return to some of the repressive measures employed during the Stalin period.

MEDVEDEV A KHRUSHCHEVITE?

Medvedev, as we said, joined the party in 1956, only three years after Stalin's death, during the tumultuous period of Khrushchev's rise. It is impossible to ascertain to what extent Medvedev shared Khrushchev's general political outlook. But it is fair to assume on the basis of his book, *Let History Judge*, and one or two other essays available in the English language, that he may be considered a "Khrushchevite Marxist." That is, he adhered to the kind of Marxism, if it can be called that, which was then in vogue in the USSR, and which was strongly anti-Stalin insofar as the repression of the past was concerned but which pursued political and economic policies tending even more strongly to the right.

Medvedev's defense of Solzhenitsyn will sow even greater confusion in the progressive movement, not only because, unlike most of the so-called dissidents, Medvedev calls himself a Marxist but also because in the past he has disassociated himself from Solzhenitsyn's ally, Andrei Sakharov. This was when Sakharov, a prominent Soviet physicist, went way out and urged the U.S. to bar any trade with the Soviet Union until it granted "freedom" at home (the position of the U.S. militarist Senator Jackson).

Medvedev's defense of Solzhenitsyn, lengthy excerpts of which appeared in *The New York Times*, is more than a defense of Solzhenitsyn's right to publish his book, *Gulag Archipelago*, in the Soviet Union. We of Workers World Party have also long stood for restoration of civil rights in the Soviet Union. We believe that 57 years after the great socialist October Revolution, the Soviet Union as a socialist country and as a great military and industrial power is in a very strong position to deal with imperialist aggression and internal bourgeois reaction. In spite of all that happened during the Stalin period, the socialist proletariat there is capable of warding off any attempt by restorationist elements to fundamentally alter the social foundations of the USSR.

There are, certainly, strong grounds for being apprehensive of the neobourgeois currents in the intelligentsia and in the bureaucracy itself—all of which have been nourished by the unchecked growth of inequality and the absence of proletarian democracy. But the bureaucracy has an even greater fear of a potential left movement, a fear of the reawakening of the socialist class consciousness of the Soviet proletariat. For such a reawakened working class, once it had full political freedom to pursue its own independent socialist perspective, might sweep the bureaucracy away altogether.

POLITICAL FREEDOM WOULD STRENGTHEN SOVIET WORKERS
Therefore, the restoration of political

freedom to all in the Soviet Union can only help the Soviet working class to reestablish its own political rule on a firm, truly socialist basis.

Today the Soviet workers display more confidence in themselves than in decades. The tremendous industrialization of the country has added to their formidable status in the Soviet Union, not only from the point of view of numbers (as compared to the time of the Revolution, when they were a minority literally surrounded by a vast peasant sea), but also in terms of their key position in production, where so many millions are now skilled workers, educated and politically advanced. The "depoliticization of life" in the Soviet Union, of which the Western capitalist press speaks so much, is to be taken with a grain of salt when talking about the great body of



Zhores Medvedev with Solzhenitsyn. His brother, Roy Medvedev, conciliated on basic issues of Leninism.

Soviet workers.

Were Gulag Archipelago to be published in the Soviet Union, it would hardly cause the Soviet workers to open their arms to Solzhenitsyn—not once they know who he really is and what he stands for! It is precisely here that Medvedev fails in his attack on the Soviet authorities for suppressing Solzhenitsyn's book—falls as a Marxist analyst and as a defender of the cause of socialism in the USSR.

It is one thing to fight against censorship in the Soviet Union and for the right of all, including Solzhenitsyn, to print and write what they want to. It is another thing to actually bloc with Solzhenitsyn, as Medvedev does in his essay.

Solzhenitsyn is admittedly a bourgeois. Not only that, he is a thoroughgoing reactionary. If his article, "Peace and Violence" (*New York Times*, Sept. 15, 1973) is any indication of his views, Solzhenitsyn betrays himself as one who is an enemy of the Vietnamese people and a racist, too. He is so far to the right that he even berates the United Nations for not expelling the socialist countries!

Being against Stalin is only one aspect of Solzhenitsyn. The entire imperialist bourgeoisie is also anti-Stalin, but from what point of view? The same class point of view that Solzhenitsyn holds. Gulag Archipelago was written not only to expose the Stalinist repression in the Soviet Union, but also to disqualify and discredit socialism in general, to stifle the aspirations of the masses all over the world who are struggling to tear off the yoke of imperialism and reconstruct society on a socialist basis. Solzhenitsyn is a representative of a bourgeois current in the Soviet Union.

Marxist be toward Solzhenitsyn? How should genuine Communists who want to revitalize the social system in the USSR conduct themselves? Is it permissible to fight the Soviet authorities to demand Solzhenitsyn's right to publish his book?

Yes, it is. But then all the more is it absolutely necessary to make clear that the publication of the book is in no way approval of his counterrevolutionary politics. A clear line of demarcation must be drawn between the politics of the counterrevolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia and that of revolutionary Communists who want to regenerate the USSR as a socialist state. It is very necessary to borrow a phrase from Medvedev to be "mercilessly truthful" in exposing the reactionary essence of Solzhenitsyn's political line, without in any way denying the truths that are contained in

his book.

But Medvedev solidarizes himself with Solzhenitsyn by lumping the White Terror unleashed by the counterrevolution in 1918 with the so-called Red Terror which was calculated to suppress the counter-revolution. Medvedev says, "Starting in the summer of 1918 our country was swept by a wave of both white and red terror. A major part of these acts of mad violence was absolutely unnecessary and even harmful from a logical standpoint and in terms of the interest of the class struggle."

It is a pity that this masterful conclusion, uncorroborated by fact, could not have been made available beforehand to Lenin and saved so many lives. But even if what he says were true, which we don't concede for a moment, its introduction in the context of a defense of Solzhenitsyn, a bitter enemy of the Revolution, can only reinforce the conclusion that Medvedev is conciliating with Solzhenitsyn politically. In fact, he is capitulating to Solzhenitsyn's view on a fundamental issue concerning the course of the Revolution!

Is this what a Marxist does?
COUNTERREVOLUTION

MEANS TERROR

Medvedev doesn't ask himself, or even allow his readers to speculate on, what would have happened had the bourgeois counterrevolution triumphed in the Civil

(Continued on page 13)

The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union and the position of Yev-tushenko will be discussed in the next issue of *Workers World*.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?
What should the attitude of a Soviet

U.S. fails to line up oil 'consumer' nations

By NAOMI COHEN

Six days before the Washington conference of "oil consuming nations" was to have opened, Secretary of State Kissinger set the stage for the gathering with an ominous threat to the Arab governments. On February 6, Kissinger stated that the United States would regard a continued Arab oil boycott as "a form of blackmail." Sounding very much like a blackmailer himself, Kissinger warned that the continued boycott against the U.S. "cannot but effect the attitude with which we will have to pursue our diplomacy."

This threat did not fall on deaf ears. It was clear in the Arab world that the conference to be convened in Washington on February 12 was organized with the express purpose of lining up the imperialist powers in an attempt to challenge the Arab governments' rights to control their own resources.

Thus, it was no coincidence that on the day of the opening of the conference Libya announced the complete nationalization of three U.S. oil companies. While the three were relatively small operations, the gesture was an unmistakable rebuff to the U.S. On the same day, Iraq purchased a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* which mildly, but unquestionably, attacked the idea of such a conference.

WORLD COOPERATION OR U.S. THREAT?

Nixon and Kissinger had billed the event as an attempt to organize world cooperation to overcome the energy crisis. It was transparent to all, however, that this was not a world conference, but rather a gathering of capitalist rivals who are vying with one another over how best to control the vast oil empire. Attending the conference were Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, West Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and the U.S. Obviously, no socialist countries or oppressed nations were considered major "consumers."

Secretary of State Kissinger opened the conference with a call for a seven-point program which included generous-sounding phrases about sharing energy resources and cooperating in conserving energy. But the real goal of the conference was revealed in the last point—a call for all the countries there to cooperate in negotiating a "just price" for oil. Kissinger emphasized that deals made by individual nations with the oil producers tended to drive the prices up.

(Just before the conference opened, France announced a \$5 billion oil deal with Iran.) In effect, Kissinger was calling for a united front of the imperialist countries to whip the Arab governments into line on the question of the price of oil.

The French Foreign Minister strongly objected to Kissinger's proposals, not out of solidarity with the Arab people, but because the French capitalist class is desperately trying to steer a course independent of U.S. imperialism in the Mideast. It is attempting to expand its own influence there and reap more profits from oil—a goal that will inevitably lead to a conflict with the U.S., whose vast oil interests in the area have gone unchallenged in recent years.

The fact that the French capitalist class has dared to challenge U.S. hegemony in the Mideast (and all indicators point to a similar scramble by the other imperialist countries) represents a dangerous threat to the U.S. imperialists. It is precisely this new threat, combined with the rising militancy of the Arab governments, that impelled them to call the conference and try to line up the Western capitalists and Japan against the Arab states.

U.S. POLITICAL CRISIS

In an attempt to emphasize the altruism of the U.S. in calling the conference, Secretary Kissinger pointed out that the U.S. had been hit much less hard by the crisis than many other nations. After all, he said, the U.S. only imports 10 percent of its oil from the Mideast, while Europe and Japan depend on the Mideast for 80 percent of their oil needs. Furthermore, the U.S. is planning to become self-sufficient in its energy needs in the near future.

While it is true that the U.S. can get along without Mideast oil in terms of filling the need for sources of energy, Kissinger's statement conceals the fact that the oil monopolies are not at all interested in the people's needs for fuel. All they are interested in is holding on to their empire of oil. Thus, the crisis is not so much one of a shortage of oil, but one of a struggle over who will own and control the oil. Furthermore, the oil embargo against the U.S. is a political embargo. It is the U.S. backing of Israeli aggression against the Arab countries that has caused the embargo—a fact that Kissinger is not likely to point out himself.

The Arab oil boycott is based on the fact that Israel, with U.S. backing, illegally seized Arab territories and cruelly expelled the Palestinian people from their homeland. Instead of addressing himself to these issues, Kissinger has drummed up the false issues of energy shortages and supposedly extortionate oil prices of crude oil to weld an alliance of imperialist countries against the Arab world.

An alliance of such robbers cannot last long, however. Each imperialist power is

already scrambling to make the best deals for itself and cut the others out. The French deal with Iran is only the beginning. No such conference can paper over the fundamental political issues in the Mideast—which are the questions of the right of the Arab people to control and own the oil and the right of the Palestinian people to live in their homeland.

Nixon makes few concessions to truckers

By P. MEISNER

FEBRUARY 18—The capitalist-created energy crisis has severely attacked the standard of living of millions of workers and oppressed. The crisis has also hit hard segments of small business and self-employed persons.

One group perhaps the most directly hit are the independent (owner-operator) truckers, who have been on strike to one degree or another since the beginning of the month. While these truckers are for the most part subject to regulated freight-hauling rates, they have very little control over the spiraling increases in their operating costs, especially the prices of diesel fuel charged by the oil monopolies.

The independent trucker's income is derived solely from a commission paid by a broker trucking company (which charges shipping customers a regulated freight-hauling rate). The truckers must subtract their operating costs, which usually include the mortgaging of their truck cabs. But the most devastating effect on their income has been the tremendous rise in diesel fuel prices. A year ago, the truckers paid between 25 to 30 cents a gallon for diesel fuel, while they must now pay about 50 cents a gallon—almost double!

The truckers also suffered greatly from the reduction of highway speed limits and the shortages of diesel fuel at the truck stops. This significantly reduced the number of miles they could cover in one day and consequently cut into their earnings.

The desperate situation reached by these truckers led them to organize a strike. Unfortunately, the reactionary Teamster leadership of Frank Fitzsimmons made no effort to aid and organize the independents, and ultimately lined up with Nixon in calling for the smashing of the strike. In fact, Teamster fleet truck drivers, many of whom

are paid on a mileage basis and who must also buy their own fuel, have also suffered heavily from the high fuel prices. But Fitzsimmons didn't even lift a finger to help his own membership against the profit-gouging oil monopolies.

Thus, the independent truckers went out on strike by themselves, with the exception of scattered support throughout the country from individual Teamster locals. The truckers' main demand was the rollback of diesel fuel prices, but the recent government "settlement" denied any concession to this demand, granting only an increase in freight-hauling rates.

The "settlement" also refused to consider rolling back the reduced speed limits or instituting uniform state-to-state freight regulations. While many of the truckers have accepted the settlement, many others are holding out for the rollback of diesel fuel prices, realizing that higher freight rates will eventually be passed on to all workers and poor, including themselves.

By and large, the demands of the independent truckers have been directed at the giant monopolies. This is despite the fact that they are not wage workers, and are really in a different class from the Teamster drivers. However, many of the independents actually earn less than the Teamsters' wage. In fact, before the recent crisis period, most fleet truck drivers (Teamsters) were earning between \$12,000 and \$15,000 a year, while the independent truckers were making as high as \$30,000—but as low as \$8,000.

In the 1930s, some of the more militant Teamster locals were organizing the independent truckers by negotiating a guaranteed wage for them plus a fee for the use of their trucks. But the Teamster bureaucracy has abandoned this effort to proletarianize these truckers and has let them develop as independents away from trade unionism.

With a revival of militant trade unionism, the working class can organize and command the respect of the most impoverished elements of the petty bourgeoisie during a crisis period. But the independent truckers can expect no such leadership from Fitzsimmons and his pro-Nixon gang. Only a new, class-conscious trade union leadership can carry out the progressive tasks of the working class and its allies.

N.Y. landlords make city pay their oil bills

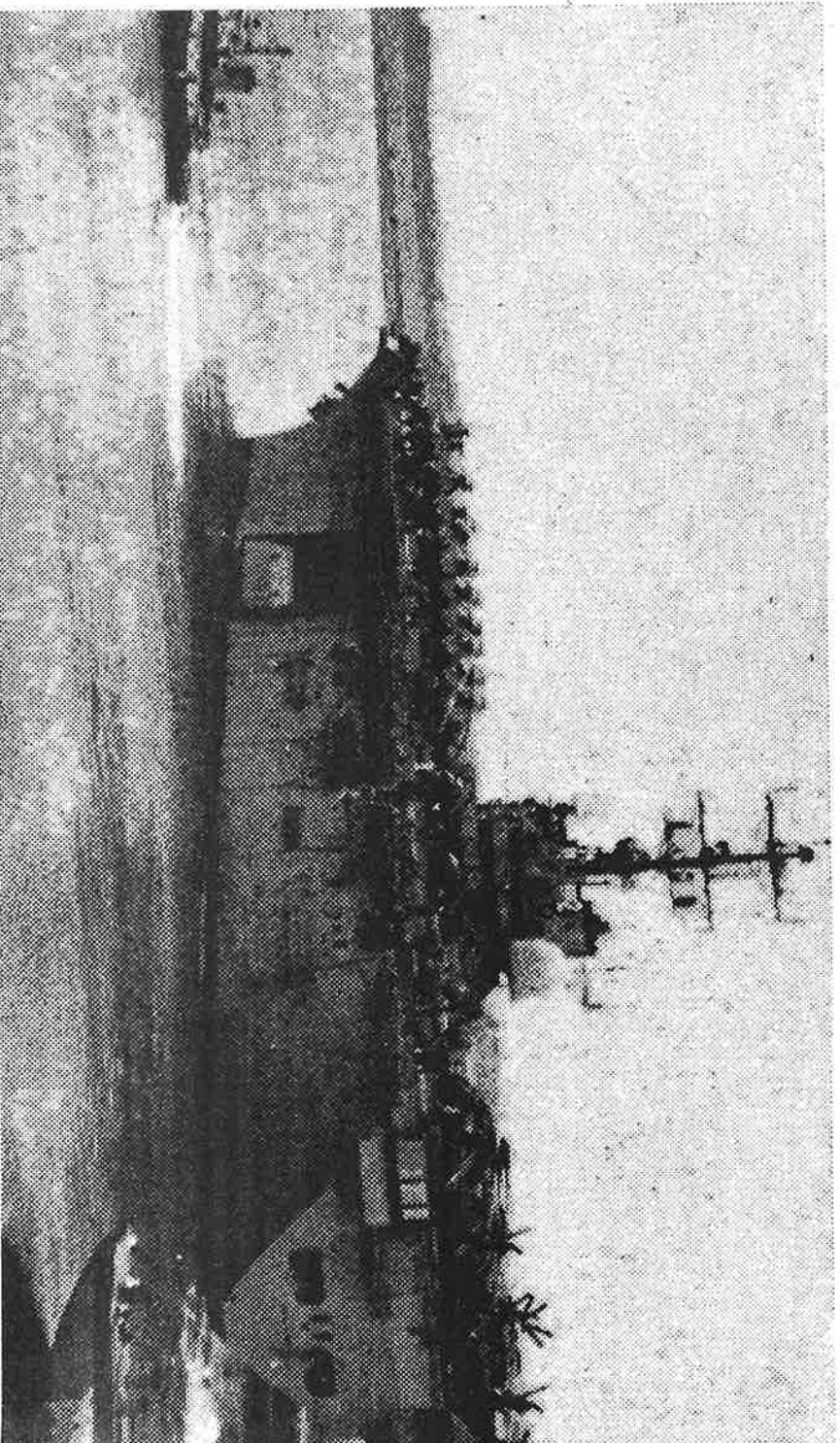
By TOM MITCHELL

NEW YORK, Feb. 20 — The New York City government has opened a new city budget account to subsidize the lavish profits of the giant landlords and real estate interests here by paying their fuel bills, *Workers World* learned today.

According to a businessman who is both a landlord and an oil dealer, city government officials are looking the other way as thousands upon thousands of tax dollars are being paid to oil dealers for "emergency supplies."

On February 8, the Council of Property Owners Associations, managers of an estimated 400,000 apartments, announced they would stop buying heating oil at the current price of 34 cents per gallon. Leonard Yoswein, City Rent and Housing Maintenance Commissioner, immediately announced that the city would provide oil to the affected buildings "to the extent of our facilities," when the buildings began running dry in 7 to 10 days.

In January, the landlord organizations had conducted a campaign demanding rent



The U.S. Carrier Iwo Jima sailed for the Mideast in October, loaded with helicopters and Marines.

energy, lots of crisis

increases averaging an estimated 21 percent to "pass along" higher heating oil bills. But Yoswein pointed out that such a "pass along" increase is illegal, and the landlords themselves admitted they did not dare to face the fury of tenants who are already gouged with astronomical rents.

The landlords then threatened to withhold real estate taxes that are taken from rents. But in a private meeting between Yoswein and the real estate magnates on January 19, they all apparently agreed upon a more disguised crime—a million-dollar tax swindle.

As the oil tanks empty, the city is quietly picking up the tab with taxpayers' money for new oil purchases. This program of "emergency assistance" was originally

Angry protests over energy crisis spreading

People are not taking the energy crisis lying down. As the huge corporations and their friends in government try to make the people pay higher prices for gasoline, heating oil, and just about everything, while their profits and fat salaries soar, scores of actions by tenants, consumers, motorists, and poor and working people generally are taking the shape of a nationwide movement to roll back prices and open the books of the

so-called "public" utility.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing in New York City organized a demonstration of 250 people at City Hall, February 20, to call for a federal rollback of fuel oil prices and no pass-along of price increases to the tenants by greedy landlords. It also called for a repeal of the vacancy decontrol law, under which rents of New York apartments changing hands in the last two years have risen over 100 percent. The Met Council was joined by the New York Tenants Legislative Coalition and many area tenant unions.

Ten thousand petitions gathered by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, demanding adequate heat in New York City apartments and no layoffs due to the energy crisis, were delivered to Mayor Beame on February 13. Outside City Hall, some 200 people demonstrated in support of the demands.

A Citizen's Energy Conference on "A Crisis of Power" was held in Washington, D.C., on February 15-18. Sponsored by a coalition of 137 organizations, including political and community groups and government antipoverty agencies, it at-



WW photo: Anthony

oil and utility companies.

Here are just a few of the many struggles over energy-related problems.

In Chicago, Martin Luther King's birthday was honored by a vigil in front of the new Standard Oil building. Some 300 people brought signs saying "Save the Worker" and "Open up the oligate." Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH attacked the oil monopolies for using the crisis to increase their profits. Other groups participated.

In Washington, D.C., Nixon's meeting with the "oil-consuming (actually imperialist) nations was picketed by the Center for United Labor Action. About 35 people managed to be at the White House on a working day to expose the conference as "a planning session to make the world's poor pay for the energy crisis."

The Georgia Power Project is continuing its campaign against the high and unfairly distributed rates of the Georgia Power Company and for an end to discriminatory employment practices. Because of its efforts, the consumers of Georgia have saved \$48 million in the past two years.

Women United for Action demonstrated in Federal Plaza, New York City, on February 4 against proposed cutbacks in federal allocations of heating oil to the metropolitan area. Higher fuel costs have been used by landlords to justify demands for rent increases. WUA was joined by several tenants' groups.

In the Bay Area of California, Electricity and Gas for the People (E&GP) is turning around the Pacific Gas & Electric (PG&E). After applying for its twelfth rate increase in just over a year, PG&E found 400 angry people opposing its request at the last Public Utilities Commission hearing on February 5. Denouncing the Commission as a rubber stamp for the PG&E, the people are demanding a revision of the rate structure (which charges less per unit for big industrial consumers of power) and an end to price fixing and profiteering by the

and consumer groups are expected to testify.

The Consumers Education and Protective Association (CEPA) of Philadelphia has called for a consumers' march on Washington May 11. It will be preceded by a week of activities aimed at exposing and combating the critical situation faced by consumers and working people because of soaring prices.

Harold Radtke, 71

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD
PESTIGO, Wis., Feb. 4—Harold Radtke was found dead here today in his home. He died of exposure after the gas company turned off his service because he couldn't pay his bill.

For Harold Radtke, the gas company's decision was a death sentence.

Mr. Radtke was 71 and lived alone. He owed the company \$125. So the Wisconsin Public Service Corporation—yes, "public service!"—did the businesslike thing to do. They cut off his gas, even though the temperature outside was below zero. It was one degree on the day Harold Radtke's body was found. In the house, it was 20 above.

An old man, living on Social Security, couldn't keep up with his bills anymore in a year when inflation has raised the price of everything sky-high. Food is the first necessity of life, so his money had to go for that first. After buying his groceries, there wasn't much left over—not enough for his gas bill.

Harold Radtke never married, so there were few relatives who could help him out. The closest, an uncle, lived in a nearby nursing home. Funeral services were announced in the papers. Maybe the shock of his death will bring friends and neighbors around who had forgotten about the old man.

They will shake their heads together and think about what happened. The better off may try to make excuses for the utility company. Probably the company itself will try to cover up its heartless deed by sending flowers, or maybe even a representative to attend the funeral.

But the poorer people—those who knew Harold Radtke and those who have just read about him for the first time in the newspapers—what will they think? That it could be us next time? That very little stands between the poor and an ignominious and cruel death?

Harold Radtke was an old, poor man, and seemingly a lonely one. For this, in the U.S.A. in the year 1974, he had to die. But his death drives one more bitter nail into the coffin of a system that tramples down the helpless in its insane quest for profits.



City Hall protest called by Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Photo: Claridad

Thousands of S. Africans being forced off lands

By CAL BONNER

The white-supremacist government of South Africa is engaging in the removal, with little or no compensation, of hundreds of thousands of Black human beings from their homes. Under the phony excuse of "consolidating the homelands," the ruling minority is actually stealing—once again!—productive African land while resettling its victims on the most unproductive tracts in the country.

At the completion of the program, the government intends to have removed 2 million African people. Several of the tribal groups being "resettled" are not allowed to take any livestock with them, and their new

"homes" are invariably located where there is dire poverty and where jobs are scarce or nonexistent. According to a New York Times report on February 4, these "homelands" are "grim, poverty-stricken resettlement townships."

One group of 1,000 people, for instance, are currently being moved from homes they have resided in for more than 60 years to South-West Africa (Namibia), hundreds of miles to the north, where they have no kinship or cultural ties with the inhabitants of that parched land and where agricultural techniques are vastly different.

Europeans in South Africa, who make up only 19 percent of the population, are

World news in brief

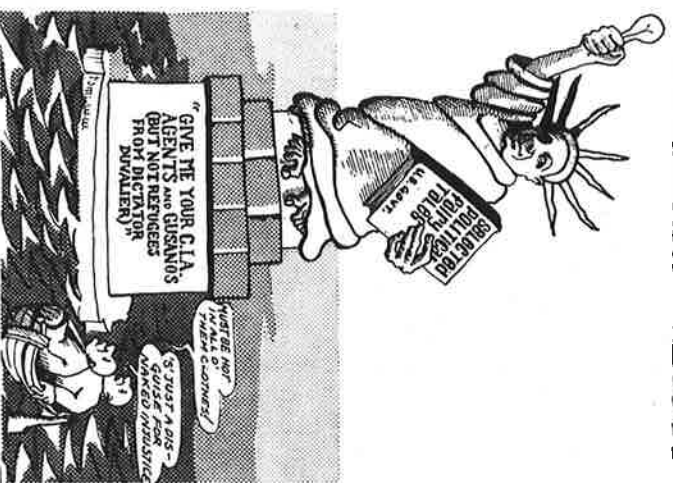
Haiti

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—Amid the nighttime throngs at Rockefeller Center today, the cry rang out: "Deportation means death!... From Haitian jails to U.S. jails, we want their freedom!" For two hours, a long picket line of more than 125 Haitian-Americans and their supporters circled and chanted in the shadow of the huge "Atlas Carrying the Globe" statue, symbol of U.S. imperialism.

The demonstrators were protesting the imminent deportation of over 400 Haitian refugees, all of whom face torture and death at the hands of the U.S.-puppet regime of Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier in Haiti. The refugees from that bitterly impoverished nation (90 percent of the Haitian people earn between \$25 and \$35 a year and face a life expectancy of about 33 years) have fled the terror employed against any political dissent, by which the U.S.-sponsored government maintains its rule. By the very act of handing over these refugees to the Duvalier government, the U.S. government demonstrates its complicity. The secret police and terror squads are merely the descendants of the U.S. Marine force that invaded Haiti in 1915 and occupied the island for decades.

Among the North American organizations protesting the planned deportations were the U.S. Committee for Justice in Latin America (USLA), and Youth Against War & Fascism (YAWF). A strong contingent representing Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers was on hand, as was a delegation from the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers.

THE MIAMI STATUE OF "LIBERTY"



Iran aggression against Iraq

The arch-reactionary Shah of Iran has sharply escalated military provocations against the anti-imperialist government of neighboring Iraq in recent weeks. On February 10, Iranian armored vehicles plunged across the border at several points, killing an Iraqi officer and wounding 22

Iraqi troops. U.S.-supplied Iranian jets menaced the country by flying over Iraqi territory, although the Iraqis repulsed the attack. The Iraqi representative at the UN Security Council declared that "the situation remains tense and fraught with danger." Armored forces were mobilized by the Iranian regime along the 600-mile border and part of Iraqi territory was occupied.

The Iraqi representative, Talib el-Shibh, declared that U.S. military supplies for the Shah were being used for Iranian expansionism. The U.S. has given the Shah \$3 billion worth of military hardware.

The expansionism of the Shah is being fostered by the U.S. because it fits in precisely with Washington's aggressive designs against the Arab world, and especially with U.S. aims of undermining the Baghdad government and controlling the Persian Gulf.

In its attempt to break the stranglehold of the imperialist monopolies, Iraq has nationalized the U.S.-British-French controlled Iraq Petroleum Company, has signed technical agreements with the USSR to develop the oil fields in Rumania, and has purchased arms from the USSR.

Because of its geographical location, and because the Israelis have suffered huge setbacks recently, it is easier for Washington to attack Iraq from the east, and the Shah is a willing puppet. In 1969, he tore up agreements for joint use by Iran and Iraq of the Shatt al Arab River, which is an oil tanker route to the Persian Gulf. In 1971, Iranian forces occupied islands at the mouth of the river. Thereafter, Iranians have carried out repeated border provocations, climaxing in the attack of February 10.

Cambodia

The liberation forces of Cambodia steadily tightening their ring around Phnom Penh, while the U.S.-puppet government of Lon Nol, hated by the people, is powerless to stop it.

The liberation forces have been shelling the government palace, puppet military headquarters, and the U.S. Embassy at will since December 23.

The liberation forces freely broadcast to the local population from radio stations in liberated zones. There is a broad base of support inside the city, testified to by the fact that leaflets circulate freely in the southern half of the city explaining the attacks to the people and offering them sanctuary in liberated areas. The messages are often written on currency notes to insure the widest possible circulation.

Despite the shelling and the inevitable accidents and suffering that must fall upon the civilian population, the people seem to regard it as a necessary sacrifice to get rid of the hated landlord-ridden military dictatorship backed by Washington. One New York Times reporter in Phnom Penh was forced to admit on February 13 that "the shelling has produced no discernible hostility to the insurgents." On the contrary, it is intensifying the peoples' hatred for the government.

The government is so engulfed by a

allocated 77 percent of the land, while native Blacks are rapidly being deprived of the remainder. Working under a 40-year master plan, the racist government claims that the boundaries of the "homelands" will represent the areas originally occupied by Africans when the European settlers first arrived.

During the late eighteenth century, Boer farmers spread out of the Dutch enclave at Cape Town and came into contact with the vanguard of the Ngoni-speaking people, a militant subgroup of the Great Bantu-speaking peoples who are numerically predominant in southern, central, and eastern Africa.

The early fighting between the Bantu pastoralists (cattle herders) and the European farmers and townspeople over mastery of the land known to the latter as the Republic of South Africa was bitter.

Military conflict with the whites was inevitable. The Blacks were more



Haitian refugees, with supporters, demonstrate in New York against deportation order which would send them back to jail in Haiti.

WW photo: Fabian

population sympathetic to the liberation army, that it can do nothing without the guerrillas knowing in advance. For example, the U.S. Embassy in Phnom Penh, which has instigated and organized the terror bombing of the Cambodian countryside that has killed thousands upon thousands of civilians, decided to hold a ceremony to mourn the civilians killed in the recent shelling. At about 5 p.m. on February 15, just as Thomas O. Andres, U.S. Charge d'Affaires was beginning his speech, shells began to whistle around the embassy. Everyone started looking nervously around. Said the New York Times reporter, "It was as if the artillery were timed to coincide with the American ceremony."

The Philippines

The colonial regime of Ferdinand Marcos has launched a campaign of extermination against oppressed Moslem secessionists in the south of the Philippines.

Equipped with U.S. military supplies and aided by U.S. counterinsurgency experts, the Marcos forces swept through the Sulu and Cotabato regions burning cities and towns and leaving thousands of Moslems dead and wounded and hundreds of thousands homeless.

The burn-all, kill-all campaign is an attempt to wipe out the Moslem separatist guerrilla forces and their civilian supporters who captured parts of the city of Jolo and other towns in the Sulu Islands and in the Cotabato region. Press reports speak of 10,000 dead or missing in ten days of fighting, but this is known to be a conservative estimate. One scene of high casualties was the city of Jolo, a densely populated center of Moslem culture, which was two-thirds destroyed after the government attack.

The Moslem population is demanding a separate state in the Sulu area after generations of suffering and oppression under the Spanish and then under the successive colonial regimes of the U.S. The current rebellion began in 1972 after Marcos declared martial law and tried to confiscate weapons held by Moslems. The 3.5 million Moslems live in a depressed agricultural region and have been refused national rights by the Catholic regime of landlords and

numerous, with traditions that assumed communal ownership of all but personal articles, but the Boers, who possessed superior weapons to compensate for their small numbers, defeated the Africans and imposed the capitalist European tradition of individual property rights.

In the twentieth century, the pro-Nazi Nationalist Party committed South Africa to a policy of social and economic discrimination based upon color. Asian, Coloured, and most especially, Bantu were placed in an inferior position, the latter condemned to a life of rural and urban poverty, denied the exercise of political and civil rights, and proclaimed unworthy of the fruits of their own labor.

The latest example of this is the "great black trek" of hundreds of thousands of Africans, mostly the women, children, aged, and infirm, to a land they may never have seen.

bosses in Manila. Catholic landlords have been encroaching on Moslem communal land which, according to tradition, cannot be sold.

The Philippines make up the oldest U.S. colony, where big business has invested billions and the Pentagon has enormous air and naval installations. Thus, the U.S. is backing its puppet Marcos in the struggle to crush the oppressed Moslems.

South African textile workers

FEBRUARY 18—On January 21, more than 8,000 Black workers in Durban, South Africa, walked out of ten textile plants in a dispute over unfair wage hikes. The plants, quickly surrounded by armed fascist South African police, were vacated by the angry workers. The workers explained that while persons hired just recently at the plants got substantial pay hikes, more senior employees got only meager increases. The fascist cops arrested about 250 of the African workers in a vain attempt to break up the workers' solidarity.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, shortly after the arrest and incarceration of the workers, sent a letter to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim protesting this act of repression by the South African government.

In a related attempt by the fascists to divide the South African workers, the government has banned three leading white trade unionists in Durban, saying that it was considering taking action on "pressure groups" that were "trying to bring about unconstitutional political, social, and economic changes."

The three white workers, David Hemson, David Davies, and Helton Cheadle, are organizers from the offices of the textile, garment, and furniture unions in Durban and participated in the strikes by African workers in 1973 and January of this year. Hemson and Cheadle marched with the striking Black textile workers last month after one of the spirited walkouts.

The men have been banned for five years and placed under house arrest. They are barred from further trade union activity and from entering trade union offices.

Fight for Vietnam treaty assessed one year later

By SHARON SHELTON

"... even if some kind of settlement is reached in Paris, the U.S. will surely try to continue the war by other means. The liberation fighters of Vietnam know this and are preparing themselves for a new phase of the struggle."

These words appeared in an editorial in Workers World newspaper on December 29, 1972—a month before the Paris Treaty was signed providing for an end to the fighting in Vietnam. While emphasizing the urgent necessity to support the Vietnamese by pressuring Nixon to sign the treaty, the editorial was clear in its prediction that U.S. imperialism would not take its defeat lightly.

Events in the year that has passed since the signing of the treaty have proved this prediction all too true. The list of violations is long.

On the very first day of the ceasefire, in fact, Saigon launched a full-scale offensive against the NLF out of Tay Ninh City while attacking simultaneously other liberated areas. Since then, the Saigon Air Force has carried out 13,000 bombing raids throughout South Vietnam. At a press conference held in early November, a Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) representative announced that, in the liberated province of Binh Dinh alone, 59 villages had been destroyed by these raids since the January signing. The purpose of these attacks has been to grab territory that was liberated by the PRG at the time of the treaty.

Offensives in the southern Mekong Delta, however, have been aimed at seizing part of the PRG's successful rice crop. Thieu is desperately in need of rice to replace depleted food supplies in Saigon. What rice cannot be seized has been poisoned from the air by the Saigon Air Force rather than relinquished for use by the populace in the liberated areas.

U.S. KEEPS WAR GOING

Of course, none of these attacks would have been possible without U.S. complicity. Since the treaty was signed, the U.S. has beefed up its military support of Saigon, with between 20,000 and 30,000 U.S. "advisors" remaining in Vietnam to direct the fighting. Other aid includes ammunition, tanks, heavy artillery, and ultramodern aircraft. The U.S. has even sent to Saigon precious oil reserves—to the tune of 22,000 barrels of oil daily.

Other violations of the treaty during the past year include massive arrests of PRG officials, in an attempt to undermine the PRG structure, and Thieu's refusal to release the over 200,000 political prisoners incarcerated and tortured in South Vietnamese jails. Neither of these violations would have been possible without U.S. backing. Each prison in South Vietnam has a U.S. official on its staff, and it was the CIA that introduced torture methods such as electricity, needles, and nails in the first place.

Yet the imperialists have not been satisfied with the results of these flagrant violations. That's why, over and over again, Secretary of "Defense" Schlesinger has warned that the U.S. might reenter the war directly. And that's why Congress granted Nixon new war powers that give him the personal authority to recommit U.S. troops in Vietnam for a period of 60 days without consulting Congress.

What's more, recent reports of U.S. reconnaissance flights over Hanoi have led to predictions of renewed bombing in the near future. And meanwhile, the U.S. Seventh Fleet is stationed conveniently off the coasts of Vietnam and Cambodia, while B-52s remain in nearby Thailand—waiting for the go-ahead.

So, it should be clear that now—a year after the signing of the Paris Treaty—U.S. imperialism has not given up its mad

designs in Vietnam, just as Workers World predicted last December.

FIGHT FOR TREATY WAS RIGHT

But does this mean that the antiwar movement should have ignored the plea of the Vietnamese to force Nixon to sign the treaty? Do all the violations and hints of U.S. reentry into the war negate the many struggles that finally forced the U.S. to withdraw its combat troops from Vietnam and cease its direct bombings, north and south?

The answer seems self-evident, but not all parties on the left agree.

In an article in the February 8 issue of the Militant, writer Dave Frankel tries to use the treaty violations as "proof" that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was correct in its refusal to support the call by the Vietnamese to force Nixon to sign the treaty. The SWP position holds that had the U.S. movement ignored the Vietnamese



My Lai Massacre—just one reason why U.S. government won't sign genocide treaty.

Watergate critic Ervin opposes anti-genocide pact

By MARK DORAN

The U.S. Senate last week again refused to ratify the Genocide Convention of the United Nations. The Senate's refusal to cut off a filibuster by opponents of the measure effectively killed it for at least another year.

The Genocide Convention, proposed by Dr. Raphael Lemkin, was adopted by the UN on December 9, 1948, and has since been ratified by 78 countries. It forbids member states to engage in mass extermination and forced removal of civilian populations.

Leading the opposition on the Senate floor was none other than Senator Sam Ervin. Ervin said that to ratify the Genocide Convention would threaten U.S. sovereignty. He further said that it would allow international bodies to overrule decisions by the U.S. Supreme Court. The American Bar Association has for years opposed ratification on similar grounds.

But these lawyers, who do the bidding of the ruling class, know that there is more at stake than "sovereignty." They know that there is much in past American history that would violate the Convention.

At the time of Columbus's voyages to America there were 12 million Native Americans on the North American continent. Today there are less than 2 million. The difference is the result of a 300-year systematic extermination campaign unparalleled up to that time.

The Nazis' extermination of 6 million Jews, 3 million Poles, and millions of Russians is well known. But the U.S. added

WW photo: Fabian



request for demonstrations to pressure Nixon to negotiate, and instead had pushed the slogan of total withdrawal, the results in Vietnam would somehow have been better. While this demand pretends to be an uncompromising and revolutionary one, a close examination reveals that it is ultimately nothing more than a left cover for the SWP's consistent refusal to back any of

to the horrors, and, in single-night bombing raids, leveled the cities of Hamburg and Dresden. On August 6 and 9, 1945, the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were wiped off the map.

During the Korean War, experiments were made on the civilian population of north Korea with germ warfare. (The U.S. has also refused to ratify the Geneva Convention of 1925 forbidding bacteriological warfare.)

In Vietnam, genocidal measures have been the order of the day, as villages were burned, local populations gunned down, and hundreds of thousands forcibly removed from their villages to strategic hamlets. There have been millions of casualties in the war, which are the direct responsibility of the U.S. government and military.

Refusal to sign the Genocide Convention can mean only one thing: the U.S. imperialist ruling class wants the world to know that it is ready to commit more horrible crimes in order to protect its multi-billion-dollar empire.

And for those of us who are fighting this rapacious, mad system, it is instructive to note that the leader of the opposition to signing the convention was Senator Ervin, who has gained a "liberal" popular image because of his role in the Watergate hearings. The ruling class may be split on what to do about Nixon, and on how best to rule the empire, but they are united when it comes to their unfeeling arrogance and contempt for the oppressed masses.

Inauguration Day, 1973—Struggle then was to make Nixon sign treaty and get out of Vietnam. Struggle now is to make U.S. government live up to agreement.

the gains of the world revolutionary struggle.

How does the SWP view treaties? The SWP does not advance its criticisms against the terms of the treaty itself. Rather, it says that the treaty should not have been backed because the imperialists could not be expected to live up to it. The extension of this "logic" leads one to assume either that the SWP would support those treaties it could count on the imperialists to honor or that it would support no treaties at all.

In the first case, it would be sheer folly to ever count on the imperialist powers to honor any treaties—not even with fellow capitalist nations. Let alone with their class opponents! Lenin taught this lesson long ago when he warned that peace to the capitalists is just a backdrop for preparation for new aggressions. That the Vietnamese were well aware of this can be seen in Le Duc Tho's warning that the signing of the accords was only a first step in the struggle for liberation, constituting acknowledgment of the victories of the Vietnamese revolution.

But what about the other alternative, that of supporting no treaties at all? This position, characterized by its refusal to support any compromise short of final victory, may sound revolutionary but again goes against Lenin, who minced no words: "... to reject compromises 'on principle,' to reject the admissibility of compromises in

(Continued on page 14)

Vietnam's friends mark anniversary of treaty

BUFFALO, Feb. 17—A delegation from Buffalo Youth Against War & Fascism had the great pleasure of meeting with Vietnamese students in Canada on Saturday, February 9. The occasion was a celebration of both the first anniversary of the signing of the peace treaty and the Tet New Year.

Around 100 people attended the meeting and cultural event at the University of Toronto, including Laotians in Canada and Canadian antiwar activists.

A representative of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in Canada opened the meeting by pointing out that, despite the great victory achieved by the Vietnamese in forcing Nixon to sign the treaty and withdraw U.S. combat troops from Vietnam, fierce fighting continues in many parts of the South. The Thieu regime is openly violating the treaty daily, with massive U.S. backing.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government, he stressed, is meeting every offensive and every challenge with an unyielding defense of the people's gains.

An important theme of the meeting was the demand that Saigon release the thousands of political prisoners still held in abysmal conditions of detention.

British workers back up miners

By FRED GOLDSTEIN

FEBRUARY 19—Militant determination and class solidarity are the key factors in the growing strength of the British coal miners' strike as it nears the end of its second week.

This mighty struggle to gain a living wage for miserable and dangerous work is being carried out against the background of an election campaign in which Prime Minister Heath and the Conservative Party are trying to whip up an anti-miner, anti-union hate campaign, while Harold Wilson of the pro-bourgeois Labour Party adroitly refuses to defend the miners' struggle.

The vote to strike was 4 to 1 in the 260,000-member National Mineworkers Union. The vote was taken after the government refused to raise the miners' wages from \$52, \$64, and \$79 to \$77, \$88, and \$99 for surface, underground, and coalface mining, respectively. The miners had refused to work overtime for a month in protest against the government refusal. Heath and the bosses answered by declaring a state of emergency and putting the country on a 3-day work week, which amounted to a national lockout.

Two days after the overwhelming strike vote, Heath called for the dissolution of Parliament and a general election to be held on February 28. This is a stratagem to try and reverse popular sympathy for the miners by blaming the miners for inflation and all the crises caused by capitalists' lust for profits. By declaring that the strike is the issue in the election, Heath is openly using the campaign as pressure on the miners to go back and to strengthen his hand later on in the event that the miners do not succumb to threats.

But the miners are not to be budged. As soon as Heath called for the elections, he dashed off a letter to Joseph Bromley, president of the miners' union, asking the miners to defer their strike so that the election could be held in "an atmosphere of calm." Bromley agreed, as did Harold Wilson, but the miners were fuming at the offer and the executive board voted 20 to 6 to strike without waiting.

The miners made two crucial tactical decisions which show their determination to win and which have been respected by the rest of the British working class, despite the inevitable hardships which will result.

First, the miners decided not to let any coal pass to any of the power stations in the country or be moved from one power station to another. Unions representing workers in transportation, engineering, electricity, railroads, and municipalities have announced their support of the miners and their refusal to move any coal to the power stations. Second, the miners have decided to stop coal moving to the coke ovens in the steel mills.

The solidarity shown by other workers is a working class answer to Heath who is making speech after speech denouncing "extremists" and declaring that "we can't let the unions run the country" and trying to blame the rampant inflation on poor miners who slave for piddling sums beneath the ground while billionaires who benefit from cheap coal live high off the hog.

Heath mixes his lies with threats. He threatened to cut off supplementary benefits to the wives and children of miners. He has also threatened to bring in the army to move the coal. The government is talking about tearing up an agreement for a guaranteed weekly wage which it made in its last contract with the steel workers—a form of blackmail to try to set the workers against each other.

Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, whose sole function is to bind the workers to capitalism under the name of labor, has studiously avoided giving support to the miners' demands. He has stated that "the miners' strike is not an issue in this campaign" except insofar as it can be regarded as another one of Heath's

mistakes! Wilson, who is running for Prime Minister, has not even said what he would offer the miners if he wins, yet he runs in the name of labor!

Many ruling class commentators, both in the U.S. and in Britain, are now saying

"I'll save you!
Grab hold of this!"



that the call for the election was a blunder by Heath. This is fairly easy to see, now that the miners have stood firm and the rest of the workers have closed ranks behind them. The pundits feel that Heath has put the ruling class backs against the wall, because

whoever wins will still have to deal with the miners, with inflation, and with unemployment. Only this time, the parliamentary ace in the hole will be gone and the workers will be crystallized in solidarity because of Heath's vicious attacks.

As one miner, Tom Boardman, who works as a mine maintenance man and supports six children on \$66 a week, said, "We've got to win this one. We won't go back to work if there's no money. Whoever wins the election, whoever is in power, we need the money."

Labor solidarity key to W. German strike victory

By JOHN OTTO

FEBRUARY 17—On Monday and Tuesday, February 11 and 12, 2 million West German public service workers held a two-day strike for higher wages. This unprecedented action reflected the growing resentment felt by all West German workers at the high inflation which has cut into their living standard.

Inflation has been running uncontrolled in all the imperialist countries during the past year, while the governments have done their best to help the local bosses hold down wages. West Germany, although doing well competitively, has been no exception to this imperialist rule. Prices went up 8 percent in 1973 and worse is promised for this year, with even higher increases in food prices.

INFLATION BREEDS WORKER MILITANCY

This lowering of workers' real wages has brought about a militancy among the rank-and-file workers unknown in recent years. In 1972 West Germany's workers went on strike only 3 days for every 1,000 workers, compared to 1,102 days in Great Britain for the same number of workers and to 374 days in the United States. Now, this labor peace is coming to an end.

Even the post office workers, who had never struck before, went out this week. In voting to authorize the strike, close to 95 percent of the workers participated, and 90 percent of these voted to strike. This was true of postal workers and other groups of the public workers, including the railroad workers, as reported in the Frankfurter Allgemeine.

This overwhelming support for the strike showed up as West German transportation and mail were disrupted—even though the unions involved continued all emergency services. The workers closed down buses, tramways, garbage collection, ferries, waterworks, and theaters, in addition to the post office and many other government offices.

The Brandt government finally made an acceptable offer of an 11 percent raise, breaking the 10 percent limit previously set by that same government. This precedent will undoubtedly be an inspiration to the West German metal workers and others who want to make up the losses of inflation.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Another interesting and optimistic development during the strike was the solidarity action taken by the transport workers in East Berlin, capital of the socialist German Democratic Republic (GDR).

Expanding Empire

by VINCENT COPELAND

The elevated trains for East and West Berlin are parts of a single system, connected at the Friedrichstrasse border control station and controlled from the socialist side. The union of the East Berlin transit workers decided to shut down the line in the West during the strike, directing a real blow against the capitalist West German government and strong support for their fellow workers. The U.S., West Germany, and their imperialist allies, who have tried to use West Berlin as a sword in the heart of the socialist German Democratic Republic, are finding that the sword can cut the other way.

In the GDR, workers don't face the same threats from inflation as they do in the West, for prices on essential goods are tightly controlled and even lowered within the socialist economy. This reporter found basic foodstuffs available for pennies in East Berlin last summer while prices on the same items were skyrocketing in the West. If, even with the relatively strong economy in West Germany, the workers are forced into broad-reaching strikes, it is apparent that large labor struggles are on the agenda in all of Western Europe, Japan, and even the U.S. International solidarity of the workers, like that shown by East Berlin's transit workers, can greatly assist the common struggle.

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"The basic cause of the U.S. invasion of Vietnam lies deep within the social and economic system of the United States, itself. The aggression was built in, and the Asian war was predetermined before Lyndon Johnson was born."

The real Siberia— modern, socialist

The Siberians by Farley Mowat, Penguin Books, \$1.45

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

What is it like today in that vast land that stretches across more than half the Arctic North and is called Siberia? After the massive press campaign in the capitalist West to discredit the Russian Revolution, most people here certainly think there is little more to Siberia than frozen wasteland and doomed political prisoners.

Siberia has been the site of many terrible prison camps, since long before the 1917 October Revolution, but the idea that its present industrial development has been at the expense of these prisoners is utter nonsense. It can truly be said that Siberia has undergone some fantastic transformations since the socialist revolution—and in spite of Stalin's political repression and labor camps, not because of them.

The Siberians is an account of two journeys to Siberia—in 1966 and again in 1969—by Farley Mowat, a Canadian who is an expert on the Far North and has written a dozen books on the subject. Altogether he covered some 29,000 miles, crisscrossing Siberia several times and visiting large industrial cities as well as reindeer camps and frozen ports.

Vital new cities have sprung up there—many in the last decade or two—where not even the smallest village stood before. And an ingenious system of transportation takes advantage of the sub-zero temperatures and permanently frozen subsoil.

LAND OF NATIVE PEOPLES

Having made a study of the Canadian and Alaskan Eskimos and other native peoples, Mowat is most impressed by the way in which the native peoples of Siberia are part of this development. Everywhere he went, he was greeted by Evenki, Yakut, Chukchee, and other native Siberian peoples. There were artists, writers, scientists, herders, educators, and political cadres, and they all expressed great optimism about the development of their native land, dating the change in their existence back to the great October Revolution.

Before that, they had been treated as

—Medvedev

(Continued from page 7)

War. Would not the revolutionary workers and peasants in the Soviet Union have had to face the same kind of madness that was unleashed three decades ago in Spain, where the blood spilled by the Spanish proletariat is still not dry? Or in Indonesia, where half a million people were systematically slaughtered in a few months, and that less than ten years ago? And is he blind to what is happening in Chile, where the counterrevolution is still in full swing? Not even to speak of Nazi Germany.

And how would the People's Liberation Army have been treated if Chiang Kai-Shek had defeated the Chinese Revolution? (The mass slaughter of tens of thousands of revolutionary workers in 1927 left no doubt on that score.)

And need we bring up, to a Marxist historian, of all people, that it is the imperialist bourgeoisie which brought on two world wars and which today still holds the world in terror of another holocaust?

Medvedev's conciliation on this question, and on others not cited, raises the real issue for genuine Communists: Is it correct for Communists who are anti-Stalin and anti-revisionist, who want reform in a socialist direction, to collaborate with bourgeois restorationists on the question of civil liberties?

We shall take up this question in the next issue of Workers World.

(To be continued.)

the native peoples of the Canadian North and Alaska are today, and they were often in danger of complete extinction.

(A study recently prepared for the government of Canada's Northwest Territories concluded that: "To the native people, the damage appeared to be deep in human terms—the demoralization of their people, the damage done to their spirit, self-image, and confidence." According to The New York Times of February 17, "Sociologists relate the heavy drinking among Canada's Indians and Eskimos in recent years to the disruption of their traditional societies by the white man's rush North to look for oil and other minerals.")

But Mowat was greeted by a different kind of arctic native. There was, for instance, Basil Protodiakonov, "a small, shy man with a winning smile and a face cast in the same mold as an Eskimo. He was the author of three novels and two books of poetry... and a professor of history at the Yakut State University."

THE WAY IT HAD BEEN

In explaining the history of the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (the largest Soviet republic—bigger than India—whose President is a Yakut woman), he told Mowat of conditions there at the time of the Revolution. "Whole communities in the taiga (the arctic forest—D.G.) died every year from starvation, from typhus, from tuberculosis and smallpox. A woman who could raise one child out of every five she bore was very rare."

In 1919, the Yakut people, in revolt against the Russian Empire, took back almost the whole of the original region they had controlled before the coming of the Europeans. And although this was two years after the overthrow of czarism, mind you, "They were encouraged by Lenin and other Soviet leaders to form their own republic."

Basil Protodiakonov's pride in the development of Yakutia since then is in deep contrast to the feelings of the arctic peoples in the Western Hemisphere about the stampede to "develop" their lands. He told Mowat:

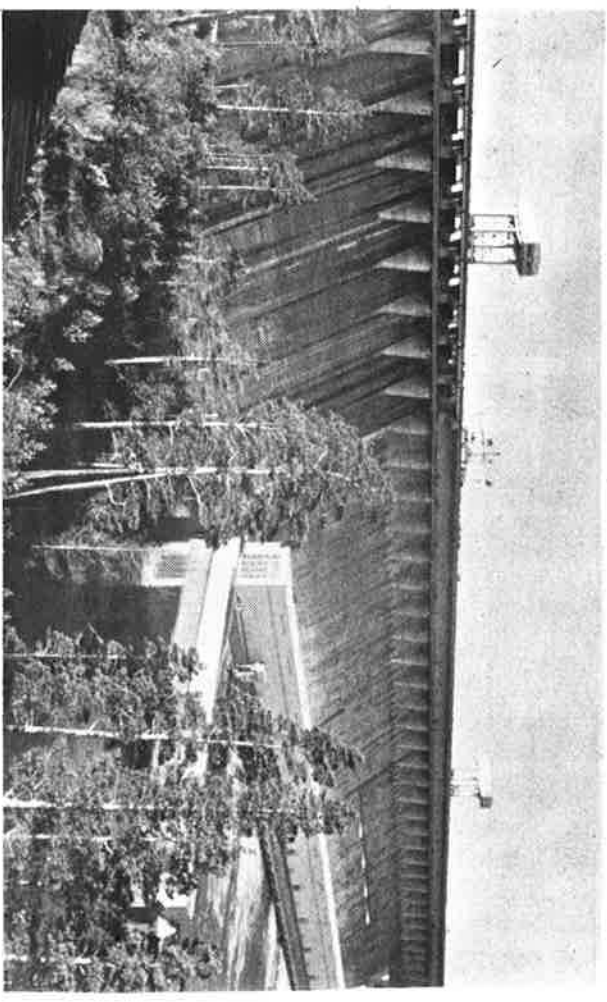
"... since the Revolution... we have almost tripled our numbers. There are now three hundred thousand Yakut of pure blood, not to mention the people of mixed Russian and Yakut blood. Our land now has a population of over seven hundred thousand, including people from almost every state in the Soviet Union; and our city of Yakutsk has one hundred ten thousand people. We welcome all newcomers and do not fear they will take our land away from us for we are so strong within ourselves.

"Knowledge has made us strong, and has given us back our pride. Since 1924 we have had our own written language. Our children spend their first years at school studying in their native tongue and using textbooks written by our own Yakut educators. In 1917, Yakut people were almost totally illiterate and now there is no illiteracy. We have eight hundred grade schools, seven hundred eighty kindergarten, eighteen high-level technical schools, and our State University. Nearly fifty thousand Yakut now have higher-education degrees of university level."

THE EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

What about the people who came from European Russia to Siberia? Mowat describes two very interesting types: the young, idealistic students and workers who were drawn by the challenge of hard work and unspoiled, limitless land; and those who had been in exile or in the labor camps, and chose to remain in Siberia after their release.

In the first category are many of the workers whose incredible labors at temperatures of 50 degrees below zero (Fahrenheit) have built the dams, roads, and bridges that have transformed the wilderness. One engineer who helped build



Dams constructed by Soviet workers have brought electrical power to the remotest regions of Siberia.

the great dam on the Vilyui River near Chernychevsky thoughtfully described to Mowat the mixed feelings of the thousands of workers on the day the dam was closed and the trapped waters began to rise before their eyes. "It was not a feeling of victory so much as a feeling we had lost something—the thing we had done together, so many thousands of us; the life we had led together in this isolated little world buried in the taiga... it was coming to an end. Perhaps we would find it again in some other place, building some other dam, but here in Chernychevsky, the great times when we felt like giants and lived so closely with one another, and relied so much upon one another that we were all brothers and sisters, that time was running out."

Here in the capitalist West, where labor is so despised, how many workers ever dare "feel like giants"?

Mowat's point of view, insofar as it

'Terror' and civil war, here and there

By ANDY STAPP

In his attacks against the Soviet Union, the anti-communist author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has aimed his bitterest criticism at the revolutionary "Red Terror" unleashed by Lenin against the "White Terror" of the counterrevolutionaries in the 1918-1921 civil war. He claims that the system of police repression under Stalin "followed in the footsteps" of Lenin—disregarding the changed historical situation and the fact that much of Stalin's terror was directed at the left and the Old Bolsheviks.

Solzhenitsyn singles out the following statement by Lenin as an example of the "brutality" of the Bolsheviks:

"If we had attempted to influence these (counterrevolutionary—A.S.) troops, brought into being by international banditry and brutalized by war—if we had attempted to influence them by words and persuasion or by any means other than terror, we would not have held out for even two months and we would have been fogs. The terror was forced on us by the Entente (the Entente or "Allies" invaded the infant Soviet Union with the reactionary armies of 14 countries in order to strangle the revolution—A.S.), the terror of mighty world capitalism. Our every victory over this prime cause and reason for the terror will inevitably and invariably mean that we shall be able to run the country without this method of persuasion and influence."

In 1921 the Communist International (CI) passed a resolution on the same question. The CI statement said, in part: "Against the acts of white terrorism and the fury of white justice, the Communist Party must keep alive in the minds of the proletariat the idea that at the time of insurrection it must not let itself be deluded by the enemies' appeals to its clemency. It will set up people's courts, and with proletarian justice settle accounts with torturers of the proletariat."

intrudes upon the reader, is not a communist one, but he does an excellent job of reporting faithfully on what the people of Siberia think and feel. And they seem to be profoundly imbued with a socialist consciousness.

A young Yakut painter, questioned by Mowat about how autonomous his republic really is, gave this answer: "Freedom is always relative. What we native Siberian peoples have now is freedom to live—after having been condemned to death. We may grumble about 'ukases' (edicts—D.G.) from Moscow, but I tell you truly that if anyone tries to destroy the thing which gave us our new life, the Communist idea, there is not a man or woman in Yakutia who will not fight like a taiga devil to defend it."

We strongly recommend a reading of The Siberians. For most North Americans, it will open up a world we barely knew existed.

Solzhenitsyn, in his book Gulag Archipelago, expresses horror and condemnation at such "inhuman" concepts. And any well-meaning person might get sucked in by Solzhenitsyn's "humanism" and feel that "Yes, it is a good thing to overthrow the old society which had brought so much misery to the peoples of Russia, but the revolutionary terror was a bad thing."

Unfortunately, revolutions are not made in a velvet box. Revolutions against oppressive social and political systems are always met with the fanatical resistance of those individuals who have benefited most from the rotten old order.

Take, for example, our own Civil War of 1861-65. For well over a century, the master class of rich plantation owners had ruled their slaves with the whip, the noose, and the branding iron. For them the slaves were "black gold," literally billions of dollars worth of property. These slaves were not freed by the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution; they were freed by a bloody armed conflict between two social systems, slavery and capitalism.

Without apologizing for capitalism, or taking responsibility for its methods, it is important to point out that while it was a much more advanced and progressive system than chattel slavery, in order to defeat the slavocracy, capitalism had to use armed invasion, confiscation of property, and terror.

Particularly remembered in the South is General Tecumseh Sherman's march to the sea in December 1864. His army cut a swath through Georgia, ripping up railroads, burning the great plantations (and just about everything else), seizing livestock and food without payment. Lincoln backed him to the hilt, suspending civil rights, such as the right to trial, of the slave masters and their followers.

The campaign took place after almost four years of stalemate, during which close

(Continued on page 14)

political prisoners

Dennis Anderson

By JIM MILLER

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 11—Today the State of Wisconsin was forced to ask for a 2-month delay in the trial of DENNIS ANDERSON, a leading activist in the Prisoners Solidarity Committee (PSC). Anderson, a Black ex-prisoner, was to have gone to trial today on a phony burglary charge, carrying a 10-year sentence. In a surprise development, the judge, frightened by public support for Dennis, was forced to suppress the supposed physical "evidence" because of an illegal search. This left the DA with only several juveniles, who admitted participating in the burglary, as "witnesses" against Dennis.

The PSC is now pushing a campaign to force the DA to dismiss the phony charge, since the delay is nothing but continued political persecution of Dennis Anderson for his work in exposing prison conditions. Anderson, a major spokesman for the PSC, was arrested last August, directly following a demonstration he led protesting the presence in Milwaukee of Russell Oswald, the "butcher of Attica." At the time of his arrest, a cop remarked, "You won't be demonstrating against Oswald anymore."

As the trial approached, support for Dennis, and for the right of all ex-prisoners to speak out, snowballed. The night before the trial nearly 100 people attended a support rally. A featured speaker was Lloyd Barbee, a Black assemblyman and attorney from Milwaukee. The trial itself was preceded by a demonstration in 9-degree weather. Plenty of heat was generated by the group, which carried signs and chanted, "Racist courts have got to go, free Dennis Anderson." At least 100 supporters filled the courtroom, including several classes of students from a Black community high school.

Faced with the obvious support for Dennis, the DA's office all of a sudden found that it "needed time" to prepare its case.

Knowing it has no case, the state has asked for a delay, hoping that support for Dennis will disappear. However, the defense of Dennis Anderson will not stop. As a next move, the Milwaukee PSC is urging all people in the community to write letters and personally telephone the DA to demand that the charges against Dennis be dropped.

Kansas City 4

On February 19, the defense for the KANSAS CITY 4 (KC4)—MARTIN BAUMGARTEN, RANDY GOULD, RICHARD STANLEY, and KEN SANDUSKY—will present arguments in federal court in Kansas City, Mo., moving to overturn their convictions on bombing conspiracy charges, because of the illegal methods used by the government in getting "evidence."

The KC4 were framed up under the direction of Guy Goodwin, the Justice Department prosecutor who also supervised

the indictments against the Gainesville 8, the Camden 28, the Harrisburg 7, and many other antiwar activists. The federal convictions came after jury verdicts of not guilty had been won on similar charges in state courts when it was shown that the government rigged the trial.

The defense will present motions claiming 137 errors in the original federal trial, as well as illegal government conduct, including, but not limited to, several burglaries of the home of one of the defendants, illegal surveillance and invasion of the lawyer-client confidentiality, illegal wiretapping never disclosed by the government, and use of an informer.

The prosecution of the KC4 is one of the Watergate crimes. Punish the guilty and free the KC4!

START Stopped

In state and federal prisons across the country, programs of intensified repression are being applied to a portion of the inmates, programs known as Behavior Modification. This is a three-tiered system of special repression, the aim of which is to destroy the consciousness and will to struggle of the most political and militant prisoners.

It begins with putting the prisoner in a strip cell and depriving him of everything possible—human contact, exercise, reading material, letters from outside—He is provided only what is necessary to maintain bare physical existence, a minimum of food and water. After he is acquainted with this, he is forced to attend once or twice a week "rap" or "therapy" sessions where he is expected to display a change in his behavior and attitudes.

If he "responds," he is "rewarded" with a gradual reintroduction of privileges. If he does not respond, there is the second tier of the system—his lack of improvement provokes the "negative reward" of electric shock treatment. Behind this waits the third tier—psychosurgery, a euphemism for lobotomy, brain surgery, the amputation of one's humanity.

Hundreds of prisoners have been forced into these programs. Perhaps as many as two dozen have been lobotomized.

On Dec. 13, 1973 three prisoners, Jesse Bishop, William Alexander, and Gerald McDonnell, who were enrolled in START (Special Treatment and Rehabilitation Training), a Behavior Modification program at the U.S. Medical Center for Federal Prisoners in Springfield, Missouri, tried to free themselves from this clockwork orange nightmare. They are charged with conspiracy and taking a guard hostage. Their only demand was to be dropped from the START program.

It has now appeared in the press that because of the pressure of the progressive public the government has disbanded START and similar projects. A prisoner in START in Springfield, Forrest Gustave, has written Workers World that the prison authorities told him the project will be closed in 30 days and that he will be sent to the "hole" at Leavenworth. He also wrote that, "on behalf of the other Brothers and

Black people) considered harsh and even terroristic methods absolutely necessary to defeat the slave owners.

(This is not to imply that Lincoln used the most revolutionary methods to win the war. On the contrary, had he issued the Emancipation Proclamation at the beginning of the Civil War, unleashing the revolutionary energies of the freed slaves, the Confederacy would have been crushed even sooner and the oppressed masses would have been in a better position to resist the Compromise of 1877.)

The armies of the slave owners practiced their own terror, similar to the counterrevolutionary "White Terror" of the procapitalist armies in the 1918-21 Russian civil war. Thousands of Black soldiers in the

myself, I want to express my deep appreciation toward the Beautiful People who were concerned enough to aid us in our struggle!"

He warns that official claims that these programs are being ended should be taken cautiously. Past practice of the authorities gives every reason to believe this terror will begin again, now only secretly. But the official disbanding is an open recognition by the government that these programs are inhumane and nazi-like.

And if START was ended because it was an outrage, then obviously the charges against Bishop, Alexander, and McDonnell, and every other prisoner who has resisted Behavior Modification, should be dropped. Bishop, Alexander, and McDonnell are guilty of nothing but self-defense and had every right to any means to preserve their minds and wills.

Muhammad Ahmad

NEW YORK, Feb. 14—At the trial of MUHAMMAD AHMAD (Max Stanford), the DA has backed down in the face of growing community support for the defendant, organized by the Muhammad Ahmad Defense Committee.

Ahmad, now a leader of the African People's Party, has been the victim of a government conspiracy since 1967 when he was named by FBI Director Hoover as the "most dangerous man in America."

Facing charges of assault against prison guards while he was incarcerated on charges of "conspiracy to commit criminal anarchy," Ahmad accepted the state's offer to reduce all charges and leave him with a sentence of 3 years' probation.

George Merritt and Gail Madden

ELIZABETH, N.J., Feb. 15—GEORGE MERRITT and GAIL MADDEN have been convicted for the second time of first-degree



Supporters raise their fists for Muhammad Ahmad outside Queens courthouse in New York.

northern forces were executed on the spot if they fell into the hands of the officers of the slave state armies.

Fifteen thousand Union prisoners were starved to death in the notorious Confederate concentration camp, Andersonville.

But in the end, the slave owners succumbed. And who today condemns Lincoln for using every weapon in his arsenal, including terrorism, to wipe out the horror of chattel slavery? Only the racist diehards repudiate Lincoln's methods, because, not so secretly, they would like to see Black people reduced to total slavery once again. On the other side, many thoughtful historians feel that Lincoln prolonged the Civil War unnecessarily, by not being tough

murder in connection with the death of patrolman John Gleason during the 1967 rebellion in the Black community in Plainfield, N.J. They automatically received life sentences.

The earlier conviction was overturned by the New Jersey Supreme Court, resulting in this retrial. Now defense attorneys are planning to appeal the conviction, which was based on the testimony of Donald Frazier. Frazier contradicted his testimony in the first trial, while other witnesses testified in exchange for leniency on other charges.

The Plainfield Defense Committee, in calling for mass support to reverse the convictions, points out that the jury included only one Black person.

Soledad

The following excerpts are from a letter passed along to us through a friend. It shows that the announced plan of the state of California to concentrate militant prisoners in a section of Soledad for "special treatment" has gone into effect.

Soledad Prison, Calif.

I have been transferred and locked up in the hole, or what may be technically referred to as "restricted housing unit." At 5:30 a.m., Monday, January 28, I was awakened and told to report to the Sergeant's office. Anyway, I was led into a room and I was informed that I was being shipped out, transferred to Soledad. What for?

All that I have been able to gather is that I'm supposed to be affiliated with some revolutionary organization. I'm really exhausted after the ride—8 hours, legs and hands chained. It brought old memories back.

I couldn't have been transferred simply because of political views, as they used to say, because my record is wide open, my literature and books are censored before I read them. Right now, I'm locked in my cell,

enough.

Like the racist who condemns "northern atrocities" in the U.S. Civil War, Solzhenitsyn's attacks on the revolutionary violence of the Communists in the Russian civil war are nothing more than a smoke-screen to cover his sympathy for the old order, the "Holy Russia" of hunger, pogroms, cockroaches, illiteracy, and disease.

—Vietnam since treaty

(Continued from page 11)

general, no matter of what kind, is childishness, which it is difficult even to

—Two civil wars

(Continued from page 13)

to one million soldiers were killed on both sides in inconclusive battles. It was credited as the decisive campaign of the war, the one that brought the Confederacy to its knees.

While Sherman is regarded by most bourgeois historians as having committed unnecessary violence, at the time he was considered a major hero of the Union Army and retired with great praise. In other words, the bourgeoisie then (when it was still progressive and had not yet carried out its historic compromise with the Southern Bourbons and its betrayal of the

nothing to read, nothing to smoke, none of my personal property—and I don't even have the envelope to send you this letter yet! I know that my personal property is going to be fucked around, I'll lose a lot of it—it will be stolen—that's usual.

Being back here is a trip! Everyone I've been doing time with is damn near here. The institution is locked down, no trade, no school. There seems to be a section for the so-called militants, and they're isolated—it's an old arrangement! Give everyone my regards and tell them to be strong. In love and with struggle,
Haki

Attica

... The following are parts of a letter that was received on February 7 by the Buffalo chapter of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee from inmates inside Attica Concentration Camp who are forming a prisoners' labor union.

We, the undersigned, desiring peacefully, lawfully, and effectively to air our just grievances and to present legitimate demands to the prison authorities, the legislatures, both of this State and the U.S.A., as well as to the general public, hereby form the Attica Chapter of the PRISONERS LABOR UNION.

STATEMENT FROM UNION

Knowing that the overall majority of prisoners today confined to American prisons are those having been convicted of property-related crimes brought about in most instances as a direct result of the poor socio-economic and racially oppressed class status found to be true of the overall majority of us found languishing in these prisons, created, necessitated, and maintained by the monopoly corporate ruling class through whose economical and political dominating, exploiting, and oppressive, as well as racially motivated policies, necessitated our acts of survival: Knowing that prison labor is part of labor in general, and consequently part of the economy in general:

The Union has the following aims and purposes:

- To seek to improve the overall conditions of its members;
- To elevate and equalize to the fullest extent possible the rights, privileges, and protection of prison labor with that of free labor everywhere;
- To progressively advance and elevate the economic, political, social, and cultural interest and consciousness of the prisoners at Attica;
- To aid in the adoption of laws and to insure compliance with existing working class rights, for the economic, political, and social welfare of all prisoners, and in solidarity of the working class internationally.

If prisoners are obliged to work, the state should be obliged to pay comparable street wages. Otherwise, let the state tap the vast and ever increasing unemployment ranks, and not have prisoners feel like collaborators to their own enslavement.

take seriously."

If this were truly the SWP argument, they would not only reject all treaties, but also all protective legislation and contracts wrested from the bosses by the workers through their struggles. This leftist guise becomes even more ridiculous in light of the SWP's eagerness to consummate all kinds of "treaties" with the bourgeoisie, including their many agreements with the police on how the antiwar struggle was to be conducted.

But behind the SWP's position is not an anarchist rejection of any compromise with the class enemy, even though their "leftist" stance on this question might appear that way. Rather, they want once more to assert their "independence"—in reality, their

Brothers of Leavenworth ask for all-out support

Leavenworth, Kan., Dec. 25, 1973:

We the Brothers of Leavenworth Federal Concentration Kamp would like to take this opportunity to explain our present plight, and to ask for your all-out support. The support of the mighty people!...

On July 31st, 1973 there occurred here at Leavenworth a most momentous and justified act of resistance against the brutal, sadist and inhuman treatment that must not be allowed to exist!

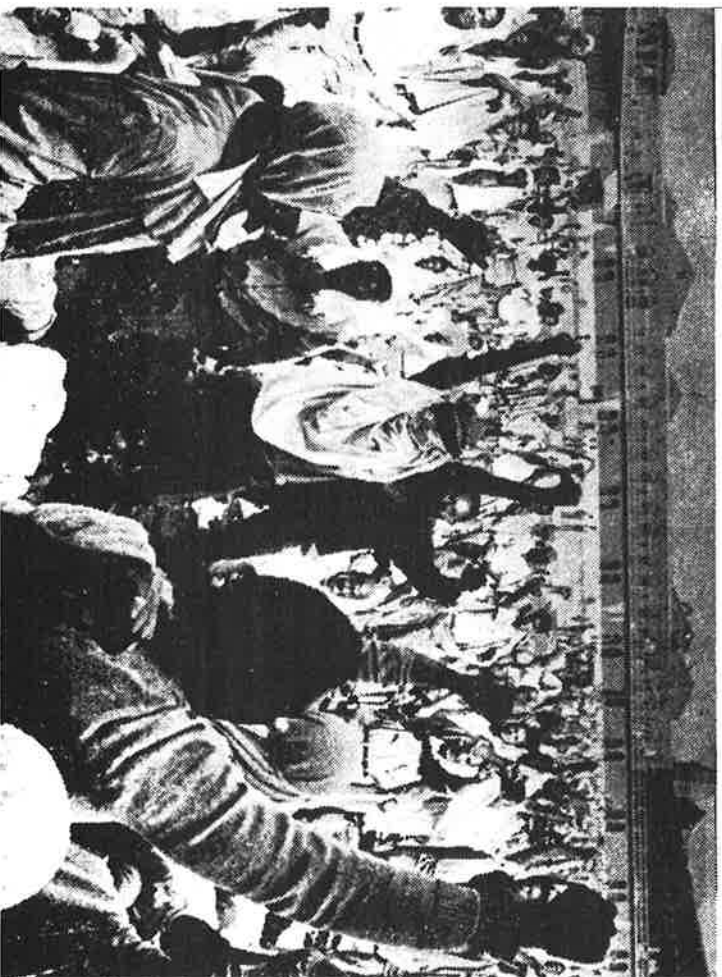
During this act of resistance the tide was finally changed, being that this time unlike Attica, McAlister, San Quentin and countless other cases where the oppressors murder unarmed and helpless men, were themselves the victims of their own attack! We were the victors: one guard was killed, many more were beaten when they indiscriminately attacked with vicious violence a Brother convict at which time other Brothers at the risk of life went to the aid of the Brother.

Only moments before this unprovoked

ordering a massive lock up of those he considered to be ringleaders. The whole 9 man committee were the first to be taken to the Hole, within the next two days 45 more were put in the Hole. Now, more than five months later 20 of us still languish in the "Hole." Criminal charges are expected to be handed down against us any day, the charges will include conspiracy, kidnapping, murder, arson, assaults, possession of weapons. However, Alfred "Jazz" Jasper, Alf Hill and Odell Bennett were indicted by a federal grand jury on Nov. 14, 1973.

Alfred Jasper because he spoke out against a cowardly attack by a mob of guards when they took Alf Hill from his cell on Oct. 11th, 1973. Brother Alf suffered from a broken nose.

Alf Hill was charged with assault on the very goons that attacked him. Odell Bennett was charged with assault because he did not like the idea of the oppressors wanting to probe into his rectum with their fingers, so



attack by the guards on our Brother, two Brothers, tired and pushed to the point of no return, seized four guard oppressors as hostage and held them for 12 hours. First and foremost their demand was that a meeting be held consisting of the warden, two reporters of the press and 9 Brother convicts comprising of 3 Blacks, 3 whites and 3 Mexicans. After this was agreed upon and the meeting was set to take place, the two Brothers released the four hostages, unharmed! All of this, just to talk to the warden and the press? Yes. For days many of the 2,000 people confined and caged in this Hell Hole had been asking for an audience with the warden so we could voice our many complaints but he refused to talk to anyone.

In reality the warden himself by consistently refusing to adhere to any of the just complaints sent to him should be made to bear the responsibility and blame for the events that occurred on July 31st.

The next day Aug. 1st, 1973. Needless to say the warden went back on his word by

hostility—to the socialist states. So they adopt a leftist stance to cover a basically rightwing position.

And if the flagrant violations on the part of the U.S. imperialists mean anything, it is that the imperialists did not like that treaty and felt that their concessions to the Vietnamese were too many. The treaty came as a result of much heroic fighting on the part of the Vietnamese people and amidst mobilizations of progressives in the United States. It was struggle that forced Nixon to sign, and only struggle will force the imperialists to abandon their recent blatant aggressions.

The task for all those who are genuine in their solidarity with the Vietnamese struggle is to continue to support self-

he was badly beaten by 15 goon oppressors, held to the floor and forced to submit to this demeaning act. In each of the 3 cases just mentioned the goons rightly anticipated that these 3 Brothers were going to file complaints against them so they fabricated their own lies and hurriedly got together with their number one collaborator the United States attorney to have the Brothers charged thereby counteracting any charges which these Brothers righteously had to make.

The remaining 20 Brothers here in the Hole will probably be here for a long time, because once the indictments are handed down the trial itself may take over a year before completion. During this five month stay in the Hole we have been subjected to the most barbarous physical and mental torment that the beastly incultured oppressors can imbue, without outright murdering us! But we remain strong knowing that we are of the Third World and of the people and that through the people we

determination for the Vietnamese people—until there is no need for treaties, until world imperialism is finally once and for all destroyed.

**A PAMPHLET
AVAILABLE FROM
WORLD VIEW PUBLISHERS:**

CHINA
the struggle
within

This pamphlet consists of articles that have appeared in the pages of Workers World newspaper over the last 13 years, most written by Sam Marcy, Chairman of Workers World Party.

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Reformism led to disaster, says MIR underground, calls for...

Int'l solidarity, resistance to 'gorillas'

The following statement was made in Santiago on January 20, 1974, by Miguel Enríquez speaking for the Chilean Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR). While it was sent in particular to a congress of socialist youth in West Germany that was then meeting in Munich, the MIR would like as wide a distribution as possible on an international basis. John C. Otto of Workers World has translated this statement from the French as printed in the Paris weekly Rouge.

+ + +

Comrade revolutionaries of Germany. As you all know, a "gorilla" dictatorship—the form adopted today in Latin America by those movements known as fascist and Nazi in Europe in past decades—has taken power in Chile by fire and blood.

In the name of "democracy," it has abolished all liberties, murdered close to 30,000 Chileans, keeping 40,000 others imprisoned and regrouped in concentration camps. Summary executions continue—more than 1,000 have already been counted. Tens of thousands of workers and employees have been discharged from their factories, public administration works, universities, and schools.

Raising the banner of the struggle against Marxism, the officers of the armed forces carry out massive torture, castrating the prisoners, systematically breaking their limbs, their ribs, their vertebrae.

The much praised national reconstruction has been reduced to setting up a smoke screen behind which the "gorilla" dictatorship has developed a servile economic policy, in the service of the interests of North American and Chilean capital, which has plunged hundreds of thousands of Chileans into misery. The reserve army of the proletariat, the unemployed, has considerably inflated. Prices have increased tenfold; salaries only quadrupled.

At the same time, they are returning enterprises to the imperialists, such as the Petrodow Co., and are negotiating an enormous indemnification for the sharks of the North American copper companies. The nationalized banks are being returned to the private sector and hundreds of firms which had been seized by the workers have been returned to their former owners.

REFORMISM LED TO SETBACK

The setback which occurred in Chile was no refutation of socialism nor of the proletarian revolution nor of revolutionary politics. And if it is not in our interest to exercise all our politics in polemics with other organizations of the left, still the Chilean experience must be a lesson for all the people of the world. What happened in Chile is none other—as we have repeated to the workers these last three years—than the consequence of the catastrophe into which reformist politics has dragged the Chilean workers.

The illusion of power in forming an alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie, the submission to bourgeois order, led reformism to renounce the struggle for the conquest of power; to defend groups of big bosses to the detriment of the interests of sections of the working class; to combat politically the direct mobilization of sections of workers, peasants, and pobladores (squatters); to condemn the development of people's power; to legitimize the reactionary corps of superior officers; to combat and persecute the sailors' organizations opposed to a coup d'état; to combat and finally to persecute sections of the revolutionary left. It is these politics—the

consequence of an alliance with a section of the bourgeoisie—which weakened the government, which disoriented, divided, and disarmed the workers, the soldiers, and the left, and which thus opened the door to the coup d'état.

HEROES OF THE U.P.

At the same time, it is true, many militants, cadres, and leaders of the Unidad

Four guerrilla groups announce united front, see editorial, page 6

Popular (U.P.) parties have given their lives heroically confronting the "gorillas" or undergoing torture in prison. A salute and special homage should go to Salvador Allende, who preferred to give his life rather

from the military junta and developing an attitude of more and more aggressive opposition to the dictatorship.

WORKERS' LEADING ROLE

The working class, inheritors of a long tradition of democratic freedoms and union organization, the only social class which capitalism cannot disperse, which has attained the highest level of consciousness and

organization, after having been struck a heavy blow, is already beginning to reorganize itself and come to life. You can count the partial disruptions in the large factories by the dozens.



MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) peasants hold dawn meeting on collective farm in Caolín, Chile, before fascist coup. Photo: LNS

than surrender and who defended his convictions to the end.

The politics of the "gorilla" dictatorship is already showing weakness and contradictions. Bathing in the blood of the workers they try desperately to get out of the deep crisis which faces the country, begging servilely for foreign aid, making the workers pay the cost of the crisis, attacking on that basis American and Brazilian capital, and attempting to open competition in the setting of the subregional Andes market.

The contradictions have grown more marked in the heart of the armed forces between "gorilla" officers and some weakly "constitutionalist" sectors who are subordinated today. The interbourgeois contradictions have themselves grown more accentuated on all levels and to a greater degree than before: between large, middle and small bosses; among the bourgeois parties; the frictions have grown stronger and stronger between the "gorillas" and the Christian Democratic Party in which only the pharisee Eduardo Frei and a group around him continue to applaud the massive assassinations and torture.

The petty bourgeoisie which initially made up the social base of support for the "gorillas" has now been affected by the massive repression and the economic policy. It is separating—with the exception of privileged layers—rapidly and massively

The peasants and the pobladores, the poor of the country and the city, enlarged by the enormous growth of the army of unemployed created by the "gorilla" dictatorship, are the most affected by the ultrareactionary politics of these veritable caricatures of the fascist dictators of old. They have been plunged into misery and hunger without the sordid populist masquerades of the "gorillas" having the least effect on them.

A similar process is developing among the students.

In the army, the soldiers, the contingent, the noncommissioned officers, and a few officers disgusted by the crimes and the bestial acts that they are obliged to carry out, by the supplementary tasks they have to accomplish, by the low pay, are progressively developing their resentment and their opposition against the "gorilla" dictatorship.

FATE OF THE PARTIES

The U.P. parties, torn apart by the repression in the first period, are beginning to reorganize.

The MIR, which began in 1965, persecuted and clandestine in the years 1969-70, which did not take part in the government, which has given impetus and orientation to the direct mobilization of the working class and the people within the limits of its strength, which has carried out work among

the soldiers, which has given impetus to the development of people's power, which fought in September throughout the entire country, and succeeded in facing up to the repression with the least cost, functions today in a relatively regular manner and is preparing for a long revolutionary people's war.

It is evident that the dictatorship will not fall victim of its own contradictions. An abyss of blood separates the officer corps from the workers and makes any change in their orientation impossible. Any illusion that its fall could be the fruit of heightened interbourgeois struggles, any illusion that there could be a peaceful change in its orientation, can only lead to a second catastrophe.

The dictatorship must be overthrown. It is only by basing ourselves on a large popular social bloc, under the leadership of the only class capable of assuming the direction—the proletariat of the cities and the countryside—developing all forms of struggle and principally armed struggle, that it will be possible to finish off the "gorilla" dictatorship and to open the road to revolution.

The tasks of highest priority in Chile are the formation of a political front of resistance with all political forces disposed toward combating the "gorilla" dictatorship: the U.P., the progressive section of the Christian Democrats, and the MIR. Progress has already been made in this matter.

The construction of a large bloc of social forces against the dictatorship, the popular resistance movement already unfolding and composed of committees in each factory, fundo, squatter neighborhood, school, university, and public administration, give an organized form to what is today more than just a sentiment of opposition to the "gorillas" among the majority of the people and the soldiers in the armed forces. This movement of popular resistance, with a program of struggle for the restoration of democratic freedoms and for the defense of the standard of living of the masses, will regroup all those who want to struggle against the dictatorship, whether or not they be militants in a political party.

From this movement of popular resistance and the armed detachments of the parties, whose actions will be oriented toward defending the direct interests of the masses, including tactical actions of armed propaganda in the country and in the cities, it will be possible to construct the revolutionary people's army, the only force capable of confronting the officer corps and the reactionary army, of destroying the dictatorship and opening the road to the proletarian revolution.

The historic challenge that imperialism, Brazilian subimperialism, and their valets the "gorillas" have hurled at us must be picked up by the working class, the people, and the revolutionaries of Chile with the aid of the workers and revolutionaries of the whole world with a perspective of victory, as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht picked up—though with a tragic result—this challenge years ago in Germany.

International solidarity has been of enormous importance for the resistance. The attitude of most of the socialist countries, of revolutionary Cuba, of progressives of the whole world, and particularly of Latin America and Europe has been fundamental.

The rupture of relations with Chile, the limitation of military aid and credit, the boycott of Chilean ships, the collection of moneys, the meetings and demonstrations, the diffusion of communications and ap-

(Continued on page 6)



DON'T FORGET THE WOUNDED KNEE DEMO

TIMES SQUARE, 5 P.M.

AND DON'T FORGET TO SUBSCRIBE TO WORKERS WORLD!

