

THE MILITANT

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

CIA role in Chile exposes U.S. drive to police the world



In his Sept. 16 news conference President Ford admitted that the U.S. government secretly intervened in Chile for the past 10 years to subvert the election campaigns of Salvador Allende and to bring about his overthrow after he was elected.

An editorial

For years, government and CIA officials denied charges that they have been engaged in massive sabotage and bribery in Chile. Now their own "commander-in-chief" has admitted it was all a lie.

This admission shows the meaning of democracy under capitalism. Democratic rights

are tolerated only so long as the property rights of the rich are not threatened.

Despite the fact that the Allende regime defended capitalism, Washington could not tolerate it because Allende's policy of granting popular concessions wasn't working, from the imperialists' point of view. The workers and peasants were not satisfied, but continued to mobilize and organize themselves with greater and greater confidence. They demanded more control in the factories, distribution of the land, and nationalization of Chile's resources, such as the foreign-controlled copper concerns.

The independent action of the masses was beginning to threaten capitalist rule entirely. That is why Washington sponsored the right-wing military coup.

For the people of Chile, U.S. intervention has brought the triumph of a brutal dictatorship. An international commission has estimated that 30,000 were slaughtered in the bloodbath carried out by the rightist generals led by Pinochet.

The brutal repression continues in the prisons, where estimates say there are still some 8,000 political prisoners facing torture. A recent report on Chile by Amnesty International concludes that "the death roll of victims is unprecedented in Latin-American history."

This is the regime that presidents Nixon and Ford sponsored in Chile.

Henry Kissinger, who is respected and lauded by politicians of both capitalist par-

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Why Wounded Knee defendants won

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In Brief

PROTEST SLAYINGS IN IRAN: The United Nations building in New York was picketed by 150 people Sept. 13 in protest of the murder of 14 Iranian workers by the shah's government.

After the picket, the demonstrators moved their protest to the offices of the New York Daily News and the New York Times to draw attention to their lack of coverage of the shah's repressive measures. The protest was organized by the Iranian Students Association.

The murders occurred in two separate incidents, one



Demonstrators at Sept. 13 protest in New York carried coffin for each murdered Iranian worker.

in Tabriz, the other in Tehran.

In the first killing, an elected representative of the Tabriz transport workers, Mohammad-Saleh Jahani, was killed under torture by agents of SAVAK. SAVAK is the shah's secret police. In the second incident, SAVAK agents murdered 13 strikers during a confrontation in Tehran.

LOS ANGELES PROTEST IN SUPPORT OF LAWTON AND GARDNER: The Los Angeles Lawton/Gardner Support Committee sponsored a picket line Sept. 7 at the attorney general's office, and a noon rally at Pershing Square the same day.

The purpose of the protest was to mobilize support for Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner as they approach their third frame-up trial for the 1971 killing of two cops in Riverside, Calif. The trial is scheduled for Oct. 7.

Pickers chanted, "No third trial," "Stop the frame-up," and "Free Lawton and Gardner."

Lawton had been active in the struggle against police terror prior to his arrest, and he and Gardner are Black. Their first two trials ended in hung juries after prosecution witnesses presented blatantly contradictory testimony.

Speakers at the rally following the picket line included Chukia Lawton, representing the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee; Isabel Chavez, from the Los Tres Tres Defense Committee; and Dr. Isadore Ziferstein, a professor at UCLA and a member of the board of directors of the American Civil Liberties Union.

UNITED MINE WORKERS WIN ANOTHER HARLAN COUNTY MINE: "The dominoes are beginning to fall in Eastern Kentucky," according to United Mine Workers secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick.

"Last week it was Brookside, this week it's Pathfork-Harlan. There will be many more new UMW mines to follow in Eastern Kentucky and throughout the coalfields."

Patrick was speaking about the UMW's second major organizing victory in Harlan County. Just nine days after winning a UMW contract with the Eastover Mining Company in Brookside, the Pathfork-Harlan Coal Company was forced to sign a UMW contract Sept. 7 with its 200 miners.

Patrick predicted that Eastover's Highsplint mine, also in Harlan County, would soon be under a UMW contract.

In a related development, UMW President Arnold Miller has demanded that the Justice Department investigate the murder of miner Lawrence Jones, gunned down just days before the Brookside strike settlement. A Harlan County grand jury has refused to indict Jones's killer, Billy Bruner. Bruner is a crew supervisor at the Highsplint mine.

SOME EDUCATION: A recent government study confirms the inadequate quality of education in America.

After a four-year testing program, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has found that 4.8 percent of the country's schoolchildren are illiterate. This means that nationally there are one million people of the ages 12 to 17 who can't read at a fourth-grade level.

Those who suffer most from this lack of education are Black males in poor families. The study found that 4.7 percent of white males and 1.7 percent of white females could not read, compared with 20.5 percent of Black males and 9.6 percent of Black females.

The study also found that in families with incomes of less than \$3,000 a year, 9.8 percent of white youth and 22.1 percent of Black youth were illiterate. Where the parents had little or no education, 22 percent of the whites and 53 percent of the Blacks could not pass the test.

The director of the department's "Right to Read" program, Dr. Ruth Holloway, said she thought the study showed "the schools obviously are not meeting the kids' needs."

AS WE GO TO PRESS:

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee has announced that officials at Madison Square Garden in New York have unexpectedly canceled the committee's arrangements for a major rally at the Garden Oct. 27. The rally, planned to demand independence for Puerto Rico, has been widely publicized.

The cancellation came the day rally organizers were to sign the final contract.

To protest the cancellation, the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee has called for a picket line at Madison Square Garden on Monday, Sept. 23, at 4:30 p.m. The committee also plans to file a legal challenge to the Garden's action.

The excuse given for cancellation is the Garden's inability to clean up the central arena after the rally in time for the next hockey game.

TREASURY EMPLOYEES DEMAND PAY INCREASE:

Carrying picket signs reading, "Pardon me from inflation—Pay Raise Now!" and "Public service, not public serfdom!" members of the National Treasury Employees Union (NTEU) picketed at the IRS district office in Philadelphia on Sept. 12.

The purpose of the picket line was to protest President Ford's attempt to postpone the 5.5 percent pay increase for federal employees scheduled for Oct. 1. The NTEU represents revenue officers, clerks, secretaries, revenue agents, tax auditors, and other IRS employees.

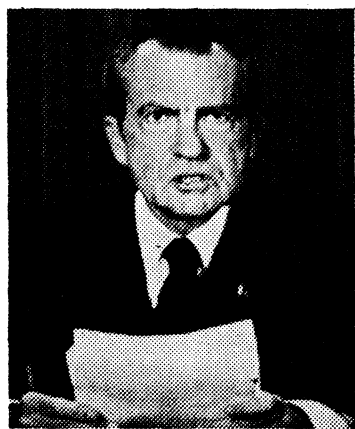
The picket line was part of a national effort by the NTEU from Sept. 11 to 13. Tom Gosselin, a national field representative for NTEU, told Militant correspondent Duncan Williams that picket lines were also being held in Washington, D.C.; New York; San Francisco; Atlanta; and Chicago. He said the Sept. 11 picket in Chicago drew about 250 people.

Gosselin said, "Federal employees are being treated unfairly by the president. While the president preaches voluntary wage-price controls, he is imposing mandatory wage controls on federal employees, while prices are not frozen and continue to rise. Federal employees have bills to pay too."

—NORMAN OLIVER

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War resisters blast 'amnesty' ploy

Ford widens his credibility gap

By CAROLINE LUND

At his news conference Sept. 16 President Ford claimed that both his pardon of Richard Nixon and his granting of "conditional amnesty" to Vietnam war resisters were to "heal the nation's wounds" and "end the divisiveness between Americans." He used the same article of the Constitution to supposedly pardon both.

Ford's lumping together of the war criminal and gangster Nixon with those who resisted service in the war was a cynical public relations move.

While Nixon received a total and unconditional amnesty, the war resisters got no such thing. According to Ford's proclamation, war resisters will only be allowed back into the country if they agree to a two-year stint of compulsory "alternative service." Even after serving this forced-labor sentence, resisters will have to go through the rest of their lives with the stigma of a "clemency discharge"—a less-than-honorable discharge. All "deserters" will lose the right to Veterans Administration benefits.

Many war resisters rejected the plan immediately.

"This is a phony deal we are being offered," said Bill Schiller, a spokesman for exiles in Sweden. "People will not go back like criminals asking for forgiveness."

"Who should seek amnesty," asked George Meals, another resister in Sweden, "We or the people that ordered the secret Cambodia bombings and the defoliation of the Vietnamese forests?"

Amex/Canada, a publication of war resisters based in Toronto, is calling on exiles to boycott the plan by refusing to do the alternative service or by publicly challenging the Presidential Clemency Board, which is set up to hear appeals from resisters already convicted by civilian or military courts.

Ford resorted to the "amnesty" ploy to help him weather the storm of protest over his pardon of Nixon. It was an attempt to patch up his own growing "credibility gap," which is widening after only a month in office.

Ford needed the headlines about his so-called amnesty order to try to balance out the blatant injustice of his cover-up for Nixon's crimes against the American people.

Ford's pardon of Nixon, and the reaction of the American people to it, demonstrated that "Watergate" was by no means laid to rest through Nixon's resignation. It demonstrated that Watergate is not only, and not fundamentally, a Nixon scandal, but a scandal implicating the whole American ruling class.

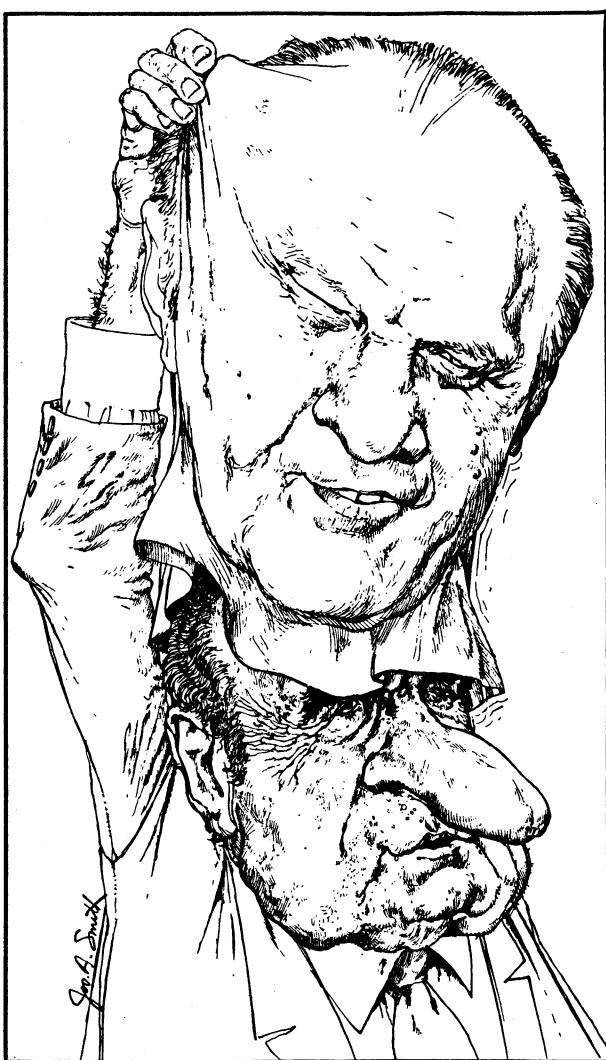
'Demon of Watergate'

As *Newsweek* put it, "By his own act [of pardoning Nixon], Gerald Ford had embraced the demon of Watergate."

Drawing the parallel between the popular indignation with Nixon's administration and Ford's administration, one White House aide noted: "The fire storm is starting to build."



American exiles in Canada



Following the pardon, one poll found that those who gave Ford a favorable rating had sunk from 53 percent to 36 percent.

Newsweek reported that the *Chicago Daily News* printed 28 letters to the editor on the pardon, only one favorable. The one was from Louis Ziegler, the father of Nixon aide Ronald Ziegler.

Ford has been revealed to be using the same methods as Nixon—complete with his soon-to-be "inoperative" trial balloon about pardoning all the Watergate defendants.

One of the most blatant aspects of Ford's cover-up move is his deal with Nixon on the White House tapes. This deal gives absolute control of the tapes to Nixon. They are to be stored in a vault costing \$110,000 of taxpayers' money and guarded by a team of five security personnel, at a further cost to the American people of \$50,000.

The key "essential for access" to this vault, however, will be in the hands of Nixon "alone as custodian of the materials," according to the agreement. Another key to the area will be held by the Archivist of the United States, but this person has no right to enter without Nixon's permission, and no right to watch over what Nixon might do to the tapes.

Ford has made a big deal over the provision that the courts will have the right to subpoena any of the tapes. But as Anthony Lewis noted in the *New York Times*, "If a subpoena is issued for certain documents or tapes, Mr. Nixon would presumably look for them in the files. If he then reports that he cannot find them, there is no provision for an independent search or supervision by any third party."

Furthermore, Nixon can destroy all the tapes after three years, and if he dies before that they will be immediately destroyed despite any criminal prosecutions they may relate to.

Controversy over the tapes deal was so great that Ford felt compelled to postpone implementation of the agreement pending further discussions with the Watergate special prosecutor's office.

Nixon knew

Newsweek cites a "knowledgeable source" who says that tapes and documents involved in the coming Watergate cover-up trials show that Nixon knew in advance about all the Watergate burglary and wiretap plans. Nixon has claimed all along

that he was ignorant of all such "sordid details" of the gangster operations of his "plumbers."

And who knows what is in the other tapes? *New York Times* reporter David Rosenbaum wrote from Washington, D. C., Sept. 15: "There is a widespread belief in this city—you hear it from Congressmen and cab drivers, from students and shopkeepers—that further horror stories would be revealed in Richard Nixon's still undisclosed tape recordings. . . ."

"The atmosphere is so poisoned and the hostility to Mr. Nixon so deep that even a few lawyers and investigators without any concrete evidence, talk openly of gruesome crimes in which they think Nixon henchmen might somehow have been involved."

Meanwhile, the avalanche of rumors about Nixon's state of health prompted little sympathy from the American people. Dr. Walter Tkach's statements that Nixon was "a ravaged man" who needed "a miracle" to recover only brought speculation of more skulduggery by the former president.

The *New York Times* reports conjectures "that Mr. Nixon might intend to rely on his medical condition to help him avoid testifying in the Watergate cover-up trial beginning Oct. 1."

Living it up

Apart from his questionable health problems, Nixon is apparently doing fine and living it up at taxpayers' expense. While thousands of poor people rot in jail under the most miserable conditions, Nixon has already received \$450,000 of public funds to aid in his "transition" out of the presidency.

In addition, Nixon still has at least 21 employees on the government payroll working for him, including a personal maid and valet, a military aide, three chauffeurs, medical corpsman, and some secretaries.

Last week Nixon took a vacation at the \$3-million desert estate of wealthy ambassador Walter Annenberg. There Nixon enjoyed "a kind of regal comfort that not even the General Services Administration could provide at San Clemente," noted *Times* reporter Jon Nordheimer. The house itself contains more than half an acre of living space, with the master bedroom the size of an ordinary house. The estate, which includes an artificial lake and a nine-hole golf course, is guarded 24-hours-a-day by a private security force.

Among the rich and powerful, Nixon still finds a welcome as one of their faithful servants who just happened to get caught. Ford's treatment of Nixon, his continued cover-up of the Watergate crimes, and his cynical ploy on the amnesty question are exposing him as just another link in the Watergate conspiracy.



...Chile and U.S. drive to police the world

Continued from page 1

ties, was the architect of this brutal policy.

U. S. Representative Michael Harrington says that Kissinger was among "those who wanted to use force and end it quickly" rather than "to stretch out any clandestine activities to permit the [Allende] regime to come to a political end." Harrington's information came from testimony of CIA director William Colby.

Ford's phony excuses

Ford attempted to justify U. S. intervention by claiming that Allende had tried "to destroy opposition news media" and "to destroy opposition political parties." This is not only a lie, but the height of hypocrisy. It is the current U. S.-backed junta that permits no opposition parties, no opposition press, no trade unions, and no civil liberties.

Ford also claimed that U. S. intervention was necessary to "protect national security." This is the same "national security" hoax that Nixon used to try to keep the Pentagon papers and his Watergate gangster tactics secret from the American people.

"National security" in Chile had nothing to do with the security of the American people; it meant security for the multi-million-dollar investments of U. S. corporations that want to continue draining riches out of Chile.

Ford claimed that the CIA Chile operations were "in the best interest of the people of Chile."

What arrogance! The U. S. rulers think they have the right to dictate what *they* think is best for the peoples of the world.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger put it this way: "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to the irresponsibility of its own people."

Ford also claimed that the Chile intervention was in the best interests of the American people. If that were so, then why the secrecy?

Testimony detailing the CIA's \$8-million sabotage program was made at a top-secret congressional hearing last April. Why are the American people only learning about it five months later, through a leak?

The reason is that the U. S. imperialists know their bloody schemes could not be justified before the American people—no more than they could convince the American people of the justice of the Vietnam war.

'Freedom' and 'democracy'

The Chile revelations show that when the U. S. rulers talk about "freedom" and "democracy," they really mean freedom for *them* and dictatorship for the people.

What interest does the American worker have in the mass murder and torture of the Chilean people? What interest do working people in this country have in stamping out the trade unions of their brothers and sisters in Chile? What interest do they have in trying to prevent the Chilean people from nationalizing their own resources that are in the hands of U. S. corporations?

Washington's foreign policy, wars, and sabotage of other governments has to be conducted through secrecy and deception precisely because these actions are in the interests of the minority of ruling rich, not of the majority of working people.

Language of lies

The lies and cynicism of the U. S. imperialists and their apologists permeate all their language. The sabotage and strangulation of the Allende regime is called "destabilization." Henry Kissinger, director-in-chief of the Indochina war policy and a man who has brought about untold death and suffering for the Chilean people, is the winner of the Nobel "Peace" Prize.

Many Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress are now feigning shock and dismay at the CIA operation in Chile. Democrats try to blame it on the Republican administration, and both try to put the blame on the supposedly "uncontrolled" CIA.

Actually, members of both parties in congressional committees have known all along—or have been in a position to find out—about the sordid plots of the CIA. The notorious "40 Committee," which officiates over all CIA actions, is a bipartisan institution that has existed, under different names, since 1948. The secret intervention against Allende didn't begin with Nixon, but was first ordered by Democrat Lyndon Johnson back in 1964, when Allende became a serious contender for office.

The hypocritical politicians of both parties know that what happened in Chile was no accident or exception. It was part of a continuous and worldwide policy of trying to smash any resistance by the oppressed to imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

Here are some of the more well-known exploits of the CIA:

- Financing the corrupt Chinese Nationalist Army in Burma in the early 1950s.
- Engineering the overthrow of the liberal Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.
- Overthrow of the Mohammed Mossadegh regime in Iran for nationalizing British oil interests in 1953.
- Organizing the unsuccessful coup

against President Sukarno of Indonesia in 1958.

- Organizing the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961.
- Crushing the liberation struggle in the Congo in the early 1960s.
- Financing and directing the secret war against insurgents in Laos beginning in 1962.
- Directing "Operation Phoenix," the assassination program during the Vietnam war that resulted in the deaths of more than 20,000 Vietnamese.

Scope of terror

And these are just some of the secret operations that are the specialty of the CIA; the full scope of U. S. counterrevolutionary terror can only be appreciated by examining such blatant events as the Marine invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965, the entire Southeast Asian war, and U. S. arming of Israel, and backing



KISSINGER: 'Use force and end it quickly.'

for the 1970 "Black September" slaughter of 20,000 Palestinian refugees by the imperialist-puppet regime in Jordan.

It is not only the "intelligence" agencies and the military that carry out the policy of protection of capitalism and capitalist interests throughout the world. The entire capitalist government serves this end.

For example, the U. S. government controls the powerful World Bank, which it can use, as it did in Chile, to strangle the economies of countries that do not conform to its dictates.

It has recently been revealed that U. S. food aid to other countries is also used for political purposes—to blackmail governments that object to being puppets of Washington. While the Allende regime was subjected to U. S. economic warfare, food aid to

the Chile junta has just been increased by \$34-million.

The United States is less generous to India, however, which faces famine and mass starvation. Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has made it known that the Chile revelations have confirmed her "worst suspicions and genuine fears" that the U. S. would like to overthrow her regime as well.

According to Daniel Moynihan, U. S. ambassador to India, Gandhi thinks the U. S. is "a profoundly selfish and cynical counter-revolutionary power."

Who decides?

Who made these decisions to overthrow the governments of other countries, or to sabotage their economies, or to invade them to crush popular rebellions? The majority of the American people were never consulted.

These decisions were made by the agents of a handful of multimillionaire families who control the wealth of this country and use their power to control the U. S. government through the Democratic and Republican parties, and to try to control the governments of all countries still within the capitalist system.

Ford's admissions about Chile confirm the Marxist view of capitalism and imperialism. Lenin called this the era of wars, colonial uprisings, and revolutions. Imperialist governments can only exist through continuous, bloody suppression of the working people and oppressed of the world. This is because the imperialists' own policies of exploitation create conditions of poverty and misery that drive people to revolutionary struggle.

This is the process that had begun in Chile.

The counterrevolutionary terror campaigns conducted by the U. S. capitalist rulers can only be ended through the intervention of the masses of American people.

Indeed, the reason we are learning more about secret operations such as those in Chile is because of the new atmosphere in this country. The rulers are on the defensive. They are losing their credibility as a result of the Vietnam war and the mass distrust of the government over Watergate and inflation.

A massive campaign of education and action is needed to inform the American people about Chile and to mobilize them against the gangsters in Washington.

Open all the CIA, Pentagon, and White House files on Chile! Let the full truth come out!

No interference in the affairs of other countries! End U. S. aid to the butchers of the Pinochet junta!

Stop the terror in Chile! Free all Chilean political prisoners!



Santiago, 1973. Secret U. S. intervention brought slaughter and torture to tens of thousands of Chileans.

Chile protests demand: 'No U.S. aid to junta'

In scores of U.S. cities Sept. 11, protesters gathered at hundreds of rallies, picket lines, and teach-ins opposing the continuing repression in Chile.

The actions were organized by local and national groups concerned about the course of events since the bloody right-wing coup that left thousands dead a year ago. Prominent among these groups was the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The end of U.S. aid to the ruling junta became a focus of many of the protests as news of the CIA's involvement in toppling the Allende government became known. Other demands prominently raised included freeing all political prisoners and ending the ban on trade unions and political parties.

A concern of many protesters was the plight of women prisoners in Chile, many of whom have been subjected to sexual torture. At several of the actions, members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) who were on fact-finding tours in Chile, spoke on the conditions of women prisoners.

Most of the protests were held at buildings housing offices of the Chilean government, federal buildings, or outside of buildings housing U.S. corporations involved in Chile—such as ITT or Anaconda Copper Company. In Philadelphia, protesters took buses to nearby Chester, Pa., to picket the Sun shipyard, which is building two destroyers for the Chilean navy.

The actions were supported by campus groups; political parties; Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Latin American organizations; civil liberties, church, and women's groups; and labor unions. In Minneapolis, two city councilmen and a state representative endorsed the action.

Highlights of some of the protests follow:

- Three actions in Boston scored the military takeover. A noontime picket Sept. 12 focused on the plight of women prisoners and demanded an end to sexist treatment of female

prisoners. An evening forum Sept. 13 drew 150 people to see the film *Campamento* and to hear speakers.

James Petras, a writer on Latin American affairs, and Ruth Needleman, who lived in Chile under the Unidad Popular regime, told of the role of the U.S. government in Chile and prospects for Chile under the junta. Petras said the junta is making Chile a safe area for U.S. investments.

The junta, he said, is a "bully to the Chilean people [and] at the same time a groveling sycophant to the United States."

Needleman said the \$8-million the CIA used to help topple Allende was just part of the funding the U.S. used to maintain control of Chile. She cited the American Institute of Free Labor Development, an operation sponsored by AFL-CIO president George Meany. This outfit works with the State Department and the CIA in opposing militant unions.

A march through the busiest sections of Boston Sept. 14 brought out 500 people. Banners carried on the march read: "ITT, CIA, USA Out of Chile!" and, "Free All Chilean Political Prisoners!"

- In the Bay Area there were two protests on Sept. 11. A noontime picket at the Chilean consulate in San Francisco attracted 300 people. Later that evening, a rally at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco drew 400. Speakers included Dave Hathaway (who was a student in Chile at the time of the coup and the roommate of the slain U.S. student, Frank Terrugi) and Eric Leeson, a student in Chile.

The protests were sponsored by the United Chile Solidarity Committee, which included USLA, Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), and other groups. In a related development, Local 10 of the West Coast longshoremen voted recently not to unload a Grace Lines freighter bearing cargo from Chile. The vessel was due for unloading Sept. 17 and 19.

- An evening demonstration of 300 in Washington, D.C., marched from



Boston protest demands: 'Free all Chilean Political Prisoners.'

Militant/Donald Gurewitz

DuPont Circle to ITT headquarters for a picket on Sept. 11. The protesters also marched to the Inter-American Development Bank.

Prior to the demonstration, an all-day outdoor exhibition of literature and photo displays by the participating groups had been set up in a park. Groups backing the protest included Clergy and Laity Concerned, Common Front for Latin America, National Lawyers Guild, Indochina Research Center, USLA, Women Strike for Peace, WILPF, and People's Party, among others.

- An evening meeting of 250 in Minneapolis Sept. 11 hit at continuing repression in Chile. The gathering was held at the Newman Center near the University of Minnesota campus. There Father Gerard Grant, a professor at Loyola University in Chicago and a recent visitor to Chile, spoke.

Others who gave greetings included a representative from the New American Movement; Jane Van Deusen, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Irwin Marquit, the Communist Party candidate for governor; Cecilia Becker, from the Democratic

Farmer-Labor Party and USLA, who read a statement from Congressman Donald Frazier; and Bill Krum, of Grain Millers union Local 1.

- A noon vigil was held Sept. 11 at the federal building in Chicago, and a rally at St. James Episcopal Cathedral, sponsored by the Citizens Committee to Save Lives in Chile. Two hundred people marched on the Chilean consulate and the offices of ITT. A contingent of health workers, clad in white, were present. Backers of the action included USLA; Chicago Area Group on Latin America; Neal Bratcher, director of District Council 19, AFSCME; Marcos Muñoz, Illinois director of the boycott committee of the United Farm Workers; Socialist Workers Party; and others.

Seattle and Philadelphia each had protests of 150 on Sept. 11. Other areas holding actions included Milwaukee, Houston, Denver, Buffalo, Atlanta, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, and Cleveland, where a tribunal of 100 people at Case Western Reserve University found the military junta and the U.S. government "Guilty!" of crimes against the Chilean people.

Sept. 11 protest draws 800 in New York

NEW YORK—The first anniversary of the coup in Chile was marked here with a spirited picket line of more than 800 people, many of whom turned out because of their anger about revelations of CIA involvement in the rightist takeover.

The site of the picket was International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT), a symbol of U.S. intervention in Chilean affairs.

Hundreds of the demonstrators wore brightly colored T-shirts proclaiming, "Chile, Si; Junta, No." The shirts were passed out to people on the line by a group of New York artists who have been active in the Chile defense movement.

The demands of the picket were: free

all political prisoners in Chile; end the junta's ban on trade unions and political parties; and no U.S. aid to the junta. Hundreds of signs bore these slogans. In addition, there were many signs opposing CIA intervention in Chile. One of the most frequent chants was: "ITT, CIA, No More Aid to Pinochet!"

ITT is in midtown Manhattan, and hundreds of office workers from the area were attracted to the picket line as they left their jobs. USLA (U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners) activists distributed a leaflet to such passersby, describing repression in Chile, U.S. involvement, and the reason for the protest. The leaflet was especially well re-

ceived by ITT employees. The ITT management tried to escort them from work through the garage, so they would not be exposed to the picket, but alert USLA leafleters were able to reach many of them.

The picket was one of many such actions taking place around the country commemorating the anniversary of the coup. It was sponsored by the September Chile Action Coalition, made up of more than 30 groups, including USLA, Chile Solidarity Committee, Emergency Committee to Save Chilean Health Workers, New York Lawyers Guild, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Communist Party, New American Movement, and Americans for Democratic Action. On Sept. 6, the coalition held a concert/rally at Columbia University, which also drew 800 people.

At the end of the picket, leaders of three of the groups most active in the coalition spoke briefly.

A USLA spokesperson, Ike Nahem, referred to the recent CIA revelations as "the Pentagon papers of the Chile defense movement." He added, "What you have been reading in the *New York Times* this week would, a few years ago, have been laughed at as 'the conspiracy theories' of radicals. Now it is common knowledge that the U.S. government, serving the interests of big businesses like ITT, and utilizing the services of the CIA, is primarily responsible for the string of

military dictatorships that ring Latin America, from Uruguay to Brazil to Chile."

Nahem went on to explain how Americans can best show their solidarity with the people of Chile. "The people of Chile need their sisters, brothers, parents, and friends out of the junta's jails," he said. "They need their democratic rights to politically organize, to have legal trade unions and parties that can fight for their rights. And most of all, they need an end to U.S. government support to the regime of their oppressors."

"We show our solidarity by putting pressure on the junta and the U.S. government by fighting for these demands in protests such as today's. The picket line today and the rally last Friday show what can be accomplished when the movement is united around such demands," Nahem concluded.

Alan Howard of the Chile Solidarity Committee pointed out that it is through "the mass mobilizations of people in the streets" that the policies of the Chilean junta and the U.S. government will be changed. "We must tell the U.S. government," Howard continued, "that they must either halt those policies that do not represent the interests of the American people, or the American people will paralyze this machinery of death and replace it with one that does represent them."

José Navarro of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party also spoke.



New Yorkers demonstrate at offices of ITT

Militant/Maceo Dixon

Judge denounces prosecution

Wounded Knee victory a blow to gov't

By LEE GEARHART

ST. PAUL—It was a victory that came so suddenly that when U. S. District Judge Fred Nichol announced his decision some courtroom spectators gasped and others began applauding spontaneously.

Judge Nichol told the packed courtroom here Sept. 16 that he was dismissing all charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means, leaders of last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S. D.

Nichol attacked the prosecution, the Justice Department, and the FBI, citing "government misconduct" as the reason for the dismissal.

Chief prosecutor R. D. Hurd sat at the U. S. Attorney's table, his face in his hands, as Nichol delivered his rambling one-hour statement.

Nichol alluded to Watergate and his disillusionment with the Ford administration. The judge cited the Nixon pardon and talked of his own opposition to the Vietnam war.

It was a sick juror, however, who triggered the judge's decision to drop the charges.

The government balked at allowing the case to continue with 11 jurors. Prosecutor Hurd told the press he preferred a mistrial for fear that the 11 remaining jurors would vote to acquit Banks and Means.

Nichol cited the government's opposition to allowing the 11 jurors to proceed as another example of "government misconduct."

Outside the courtroom, after the judge's decision, jubilant supporters of the defendants gathered, many of them Indians.

"I think today was a blow for freedom for everyone," said William Kunstler, a defense attorney.

Banks and Means each faced 40 years in prison on five felony counts for protesting the injustices of broken treaties, inhumane reservation conditions, and the corrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs.

For eight long months the trial had continued, pitting the giant apparatus of the U. S. government against the meager resources of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

But sympathy and support for the American Indian Movement leaders was too strong, and opposition to the government's treachery ran too deep for the judge to ignore.

More than 400 persons turned out for a victory party. Two jurors and two alternate jurors joined the celebrants.

Dennis Banks climbed onto a table at one end of the room, introduced the jurors, and told the cheering crowd: "I want to recognize the real jury in this case—everyone here."

"It's a joyous moment for Indian people all over the country," Banks told *The Militant*. "I think it's a victory for the entire Indian movement."

The sudden and spectacular finish to the frame-up came as the jury began deliberating Sept. 12. One of the jurors, Therese Cherrier, a postal clerk, suffered a stroke.

Paralyzed in the left arm and leg, Cherrier was hospitalized and jury deliberations were halted Friday morning, Sept. 13. By Sunday, a doctor found that her condition was so severe that there was virtually no chance of her rejoining the jury.

The defense favored proceeding with an 11-member jury. So did Judge Nichol.

But chief prosecutor Hurd told re-



Defendants Dennis Banks (left) and Russell Means with defense attorney Mark Lane

porters over the weekend that he would oppose an 11-member jury since Cherrier seemed the most likely juror to favor a conviction, and her presence on the jury might be the key to convincing other members of the jury to vote for a conviction.

The defense filed a motion for acquittal Sept. 14, citing new details of government misconduct regarding a government witness, Louis Moves Camp. The acquittal motion also cited illegal military action at Wounded Knee and other examples of government misconduct.

Monday, Sept. 16, came, and the tension mounted.

Inside the judge's chambers, the defense, the prosecution, and the judge were told by Cherrier's doctor that she would definitely be unable to return to the jury. The next move was the government's.

One hour passed, then two.

The government's official answer—one undoubtedly made in consultation with high administration officials—came at 2 p.m. The government said it would not accept an 11-member jury, but would only take a mistrial.

Suddenly the buck has been passed back to Fred Nichol, the South Dakota federal judge who had spent much of the trial chastising the defense team, at times before the jury.

At 3 p.m. the jurors filed back into their chairs and spectators swarmed into the gallery section.

U. S. marshals locked the doors. Judge Nichol entered the courtroom.

Nichol began by announcing that

Cherrier would not be able to serve.

"It seems to me almost incredible," Nichol told the jury, "that it could not be agreed that we proceed to a verdict."

He added: "I guess the only good thing you could say about the Department of Justice is that it made its decision in less than two weeks."

Then Nichol began to tear into the prosecution.

He said the government had a higher responsibility than playing a mere adversary role, and that its primary responsibility was "not to win a case" and get a conviction, but to see that "justice is done."

Nichol said that in his opinion the government should have sought "justice" by allowing the 11 jurors to reach a verdict.

The judge then reviewed a decision he had made last April when he rejected a defense motion to dismiss the charges on the grounds of government misconduct. In that decision, Nichol had admitted that the FBI had illegally instituted a wiretap during the Wounded Knee seizure, that FBI agents had lied, and that the government had been negligent in not turning over documents to the defense. But he still refused to drop the charges at that juncture.

This time Nichol's response was different:

"You recall at that time I said I was on the brink of dismissing the charges. I now think it's fair to say that I am over the brink."



Wounded Knee during 1973 seizure by Indian protesters

Jurors: 'Gov't didn't have enough evidence'

Had the Wounded Knee jury been allowed to reach a verdict, it would have acquitted the defendants on all counts, or deadlocked, resulting in a hung jury. There was no chance for conviction.

Newspaper interviews with the jurors found that at least six were solidly for acquittal.

One juror who would have voted not guilty, Susan Overas, 19, told reporters she was thinking of doing some work for the Wounded Knee Defense/Offense Committee. She came to the victory party after the judge's decision.

"I'm celebrating too," she said.

Defense attorneys met some of the jurors as they checked out of the St. Paul Hilton Hotel Sept. 16, after the judge's decision to drop the charges. Some jurors embraced the defense attorneys and defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means, congratulating them for winning.

One juror, Richard Garcia, had few kind words for the government.

"They goofed up," Garcia told reporters. "There wasn't any evidence on any of the counts."

Defense attorney William Kunstler walked over to Garcia and put his

arm around him. Garcia grinned. "Whenever I get in trouble I'm going to call on you," Garcia told Kunstler.

Therese Cherrier, the juror the government thought would be most likely to vote to convict Banks and Means, supported acquittal.

According to Cherrier's husband, she felt "very bad" about having become ill and "wanted to return to convince the other jurors of an acquittal."

"There wasn't enough evidence to convict"—that comment was repeated by several jurors.

The jury had voted 12 to 0 not to convict the defendants on the conspir-

acy count, and were deadlocked 8 to 4 in favor of acquittal on the larceny count when deliberations were halted by Cherrier's stroke. There were no formal discussions on the three assault charges.

John Kilbride, the jury foreman, appeared to be the only strong supporter of conviction. He would have voted guilty on four of the five counts, he told reporters.

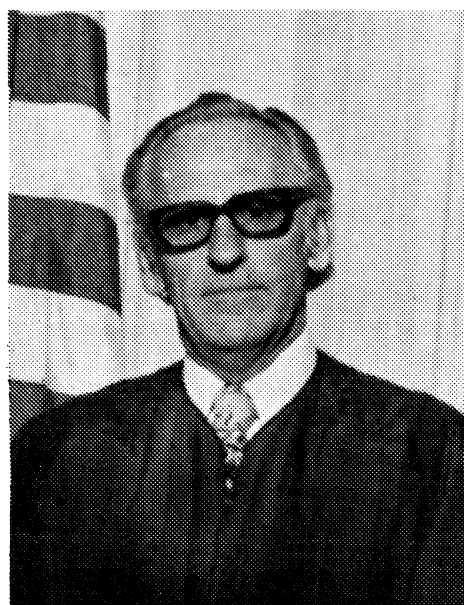
It appears that even though under the law the government is able to screen prospective jurors and run FBI checks on them, it is harder to stack a jury these days.

Socialists blast FBI stonewalling at Minn. campaign 'reforms' hearing

Nichol asked out loud that if Banks and Means could not get a fair trial, "is it fair" that others who were not leaders in the Wounded Knee occupation should be tried. Nichol said that perhaps there was an analogy in Nixon receiving a "full pardon" while 40 or 50 others face trial in the Watergate affair. He termed the Louis Moves Camp development "the most serious misconduct on the part of the government."

Moves Camp, a member of AIM who turned against the group, was a last-minute government witness. He linked Banks and Means to all the charges, but his allegations, including assertions that deals for guns were made between the defendants and Communist countries were utterly incredible. No one, including the judge, seemed to believe him.

Nichol blasted the FBI, which he said "deteriorated" as the trial progressed. He said that FBI statements could not be believed. He said that Hurd had deceived him when he told the judge that Moves Camp had been arrested on an intoxication charge in



JUDGE NICHOL: 'I didn't realize the FBI had stooped so low.'

Wisconsin. In fact, Moves Camp had been picked up for rape, but charges weren't pressed, according to the defense, in return for his testimony at the trial.

Nichol said Hurd was "guilty of misconduct" when he put Moves Camp on the stand. "I didn't realize the FBI had stooped so low," Nichol said.

Nichol said that Moves Camp was paid double by the government for several days while waiting to testify, and in the end received \$2,074.50 for testifying.

"Is this what we expect from the FBI and from the representatives of the government?" Nichol asked.

Nichol said the government was also guilty of misconduct for using the military at Wounded Knee without a presidential order, as prescribed by law.

"I don't have any great quarrel with the military, except that it was involved in Vietnam," Nichol said. He added, "We don't want the military running civilian affairs."

Nichol said it was a "bad year for justice." "I thought we were going to have a new chapter written when we had a new president," Nichol said.

He said he was not just referring to the pardon of Nixon. Nichol said he had served in the armed forces and was once proud to serve. After "what's happened in the last year," Nichol said, he was not sure "I'd be so proud."

Nichol said he was dismissing the charges, rather than acquitting Banks

Continued on page 26

ST. PAUL—Under orders from Attorney General William Saxbe, the FBI defied a Minnesota State Ethics Commission subpoena here Sept. 17, refusing to answer any questions about its surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The ethics commission has been conducting hearings on a request by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee to be exempted from reporting requirements in the state campaign financing law. The socialists argue that to turn over to the government the names of contributors is to expose these supporters to harassment by local and federal police agencies.

The Minnesota law, called the Ethics In Government Act, permits exemptions from disclosure requirements if it can be proven that the result would be "economic reprisal, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion."

At three hearings prior to the Sept. 17 session, the socialists have submitted volumes of evidence showing FBI harassment of members and supporters. Much of this evidence has been unearthed by the socialists' suit against illegal government surveillance, filed by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin and supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Seeking to learn more about secret police surveillance of the socialists, the ethics commission previously subpoenaed local police and military intelligence officials to testify, in addition to the FBI.

Philip Enlow, acting head of the FBI here, appeared at the Sept. 17 hearing with Assistant U.S. Attorney Daniel Scott. "Mr. Enlow has received word that the attorney general has ordered him not to honor the subpoena," Scott told the commissioners.

The Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate in the 5th C.D., Ed Jurenas, blasted the FBI refusal to testify. He told the commission, "William Saxbe has shown his desire to continue the cover-up without a pause, in spite of the manifest desire of the American people for the full information about the political police methods used over the last several years."

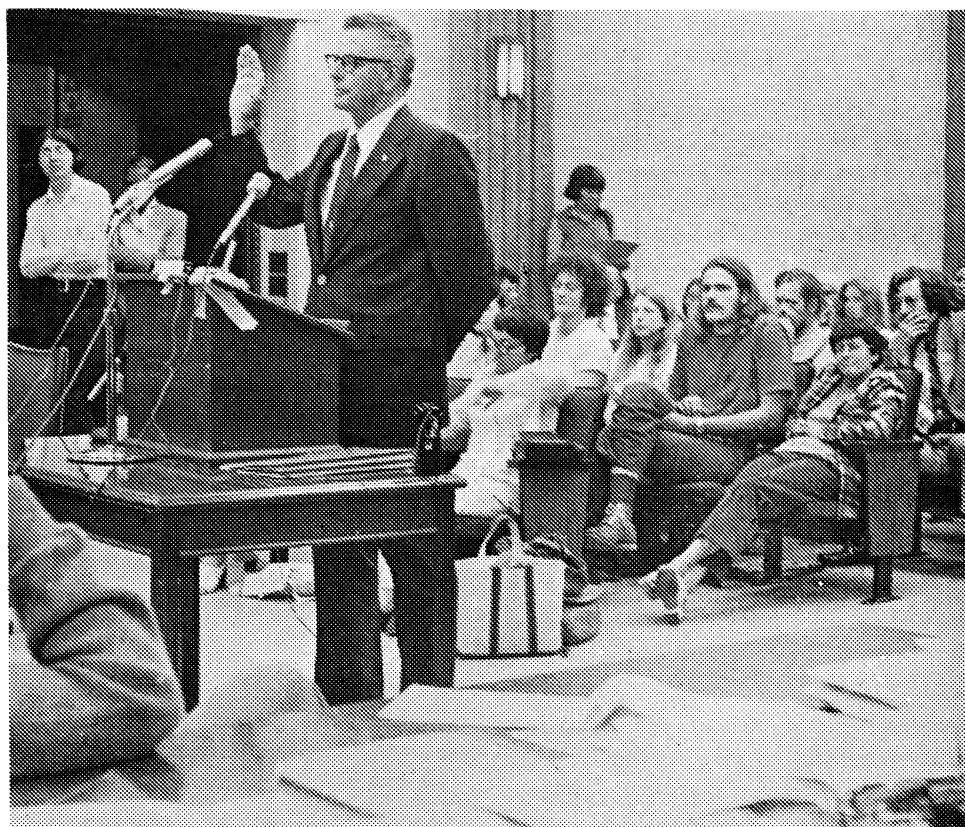
Jurenas said that the FBI has been at the center of government attacks on the SWP. He cited the FBI "SWP Disruption Program" aimed at trying to prevent the socialists from gaining new adherents. He also introduced new evidence at the hearing proving that these attacks have not stopped.

Jurenas told the commission that a police spy had been uncovered in the Minneapolis SWP just two weeks before. A report written by the police agent for his employers was accidentally returned by the post office to the headquarters of the SWP.

When confronted with evidence that he authored the report, the police agent admitted reporting on meetings of the SWP for a number of years, and promptly resigned from membership.

"This accidental discovery," Jurenas pointed out, "underlines the immediacy of this ongoing campaign of disruption against the SWP." Charging that the agent was acting under FBI instructions, Jurenas said such spying activities "establish, on their face, our right to an exemption under the Ethics In Government Act."

"If the commission members do not feel we have established this right to an exemption," he continued, "then we must insist that you make whatever legal effort necessary to secure the



Militant/Mark Allen

Minneapolis police captain Rollo Mudge. Socialists introduced evidence to prove he lied in denying that cops spy on SWP.

court-ordered cooperation of the FBI" in testifying before the hearing.

The outcome of the exemption fight here is particularly important. This is the first test of a challenge launched on a national scale by the Socialist Workers campaign committees to campaign "reform" laws. In addition to demanding exemptions from other state campaign laws, the socialists have filed suit against the 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act. The American Civil Liberties Union is representing the socialists in this suit.

Police caught lying

At the Sept. 17 hearing, attorney Douglas Hall, on behalf of the socialists, introduced evidence directly contradicting testimony by police captain Rollo Mudge at the Aug. 1 hearing of the commission.

Mudge and his attorney denied that the Minneapolis police department conducts any surveillance of the socialists. Both specifically denied that police cars were parked in front of SWP headquarters to spy on activities there.

However, Hall introduced a photograph of a patrol car parked across the street from SWP headquarters for almost four hours on the night that Wounded Knee defendant Dennis Banks addressed a Militant Forum there.

Hall, who is also an attorney for the Wounded Knee defendants, entered into the record extensive portions from the condemnation of illegal FBI activities made by Judge Fred Nichol at the conclusion of the Wounded Knee trial. Nichol dismissed the government case against Indian leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks in part because of these FBI attacks.

Late in the hearing, one commission member introduced into the record President Ford's speech to Congress in which he promised an end to "illegal surveillance." Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, then challenged the implication that Ford has stopped surveillance of socialists.

"Ford claimed he would stop 'illegal' surveillance," Stapleton said. "But the whole point is that the FBI, the Justice Department, and other administration agencies claim it is 'legal'

to wiretap and disrupt so-called subversives."

A tacit admission that this is the case was made to the ethics commission by the Minneapolis postmaster, who had been subpoenaed to testify on surveillance of the socialists' mail. Declining to testify, the postmaster sent a letter referring to the socialists' suit against government Watergating, which has forced federal post office officials to admit that they have cooperated with the FBI in spying on SWP mail.

The SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota, Jane Van Deusen, summarized the socialists' case. She pointed out that while campaign "reform" laws do not really prevent big business monopoly of the elections, they do threaten the rights of independent political parties.

'Ironical pardon'

"It is ironic indeed," she added, "that Ford finds pity and pardon in his heart for a criminal like Richard Nixon, while the legal activities of the SWP continue to be Watergated by the FBI."

She concluded by explaining to the commissioners: "Not even during the heyday of the McCarthy era was the SWP forced to turn over lists of its supporters. By a negative ruling on our request, you would indicate that you think parties like the SWP should be forced to expose their contributors to harassment and attack. Such a ruling would be clearly unconstitutional, and we will appeal any such decision through the courts until a reversal is obtained."

The ethics commission is scheduled to meet again Sept. 24, when it will consider what action to take on the FBI's refusal to testify. The commission could decide to begin court action to force the FBI to answer questions. It could also decide to rule on the socialists' exemption request without hearing any further testimony.

Statements backing the socialists' right to an exemption from the Minnesota campaign disclosure law should be sent to the State Ethics Commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55155, with copies to the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 25 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, Minn. 55414.

N.Y. SWP candidates file for ballot status

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—"Today the Socialist Workers Party is filing 37,904 signatures of registered voters—almost twice the 20,000 required—to place our statewide candidates on the ballot," Rebecca Finch told reporters at the New York State board of elections in Albany.

Finch, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, and Derrick Morrison, SWP candi-

AS WE GO TO PRESS:

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party campaign committee has learned of a challenge by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) to the nominating petitions filed for the SWP's statewide slate of candidates and for socialist congressional candidate Claire Moriarty.

The NCLC has a history of collusion with local cops in attacks, including physical violence, against radical organizations.

SWP campaign supporters are appealing for broad public support for the right of the SWP candidates to be on the ballot. Protest letters and telegrams may be sent to New York State Board of Elections, 194 Washington Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12225, with copies to the SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

date for governor, filed the 3,127 sheets of petitions Sept. 12, two days after the state Democratic primary, where the turnout at the polls was exceptionally light. Fewer than 30 percent of the state's enrolled Democrats voted.

In the gubernatorial race, where each candidate spent more than \$1-million in the primary alone, Hugh

Carey won over the Democratic machine choice, Howard Samuels. Half of the \$2-million raised by the Carey campaign came from his brother Edward, owner of several large oil companies.

In the senatorial race, Ramsey Clark, former U. S. attorney general under the Johnson administration, defeated the two other primary candidates despite the fact that he had not been endorsed by the Democratic State Committee.

Clark had received less than 1 percent of the vote at the Democratic nominating convention in June, where he had been nominated by Frank Serpico, the maverick former policeman, and Herbert X Blyden, former Attica prison inmate.

During the last days before the primary, in an attempt to garner the large Jewish vote in New York, Clark issued a position paper on the Middle East that called for an "unequivocal" military commitment by this country and "invincible armament" for Israel. He showed total disregard for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and their struggle to regain their homeland.

In the races for lieutenant governor and attorney general, the machine nominees also lost the vote, resulting in every one of the official designees of the Democratic state convention being defeated.

Given these results, many liberals are concluding that those who voted in the primary were striking a blow for "independence."

Rebecca Finch blasted this notion, stating, "Ramsey Clark, and the slate of Democratic candidates who won the primary elections, advocate no fundamental change from the capitalist system that is responsible for inflation, unemployment, miserable housing, deteriorating schools, Watergate, the Vietnam war, and all the other problems we are faced with."

"Far from representing a vote for



Militant/Janice Lynn

SWP senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch (left) and gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison file petitions in Albany.

'independence,' a vote for Clark is a vote for the policies of the whole Democratic party, which is tied hand and foot to the big corporations and is set up to defend the interests of the rich," Finch continued.

"The only real 'independent' candidates are those who break completely from the two capitalist parties and seek to take control of government institutions out of their hands," Finch said.

"I am running on a program that fights against the big trusts and the government that represents their interests. I urge everyone who believes that the two-party shell game is a dead end for solving the problems of this country to support my campaign."

In New York City, nominating petitions were also filed for three SWP candidates for U. S. Congress. In the 18th Congressional District, in Lower Manhattan, Katherine Sojourner filed 5,986 signatures for a ballot spot in

November.

In a statement to the press, Sojourner said, "One of the most acute problems in the 18th C.D., which includes much of school District 1, is racism in the schools."

"As an active participant in this struggle and a candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, I pledge my full support and that of my party to work for the reinstatement of Luis Fuentes, the parent-chosen principals, and all other parent- and community-supported staff," Sojourner declared.

Also filing petitions were Claire Moriarty, in Manhattan's 20th C.D., who turned in 5,290 signatures; and Maxine Williams, SWP candidate from Brooklyn's 12th C.D., who turned in 7,502 signatures. The law requires 3,500 signatures for congressional candidates.

A total of 56,682 signatures were filed to place eight SWP candidates on the ballot in New York.

Killer-cops in Atlanta gun down Blacks

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Racist John Inman is no longer Atlanta's police chief, but it's business as usual for the hired killers in blue uniforms.

Now the top cop is a Black man, Reginald Eaves. But police under Eaves's command have already killed two Black people in three weeks.

On Aug. 19, amid charges of "cronyism," the city council approved Black Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson's appointment of Eaves, Jackson's former college roommate, to the newly created position of public safety director.

Inman was kicked downstairs, to push paper as head of the Bureau of Police Services under Eaves.

On Aug. 24, Otis Jackson was shot

dead by policewoman M. E. Ogle. On Sept. 6, Alfred Reid was killed by officer M. T. Kerrin. Jackson and Reid are the twenty-third and twenty-fourth victims of Atlanta police bullets in less than two years. All but one of the victims were Black.

Both Jackson and Reid were shot to death in their living rooms after police were called to break up domestic squabbles. Both killer-cops claim they shot in self-defense, but relatives of the victims disagree.

Reid, 47, had recently undergone psychiatric treatment for a nervous breakdown. After he became agitated the night of Sept. 6, his mother called the police to ask that he be hospitalized. In a *Militant* interview, Reid's two sisters described what happened next.

When officer Kerrin arrived and ordered Reid to go to the hospital, Reid became angry and rushed toward the cop. Kerrin drew his revolver and fired point-blank into Reid's chest at least twice.

The cops claim Reid "pulled a nine-inch steak knife from his belt and slashed out at the officer," wrestling Kerrin to the couch. Kerrin fired once, the cops say, then was threatened with the knife a few moments later and fired again.

No witness saw Reid draw a knife, including his sister, who was standing between Reid and the cop just prior to the shooting. Both his sister and his mother told *The Militant* that Reid never got near the couch; he was shot while standing in the living room in front of the couch.

Reid's other sister, Naomi McLaren, said the knife was still on his belt as Reid lay dying on the floor. "My brother was still breathing an hour after he was shot," she said, but the cops had yet to call an ambulance.

Detectives took Reid's mother to the police station, where they browbeat her into signing a statement giving the police version of the incident. They refused to let the sisters accompany their mother to the station.

The shooting of Otis Jackson occurred under similarly suspicious circumstances. According to the *Atlanta Voice*, a Black newsweekly, Jackson and his wife had been drinking and quarreling when "someone" called the police. Policewoman Ogle tried to arrest Jackson, and a scuffle ensued.

Witnesses told the *Voice* that Ogle beat Jackson about the head with her nightstick until he was dazed, and called him "a Black son of a bitch" before drawing her gun and shooting him in the abdomen.

The Jackson killing is now before a grand jury, and the police claim to be conducting their own investigation of the Reid shooting.

The two latest killings continue the pattern of racist police terror that aroused Black protests while John Inman was police chief. As the killings by police became more frequent, angry Blacks organized marches on city hall and the police headquarters demanding an end to police terror and the removal of Chief Inman.

Pressure from the majority-Black population of this city had forced Mayor Jackson to fire Inman, but

the ex-chief hung onto his job for three months through appeals to Georgia courts.

Last month's appointment of Eaves and the demotion of Inman were hailed by many Black Democratic politicians as solving the problem of police violence. But Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor and a leader of the demonstrations against police terror, called the appointment of Eaves "an administrative cover-up, a maneuver that does nothing to change the repressive nature of the police in the Black community."

Eagan emphasized that the appointment of Eaves has left the special repressive police units intact, including the plainclothes Decoy (stakeout) squad, the SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical) squad, and the Intelligence Division.

"Eaves has no more intention of bringing the killer-cops to trial than did Inman," Eagan said.

"The Eaves appointment," he added, "is a good illustration of why we socialists say the police cannot be reformed, why we call for the complete removal of the police from the Black community and for their replacement by units democratically chosen by and responsible to the Black community."

"You're just as dead whether the cop who shot you is a man or a woman, white or Black," Eagan concluded, "and it certainly doesn't matter whether the cop's boss is white or Black. He still represents the same interests."

Continued on page 26



Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson. His appointment of a Black police chief hasn't stopped killings by racist cops.

Buses stoned, Blacks injured

Boston racists fight school desegregation

By DONALD GUREWITZ

BOSTON—The opening of schools in Boston Sept. 12 made national headlines as thousands of white students boycotted classes and white mobs took to the streets in an attempt to thwart court-ordered school desegregation.

Black students arriving by bus at South Boston High School, where opposition to court-ordered busing has been strongest, were greeted by a threatening mob of 400 who screamed, "Niggers go home!"

Once inside the school, the Black students were confronted with a mostly hostile teaching staff. One Black student said that after the teachers had her fill out some forms, "they didn't say anything else to me for the entire period. They looked at you like you were crazy."

As the buses carrying Black students left South Boston High at the end of the first day, bands of white youths heaved rocks, bottles, and pieces of pipe at the buses. Nine Black students and a bus monitor were injured by flying glass.

Despite beefed-up police details at South Boston High the second day of school, arriving Black students were

Donald Gurewitz is the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

greeted by a howling mob and buses were again stoned as they departed at the end of the school day.

The mayor's office reported other instances of whites stoning buses of Black students in Dorchester, Forest Hill, Jamaica Plain, and Roslindale. For those accustomed to the image of a liberal Boston, it seemed like a page out of Mississippi or Alabama in the early 1960s.

Enrollment off

The boycott kept school attendance to 67 percent of potential enrollment the first two days. This is about 13 percent lower than normal first-day attendance. However, at most schools, busing of students took place without incident.

City officials declared that on a city-wide basis, the white boycott was a failure. In their strongholds, though, the racists were overwhelmingly successful. Attendance at South Boston High was 9.2 percent the first day and 4 percent the second day.

At Roxbury High, in the heart of the Black community, only 20 of the projected 597 white students showed up the first day. The figure dropped to 10 by the second day.

As the racist antibusing movement has been building steam over the past year, its organizers have claimed that it is not aimed at the Black community, but simply at preserving "neighborhood schools." This is a lie.

One of the leaders of the protests told the Boston *Globe* she is so "committed" to neighborhood schools that she tells parents "send them [their children] to another city with a friend or relative" rather than keep them at home and have them put on a bus.

A white eleventh-grade student expressed widely held racist sentiments: "I don't like niggers and my mom and dad don't like niggers so I'm not going to school."

Mixed reaction

Reaction in the Black community to the busing plan and the white boycott has been mixed. Many Black parents and students accept the busing plan as a way to get a better education in the generally superior white schools.



Beefed-up police details failed to protect Black students from racist mobs

The big concern among Black parents is the safety of Black students being bused. Many chose to remain home the first day rather than face racist insults and possible violence. And many who did brave the threats the first day changed their minds after the mob violence at South Boston High.

After the first day's violence, an angry meeting of 300 was held at Freedom House, a Black community center in Roxbury.

At the meeting, Mayor Kevin White was confronted with demands for increased protection of Black students, including the use of state police, national guard, and federal marshals, if necessary. White then announced that gatherings of three or more outside of public schools would be banned and police details would be beefed up in South Boston.

Some Black parents and students felt they had to return even after the first day's violence. "I'm not just concerned about South Boston for education's sake," said one Black parent. "It's more than that. It's education and my children's rights as citizens."

Eleven-year-old Jenel Manor, a sixth-grade student, said: "I came back today to show them we weren't scared. If we stayed away, we would have done what they wanted us to do."

Desegregation order

The desegregation order was issued June 21 by Federal Judge Arthur Garrity. It came in response to a suit filed in 1972 by a group of Black parents with the backing of the NAACP. They sought and finally won a ruling to force desegregation of Boston schools on the grounds that segregation was a violation of the constitutional rights of Black children.

Garrity's order came in the midst of a big upswing of activity by the racists. Beginning in 1973 these forces have organized a series of demonstrations, disruptions, and special antibusing referenda. A central target of the actions was the state's Racial Imbalance Law.

This law, passed in 1965 at the height of the civil rights movement, said that no school could be more than 50 percent Black. The state legislature never implemented it because of the pressure of the racists.

In the face of the racist campaign, liberal politicians have caved in one after another, exposing as a sham their supposed commitment to decent education for Black children.

In April 1973 Mayor White, once a supporter of the Racial Imbalance Law, switched his stand and said the law was "unworkable." Soon there-

after the Democratic leadership of the house and senate also switched its position and began supporting attempts to suspend, repeal, or weaken the law.

The only liberal to hold out—for a while—was Republican Governor Francis Sargent. Until May 1974 he continually vetoed the repeal laws passed by the Democrats. But Sargent was only involved in a maneuver to win Black votes away from the Democratic party. Last May he abruptly announced that he could no longer defend the Racial Imbalance Law. He announced he favored repeal and a new set of legislation to achieve "voluntary" integration—that is, subject to approval by the racists.

Sargent's plan was quickly endorsed by City Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, the all-white Boston School Committee, and other leading racist forces. It was also welcomed by the state legislature, and by the end of the summer, the law was no longer on the books.

Meanwhile, Sargent's liberal Democratic opponent in the upcoming gubernatorial race, Michael Dukakis, has played an equally perfidious role. Last May he announced he could no longer support "forced busing." He has not made one public statement about the racist offensive. His "solution" is a form of decentralizing the school district that would give more power to the racists.

Inferior schools

It was against this backdrop that Judge Garrity issued his ruling. Most of it consists of lengthy documentation of the hundreds of methods the school committee has used to maneuver the Black community into segregated, inferior schools.

The order requires busing for about 18,000 of the school system's 94,000 students. Of those ordered bused, 8,510 are white and 9,752 are Black.

Garrity's decision also calls for a sharp increase in the number of Black teachers and Spanish-speaking teachers. For a while, he imposed a one-Black, one-white hiring quota on the school committee in order to bring the number of Black teachers up to par with the percentage of Blacks in the Boston population. Although Garrity later lifted this order when the school committee said it could not find enough qualified Black teachers, the percentage of Black teachers has gone up.

The Boston Teachers Union (BTU), which has traditionally been a white job trust with close ties with the school committee, threatened to go to court

over Garrity's order. The BTU claimed it was for "affirmative action" to hire more Black teachers, but not quite as affirmative as Garrity was insisting.

In general, the role of the BTU has been one of speaking out publicly against the integration plan, encouraging racist opposition among parents and students, but claiming it will "obey the law."

As of this writing, the situation in the schools remains volatile, and the racists are discussing whether to continue the boycott past their two-week projection.

Socialist position

The Socialist Workers Party candidates released a statement on the situation that said:

"We demand that the city and state officials take every step necessary to guarantee the rights and safety of Boston's Black students. Had Mayor White and Governor Sargent not given such encouragement to the racists in the past, had they not allowed them to organize and threaten the Black community with such impunity over the past months, we would not be confronted with the open acts of racist violence we see today.

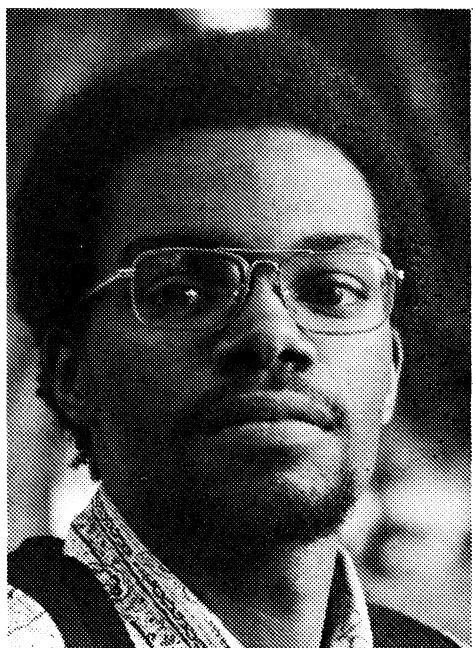
"White, Sargent, and the rest of the liberals have shown over and over again their willingness to compromise with these extreme racists. The only way these officials will take even the smallest steps to protect the rights of Black students is if they are forced to. The meeting that took place at Freedom House is an example of what is needed."

The SWP candidates have spoken out in defense of the right of Black students to attend any school they choose and to use busing as a tool to win better education.

The socialist candidates have also spoken out in defense of the right of the Black community to maintain all-Black schools where it is felt that this is the road to quality education.

"We demand," the candidates said in a recent statement, "that control over all aspects of the education of Black youth be taken out of the hands of the racist Democratic and Republican parties and the agencies they control."

"Every aspect of Black education—from hiring teachers to planning curricula to whether to use busing—must be placed under the democratic control of the Black community. And massive federal and state funds must be made available to the Black community so that all steps deemed necessary to achieve quality education for Black students can be taken."



Ollie Bivins, socialist candidate for lieutenant governor, defends right of Black students to attend any school they choose.

Wounded Knee

All supporters of democratic rights and all who struggle for social change welcome the dismissal of charges against Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

The Wounded Knee prosecution was aimed at intimidating others who might stand up for their rights. Judge Nichol's decision—like the decisions of juries in the Ellsberg, Berrigan, Seale, Gainesville, and similar trials—is a blow to the government frame-up drive against dissenters.

The government's attempt to destroy the American Indian Movement reckoned without the courage and determination of the defendants and their attorneys. The defense refused to give up. Week after week they exposed the frame-up in the courtroom and in meetings and demonstrations around the country.

The government also reckoned without the widespread public support for the defendants and the equally widespread distrust of the FBI and other prosecution witnesses. The frame-up was just too crude for people to swallow, especially in this period of the credibility gap opened by government lies about the Vietnam war and widened by Watergate.

Although Judge Nichol ultimately dismissed the charges, he had done all in his power to avoid doing so. He refused to drop them in April despite the fact that he had to admit the FBI had placed an illegal wiretap at Wounded Knee and had withheld evidence from the defense.

But government agents continued to be caught in perjured testimony, and Nichol, in his final decision dismissing the charges, blasted the government for what was an obvious attempt to fabricate testimony for a "star witness." While Nichol was quick to jail defense attorney Mark Lane in July for contempt of court when Lane tried to defend his client in court, he didn't even suggest that FBI agents and prosecuting attorneys should be jailed for perjury, for engaging in illegal wiretapping, and for buying false testimony.

If the government had the type of evidence against Banks and Means that Nichol had against the FBI and prosecution attorneys, the AIM leaders would have been sent to jail for 40 years!

Nichol's hand was forced by the changing climate of opinion in this country, the same distrust of the government and its agents that prevented the capitalist rulers from sweeping the Watergate crimes under the rug.

Tens of thousands of signatures on petitions demanding that the charges be dropped flooded into Nichol's office. Nichol also received a daily flow of mail in support of the defendants.

Forums, picket lines, and rallies took place across the country in support of the frame-up victims. In the Twin Cities, protests occurred nearly every month of the eight-month trial: Nichol could watch many of them from his apartment across from the courthouse.

Despite the government's repeated violation of its own laws, the charges against Banks and Means would never have been dropped without the publicity generated by the defense campaign. This campaign took on even greater importance because of the nearly total news blackout by the capitalist press.

The Militant is proud of the role it has played in this defense campaign, exposing the frame-up and getting the truth about the Indian struggle out to tens of thousands of readers week after week.

We have won a big victory, but the battle is not over. The government has announced it will appeal Judge Nichol's decision. Moreover, some 100 cases stemming from Wounded Knee are still pending. In addition, there are charges pending against Russell Means and other Indian activists for their part in other protests.

The charges against all of these fighters against the oppression of Indians must be dropped!

The victory in the Wounded Knee trial will give an impetus to the whole Indian movement and to the fight to free all political prisoners here in the United States. It will be welcomed by the Attica Brothers especially, as an indication that their fight can prove victorious as well. It is an inspiration to move forward, building a massive movement to demand that the Attica charges be dropped.

Profoundly human

I just learned of the death of James P. Cannon. I am writing to extend my deepest sympathy to the entire movement.

I met Cannon only once in my life. I had expected the encounter to be profoundly exciting. Meeting a hero like Cannon was to be an experience that one has once in a lifetime.

But meeting Cannon was very different from what I had expected. He was only a human being, an old man. I saw something in him that I recognized in all his written works. Cannon had such a profoundly human quality about him that I could not be in awe of him.

When the history of the world revolution is written after the final overthrow of capitalism, Cannon's name will stand out as one of the central figures of the movement.

Alan Stancliff
Berkeley, Calif.

A model for youth

The Vanguard Books bookstore has received its regular bundle of the James P. Cannon special issue and it is a fantastic issue.

The contributions of this man were so great that all the newspapers of the Fourth International could print their own stories of James Cannon and there would still be much to publish. The model of dedication, learning, propaganda, and revolutionary activity that Jim Cannon left us will serve the youth and the revolutionary party until our day has come.

Richard DeGaetano
Winnipeg, Manitoba

Tired of garbage

Enclosed is money for a two-year subscription.

It certainly is good to read some news rather than the garbage presented in the *Chronicle* and *Examiner*.

K. D.
San Francisco, Calif.

Grape boycott

Enclosed is money for a renewal of my subscription.

Also enclosed is some tissue-paper wrapping off of grapes imported from Chile. This was sent to me by a friend from Nanaimo, British Columbia.

Notice the red, white, and blue emblem with "Chile" clearly stamped on it.

The agricorporations of fascist Chile are now evidently joining with the U. S. growers in using Canada as a marketplace for their scab products. Canadian working people now have two reasons to boycott table grapes.

D. W.
Lethbridge, Alberta

Which Ford?

I sell *The Militant* every week in Detroit. While selling the Sept. 6 issue, I met with a curious response that will be of interest to you.

I sold the issue on the back page, which headlined, "Ford's

plan: more cutbacks and layoffs." Well, the most immediate response from motor city inhabitants was that "Ford" in the headline meant the Ford Motor Company! This is not too surprising since the American people never voted for Gerald Ford as their president and since the general trend is toward cutbacks and layoffs.

Seeing how it is harder and harder in name and in deed to separate big business and industry and the actual ruling class (like Rockefeller) from the members of the government these days, I suggest that for simple journalistic clarity *The Militant* be very careful to make it clear which Ford it means in its headlines.

Ann Owens
Detroit, Mich.

Burlesque?

I think Gerald Ford unwittingly provided us with an excellent vignette of his presidential role shortly after taking office.

While still living in Alexandria, Va., Ford invited the media to his swimming pool. All the television networks showed Ford disrobing just before diving into the pool. All recorded his words: "This is not a burlesque."

Methinks he doth protest too much.

Dayne Goodwin
Logan, Utah



Better late than never

Living in Japan, I particularly appreciate *The Militant's* news reportage. Even though it arrives one month late it provides news that will not be reported for months in any other paper, if reported at all.

Currently in Japan we are witnessing the same incredible attack on the standard of living of the working class that you have in the United States today. If anything, it is much worse in that Japanese workers haven't any fraction of the union strength that the American worker has.

In America the worker at least has a union from which to begin to fight to improve his or her lot. In Japan, most unions are com-



'National, your fly is open'

pany unions and include both blue-collar workers and management. The company today in Japan still tries to maintain the same kind of paternal, all-providing "love" that was the case in feudal times. Only today this feudal system of the "company as family" (in which the company seeks to provide all the needs of the workers by building an entire community of co-workers around each worker, providing company dormitories, cars, vacations with company workers on company-owned resorts, and even marriages to company co-workers) is a wonderful way to keep a tight control on any dissident talk about low wages.

This system will, I think, have a very difficult time withstanding a real radicalization of Japanese workers.

B. C.
Mashiko, Japan

Turning on to socialism

I am in the Army here in Texas. A little while ago I visited the Houston branch of the Socialist Workers Party and brought 35 *Militants* and 10 *Young Socialists* back to the post with me. Within two days they were all sold.

I have been turning my friends on to socialism; *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* have really been a big help. Keep up the outstanding work.

A GI
Texas

Quite disgusted

I have been doing time here for about three years. I might add that I am quite disgusted with the place. The guards play games with our heads and I have seen quite a few inmates get busted by setups.

The thing that broke this place up is the furlough system. Since the furlough system started everybody is scared to stick together and fight for our rights. The shame of it all is that only certain guys get the furloughs. The furlough program is indeed a great program. It lets a man get home to be with his loved ones. But the program should apply to just about all of us inmates here and it doesn't.

A prisoner
Massachusetts

Tells the truth

Enclosed is money for two subscriptions—a renewal for myself and one for a friend.

My friend is an American Indian, and he wants to learn more about the Indian movement. This kind of information is unavailable in "establishment" newspapers. I thank you for providing me with a newspaper I can get the truth from. Keep up the good work.

G. F.
Chico, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

"We were born to fly. . . . We move our tail for you. . . . We make you feel good all over. . . ."

If these airline advertisements make you sick, imagine how stewardesses feel, forced by their employers to walk, talk, and look like those "playmates-in-the-sky" you see on TV.

A growing number of stewardesses, fed up with being treated like sex objects, are fighting back. In 1972, a few of these women got together and formed Stewardesses for Women's Rights (SFWR), whose goal is to combat sexist treatment of stewardesses and defend their rights on the job.

SFWR held its fourth national convention in New York City Sept. 11 and 12. One hundred seventy-five women attended all or part of the conference. SFWR organizers report that hundreds of stewardesses have joined the group around the country.

The conference focused on two issues: sexist ads and the transport of hazardous cargo on passenger planes. In addition, prominent feminist writers were invited to speak, including Betty Friedan, Gloria Steinem, and Alix Kates Shulman.

The stewardesses plan to continue their campaign against National Airlines' "Fly Me" ads. In the past, they have filed suits against the company, picketed, and put out literature against the ads. (The best is the bumper sticker that says, "National, Your Fly Is Open.")

Airline ads are not only degrading to the stewardesses as human beings. They also pose a genuine safety threat on airplanes. As the August SFWR newsletter explains, ". . . sexist airline advertising has more serious consequences than merely offending our intelligence. Our contention is—sexist airline advertising endangers the safety of the passenger because it undermines flight attendant authority to carry out their primary duty on the aircraft. Passengers

don't readily obey the safety instructions of their sexual fantasies."

Here's a story that illustrates the point. In 1967, a stewardess trying to prepare her passengers for evacuation from a plane was suddenly swept up in the arms of a male passenger, who then carried her "to safety"—where she couldn't help with the evacuation, naturally.

SFWR is now preparing a new lawsuit against the airlines over sexist advertising. A key target will be National.

The stewardesses have also taken the lead in helping expose the transport of radioactive materials on passenger planes. The airlines kept this a secret until this summer, when SFWR and consumer groups began protesting this dangerous practice.

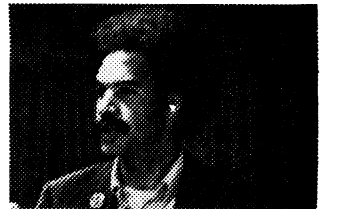
The Atomic Energy Commission claims only one in 10 planes in this country carries radioactive cargo. But SFWR says the great majority of planes are shipping it. Together with other concerned groups, the stewardesses picketed at airports and leafleted passengers and transport workers this summer to get out the facts about this danger. They plan to continue this campaign.

The risk of exposure, of course, is far greater for stewardesses, pilots, and maintenance personnel than for other passengers. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported that in 1973, "six out of ten stewardesses from Ozark Airlines experienced severe problem pregnancies. Ozark flies a higher percentage of radioactive cargo than most airlines."

Many women in SFWR also belong to unions, and some hold office in their local union. A few stewardesses have also become active in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). As the word spreads about SFWR and about CLUW, there are sure to be plenty of stewardesses joining both these groups.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The SCLC convention

There have been some good times for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and there have been some bad times. Today, the 18-year-old organization is experiencing some mighty bad times. The word, as voiced at its convention in Philadelphia last month, is that it is broke and has little following nationally.

SCLC was founded by Martin Luther King Jr., who was its president until his death in 1968. Reverend Ralph Abernathy succeeded him.

This year's convention set three general goals: fighting cutbacks in federal social programs, ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, and inclusion of SCLC leaders in a summit conference with President Ford.

The convention was to run from Aug. 13 to Aug. 16, and SCLC was to hold a march on Independence Hall Aug. 17. But the entire affair ended Aug. 15, a victim of lack of interest. Only 300 people had attended. Two thousand were expected.

Sessions slated to be held at the Sheraton Hotel had to be shifted to a church, including the awards banquet, because only 16 tickets had been sold.

News reporters and columnists began to write off SCLC, and some even poked their ink-tipped lances at the Black movement itself.

Claude Lewis, a Black columnist for the Philadelphia *Bulletin* wrote, "It was a movement back then [during King's time]. Now, it is something else, and frankly, I don't know what to call it."

What has happened?

"The problem is that times have changed and the organization hasn't," was how Lewis put it. Blacks, he said, "have grown tired of the firehoses, the police dogs, the night sticks, the marching, the bombs and all the rest."

Chuck Stone, a Black columnist for the Philadelphia *Daily News* wrote that there has been so much progress that now, "when black people wake up every morning in the third, fifth, and ninth largest cities (L.A., Detroit and D.C.), and decide they want to

protest, they don't head for the nearest civil rights organization. They can go straight to the mayor—and he's black too."

Wait a minute. Slow down.

How about another large city that happens to have a Black mayor, and a strong local SCLC? Blacks there have been going to the mayor and protesting one of the biggest problems and nothing has happened.

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson hasn't stopped the cops who have been terrorizing Black Atlantans. And SCLC and other groups have had to resort to, yes, that old-fashioned civil rights tactic—marching in the streets.

This brings us to the heart of the matter. Although abolition of Jim Crow—which many civil rights leaders took to be the objective of the movement—has been accomplished, human freedom, dignity, and real equality have yet to come to the masses of Blacks. Many Atlanta Blacks could tell you.

And never mind the Julian Bonds. Bond, an Atlantan, stood before the awards banquet saying: "We Black elected officials determine what Johnny Law says to you when he stops you for a speeding ticket. Whether he says 'come here boy' or whether he says 'mister.'"

Now Bond had just won the Democratic nomination for Georgia state senator—he's now a state rep—and it must have clouded his thinking. He couldn't have told a crowd of Black Atlantans that and walked away without some booing.

That's another point. Some leaders of the movement have mistaken form for substance—namely, a few Black elected officials for genuine Black representation, the end of Jim Crow for freedom—and used this to help dampen the struggle.

But the Atlanta experience shows the powerlessness of Black Democratic officials. And as for freedom? Generally speaking, we're as impoverished and lacking in control over our lives now as we were at the start of the so-called civil rights movement.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Reverse Catch-22—Federal regulations bar application for a pardon until three years after a prison term has been completed. How then did Nixon get one? Simple, a White House lawyer explains. He didn't apply.

'Besides, if ya don't like it here. . .'—As Louisiana residents dug in for the hurricane that recently hit them, there were widespread complaints of heavy price-gouging by merchants. Officials were philosophical. "Legally," a sheriff explained, "people can charge whatever the free market will bear."

Maybe he was chewing gum—Deplaning in Pittsburgh the day after he par-

doned Nixon, President Ford stumbled while walking down the ramp.

No liquidity problem—The Scotch Whiskey Association reported that despite the economic slump, Americans are lapping up more of their product than ever. One Wall Street broker confided to us: "It beats jumping out of windows."

American entrepreneur—A Hollywood operator enjoys a brisk business washing and waxing Rolls Royces for fees ranging from \$65 to \$150. But, he assures, he concentrates on Rolls because that's where the money

is. "I'll do a pair of roller skates if I get paid for it," he says.

Thought for the week—"No man is above the law, but the law is purposely flexible."—Representative John Rhodes (R-Ariz.) defending the Nixon pardon.

Lobster a la iceberg—They neglect to mention it, but a growing number of restaurants, including some of New York's plush, are firing cooks and serving prefrozen dishes. "Instead of a chef," the *New York Daily News* reports, "many restaurants now have a man in the kitchen called a decorator, also known as 'the doctor,'

whose sole function is to drop a few sprigs of parsley on an item, or pour his own sauce over a frozen entree to disguise its origin."

Blessed out—Hugh McNatt, a Miami electrical worker, sued a Baptist church that had been taking 10 percent of his earnings as a tithe. He had given on the basis of the pastor's assurance that "blessings and awards" would come to those who gave. McNatt said that in three years of giving he received zilch. He dropped the suit when a San Antonio businessman sent him a check for \$800. The businessman was apparently satisfied with the church's track record.

National Picket Line

New rip-off at the meat counter

The capitalist system produces an abundance of commodities for the consumer market, all of them made as cheaply as possible and designed to wear out quickly, so as not to undercut future sales.

Cars wear out in three years. Cheap watches last one year. Most clothes are soon threadbare and must be cast aside for the newest styles.

It is all planned this way to increase production and ensure big profits for the manufacturers. If the products are shoddy and the consumer is cheated, that is all a necessary part of the system. Don't complain, because if you do, manufacturers may suffer a profit loss and decide to go out of business. What would you do then?

This system of planned deterioration in the quality of commodities has been extended from homes, mechanical appliances, and clothes to the food we eat. It includes meat.

On Sept. 10 the Department of Agriculture announced a proposed new grading plan for beef. They say it will lead consumers to eat leaner cuts and will save millions of bushels of grain.

The plan originated in the corporate offices of U.S. agribusiness and was dutifully adopted by

the Agriculture Department. It was also immediately endorsed by the American National Cattlemen's Association.

The plan will allow cattle to be brought to market sooner, with a shorter time for fattening. The beef will then be sold to consumers for the same price as the better, more nutritious meat currently at the butcher counter.

For the past 50 years, if you wanted to know what kinds of meat you were buying, you looked for the U. S. grade stamped on it. The best grade was marked "prime," next best "choice," then "good," and at the bottom were the "utility" and "cutter" grades.

Under the new grading system, much of what is now graded "good" will pass for "choice." There will still be plenty of "prime" (probably more, at higher prices) but it will be different—less fat in the grain of the meat, more "chewy," less nutritious.

But there is the other side of it too. C. W. McMillan, executive vice-president of the Cattlemen's Association, says the reduced period of fattening animals will save an annual consumption of 140 million bushels of grain. According to McMillan,

Frank Lovell



this will reduce the cost of producing beef by only about 5 cents a pound, however.

The Agriculture Department is not pushing the new grading plan as a way of reducing prices, either. Their publicity makes the plan sound like a new "consumer protection" program.

They say the new plan will reduce fat intake by people who have heart problems. It will not noticeably change basic eating quality, they claim. Besides, the saving in feed grains could go to millions of starving people in the world. But this is not a likely prospect.

Already, there is more beef on the market in this country, and in other countries, than there are people who can afford to buy it. Cheaper beef from the United States may be put on the world market, but that won't help workers here who earn an average \$4 an hour and can't afford to buy much meat these days.

The meat grading scheme really has no other purpose than to swell the profits of the meat corporations. It ought to be fully investigated by the union movement and consumer groups and the facts made available to working people.

The American Way of Life

Victims of black lung

Appalachia is coal mining country. Its hills are dotted with hundreds of ugly mounds of brown-black coal "slag," the unused refuse from the mines.

In the nearby coal towns is found another form of unused "refuse"—the crippled miners disabled by black lung. This "human slag" has been tossed aside by the profit-hungry coal bosses, betrayed by "legislative allies," and for many years abandoned by union officials.

Black lung is a dreaded and ever-present danger for the coal miner. Every year more than 4,000 deaths are directly attributable to this disease. At least 20 percent of underground miners still working have traces of black lung. This figure may actually be much higher, because many miners are afraid to be X-rayed, for fear that the results will jeopardize their jobs.

Many black-lung victims are totally disabled. Nevertheless, it took decades for black-lung victims to become eligible for any compensation at all. The disease was proven as early as 1942 to be caused by coal dust in the lungs, but it took 27 years before legislation was enacted regulating dust levels in the mines and providing meager

benefits. This was the 1969 Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act.

The protests of the black-lung victims themselves have played a key role in winning these changes. The scandalous treatment of black-lung patients also became an important issue in the fight to throw United Mine Workers President Tony Boyle out of office.

By May 1972, 364,600 miners and widows had registered for the black-lung benefits. The government turned down more than half—192,200—or failed to process their claims. Protest over this callous treatment forced the government to approve more of the claims, but a third of the victims have yet to receive any benefits.

The benefits themselves are a meager \$177.60 a month for a single miner, or \$355.20 for a miner, his wife, and two children.

As for violations of the dust-control regulations in the mines, the government inspectors are known to obligingly look the other way.

Black lung does not have to continue to cripple and kill miners. The scientific and engineering knowledge exists today to make mining a safe

occupation. This has been shown in Cuba, where American-owned copper mines were nationalized after the revolution.

An article in the June 5 *Tricontinental News Service* describes how the Cubans closed down one of these mines from 1970 to 1971, to add safety features, buttress the walls, and install steel beams.

Today, air, temperature, and humidity levels are scientifically controlled in the mine. The workday has been reduced from eight to six hours to lessen the dangers from prolonged underground exposure.

Special measures have been taken to reduce the dust levels, with the result that silicosis, a disease similar to black lung, has been virtually eliminated.

There is no reason why mines in the United States cannot be safe. But as long as U. S. mines are run for the private profits of a wealthy minority, rather than for the social benefit of the great majority, the miners will face death and crippling disease each time they enter the mines.

— NAT LONDON



The labor-White House inflation meeting: no alternatives to deepening recession

By FRANK LOVELL

President Ford called 28 top union officials to the White House Sept. 11 to talk about "what we can achieve together in this campaign against inflation." This was the second in a series of meetings Ford has organized leading up to the National Conference on Inflation, Sept. 27-28.

Ford quickly came to his point—as if the union officials didn't already know. "I make a sincere appeal for restraint," he told them. "It must be a self-imposed restraint," he added. In other words, voluntary wage controls.

Deepening recession

The deepening recession and the threat of mass unemployment were the central issues for the union officials present at the meeting. They were there to plead with Ford to do something.

Most of the other symptoms of cancer in the capitalist economic system were also mentioned during the discussion: inflation, monetary instability, high interest rates, unequal taxation, the national debt, the federal budget, rate of productivity, wage controls, the decline in production, and even soaring corporate profits.

The one verboten subject was the \$100-billion military budget. It was as though this war spending—one of the major causes of inflation—did not exist.

AFL-CIO President George Meany led off for the union officials at the meeting. The labor officialdom is not yet ready to accept voluntary wage controls, he told Ford, but he didn't exclude



WOODCOCK, MEANY: Offered Ford ideas on how to tinker with economy.

accepting controls in the future.

Meany complained that under the Nixon wage-control machinery—which the union officials fully supported at the time—"workers and their unions were subject to one-sided controls on workers' wages. But there were no effective controls on prices or interest rates, and no restraint whatsoever on corporate profits."

Nixon's favorite labor flunky, Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons, was absent from the meeting. The Teamsters were represented instead by Murray Miller, the secretary-treasurer. He declared that the union would not agree to any self-imposed wage guidelines until a balance between purchasing power and prices is restored.

'Easing monetary policy'

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock suggested "easing of monetary policy, coupled with credit allocations to channel funds where they are needed, as in housing, construction and the utilities; in Government spending in critical areas, construction of needed social input structures, energy research and development of manpower programs."

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, criticized administration cuts in social welfare programs.

No one at the meeting pledged allegiance to the Ford administration. But Meany concluded his

remarks with the assurance: "So, Mr. President, we will cooperate, I'm sure, to the fullest extent and I'm sure that the people sitting here at the table here this morning will let you know what they think."

For these officials, "what they think" means offering ways to tinker with the capitalist system in the hopes of making it work a little better.

One of the favorite ways to tinker offered by Woodcock and others is to ease up on the "tight money" policy in the government's recessionary program. This is a policy the labor leaders blame on a few individuals on the Federal Reserve Board. Actually, like the rest of the government's recessionary moves, "tight money" has virtually total support among both Democrats and Republicans in Congress.

Cutbacks in social services

Equally bipartisan is the support for cutbacks in education, health, and welfare benefits. Congress in fact recently outdid itself by slashing \$1.1-billion more from funds for welfare programs than Ford himself had dared propose.

But the union officials did not raise these things at their meeting in the White House, because they remain tied to the Democratic Party.

One of the participants in the White House meeting, United Mine Workers (UMW) President Arnold Miller, did not offer much advice on how to solve the economic problems of capitalism. He is in negotiations now with the coal barons and the oil trusts over a new contract for the miners, on whose behalf he has submitted a list of 200 demands.

Miller said that flag-waving appeals for the miners to sacrifice will not influence the UMW in these negotiations. The miners have already sacrificed too much, he said, while profits in the coal industry are up as much as 844 percent for some companies.

By the time Miller spoke, however, Ford had already left the meeting to play golf in North Carolina and dedicate the World Golf Hall of Fame.

The message was clear to the 28-member union delegation. The Ford administration is not much interested in their opinions, only their services.

Ford's economic advisors freely admit they see no early solution to inflation. Wholesale prices rose a startling 3.9 percent in August, an annual average of about 47 percent if this pace continues.

Last month, industrial production declined 0.4 percent, signaling a deeper recession and more layoffs. Some banks in the United States and in other countries have gone under. As Ford and the labor officials were meeting, the Wall Street stock market was plummeting to its lowest level in nearly 12 years.

The capitalist economy on a world scale is in bad shape, and the economic advisors to big business and the White House see no way of helping things. They hope it will get better after a long period of declining demand for goods and services; that is, a recession.

But this holds the danger of a prolonged depression around the world on a scale similar to the Great Depression of the 1930s, something the aging officialdom in the unions remembers and fears.

The best Ford had to offer the labor officials on unemployment was a promise to release government funds *already allocated* to provide public works jobs for about 85,000 people, a fraction of the five million who are unemployed.

Even the Meany followers had to dismiss this offer as nothing more than a public relations gimmick. But Meany offered no substitute proposal.

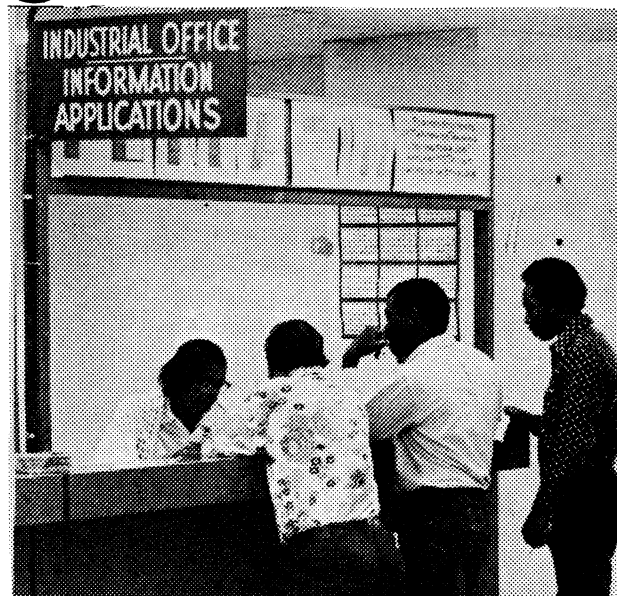
Rather than trying to help the capitalists solve their problems, the labor leadership should be mobilizing the union membership in a struggle against the attacks on workers' standard of living and jobs.

Fighting unemployment

The unions can combat unemployment, for example, by demanding a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and a massive public works program.

During the Depression, the U. S. government put four million to work. The same—and more—can be done now. If Ford wants to know where the money would come from, why not start with the \$100-billion now being wasted on war expenditures?

No make-work schemes are required. What this society needs is a well-planned public works pro-



Militant/Norman Oliver

Union movement can fight unemployment by demanding shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

gram to rebuild the cities, construct mass transportation systems, put up low-cost housing, build schools and hospitals, clean up polluted rivers, plant forests, and reclaim wastelands. The unions can be the driving force in organizing such projects.

Escalator clauses

The unions can also protect the standard of living of workers. More and more unions are demanding escalator clauses to help wages keep up with constantly rising prices.

Cost-of-living allowances in most union contracts are outdated and woefully inadequate. They need to be revised to provide for frequent wage adjustment to compensate fully for every increase in the cost of living, especially the soaring cost of food.

This adjustment of income should extend to people receiving pensions, welfare, and Social Security, and to low-paid workers who lack union protection.

The union movement can win this demand if the working class is mobilized to fight for it. There is no other way workers can protect themselves from the ravages of inflation.

Another part of the capitalist offensive against workers is speedup at the expense of safety. The unions should take the lead in demanding safe working conditions in the factories and the mines, and combating the deadly pollution many workers are exposed to every day.

There is no lack of resources to tackle this fight. The most valuable resource is the 90-million-member workforce, including the millions who are unemployed.

The unions cannot lead these workers in the fight to defend their standard of living while still tied to the Democratic and Republican parties, however. To wage an effective struggle, working people need to break from the twin parties of big business, the Democratic and Republican parties, and form their own party, a labor party.



Both Democrats and Republicans favor continued billions for warships and bombers, while cutting funds for welfare and education.

...steel trust in global profit drive

Continued from page 28

Hanna Mining] because George Humphrey basically controlled a major portion of the steel companies."

Making money is the name of the game. In recent years two of the Big Eight have been taken over by conglomerates in order to whip them into more efficient profit organizations.

Youngstown Sheet & Tube is owned by Lykes-Youngstown. The Lykes side of it is a Florida-based ranching, meat-packing, citrus growing and canning, and real estate interest. We know about these types—not only from the supermarket counters but also from the battles of farm workers. Lykes-Youngstown also owns a major world shipping company operating in the United Kingdom, Mediterranean, Orient, Africa, and the West Coast of South America.

Jones & Laughlin steel is the major subsidiary of LTV. Its other two major subsidiaries are the meat-packing firm Wilson & Company and LTV-Aerospace, a major weapons producer.

These examples graphically illustrate the community of interests of the ruling class on one side and the need for working-class unity against all the bosses on the other.

One of the main reasons for the intensive speedup in steel and the dangerous working conditions is the U. S. offensive in world trade signaled by Richard Nixon's "New Economic Policy" in 1971.

The steel industry demands: import quotas that limit the amount of foreign steel that can come into this country; dollar devaluation in order to cheapen the prices of U. S. goods exported abroad and to raise the prices of foreign goods sold here; and an all-out drive to "rationalize" U. S. industry—that is, to speed up production, cut down the labor force, and keep wages to a minimum. All this is intended to make U. S. industry more competi-



'One of main reasons for speedup and dangerous working conditions is U. S. offensive in world trade'

tive in foreign trade.

There are indications of initial successes for steel on this score. *Business Week* reported Aug. 3, "Vastly increased world demand, currency revaluations, and a virtual tripling of ocean shipping costs during the last year have pushed foreign steel prices to the point where the foreign product is noncompetitive."

The other side of this is the increasing ability of U. S. steel to carve out foreign markets. Says *Business Week*, steel "exports are up an encouraging 65% this year, with world prices anywhere from 20% to 40% higher than in the U.S."

Reports from steelworkers in this issue of *The Militant* show that the drive to increase productivity is taking a drastic toll in the plants. These firsthand accounts are supported by statistics.

In a little-known report to the Securi-

ty and Exchange Commission, U. S. Steel shows that its volume of output in 1973 was slightly more than in 1969, the previous record year. But in 1969 U. S. Steel had 204,723 employees (including management); in 1973 there were 184,794 employees—20,000 fewer workers produced essentially the same output.

The steel union leadership argues that workers should support the productivity drive and the measures promoted by the steel industry to protect the U. S. market from foreign competition. This is a shortsighted view.

These campaigns of the steel bosses have only one end in view—raising industry profits. Under their control, raising productivity means job losses, speedup, and dangerous working conditions.

Instead of looking to the bosses in this country as allies against "foreign competition," steelworkers should seek alliances with fellow workers, and not

only in the United States.

How many people know that U. S. Steel and Bethlehem are *multinational corporations*—They have huge holdings in Canada, Venezuela, Liberia, and Brazil, from which one-third of the iron ore used in the United States is derived.

U. S. Steel has major holdings in France—Acieries de Paris et d'Outreau; Brazil—Amazonia Mineracao; Indonesia—P. T. Pacific Nikkel; Gabon—Compagnie Miniere de l'Ogoove; and South Africa—Feralloys Ltd., Zeerust Chrome Mines Ltd., Prieska Copper Mines Ltd., Atok Platinum Mines Ltd., and Africa Triangle Mining Ltd.

Workers in these South African mines have the same enemy as do workers in Pittsburgh coke plants—and it is the U. S. ruling class. This crucial struggle should not be divided by supporting the U. S. steel trust's protectionist interests.

Reserve Mining pollution case

Must workers choose between jobs & cancer?

By MARY HILLARY

MINNEAPOLIS—More than 80 percent of the 3,200 residents of Silver Bay, a company-built town in northern Minnesota, depend on the Reserve Mining Company for their livelihood.

Along with the 3,100 people in Babbitt, another company-built town, they have become pawns in a legal dispute between the profiteering company and the states of Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

They face on the one hand the threat of losing their jobs with no compensation, and on the other, the risk that the jobs they depend on may be giving them cancer.

The dispute centers on the dumping of 67,000 tons of taconite tailings into Lake Superior every day. The tailings are the waste from strip-mined, low-grade ore after the iron in it has been extracted.

Reserve Mining's pollution of Lake Superior had been opposed in environmental circles for years, but it came fully into the public eye only last April.

It was publicized at that time that the taconite tailings contain asbestos-like fibers believed to cause cancer. These fibers go directly into the drinking water of several communities, including Duluth and Silver Bay.

Rather than stop the dumping of its lethal wastes into Lake Superior, the owners of Reserve Mining—Armco Steel and Republic Steel—threat-

ened to close the plant down altogether. They claimed that conversion to an on-land disposal system would be too expensive.

On the other side in the court fight are the governmental agencies pressing the suit against Reserve. They claim to represent the public, but they have never concerned themselves with the problems facing Reserve's employees and their families. As far as the state is concerned, if the plant is closed the workers can just look elsewhere for jobs.

Last April Federal Judge Miles Lord closed the plant, but an appeals court ordered it reopened within 24 hours. It is still open and still dumping tailings into Lake Superior.

The past six months have been taken up with proposals, rejections, and new proposals for an on-land disposal site for the tailings. Reserve has finally agreed in principle to build such a site, but its plant will continue to pollute the lake until the new facility is built. The court case is already more than two years old, and much litigation remains before the final plans for the new site are set.

The iron-ore miners at Babbitt and the production workers at Silver Bay are organized in locals of the United Steelworkers. The power of their union can be the key to resolving the bitter dilemma these workers now face.

The union leaders have had little of their own to say. They have simply

backed up the company's position, ignoring the danger to the environment, pooh-poohing the threat of cancer, and opposing any shutdown of the plant. This is based on the viewpoint that the workers are naturally dependent on the company for their livelihood, and what's good for the company is good for them.

But Reserve Mining has no regard for the needs of its employees or the safety of the community. Profit is its one and only goal.

Those fighting to preserve the environment should be the natural allies of the steelworkers, who are themselves faced with the worst health and safety conditions right inside the plants. The union could spearhead a powerful alliance with the affected communities and environmentalists to demand both an end to Reserve's pollution and the preservation of all jobs.

In fact, many new jobs would be created by construction of a new, safe disposal system and whatever alterations in the plant are called for. All employees should receive full union wages for any time the plant is closed during such construction.

Any claim that Reserve can't afford to carry this out should be met with the demand to open its books and discover its real profits and its own secret studies of pollution. Reserve is said to be clearing \$60,000 a day, and the profits of its parent corporations are higher still.



Reserve dumps 67,000 tons of cancer-producing waste into Lake Superior every day.

Which should come first, profits for the steel trust or the workers' jobs and the community's safety?

If Reserve refuses to implement such a plan, it should be taken over by the government and run under the control of the workers themselves.

A fight along these lines by the Steelworkers union could set an example for workers throughout the country of how to deal with the problem of pollution.

Coke-oven workers demand safety

By NEIL BERNES

PITTSBURGH—Clairton Works, a plant with 4,000 workers located about 10 miles up the Monongahela River Valley from here, is the world's largest coke plant and the essential link in U. S. Steel's eastern operations.

Nearly 1,000 workers produce coke from the 1,300 ovens in the plant. Half are Black, a much higher proportion than in the rest of the plant, because the coke ovens are the worst place to work. For the same reason, most of the whites are younger workers.

Neil Bernes is a coke worker at the Clairton Works and a member of Local 1557, United Steelworkers.

The work is hot, dirty, and low-paid even for the steel industry. In the summer months young men in good physical condition sometimes pass out from the heat of the ovens. Burns of all sorts are the most common accidents, and many occur because the machinery is not kept in proper repair.

Even more dangerous in the long run are the gases and dust, which have been shown to cause lung and kidney cancer, heart disease, black lung, and other respiratory diseases.

When an oven is charged it emits huge clouds of black smoke—coal dust—and yellow gas—sulfur-based coke-oven gas. At times the gas is so thick on top of the ovens you can't see a foot in front of you.

To file a grievance against unsafe working conditions is a slow and cumbersome process. And the union contract bans strikes over grievances.

Coke workers' demands to improve these conditions have been blocked by the terms of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which committed the Steel Workers to binding

arbitration in the 1974 basic steel contract.

While prohibiting a nationwide work stoppage, ENA supposedly allowed local unions to strike over local issues. Members of Local 1557, the workers at Clairton, believed this was a weapon to right their longstanding grievances over health and safety.

But behind the backs of even the Local 1557 leaders, the top union officials had signed a special supplement to the national contract, extending the no-strike deal to local issues at the Clairton Works.

After the Aug. 1 deadline for resolving local issues had passed and had been extended to Sept. 1, Charles Stokes, the coke workers' grievance man, called a special local meeting. More than 400 men crowded the local hall at three meetings, one for each shift, most of them ready to shut the

coke works down.

Then James Smith, personal representative of Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, announced there could be no legal, sanctioned strike at Clairton. Let's try arbitration, he said, and if it doesn't work we'll try something else in 1977 when the contract expires.

Smith pointed out he was empowered to sign any agreement he wanted without approval of the members, but he promised to bring back any proposals to Local 1557 for its non-binding opinion.

On Aug. 27 another special meeting heard U. S. Steel's proposals to "protect the health of coke oven employees at Clairton Works." These amounted to a few half-hearted engineering changes and an additional half-hour break for most operating personnel.

These proposals were less than a

few crumbs for workers who had hopes for a reduced workweek, earlier retirement, and major engineering changes.

A supplementary proposal involved a 20 percent increase in the incentive plan's potential for coke-oven workers. As one young worker put it, "Twenty percent of nothing is still nothing." In exchange for this, the union officials agreed to impose a "nonobligatory" six-day workweek every fourth week and eliminate steady off days. This will have the effect of reducing the coke-oven work force by 30.

In three stormy sessions, the membership unanimously turned down these proposals.

Now Sylvester Garret, an "impartial arbitrator," has the final say on this agreement. The same arbitrator cost the coke-oven workers more than 100 jobs in a 1964 case. The company has taken even its meager final offer off the table, and union officials urge the coke workers to trust in their "fine legal staff."

Discontent is growing on the coke batteries. Workers feel sold out by the company and, unfortunately, by the union as well. Resentment can be seen in spontaneous, short-lived slowdowns and numerous "strike" slogans on machinery and walls.

The coke workers want their union to wage a militant struggle to defend their health, safety, and standard of living. They are learning from their neighbors and friends in the coal mines and from their own experiences not to trust the company, the "impartial arbitrator," or the government.

They are becoming aware that if the union is to fight for their needs there must be rank-and-file control of contract negotiations, no restrictions on the right to strike, and no agreements signed without ratification by the members.



Steelworkers President I.W. Abel (right) shakes hands with bosses' negotiator on no-strike pact.

Issues facing Steelworkers convention

By JOHN DORAN

The mills and blast furnaces of the mighty U. S. steel industry sprawl across the country from Seattle and Los Angeles to St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Birmingham, and innumerable smaller steel towns.

The plants spew their toxic wastes into the air and water, while inside, the steelworkers face speedup and hazardous working conditions.

In their drive for ever-greater profits, the giant steel trusts have launched

John Doran is a member of Local 65, United Steelworkers.

an assault on the living standards of steelworkers and the health of entire communities.

How to meet this attack is the central question that should be discussed at the convention of the United Steelworkers of America, scheduled to convene Sept. 23 in Atlantic City, N.J.

The attack has many fronts. Steelworkers in the coke ovens, blast furnaces, and sintering plants have astronomical accident and mortality rates. Isolated wildcat strikes and individual protests have yielded little or no change. The "new" grievance procedure that is supposed to protect steelworkers' rights is so cumbersome that most workers do not waste their time on it.

For the moment, production is high and unemployment is not considered a problem. Almost everyone is getting 40 hours and more. Along with high production goes the high accident rate. But when cutbacks in auto and other

industries catch up with steel, production will go down and massive layoffs will begin.

Also ahead are more drastic cuts in the standard of living of steelworkers and their families. The cost-of-living clause in the union contract, though it is better than many, fails to keep wages up with soaring prices. It is based on the government's phony price index, and while prices jump every time you go to the store, wages are only increased after three months.

Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other minority workers, and women workers, feel the crunch of the profit drive first and hardest. They are the last hired and first fired. Racist and sexist discrimination keep them in the worst jobs at the lowest pay.

The "consent decree" on discrimination signed by the major steel companies and the union leadership is designed to throw a few crumbs to minority and women workers regarding back pay and promotions. It calls for instituting plant-wide seniority, which would be a big step forward, but this has yet to be done in most plants. And to get an inadequate back-pay settlement, victims of discrimination must sign away their rights to any further legal action.

The top-heavy bureaucracy of the steelworkers union, headed by I.W. Abel, has failed to defend the wages and working conditions of its members. The greatest treachery is the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). In secret negotiations with the steel bosses, the Abel bureaucracy signed away the union's most pre-

cious right and fundamental strength: the right to strike. This was done behind the backs of the union members and without their approval.

The ENA is a threat not only to steelworkers but to workers in every industry. It was designed by the bosses as a model for all collective bargaining, a weapon to weaken every union.

The pressure of the rank and file has led some of the lower union officials to challenge the top echelons of the bureaucracy. Five of the most important district director posts were seriously contested in the elections last year. The top leadership responded with election fraud and crude ballot stuffing.

In District 31, the largest in the union, challenger Ed Sadlowski has succeeded in having new elections called by winning the support of thousands of workers. Many have attended fund-raising rallies to protest these undemocratic methods. These mobilizations are harbingers of the future, and not just around the issue of election fraud.

What steelworkers urgently need is a program of action and a leadership capable of mobilizing the union ranks to fight for their own interests. Here are some suggestions for such a program:

- To fight for improved health, safety, and environmental standards, elect union committees in every workplace with full power to police conditions. Initiate an alliance with community forces to safeguard both the environment and jobs.
- To eliminate unemployment, im-

plement the resolutions coming into the convention for a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay, in order to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

- To defend real wages, demand an escalator clause that fully compensates steelworkers every payday for every rise in prices, as determined by union price-watch committees. Oppose wage controls, "guidelines," or any other government interference in collective bargaining.

- To end racist and sexist discrimination, institute real plant-wide seniority and open up all trades and crafts to minority and women workers. Only preferential treatment in hiring and promotion can begin to compensate for past years of discrimination. Defend the right of minority and women workers to form committees inside the union to fight for their rights.

- Scrap the ENA and all other restrictions on the right to strike.

- For union democracy and rank-and-file control. *The members are the union.* We must have the right to vote on all contracts and all union policies. Refuse any further dues increases.

Only a united, democratic union, fighting uncompromisingly against the bosses and in the interests of all its members, will be able to beat back the attacks of the steel barons.

These problems require more than an economic fight. The Democratic and Republican parties belong to the bosses. We need independent political action—a labor party based on the unions—to fight in our interests against the parties and government of the bosses.

Socialist addresses steel rank and file

The following are excerpts from a speech by Herman Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio, to a Sept. 8 meeting of Rank and File Team, a dissident steelworkers group based in Youngstown, Ohio.

Kirsch was a longtime member of the United Auto Workers and is now a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers.

There is a new mood of militancy in the labor movement. It has been expressed in the recent strikes in San Francisco, the turbulence in Lordstown, the teachers strikes, and the actions of rank-and-file steelworkers.

I know that all of the steelworkers here are deeply involved in this struggle and that is why I want to speak on the importance of politics and program.

The bureaucratic misleaders of the unions place all the blame for inflation and the recent wage controls on the Nixon administration. They cover up the fact that the Democratic Party was responsible for passing the wage-control law in 1970 and that the leading Democrats urged Nixon to use this law against labor.

Watergate has been an eye-opener for all the workers who truly believed Washington represented all the people of this country, not only the rich. In this respect, Watergate has been of great educational value.

Abel, Meany, Woodcock, and all the other misleaders of labor are now working hard to revive confidence in

the government, which is nothing more than the executive committee of big business. They urge workers to vote for a "veto-proof" Congress, meaning more Democrats. And that will mean more of the same: inflation, layoffs, and cutbacks.

This road leads down a blind alley. Now, more than ever before, our powerful union movement needs to run union representatives for office, independent of the two capitalist parties.

The name of this kind of political action is independence, with reliance on our own strength. And the name of such a party is an independent labor party.



Militant/Henry Snipper

KIRSCH: 'Our powerful union movement needs to run union representatives for office, independent of capitalist parties.'

Midland strike ends with poor settlement

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—The 175-day strike against Dow Chemical's plant in Midland, Mich., ended Sept. 7 when the 5,300 striking members of United Steelworkers of America Local 12075 voted to return to work.

The vote of 3,273 to 1,158 to accept Dow's latest offer ran against the recommendation of Local 12075 President William Wittbrodt, who said that "it was not a good agreement."

Wittbrodt believes the vote did not reflect acceptance of the pact as much as it reflected the inability of the average member to stay out any longer.

Economic provisions had been settled as early as July, with a wage

and fringe-benefit package equal to \$2.08 an hour for the life of a three-year contract. The unresolved issues were amnesty for workers charged with various "crimes" by the company and the fate of 318 jobs Dow proposed to eliminate.

The union voted to accept a compromise in which only 150 of the 318 workers would be retained and most of the 22 up on charges would still face disciplinary measures. One worker will lose his job permanently, seven cases will go to arbitration, and 14 others face disciplinary layoffs of three to six months' duration.

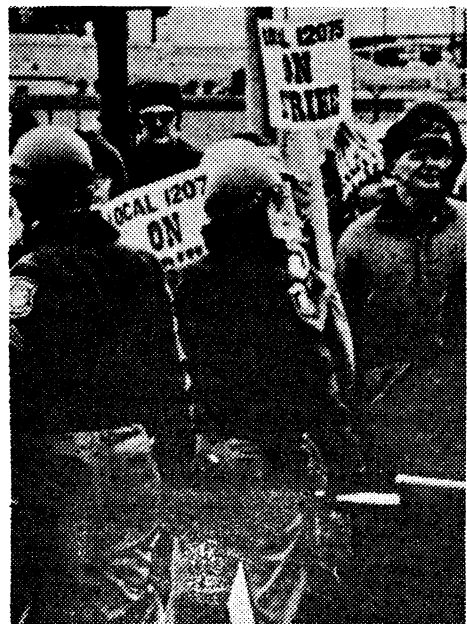
All 22 had been fired by Dow for alleged vandalism and sabotage during the strike.

Dow was able to keep operating the plant with supervisory personnel, since other unions delivered supplies throughout the strike. Only in the last week did the unions threaten to halt these deliveries. The main unions controlling the flow of goods into the plant were the Teamsters and Maritime Trades Council.

The lack of union solidarity earlier in the strike goes a long way toward explaining the vote to accept the admittedly poor agreement.

In addition, despite the militancy of the strikers, the union leadership failed to challenge the strikebreaking court injunctions and police attacks on pickets that made the movement of scabs and supplies into the plant possible.

Reliance on the "fairness" of the courts and cops, rather than on the power of the union ranks, seriously weakened the strike effort.



Cops confront steelworkers pickets during bitterly fought Dow strike.

NY trade-union women plan CLUW activities

By MONICA WYNN

NEW YORK— "We want CLUW members in every office, in every classroom, on every hospital floor, and in every garment shop where there's a union." Those were the words of Caryl Towner as she reported on publicity and recruitment plans at the Sept. 14 meeting here to organize a local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

Two hundred fifty trade-union women attended the meeting, the second held here since the founding of CLUW last spring at a national conference of 3,200 union women in Chicago.

Towner, a delegate to District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, outlined an ambitious campaign to build a local chapter. "We need to make CLUW into a strong organization to help us get what we want," she said. "We want the unions to fight for quality, inexpensive child care, equal pay and job opportunities, and adequate maternity benefits."

"We want to see the 30 million unorganized women workers in this country organized into trade unions," she added. "And what we want is going to make the unions stronger."

Towner announced plans for a speakers bureau that would send representatives of CLUW to union meet-

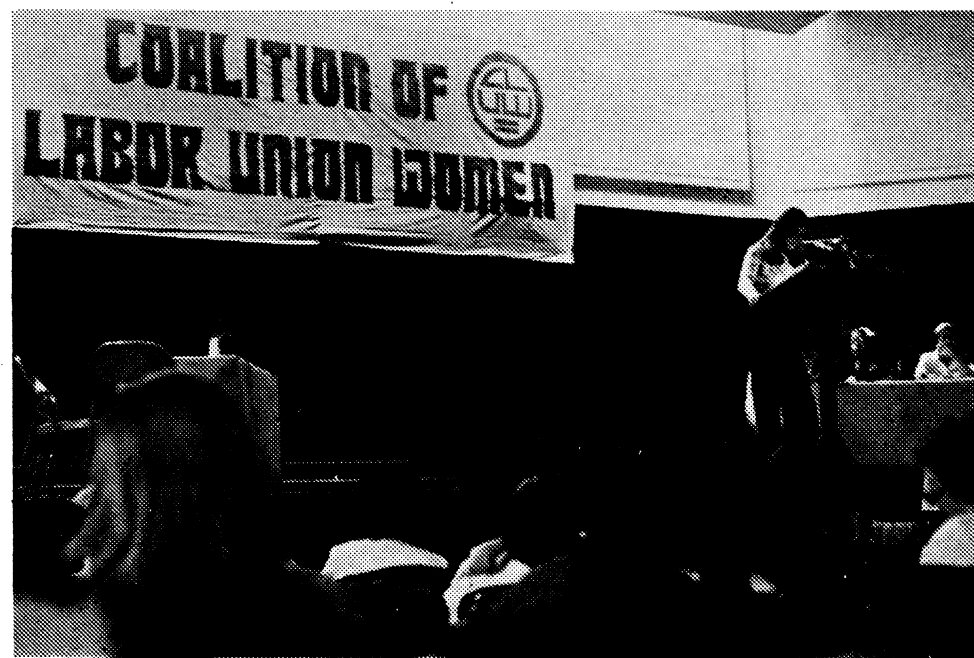
women; the distribution of literature to explain where CLUW stands on such issues as child care, equal pay and job opportunities, and a state Equal Rights Amendment; and an educational series.

A report by Connie Kopelov of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union outlined a proposed structure for New York CLUW. This proposal will be discussed and voted upon at the third organizing meeting for CLUW here, scheduled for Nov. 9. After the third meeting, the CLUW organizing committee will be able to apply for a charter from national CLUW.

The meeting also heard a report from Joyce Miller, East Coast regional coordinator of CLUW and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union. Miller reported on the recent national steering committee of CLUW, which projected a series of activities for local chapters, including fund raising, conferences, and union organizing drives.

Miller said that in New York, CLUW women should get their unions to support the candidacy of Mary Ann Krupsak, a Democratic state senator who is running for lieutenant governor. She announced a meeting of CLUW women to map plans for support to the Krupsak campaign.

Miller's announcement met with



New York meeting projected drive to reach out to union women and gain labor endorsement for CLUW.

ings to gain their endorsement and to get more union women involved in CLUW. "It's up to us to reach the thousands of New York union women who don't know about us yet," she said.

Participants in the meeting came from such unions as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); hospital workers union; Office and Professional Employees International Union; International Typographical Union; and the United Federation of Teachers. Several women active in the union organizing drives at Macmillan and at Putnam's, two major publishing companies here, also attended.

Pat Wright, a job steward in AFSCME District Council 1707, Local 205, reported to the meeting on future CLUW activities. Since the first organizing meeting in New York, she said, CLUW women have participated in support activities for the United Farm Workers, for the striking employees at Harper & Row, and in protests demanding more funds for day care.

In addition to continued support for these struggles, Wright proposed activities in support of better working conditions for social service and welfare workers, most of whom are

some surprise among women at the meeting, since New York CLUW has not discussed or decided to endorse Krupsak or any other candidates in the November elections.

When several women took the floor to point this out, Miller modified her announcement, saying she was not asking CLUW to back Krupsak and that the meeting to discuss building the Krupsak campaign would only be an informal gathering.

The meeting ended with a panel on "Women's Rights at the Bargaining Table." Participants included Doris Turner, District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Pat Williams, Maritime Commission of the American Federation of Government Employees; Elaine Paul, Local 371 of District Council 37, AFSCME; and Peggy McGuire, a stewardess from the Transport Workers Union.

Two hundred dollars was raised at the meeting by auctioning off a new CLUW button.

After the meeting adjourned, women marched to a local Pioneer supermarket to picket in support of the United Farm Workers union, demanding the removal of scab grapes and lettuce from the shelves.

New York teachers hit with punitive fines

By CATARINO GARZA

LONG ISLAND, N. Y.—"We struck for two-and-a-half percent," was chemistry teacher Ed Gerardi's bitter comment on the agreement reached between the East Meadow Teachers Association and the local school board.

The teachers' 8.2 percent pay increase will be all but wiped out by the loss of six days' pay and the fines of two days' pay for each day on strike, imposed under the state's notorious Taylor Law.

Chief union negotiator Alan Karasik's claim that the walkout was "the most effective teachers strike in the history of New York State" hardly seems justified.

The teachers had originally asked for an 11.1 percent increase for the first year of their contract and a cost-of-living adjustment in the second year.

On Sept. 4, when schools were scheduled to open, 740 out of 770 teachers were out. Supervisors tried to keep the schools open, with little success. Many high school students walked out after seeing the picket lines, forcing their schools to close.

On Sept. 10 the school board took legal steps to get a contempt-of-court citation under the Taylor Law, which could have led to the jailing of union officials. The president of the union, Herman May, declared that he would go to jail rather than call off the strike without a contract.

The next day, however, union negotiators agreed to settle for an 8.2 percent pay increase the first year and 6.8 to 8.8 percent the second year, depending on the rate of inflation.

In trying to pay their heavy fines, the East Meadow teachers will get no help from the 204,000-member New York State United Teachers (NYSUT), the power base of American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. At the NYSUT convention earlier this year, Shanker's forces beat down a resolution for a statewide strike fund to pay Taylor Law fines. They also defeated a call

for demonstrations against the law.

In other developments, teachers in Westbury, Long Island, ended their three-day walkout after accepting an increase of 8.39 percent this year and from 4 to 7.5 percent next year, depending on the Consumer Price Index. They gave up an increase in fringe benefits originally sought.

These wage increases do not come near closing the gap between rising prices and teachers' wages. Nor is there hope at this time of defeating the Taylor Law against public employee strikes, since the NYSUT leadership is continuing its policy of supporting the Democratic and Republican politicians who passed and uphold this union-busting law.

Most recently the NYSUT executive council voted unanimously to endorse Hugh Carey, Democratic candidate for governor, whose campaign was largely financed by the oil trust.

Campus unions win escalator clause

By SANDY KNOLL

DETROIT—Three thousand staff and faculty at Wayne State University have won a cost-of-living escalator clause, said to be the first ever included in a contract at a major university.

The cost-of-living formula is similar to that in the United Auto Workers contracts, pegged to the Consumer Price Index, with quarterly pay adjustments.

The victory followed large demonstrations where staff and teachers showed their determination to hit the bricks in their first strike if the administration didn't meet their demands.

Three out of four campus unions were in negotiations this summer: the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), University Staff Association (USA), and the Professional and Administrative Association (P&A).

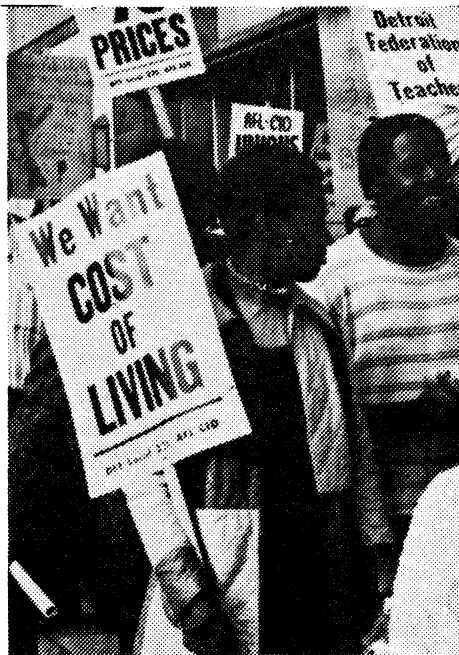
The university's first offer was a three-year contract with annual wage increases of 6 percent, 6 percent, and 5 percent. Employees already receive a yearly 5 percent "step" increase, which the university proposed to deduct from the increases in its offer.

Union officials rejected this offer as a sham, pointing out that the real increase would only amount to 1 percent, 1 percent, and nothing.

On Aug. 1 the unions mobilized their members as a show of force. One thousand faculty and staff demonstrated for a cost-of-living clause and a first-year wage increase of at least 16 percent. Members of Local 1497 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the fourth campus union, joined the demonstration in solidarity with the other unions.

Another demonstration was held Sept. 5, attended by some 1,500 people. A student support committee had been organized and had leafleted students, urging them to support the faculty and staff by joining the demonstration.

By this time the administration had agreed to a one-year contract with a 6 percent increase above the 5 percent "step" increase, but officials still refused to consider a cost-of-living adjustment (COLA). The most popular chant at the demonstration was, "No COLA, No Contract; No Contract, No Work!"



Detroit teachers picketing during 1973 strike. Issue of inflation remains key grievance throughout state.

A meeting of 1,300 USA members the next day voted by a 3-to-1 margin to reject the proposed contract, mainly for its lack of a cost-of-living clause.

The unions' show of strength paid off when the administration gave in soon afterwards. The militancy of the unions took the administration by surprise. Previously these groups had regarded themselves as professional associations. They had never struck or even seriously contested contract offers by the administration.

Soaring inflation, however, has increased the union consciousness of these workers and spurred them to organize and fight for higher wages.

The fact that for the first time the three contracts expired at once also contributed to the success of this struggle. It gave the unions the ability to organize united actions and made the strike threat more effective.

Michigan strikers defy court injunction

DETROIT—More than 3,000 teachers are still on strike in 11 Michigan school districts, as of Sept. 14. Issues range from wage increases to class sizes to cost-of-living clauses. Determination to beat inflation is the common denominator of most strikes.

In the East Detroit school system, 522 teachers continue to defy a court injunction ordering them back to work without a contract. The teachers demand smaller class sizes and a cost-of-living clause.

County Judge Hunter Stair told the strikers to pack their toothbrushes and prepare to go to jail if they defied his injunction. The teachers answered Stair by showing up for picket lines wearing toothbrushes in their lapels.

On Sept. 16 Stair jailed six of the teachers. They were released within an hour, but Stair has vowed to jail them and the entire local Sept. 23 if the strike is not ended by then.

In response to this attack, the Michigan Federation of Teachers has voted to organize a labor support rally Sept. 21 for the East Detroit teachers and all other teachers' strikes. Cosponsorship by the Michigan Education Association will be sought.

Seven hundred members of the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers settled their week-old strike by winning a 10 per-

cent increase in wages for all full-time teachers and a 22 percent increase for part-time teachers. This will help decrease the wage gap between full-time and part-time teachers.

A cost-of-living clause was won, but it has a "cap," or maximum payment, of \$100 a year—about \$40 more than last year's clause. Dissatisfaction with this cost-of-living clause ran high, though. Only an undemocratic weighted voting rule that gave the 150 full-time teachers a greater vote than the 500 part-time teachers ensured the winning margin.

A showdown fight within the union over this undemocratic rule, which violates the American Federation of Teachers constitution, is expected soon.

Phila., Delaware teachers walk out

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—Striking members of the Upper Darby Education Association (UDEA) ended a week-long strike Sept. 11. Upper Darby's was one of several walkouts conducted by Pennsylvania State Education Association chapters in Philadelphia suburbs.

Other communities that have had strikes or where strikes are pending include Centennial, Chesterupland, Avon Grove, Oxford, Abington, and Pottsgrove. More than 42,000 students have been affected by the disputes.

The strike by 640 members of the UDEA was considered a success. The board of education had originally offered the teachers a 7.7 percent annual wage increase, while teachers demanded 11.5 percent.

The reported settlement, which has not yet been ratified by the teachers, grants a 10.5 percent increase the first year and cost-of-living and across-the-board increases the second and third years.

In other developments, the 5,200 members of the Delaware State Education Association voted by a 3-to-1 margin to call a one-day walkout on Sept. 5 to strengthen their bargaining position in current negotiations with the state board of education.

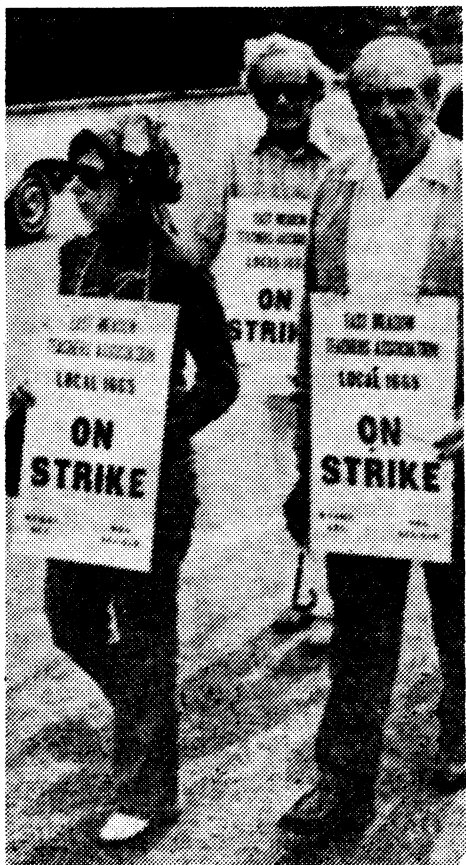
The board had offered wage increases of 7 percent in January 1975 and 3 percent in July 1975. The teachers want 7 percent in January and another 7 percent in July.

The walkout was highlighted by a rally of some 5,000 teachers in Wilmington. More than half of the state's 26 school districts were closed for the day.

The Delaware State Federation of Teachers (DSFT), which represents a smaller number of teachers in Wilmington and other areas, did not urge its members to join in the strike. DSFT leaders are reportedly telling their locals to negotiate and settle individually.

Apparently the DSFT leadership is following the policy on statewide teachers' strikes that American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker stated at the August AFT convention in Toronto. There Shanker denounced statewide strikes as "communist" and "fascist."

This approach can only weaken the struggles of teachers in Delaware and elsewhere and make it easier for local school boards and state governments to force unfavorable settlements on teachers.



Teachers walk picket line in East Meadow, N.Y.

Michigan SWP: Abolish police 'red squad'

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—"Pressure Mounts on State Subversive Unit," "On Subversive List? You'll never know," "Michigan Police Admit to Illegal Probe of Group," and "State Must Act to End Police Political Probes" read a few of the recent headlines in a scandal here over police spying.

The Michigan state police's "Subversive Activities Investigative Unit" faces a strong challenge to its existence. This unit, better known as the "Red Squad," was created during the McCarthy era by the state legislature under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. Its purpose is to witch-hunt political dissenters.

Calls for an end to the unit were sparked by an admission by Michigan Attorney General Frank Kelley on Aug. 21 that the state police had illegally investigated the Michigan Alliance for Consumer Protection (MACP) and its president, Walter Benkert.

Kelley's admission was in the form of a 'no



SWP gubernatorial candidate Robin Maisel speaks to reporters on steps of state police headquarters. Cops refused to let Maisel see secret 'subversive' file on SWP.

contest" plea to charges in a suit filed by the consumer group on July 26. Richard Soble, the group's attorney, is not satisfied with the "no contest" plea and is continuing to press the lawsuit.

The suit seeks a permanent injunction to prevent the state police from conducting political investigations, and asks that all information on groups and individuals investigated by the state police be destroyed.

Kelley admitted that the cops overstepped their jurisdiction by investigating the consumer group, but claimed it wasn't done for political reasons. State Representative Bill Huffman, however, has admitted that he asked for the investigation because he was angry about criticisms the MACP made of him and other legislators.

The Michigan Socialist Workers Party was one of the original victims of the 1950 witch-hunt legislation and has been harassed by the police ever since. Under the Communist Control Law of 1952, the "Trucks Act," the SWP was declared "subversive," membership in it was made a serious crime, and the party was barred from the ballot.

In a widely reported statement last month, B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general, demanded the abolition of the Red Squad. He also called for the state's secret "subversive" list to be made public to show the extent of the unit's spying on Michigan citizens, and condemned Kelley's cover-up of the cop spying.

The Aug. 29 *Detroit News* carried Washington's statement along with an equivocal call by Republican Governor William Milliken for repealing the 1950 law.

"I personally believe there is merit to repealing the act so long as the State Police are able to maintain their ability to continue investigations toward the discovery and prevention of crime," Milliken said. He did not elaborate on his definition of "crime." In the 1950s it was a "crime" simply to hold socialist ideas.

Sandor Levin, Democratic Party candidate for governor, came out the next day with a call

for full public disclosure of the Red Squad's activities.

On Sept. 4 two candidates for governor, Robin Maisel of the SWP and Zolton Ferency of the Human Rights Party, marched into the state police headquarters in East Lansing and demanded to see their "subversive" files and those of their parties. They called for publication of the secret list and the disbanding of the unit.

The confrontation was covered on the spot by television, radio, and press. Channel 7 TV (ABC) made it the lead story in the evening news. Anchorman Bill Bonds linked the Red Squad and the "subversive" list to Watergate and Nixon's enemies list, while reporter Dave Whitman predicted that the issue "would crop up again and again" in the election campaign this fall.

Lieutenant Colonel John Brown met Maisel and Ferency and denied their request to see the files and refused to answer other questions. When Brown refused to allow the media to witness his meeting with the two candidates, Maisel said he would tape the confrontation and promised the media access to his recording.

At two points during the questioning Brown literally bolted from the room to avoid answering the questions. Maisel and Ferency had to chase him from one room to another.

Afterwards the media crowded around Maisel's cassette recorder to record the exchanges. The *Detroit News* quoted Maisel to the effect that "the so-called Red Squad of the Michigan state police is a junior version of the White House plumbers unit. Its purpose has nothing to do with criminal activity but is clearly political in intent."

Ferency was quoted as saying, "I expect that anyone who has been publicly active in civil rights, antiwar demonstrations, grape and lettuce boycotts, etc., would probably find their name listed in connection with some event."

Maisel pledged that the SWP would continue campaigning for abolition of the police unit and its "subversive" list.

Campaigning for socialism

INDIANA SOCIALIST CONFRONTS DEMOCRATIC OPPONENT: Eldon Tipton, Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress from Indiana's 7th District, recently addressed a class of Indiana University students in Bloomington.

He spoke to the students hoping to persuade them to work on his campaign. Before Tipton finished, however, he was urging students to work for the campaign of his opponent, Socialist Workers Party candidate Harold Schlechtweg.

Schlechtweg sat in on the class and questioned Tipton about his opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment for women. Tipton, a state senator, voted against ratification of the ERA in 1972.

Tipton tried to justify his vote by claiming that his devotion to democracy required him to vote according to the wishes of his largely rural constituency.

A young Black woman angrily challenged Tipton's explanation. She pointed out that Tipton's own daughter supported the ERA. "You can go ahead and vote your rural constituency every time an issue comes up that is really important," she said, "but we young people aren't going to accept that any more."

Tipton pointed his finger at the socialist candidate and shouted, "Well, if you feel like that, then you ought to work for his party." A number of students responded with applause.

After the class, Schlechtweg asked Tipton if he would agree to a debate. Tipton said he would only debate the socialist candidate if it was a three-way debate including the Republican incumbent, John Myers.

Supporters of the SWP campaign are seeking the Indiana University student government's support to sponsor the debate and get Myers to appear.

'BOSTON MAGAZINE' LOOKS AT MASS. GOVERNOR'S RACE: The September issue of *Boston Magazine* carries an article on "The Race to be Governor: Who's Who and where they stand." It notes that Socialist Workers Party candidate Donald Gurewitz "will be campaigning on a party platform, the way the Democratic and Republican

candidates will certainly not be."

In a summary of the candidates' positions on major issues, the article reports that on busing, "Gurewitz wants black control of the black community and leaves it up to them." On transportation, "Gurewitz wants free public mass transportation." And on taxation, the socialist candidate "favors an elimination of all taxes on incomes under \$15,000, 100 percent tax on incomes over \$25,000."

The article also includes a short biographical



Drawing from 'Boston Magazine' depicts Massachusetts gubernatorial contenders. Clockwise from top right: Democrat Michael Dukakis, SWP's Donald Gurewitz, American Party's Leo Kahian, Republicans Carol Sheehan and Francis Sargent (incumbent), Democrat Robert Quinn.

sketch: "Donald Gurewitz, 28, was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in (1972) and wound up with 41,000 votes, or about 2.5 percent, against Brooke and Droney. He was active for some time in the peace movement, served as executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (and) was a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. . . ."

SCHERR DENOUNCES PENNSYLVANIA ABORTION LAW: On Sept. 9 the Pennsylvania state senate voted 41 to 8 to override Governor Milton Shapp's veto of a new abortion bill. Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, called the bill "the latest outrageous example of the attempts by the state to deny women the right to abortion."

"The law, which was passed with the support of both Democrats and Republicans, threatens a woman's right to abortion in two important ways," Scherr explained. "First, it requires parental consent for women under 18, and a husband's consent for all married women, to obtain abortions. Second, it would end state subsidization of abortions for women on welfare."

"Many women who do not wish to bear children will be forced to do so or to seek illegal abortions because of this law," she said.

The SWP candidate called for an end to all restrictive abortion laws. "As governor," Scherr said, "I would work for the institution of free, safe, abortion and contraception clinics available to all women, to be funded by the city, state, and federal governments."

OREGON SWP ANNOUNCES ROBIN MACE FOR CONGRESS: At a buffet and rally held last month, the Oregon Socialist Workers Party announced Robin Mace as its candidate for Congress from the 1st C. D.

Mace received 3,000 votes, or 3.5 percent of the total, as SWP candidate for Portland city council last May. She joins a statewide slate headed by Stacey Seigle for governor, John Studer for U.S. Senate, and Caroline Fowlkes for labor commissioner.

—ANDY ROSE

World Outlook

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

SEPT. 27, 1974

Demonstrators: 'Purge junta supporters'

Greek government tries to contain mass upsurge

By Gerry Foley

"Seven years of enforced silence, seven years of suppressed anger, seven years of struggles and hopes exploded in an outburst of popular fervor like nothing Salonika has ever seen before," G. Votses began in his report from Salonika published in the September 2 issue of the Athens daily *Athenaiki*. "More than 300,000 people poured onto the beach, covering it entirely for a distance of two kilometers—from the Leuko Pyrgo to the Markos Botsares."

The Salonika rally on August 31 was the first really massive mobilization since the fall of the dictatorship on July 23. It was the most powerful popular outpouring since the mobilizations of the mid-1960s that convinced the native bourgeoisie and its international backers that they had to put Greece "in a plaster cast," as one of the junta colonels expressed it.

The Salonika rally had many of the features of May Day in Lisbon. The march that was held in the Portuguese capital to celebrate the fall of the Salazarist regime brought out an estimated 500,000 to one million persons—between one-third and two-thirds of the total population of the city. Proportionately, the rally in Salonika was even larger. Greece's second largest city has a population estimated at something over 400,000.

Like the Lisbon May Day, the August 31 mobilization in Salonika was a key test of the chances of a bourgeoisie, forced abruptly to abandon an openly repressive form of rule, to weather the explosion of long-contained social forces it itself had been compelled to touch off. As their counterparts did in Portugal, the Greek ruling class and its reformist allies succeeded in channeling this upsurge, at least for the moment, into support for a pseudodemocratic bourgeois government.

However, the Salonika rally was by no means as firmly controlled politically as the Lisbon "festival of spring." Because of this, perhaps, the government presided over by the old counterrevolutionary strongman Constantine Caramanlis did not seem willing to ride even temporarily with a strong democratic tide.

Paradoxically, a peaceful change-over in the regime and thus the maintenance of the repressive machinery undamaged was possible precisely because of the greater militancy of the masses in Greece. The junta resigned meekly because it knew all too well that sharp conflict would immediately open the way for an uncontrollable

mass explosion.

Furthermore, the fall of the Gizikis-Ioannides junta came as the result of a threat of full-scale war on Greek territory itself. In the context of a revival of old national antagonisms and deep-rooted historical fears, chauvinism has been a much more real force than in Portugal, where a long colonial war had thoroughly discredited bourgeois patriotism.

Thus, the new Greek government has been notably less generous in granting concessions than its Portuguese counterpart. There has been no sudden collapse of repression and anti-Communism in Greece. Every effective democratic right has had to be wrested from the regime by struggle and sacrifices.

Greek Trotskyists Attacked

Within a period of roughly two weeks after the fall of the junta, the Greek Trotskyists were able to begin bringing out a legal weekly reflecting their views. It continued the name of the monthly *Ergatike Pale*, which was published underground during the years of the dictatorship. The first issue of the new series was dated August 10.

But on August 12, secret police attacked activists selling the paper. They beat up and arrested two of them, including the editor, Giannis Felekis. Both were released after a short time, but the regime had rather forcefully made the points that the watchdogs were still on guard and that it would be a dangerous business to try to exercise any of the promised democratic rights.

The junta's repressive legislation has remained in force under the new regime. Even the Stalinists, who gave the same political support to the Caramanlis government that their coun-

terparts in Portugal did to the Junta of National Salvation, had to exert a certain degree of direct pressure on the regime to get a little democratic leeway.

"In Greece, all the former resistance organizations against the junta, together with the KKE (Communist Party of Greece), have demanded legalization of all parties, according to reports received here from sources in Greece," the *Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist party, wrote in its August 17 issue.

The article went on to explain that despite the continuation of repressive pressures, "the democratic movement is burgeoning." The Stalinist paper cited as proof: "New Greece, a progressive paper, has started publishing weekly; it was formerly underground."

Nea Ellada, or "New Greece," is the principal voice of the "orthodox" pro-Kremlin group, the KKE (exterior). The *Daily World* does not mention *Aughi*, the historic paper of the Greek CP, which reappeared as a daily in the first week of August, under the control of the more independent KKE (interior). The Greek bourgeois press indicates that the more independent faction is considerably stronger today in Greece than the "exterior" group.

Informers Still at Work

In a report from the provincial town of Chalkis August 27, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan C. Randal indicated how extensively the apparatus of intimidation continues to function:

"It's not so much we're afraid," the baker said, "it's just we don't know what will happen in a year or five or ten and we're not taking any chances." . . .

"The baker's nephew, a 17-year-old dressed in modish jeans, said he and

his contemporaries worry about informers and the records kept by the gendarmerie, a constant source of anguish in Greece since the civil war of the late 1940s. The colonels developed the informers' work into a fine, if black, art."

Even in the most "respectable" Greek bourgeois journals, complaints have been published on how little Caramanlis has done to dismantle the apparatus of terror. For example, in the August 29 issue of the glossy picture magazine *Tachydromos*, an unsigned article pointed out:

"Quick measures are needed to deepen the purge."

"To be sure, the people understand that the conditions at the moment are not favorable for this difficult task. They have shown an understanding and a maturity that are truly astonishing. However, it is not only military men who need to be purged but also some persons in certain places in the state machine whom it would not be so difficult to put where they could do no harm."

One of the persons interviewed in Chalkis by *Washington Post* correspondent Randal was still less impressed with the "purgings":

"Next to him [the baker previously mentioned] the stubbly faced man in the green shirt gesticulated with his fork."

"What do you expect when more than a month after the dictatorship ended the only junta-appointed official here who isn't still in place is the governor?" he exploded.

"If you want me to believe that democracy is back—that free elections are again possible in this country—then change the head of the gendarmerie, fire all the secret-police detectives, the mayor, the bank directors, the local Orthodox churchmen because they were all appointed by metropoli-

Continued on next page



Salonika demonstration Aug. 31

...Greek government tries to contain mass upsurge

Continued from preceding page

tans chummy with the colonels; and let's not forget the school teachers, those near-illiterates who took the jobs of decent men and women who were forced into retirement by the regime.' . . .

"There was not a single demurrer in the cramped side-street cafe in this city of 38,000, capital of the island of Euboea."

The youth who complained earlier about informers continuing their work thought that perhaps more direct pressure could have brought faster changes:

"Maybe we should have had demonstrations or even painted slogans on the wall, but because of the Cyprus crisis everyone decided to follow Karamanlis's advice and keep calm."

Policy of Enforced Calmness

The new government made it plain from the very start that it was determined to enforce "calmness." The police attacked a demonstration of young people celebrating the fall of the dictatorship in Athens on the very evening the junta announced its resignation.

But despite this attempt to keep the lid on, demonstrations multiplied, reaching a high point in mid-August on the weekend following the start of the second major Turkish offensive in Cyprus. On Sunday, August 18, the police violently dispersed a demonstration of about 1,000 young people in Athens' Syntagma Square.

The following day, August 19, Karamanlis took two important steps. He moved for the first time to change the military high command installed by



CARAMANLIS: Banned demonstrations

the junta, removing ten of the dictatorship's most prominent supporters—including General Gregorios Bonanos, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces—from key posts. Secondly, he issued strong threats that any further street demonstrations would be suppressed. The assassination of Rodger Davies, the U.S. ambassador to Cyprus, the same day during a popular protest in front of the American embassy in Nicosia provided a handy pretext for clamping down on all mobilizations in Greece.

"Karamanlis seized on the ambassador's death to warn that the government intended to deal with any further street demonstrations with 'implacable severity,'" *Washington Post* correspondent Randal wrote from Athens August 19.

"All demonstrations and meetings

have been banned under the continuing state of martial law imposed last month."

The 'Mature' Ones

Most of the demonstrations were carried out by groups of radical young people similar to those that spearheaded the protests of November 1973. As at that time, these elements do not seem to have paid much attention to the traditional left parties, which were interested primarily in convincing Karamanlis of their "responsibility" and their suitability as government parties.

"So far the Communists are acting like saints," Randal wrote in the August 24 *Washington Post*, "in hopes of having a 1947 ban lifted so they can contest the elections. Even left-winger Andreas Papandreu has moderated his previous criticism of the Karamanlis government."

The bête noire of the rightists, who brought down his father's government, Papandreu gained a certain notice in the press during the years of the dictatorship by his strong denunciations of the alliance between the reactionary forces in Greece and U.S. imperialism. Thus the softer tone he assumed on returning to his country did not go unremarked by reporters, especially since the demonstrations reached their high point on the weekend of his arrival in Athens.

"Andreas Papandreu, one of the leading figures of the Greek left, does not intend to organize large public demonstrations here, because he fears they could bring back military rule," *New York Times* correspondent Steven V. Roberts wrote from Greece August 20.

The Two Stalinist Factions

In the wake of the Salonika demonstration, both Communist parties issued statements. The declaration of the "interior" faction, dated September 3, was more ambitious in its formulation. It was entitled "The Goals of the Nation in the Transition Period Leading to the Establishment of Democracy."

Point No. 5 of the KKE (interior) statement reads as follows: "The threat of a new dictatorship and the great dangers that flow from the Cypriot situation require us to maintain a phalanx of social forces and the broadest possible alliance of classes and social strata, a fact that makes it possible to continue and to stabilize the policy of disengagement from NATO and from American domination, to consolidate the democratic course of the country. Therefore, we support the Karamanlis government, despite the fact that the left is not included in it and despite certain negative aspects of its policies."

"The KKE (interior) calls on the Greek people to work together on the basis of a broad unity of leftists, centrists, rightists, and patriots all together until our start on the democratic road is well under way and irreversible."

The "exterior" faction's statement, which was published alongside the "interior's" in the September 5 issue of *Athenaiki*, had a noticeably different emphasis. It stressed the failure of the Karamanlis government to make



November 1973 Athens student rebellion. The 'veterans of November' are in vanguard of mass mobilizations today.

any real changes: "The machinery of the dictatorship and American rule remains essentially untouched." It assumed a critical tone.

"Nothing can justify the government's hesitating to restore the elected mayors and other leaders removed by the junta, to abolish the military decrees that banned the trade-union organizations, to enact a basic law to restore legality in the trade-union movement and other organizations of the working people, to permit free activity by the parties, and to abolish the ban on popular demonstrations."

In essence, however, the "exterior" statement simply expressed the same program as the "clarion call" of the "interior" except in a negative way. It criticized the Karamanlis government for "excluding" from its coalition "the forces that for seven years were in the front line of the struggle against the dictatorship."

It warned: "Not only does this not further a transition to democratic life but it will also bring new dangers, and will constitute a new grave element of instability."

That is, the KKE (exterior) was also calling on Karamanlis to include it in a popular-front government in which it would fulfill the same stabilizing function as the "interior" promised to carry out in its "Goals of the Nation" statement.

Wrap Themselves in Greek Flag

In any case, it would be hard to outdo the social chauvinism of the "interior" faction. For example, the September 1 issue of *Aughi* featured an appeal to the Karamanlis government by a former commander of ELAS [Ethnikos Laïkos Apeleuthotikos Stratos—People's National Liberation Army, the CP-led force in the civil war] who has been living in exile in Yugoslavia. The commander, Theodoros Kallinos, wrote:

"I received the news of your historic decision to withdraw Greece's armed forces from the NATO military

alliance with militant patriotic satisfaction. In order to defend the strategic and exploitative interests of the American and NATO imperialists, this alliance abandoned Greece at a crucial moment, encouraging the barbaric Turkish invasion of Cyprus and the aggressive moves of the Turkish militarists against the Cypriot republic and against Greece in the Aegean. "Expressing my personal opinion, I salute with patriotic enthusiasm your patriotic action."

The letter from the old nationalist guerrilla was no isolated note of nostalgia in *Aughi*. The August 31 issue carried headlines such as "The Turks Continue Their Atrocities."

On the other hand, there was no mention of atrocities by Greeks against the Turkish Cypriots, and the actions of the Greek authorities were described by headlines such as "Greeks Stand Firm."

Furthermore, in none of the issues in *Aughi* in September, at least, have there been any articles opposing the campaign in the Greek bourgeois press to whip up hatred against the Turkish people.

Of course, it could be argued that it is hard to oppose anti-Turkish feeling in view of the suffering that Ecevit's invasion has inflicted on the Greek people of Cyprus, especially in the absence of any apparent opposition to this chauvinist adventure in Turkey itself. But if the traditional left forces in Turkey have not offered very strong opposition to the government's policy, the Greek Stalinists should be able to understand their position.

"The Cyprus action has proved that Mr. Ecevit, a man of the Left in the Turkish context, can be an effective, patriotic leader," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Joseph Fitchett wrote from Ankara in the August 5 issue of the Boston daily. Fitchett went on to point out:

"Left-wing Turkish factions, broadly speaking, have decided to adopt

Continued on page WO 4

U.S.-sponsored blockade a failure

Washington seeking detente relationship with Cuba

By Dick Fidler

"The isolation of Cuba is slowly withering away, and the economic blockade of our country can't last much longer," Premier Fidel Castro told a mass rally of 20,000 Cubans in the city of Matanzas on July 26. "In view of the present conditions of international détente, it is increasingly obvious to all the world that it is an unfair, ridiculous, criminal, and untenable measure."

Argentina and Peru have recently renewed diplomatic relations with Cuba in violation of the sanctions voted at Washington's insistence by the Organization of American States in 1964. Mexico, an OAS member, never broke off diplomatic relations; nor did Canada, which is not in the OAS. The Caribbean states of Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, and Trinidad-Tobago have also established diplomatic ties with Havana.

On August 22, Panama restored diplomatic relations, and reports indicate that Colombia, Costa Rica, and Venezuela are preparing to follow suit in the near future. These developments logically pose questions about Washington's policy toward Cuba.

Only a few days after Castro's speech, two prominent Americans who recently visited Cuba offered their assessment of Washington's attempts to isolate and defeat the Cuban revolution.

Pat M. Holt, the staff director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, met with Castro in July. He issued a report Aug. 2 terming the State Department's policy "a failure." The Cubans, he said, "are on the verge of making their system work—that is to say, of constructing a Socialist showcase in the Western hemisphere."

Frank Mankiewicz, director of Senator George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign and now head of the National Executive Conference, also visited Cuba in July and filmed an interview with Castro. He returned with the message that the Cuban leaders were prepared to offer some unspecified "concessions" to Washington in return for diplomatic recognition.

But it was President Gerald Ford's first news conference, on August 28, that contributed most to current speculation about an impending resumption of relations between Washington and Havana. Ford did not rule out a possible change in U.S. policy toward Cuba, but simply asserted that

"before we made any change, we would certainly act in concert with the other members of the Organization of American States."

That was a bit like a ventriloquist saying he would comply with the wishes of his dummy.

And that is how Ford's comment was interpreted in the U.S. capitalist press. A "rapprochement with Castro" is "now expected to be President Ford's first major foreign policy move," Jack Anderson wrote in his nationally syndicated column September 1.

Washington's 'Scenario'

A Washington dispatch by Laurence Stern in the August 30 *New York Post* reported that "a detailed diplomatic scenario has been prepared in full consultation with Secretary of State Kissinger" for ending the sanctions against Cuba "by November."

Stern said it had been discussed by Kissinger and Mexican Foreign Minister Emilio Rabasa in Washington August 29.

According to Stern, "the scenario envisioned the creation within the next few weeks of a 'commission of inquiry' of five OAS countries to study the issue." This commission would "find" that the Castro government is no longer actively promoting revolutionary movements throughout Latin America and would propose ending the sanctions.

Although administration officials are trying to make the resumption of relations with Cuba appear as a Ford "initiative," it is clear that Washington has been moving toward a shift in its Cuba policy for some time.

The first formal agreement with Havana since the Eisenhower administration broke off diplomatic ties in January 1961 was the signing of the hijacking accord in February 1973. Earlier this year Washington officials looked the other way when subsidiaries of U.S. corporations in Argentina and Canada took advantage of loopholes in the Trading With the Enemy Act to sign multimillion dollar contracts with the Cubans for the sale of trucks, cars, and locomotives in direct violation of the OAS embargo. The hemisphere foreign ministers' meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in April agreed to Mexico's proposal to explore the possibility of inviting Cuba to their next meeting in Buenos Aires in March 1975.

By quietly starting the move toward resumption of relations with Cuba,

Nixon was simply recognizing reality—the growing disintegration of the OAS blockade of the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere. Moreover, having opened diplomatic relations with Peking, how could he continue to justify the ostracism of Havana?

Why Nixon Hesitated

Why, then, did Nixon not follow up his détente with Peking and Moscow by extending it at once to Havana?

In part, Nixon's slowness was, as the April 22 *Washington Post* put it, "an attempt to offer symbolic reassurance to that part of his constituency which takes ideology seriously. It serves the national interest, according to the current definition, to trade with the Soviet Union and China but, in contrast, Cuba is a Communist country committed to world revolution. Therefore it is a manifest menace to international stability. . . ."



BREZHNEV, KISSINGER: Both pressuring Havana for political concessions.

Another explanation for Washington's lack of haste is the divisions among its Latin American clients. In the May 6 *New York Times*, Washington correspondent David Binder wrote that Kissinger "is strictly limiting further movement toward an eventual understanding with Cuba in the belief this would better suit the development of consensus in the hemisphere on the Cuban question."

Immediately after meeting with Ford and Kissinger in Washington on August 29, Mexican Foreign Minister Rabasa called publicly for "a positive attitude" by the United States toward moves to end the OAS sanctions.

These "independent" moves by Mexico, however, seemed to form part of a larger design, initiated in Washington. When Rabasa visited Cuba last March, the *New York Times* correspondent in Mexico City reported that "Mr. Rabasa's trip—the first by a Mexican Foreign Minister to Havana since the Cuban revolution 15 years ago—has renewed speculation that Mexico is playing the role of mediator between Washington and Havana."

The employment by various Latin American governments of a neighborly attitude toward Cuba to enhance an image of independence from Wall Street has not been hindered by the Cuban leaders. Havana's policy from the beginning of the Cuban revolution has been to maintain normal relations with all other governments. This was correct; but it has not been supplemented by the necessary political differentiation from "nationalist" capitalist regimes. In fact, the Cubans

have even embellished some of them, the Allende regime in Chile being a case in point.

The Cuban leaders' tendency to adjust their *political* attitude toward bourgeois regimes in accordance with Cuba's diplomatic and commercial needs has been invoked by officials of OAS member-states as proof that the Cubans have given up encouraging socialist revolutions elsewhere in Latin America.

Kremlin Exerts Pressure

The main source of Havana's stance, however, is Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" policy and the détente with Washington. The Cubans conceded to the Kremlin in this because of their isolation and their need for economic aid from the Soviet Union.

Washington's trade embargo against Cuba, declared in February 1962, and its ban on the entry of Cuban products to the United States (in March 1962) were enormous blows to the Cuban revolution. These measures forced a drastic reorientation of Cuba's trade and provoked massive dislocations in its economy, already monstrously distorted by decades of imperialist exploitation. In view of the grave shortages that quickly developed, Havana had no choice but to appeal to the Soviet Union.

In addition, the Cubans have been affected by the failure of their "guerrilla strategy" to win revolutions in other parts of Latin America. The death of Che Guevara in Bolivia led them to cut down on active support of guerrilla movements.

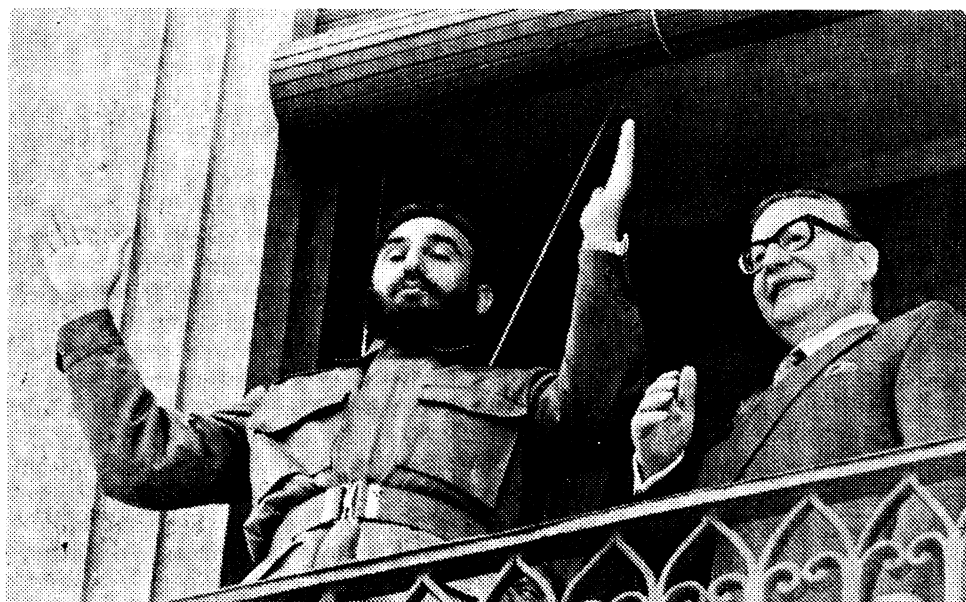
Today the Cuban press echoes the line of the pro-Moscow Communist parties, praising such governments as Velasco Alvarado's military regime in Peru and the Peronist regime in Argentina, which have a nationalist veneer.

During Soviet Communist party Chairman Leonid Brezhnev's visit to Cuba earlier this year, Castro indicated his support of the major elements in the Kremlin's policy of détente. In his interview with Frank Mankiewicz, the full text of which has not yet been made public, the Cuban premier reaffirmed this position and "found words of praise for Secretary of State Kissinger and for the late President John F. Kennedy," according to the August 3 *New York Times*.

If the Cuban leaders' adaptations to the Kremlin line reflect their failure to develop a consistent revolutionary strategy, the underlying objective causes lie in the isolation of the country and the siege it has suffered from the mightiest imperialist power in the world, located, moreover, only ninety miles from the island.

The Cubans' capacity to withstand the blows of the trade embargo—and, what's more, to achieve spectacular successes in reconstructing their economic and social life on the basis of a planned, nationalized economy—constitutes the fundamental factor behind the growing readiness of other hemispheric governments, led by Washington, to resume trade and diplomatic ties with Havana.

The resumption of trade relations between Cuba and other countries in the hemisphere can help ease the strains in the Cuban economy induced by Washington's hostile and punitive policy. The hard-won victory will be hailed by the oppressed everywhere.



Castro with former Chilean president Allende

Mozambique

White coup attempt triggers mass Black resistance

By Tony Thomas

The white settler uprising in Lourenço Marques, capital of Mozambique, was defeated September 10 following a countermobilization by the Black population.

The attempted coup, which began September 7, was based on whites who opposed the recent accords signed by the Portuguese government and the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (Frelimo).

The accords propose to end the colonial status of the country by transferring power to Frelimo on June 25, 1975. Until then Mozambique is to be ruled by a "transitional" administration including both Portuguese-ap-

pointed and Frelimo-appointed officials.

Groups of white settlers opposed turning over power to the freedom fighters who had led a ten-year guerrilla struggle against Portuguese colonialism.

By September 8 the whites had established effective control over strategic points in Lourenço Marques. In addition to seizing the national radio station, they invaded a jail and released 200 secret-police agents who had been jailed following the April coup in Portugal.

The white forces faced little active opposition from Portuguese troops and police who were on the scene. What apparently forced them to back down was a revolt by the city's Black population.

On the night of September 9, according to a *Reuters* dispatch, shooting, stone-throwing, and burning of buildings broke out in the Black "shantytown" district. Unlike the white settler forces, the Blacks faced attacks by the Portuguese army, which moved into the poor neighborhoods "in strength."

Despite this, angry Blacks continued to mobilize the next day. They blocked the highway leading to South Africa to prevent aid from that white-supremacist regime from reaching the Mozambican settlers. The Blacks also set up roadblocks on the fringes of the city to search whites for arms.

At first, Portuguese troops tried to escort white travelers in armored cars to protect them from the Blacks. Later, after the white coupists surrendered,

Portuguese troops took over the barricades that had been erected by the Blacks, and more Portuguese troops were rushed into the city to "preserve order."

The quick response of the Black population in resisting the coup followed months of mass mobilizations of Blacks determined to win freedom from colonialist rule. The September 16 *Newsweek* reported a rebellion by "thousands" of Black workers at a sugar plantation 150 miles from Beira, Mozambique's second-largest city.

And in the Lourenço Marques sports stadium, *Newsweek* says, "thousands of Africans gathered day after day to demonstrate their support for Frelimo."

Armed forces junta topples emperor in Ethiopia

By Marcel Black

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia was deposed September 12 and placed under house arrest. Selassie had ruled Ethiopia since 1916 and had been emperor since 1930.

His ouster was carried out by the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee, a military junta that has been gaining power since a mass upsurge against Selassie began in February.

One hundred sixty members of the royal family, its household, and leading officials were also arrested.

The Armed Forces Committee did not abolish the monarchy. Instead, it appointed as the new king Selassie's only son, 57-year-old Crown Prince Asfa Wosen. The prince is partly paralyzed and is expected to have no power. It even appears to be in doubt whether he will return to Ethiopia from exile in Geneva.

Following the deposition of Selassie, the committee outlawed all strikes and unauthorized demonstrations. It dissolved parliament and announced that a provisional military government would rule Ethiopia until elections are held.

Lieutenant General Aman Michael Andom, chief of staff of the armed forces and defense minister of the previous civilian government, was appointed to head both the cabinet and the Armed Forces Committee, in addition to retaining his former posts.

Some 5,000 people staged a demon-

stration hailing the downfall of Selassie outside the royal palace, according to a September 12 *Reuters* dispatch. The crowd chanted, "Thief, thief," as the 82-year-old emperor was carted away in a police car.

The deposition of Selassie is apparently a move to contain the massive upsurge that has shaken the country since February, rather than a step toward a solution to that country's basic problems of starvation, poverty, underdevelopment and imperialist domination.

The September 13 *New York Times* reported, "Big trouble was generally predicted for next Monday when the university and other schools, closed since last winter, were scheduled to reopen. It appears plausible that the ruling military committee decided to proclaim the end of the Emperor's long reign yesterday to preempt student-led demonstrations that seemed imminent and inevitable."

The Armed Forces Committee did announce that the vast holdings of Selassie and a few other members of the nobility would be nationalized. The committee pledged to safeguard other capitalist holdings in the country, including the more than \$300 million in foreign investments.

The junta apparently used these nationalizations to weaken the power of Selassie and his supporters and to provide a sop to the massive movement for fundamental change that has developed in Ethiopia over the past



SELASSIE: Reign over

eight months.

The most crucial question in this famine-stricken country is the land question. Ninety-five percent of the population are peasants. Many are landless; others suffer under conditions of feudal serfdom. The junta has made only vague promises of a land reform—which Selassie had also done—but has not promised any concrete changes that would improve the lives of the Ethiopian masses.

The type of measures needed to begin to solve the social crisis in Ethiopia are the seizure and distribution of the land to the peasants; the na-

tionalization of all native and foreign investment; the liberation of the Eritreans and other oppressed nationalities, and the establishment of a government based on the workers and poor peasants.

Instead, the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee proposes only face-saving reforms within the framework of safeguarding capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

Nor has the junta promised to grant the right of self-determination to the Eritrean people, who have been fighting an armed struggle for national independence for the past ten years. General Aman, who is of Eritrean origin, toured Eritrea in late August. He tried to convince the Eritreans that they would be better off in an Ethiopia led by the Armed Forces Coordinating Committee and should give up their independence struggle.

However, there were no signs that the Eritrean masses were taken in by Aman, who leads the same army that has carried out countless atrocities against the Eritrean people.

There was also dissatisfaction among students. On September 16, 1,000 students in Addis Ababa clashed with the junta's troops. They demanded an immediate return to civilian rule and a quick trial and conviction of Selassie. The students were pushed back onto the university campus by soldiers with fire hoses when they attempted to march to the center of the city.

...Greece

Continued from page WO2

a low profile and quietly and informally support Mr. Ecevit as the most progressive man who can realistically be expected to retain power in present day Turkey."

With a few names changed, Fitchett could have written this about the Greek government and the Greek "left."

What is different in Greece is that there a mass upsurge is underway that Caramanlis is obviously finding it difficult to contain, and there a radi-

cal student movement exists that was hardened under fire in the November demonstrations. Both of these factors were shown most forcefully by the August 31 mass rally in Salonika.

In the first place, it is apparent that a crowd of 300,000 persons, the overwhelming majority of the people in an important region, exert considerable pressure when they all shout for the punishment of the junta. ("Turn the junta over to the people" was the main slogan, according to the September 2 *Athenaiki*.) The demand for a purge of the state apparatus, and in particular the repressive forces, seems to be developing a powerful momentum

among the masses.

Secondly, it was clear that the revolutionary-minded youth were already a significant leaven in the mass movement in Greece. In the Lisbon May Day, the reformists were totally dominant, and the radical youth were shoved far into the background. In Salonika on August 31 no one could ignore the veterans of November. In its September 2 report, *Athenaiki* described a demonstration polarized between the slogans of Caramanlis's followers and the slogans of the youth:

"On the one side": "Hail, great Macedonian leader!" "Macedonia is with you, savior of Greece!" "Caramanlis,

the de Gaulle of Greece!" "Leader, save Greece, save Cyprus!" "Govern us, Ethnarch [father of the nation]!"

"On the other side": "The people have not forgotten, they are organizing and they will win!" "Draft the junta's murderers!" "Investigate the crimes at the Polytechnic!" "Listen, our dead are speaking!" "Justice for our dead, for those sent to the prison camps, for those who were tortured, for Cyprus!" "The first dead were the fertilizer of freedom!" "People, go forward, the storm will not pass!" "Workers, farmers, hang the traitors!" "Burn the dossiers!" "People, remember November!"

James P. Cannon: thoughts on socialism and Black liberation

The following are excerpts from a discussion between James P. Cannon and Maceo Dixon and Omari Musa. Dixon is the cochairman of the 1974 Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee. Musa is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in California's 28th C.D. The discussion took place July 7, 1974.

Cannon, who died Aug. 21 at the age of 84, was a participant in the revolutionary socialist movement in this country since 1908, when he joined the Socialist Party. He was a founder of the American Communist Party. Later, in collaboration with Leon Trotsky, he played a leading role in the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian revolution and the world Communist movement.

At the time of his death Cannon was national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

Cannon: I'm more convinced than ever that there is no solution to the social problems in this country and Western Europe short of a thoroughgoing revolution. And that will require cooperation of all the varied elements who are oppressed by this society.

That doesn't stop us from supporting movements of a special kind, like the women's liberation movement, the Black movement for self-determination, the Puerto Rican movement, and all sections who are especially oppressed. But these struggles should be pushed toward the goal of cooperation for the elimination of the capitalist system.

This is certainly more urgent now than ever, when the capitalist rulers have the means of actually destroying the human race.

That's no longer considered a fantasy. You read frequently about scholars and even politicians talking about the future, and they use the expression, "in the future—if there is to be a future." It's a way of saying they're unsure about the prospects of humanity.

The real meaning of this hasn't yet been fully appreciated by our movement. I recall reading, at the time when they were just discovering the secret of the hydrogen bomb, that Albert Einstein wrote a letter to the president in which he said it is now theoretically possible to destroy all life

on earth. I don't think we have yet fully assimilated the significance of that statement.

This possible annihilation is no longer a matter of theory, it's a matter of more or less common knowledge. So much so that a popular movie, *On the Beach*, was made in which an unexplained atomic explosion took place in one part of the world, and it couldn't be ascertained where it came from. Each power that held nuclear weapons suspected the other and began firing back. First thing you knew, the bombs, the fall-out, and all the rest wiped everything out.

I think the only thing that deters a man like Nixon from actually pushing the button even in a fit of pique is that he himself would be one of the victims. Imagine a man with such cynical lack of any human consideration as shown repeatedly in the Watergate exposures.

I recall that our movement talked about the danger of the Third World War for a long time without realizing what we were doing, because we were really talking about a global war in conventional terms. But you can't have another full-scale war like that.

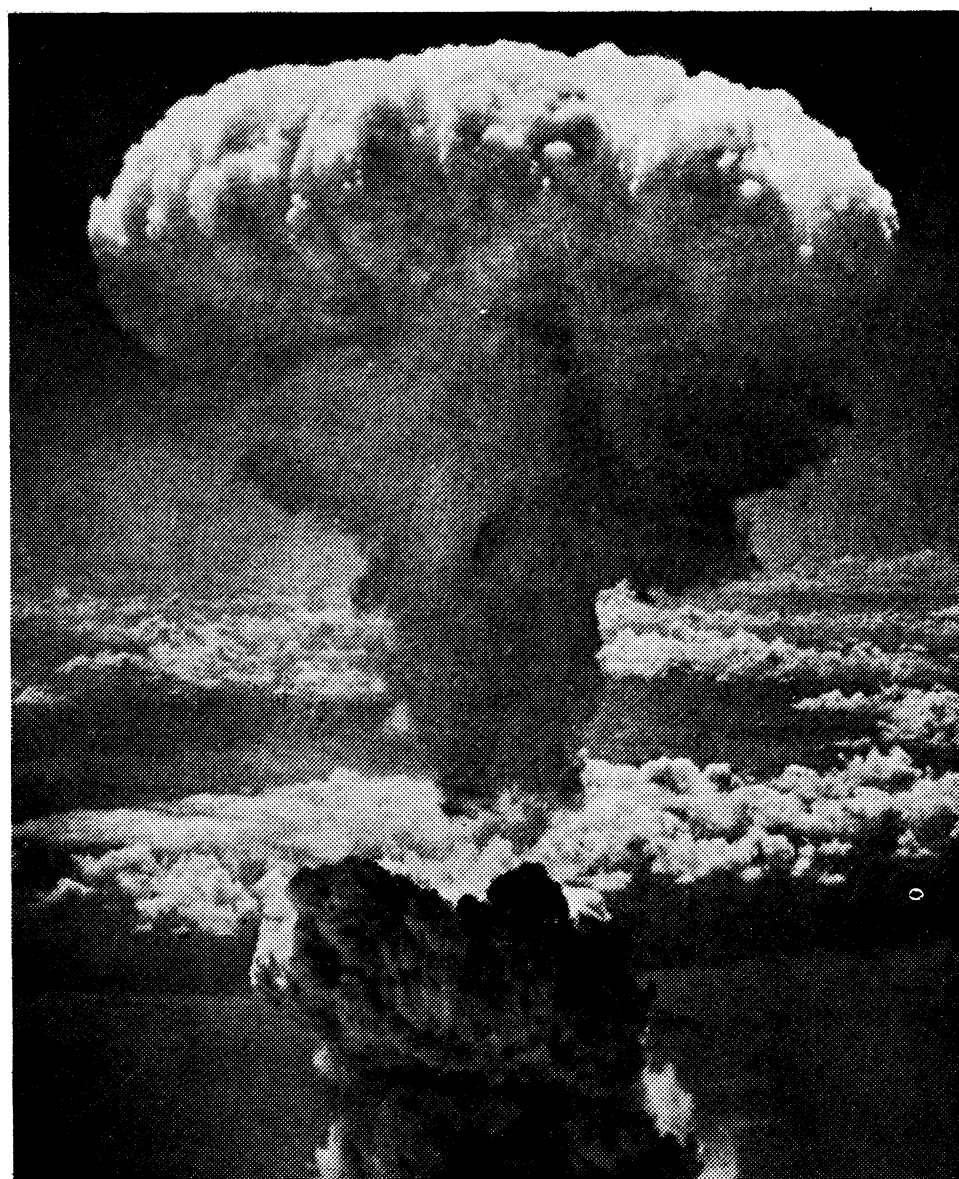
What we need in this country is a generation that is aroused by the socialist idea somewhat as they were in the times of Eugene V. Debs. Where people think of socialism as practical and as an immediate necessity.

Debs got about a million votes in 1912, which would be equal to about three million votes today—or actually more because that was before women's suffrage. If we had a couple of million people in this country committed to socialism today they wouldn't be committed to an idea for the distant future, they would be committed for tomorrow, for a showdown struggle with the ruling class.

Black Trotskyists

I would like to see the development of a large cadre of Black Trotskyists—many more than we have already.

Real socialists, not people who have only one particular angle of the Black movement that interests them, but people who are committed to the idea that we have to make a socialist revolution in this country and we haven't got all the time in the world to do it. We've got to do it in our lifetimes.



'The alternative to socialism is the strong probability of annihilation of the human race.'

Certainly in the lifetime of the new generation entering the field.

That conviction will also inspire a hundred times more energy and confidence than if we think, well, if we don't do it the next generation will take care of it.

We should be able to convince ten thousand people—a couple of thousand at least of Black people—that socialism is the foremost issue of our times and is on the agenda. The alternative is a strong probability of annihilation of life on earth.

Once you have a cadre that size, its growth would be phenomenal, because its activity would not be casual, like a fraternal order of some kind. They'd be people fighting for their lives and the lives of humanity in a socialist world.

Dixon: What do you think about the recent exposures printed in *The Militant* showing how the FBI infiltrates the Black movement in order to attempt to crush it?

Cannon: I think that what *The Militant* has done, and the suit against the government that the SWP is waging, demonstrate the correctness of utilizing all democratic processes that are available.

This approach is contrary to the traditions of the radical movement of the generation that I grew up in. The IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) and others at that time had the attitude that the whole damn thing is a fake—there's no democracy and there's no sense in trying to get anything from the ruling class through those channels. That the only way you can get anything is by direct action, strikes, and revolution.

But the fact is that we live under a bourgeois democracy. It's pretty

badly tarnished lately by the Watergate news, but we're correctly using the courts to force them to make more of these revelations, which *The Militant* is publicizing.

I think it's very good propaganda and should evoke wide interest in the Black community. We can show them, look what the government's been doing against the Black movement, and the SWP has brought a suit against them and is forcing them to reveal more.

Black party

Dixon: The Socialist Workers Party raises the slogan for a Black party based on the Black community. Why do you think this is important?

Cannon: It's in the same category as our call for a labor party. It's a first step toward the idea of independent political action.

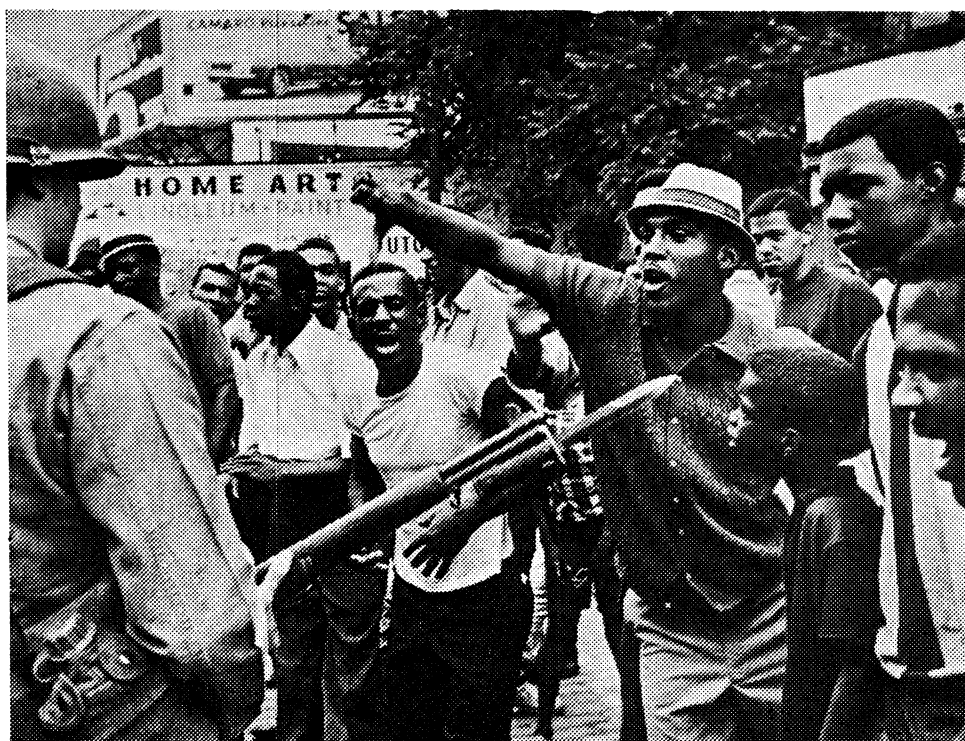
What kind of response does it get?

Dixon: I get a very good response when I raise it in speaking around the country. People agree with the idea of endorsing Black candidates. Most say that it's not possible to build a Black party now but they hope to build it in the future. This is especially the line taken by Black Democrats.

Cannon: Yes, they say they couldn't get elected to office right now through a Black party.

You know, the old populist movement was basically a combination of poor farmers and workers. It was very strong in the Midwest. They decided to be "practical" just for one time. In 1896 they decided to support the Democratic candidate and not run their own campaign. They got a

Continued on next page



Newark ghetto revolt, 1967. 'The power is in the workers. When we talk about the Black population, we're talking about workers.'

...‘Socialism is foremost issue of our time’

Continued from preceding page
number of their leaders elected to office as Democrats. This was their ruin. They finally faded from the scene.

‘Playing it smart’

There used to be quite a vigorous movement of discontented farmers and workers in the upper Midwest—Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas. They were mainly farmers.

They aroused considerable strength and were becoming a power, until a fellow named A. C. Townley came along with the idea of playing it smart. His idea was to transform their movement into the Nonpartisan League, an organization that would support one or another candidate of the Democrats or Republicans, depending on which appeared to offer the most concessions.

They elected quite a number of congressmen and even some governors.

The Socialist Party was very strong in that whole territory and they went along with the Nonpartisan League. The net result was the wiping out of the independent movement altogether.

A few individuals got offices out of it and that was it.

In 1934 Upton Sinclair, who had been a lifetime socialist, suddenly got the bright idea he could jump over the difficulties of independent political action and run for governor on the Democratic ticket.

He called for a new movement named the EPIC movement, which stood for “End Poverty in California.” They used to say all kinds of things of an extremely radical nature.

He got a great majority of the Socialist Party members behind him and won the Democratic Party nomination. He came within an inch of winning. The general opinion was that he was robbed of the election.

His chief “accomplishment” was to virtually dissolve the Socialist Party of California. It never got together again. When I went out to California in 1936 the Socialist Party was just a hollow shell. It had once been quite a force.

The EPIC movement survived for a few years and in 1938 its candidate, Culbert Olson, was elected governor

on the Democratic ticket. In 1942 I think the Republicans took over. The EPIC movement didn’t leave a trace; it’s not even remembered today.

These movements that try to cut corners on the basic principle of independent political action always end up paying heavily for it.

Where the power is

I sometimes wonder whether our movement today, which is predominantly young, fully realizes where the power lies in this country. The power is in the working class. When we talk about the Black population, we’re talking about workers, mainly.

Workers are not always the first to move in a radicalization. When the crisis struck in 1928-29 there was quite a surge of radicalization at first in intellectual and literary circles. There wasn’t a move on the part of the workers. They were atomized, they were unorganized, had no unions in auto or steel or electrical manufacture.

A few desperate strikes here and there were crushed. It gave rise to

a feeling that the workers would never move.

In 1934 they finally got enough of hardship, wage cuts one after another, mass unemployment. There were three big strikes in a row at the same time—the San Francisco general strike, the Minneapolis Teamsters strike, and the Toledo Auto-Lite strike. All very militant and successful, involving people who had never been organized before.

In 10 years this American working class, which was supposed to be unable to do anything, had organized auto almost from top to bottom. There was the sit-down strike in Flint in 1936-37. The strike against “Little Steel” in the same year, when the police fired on the workers and killed a dozen or more of them. Big Steel had signed a contract with the CIO without even a strike. Within 10 years basic industry in this country was organized.

I’ve often thought what would have been possible in this country if we had had a revolutionary party then, if the

Continued on page 22

HELP PUBLISH WRITINGS OF JAMES P. CANNON

In his book *America’s Road to Socialism*, James P. Cannon explains: “Under socialism, all will share in the benefits of abundance, not merely a favored few at the top. All the people will have time and be secure for an ever higher development.

“All will be artists. All will be workers and students, builders and creators. All will be free and equal. Human solidarity will encircle the globe and conquer it, and subordinate it to the uses of man.

“That, my friends, is not an idle speculation. That is the realistic perspective of our great movement.”

In *America’s Road to Socialism* Cannon discussed “The international prospects of capitalism and socialism.” “The coming struggle for power,” “What socialist America will look like,” and more. Based on lectures Cannon gave in 1952-53, at the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, this book is one of his most powerful arguments for socialism.

Unfortunately it has been long out of print. Pathfinder Press has plans to issue a new edition with an introduction by George Novack. In addition, there are other speeches, articles, and correspondence by Cannon

that should be published. Your help is needed to carry out this project.

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched to help make possible the publication of Cannon’s writings. Launched with contributions totaling \$51,350.95 from those who attended the Aug. 23 Political Tribute to Jim Cannon in Oberlin, Ohio, the fund was given a special boost last week with \$2,300 in pledges from a Sept. 14 meeting in San Francisco. The fund now stands at \$55,292.95.

Please send your individual contribution today. Donors of \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of any one of Cannon’s books listed below.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 \$_____

(Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Please send me:

- ☐ The First Ten Years of American Communism
- ☐ The History of American Trotskyism
- ☐ Letters from Prison
- ☐ Notebook of an Agitator
- ☐ Socialism on Trial
- ☐ Speeches for Socialism
- ☐ Speeches to the Party
- ☐ The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

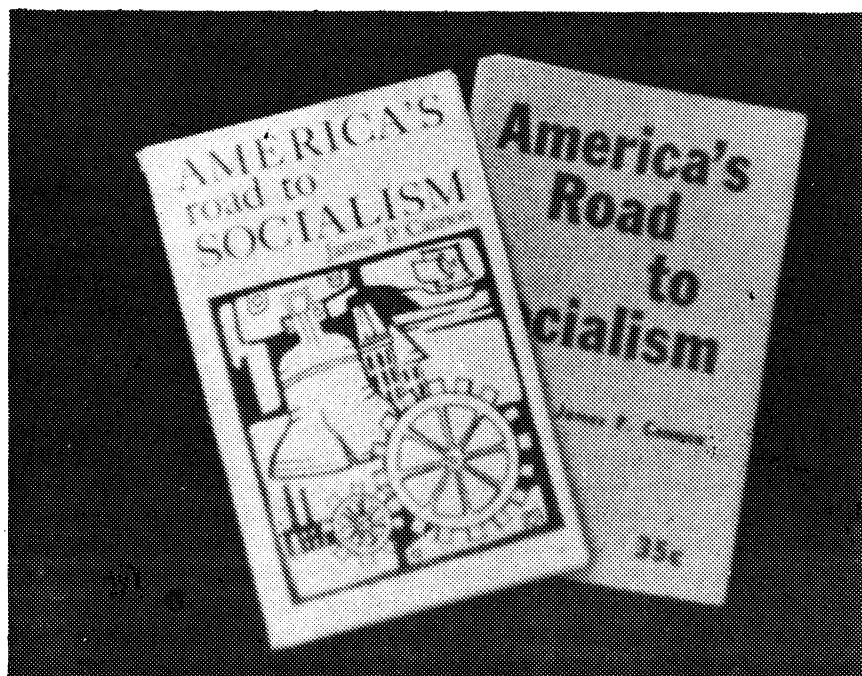
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Send to: James P. Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack
Treasurer: Andrea Morell



Two out-of-print editions of Cannon’s *America’s Road to Socialism*

Messages in tribute to James P. Cannon



Since *The Militant's* Sept. 6 special issue, messages have continued to arrive from around the world in tribute to James P. Cannon, who died Aug. 21. Cannon was a leader and inspirer of the revolutionary socialist movement for more than five decades. Following are the texts of these messages.

Until victory

New York
The death of Comrade Jim Cannon was a loss to the revolutionary movement of the world. Let us carry the struggle he believed in until the nationalist and internationalist revolution becomes victorious.

Yours in struggle,
Staff members, Palestine Liberation Organization (New York)

Great teacher

Caracas
We recently received news of the death of Comrade James P. Cannon. That news affected us deeply, because we know what it means in the history of world Trotskyism.

We send you our fraternal greetings. We know that the Socialist Workers Party owes a debt to that revolutionary politician, that tireless organizer, that endlessly resourceful agitator—in a word, to the leader that this remarkable North American always was, in every sense of the word.

Like Trotskyists all over the world, we too have been disciples of James P. Cannon. This man, who didn't hesitate to break off relations with a powerful political apparatus when he perceived that it had become a counterrevolutionary instrument; this man, who was Trotsky's most consistent co-worker in his gigantic efforts to preserve the principles of world revolution; to us, this man has

been a great teacher, and it is as such that we will acquaint future generations of our party with him.

The books that Comrade Cannon wrote and the battles that he fought have finally begun to produce results on this continent and on others. His life, which was exemplary, lights our road ahead. The very foundation of the political course of the proletarian revolution is now reinforced with an indestructible mainstay, which the enemy will never be able to destroy. Adhering firmly to that mainstay of world revolution, we will continue advancing our struggle, holding up the glorious name of James P. Cannon before the masses of all countries.

Comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, please accept this token of our solidarity.

Alfonso Ramirez, on behalf of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party, Venezuelan section of the Fourth International)

Bolshevik concepts

Through his single-minded work to build the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, James P. Cannon taught us the Bolshevik concepts of party building. As a tribute to him we reaffirm our pledge to struggle for a proletarian party and to build the section of the Fourth International in Iran.

Long live the Socialist Workers Party. Long live the Fourth International. Political Committee of the Sattar League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Iran.

Proletarian militant

Tokyo
Comrade James P. Cannon, national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party, died on Aug. 21, 1974.

Comrade James P. Cannon, born in 1890, devoted all his life of 84 years to the work of building a proletarian party of socialist revolution in the United States.

He was a proletarian militant who fought for the socialist cause of the U.S. proletariat all his life. He started his work as a militant of the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World], joined in founding the American Communist Party, and initiated the American Trotskyist movement in 1928. After that, he worked for building the Fourth International and its international activities uninterruptedly for more than 40 years.

Today the Socialist Workers Party is founded on the tradition of the foundation of the American Communist Party and the continuous activities of U.S. Trotskyism since 1928. It is comrade James P. Cannon who personified the tradition of the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade James P. Cannon died. We express our deep regret to the Socialist Workers Party. We will continue his fight for the proletarian socialist revolution under the banner of the Fourth International.

Long live the U.S. proletarian socialist revolution!

Long live the Socialist Workers Party!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

Long live the Fourth International! Political Bureau, Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International.

[The above message was accompanied by the information that a Japanese edition of Cannon's book *The History of American Trotskyism* is being published.]

Pioneering work

London
The Revolutionary Communist Group would like to present its condolences on the death of Comrade James P. Cannon. The pioneering work of Comrade Cannon, his upholding of the banner of proletarian internationalism throughout his life, particularly during the darkest years of the working class, makes him a key figure in the history of the Trotskyist movement. His death—the death of a great fighter, of a great revolutionary—will be mourned by all those who recognise the importance of his contribution to the Marxist movement, and who attempt to build upon the traditions which he fought for so long to uphold. Political Committee, Revolutionary Communist Group

Supreme challenge

Toronto
Notwithstanding all his other abilities, which he gave unstintingly during his lifetime dedication to the United States socialist revolution, Jim Cannon was first and foremost a builder of the revolutionary vanguard party.

Since this is the supreme challenge before Trotskyists across the world, we all share with you the full impact of his loss.

In his latter years, as he prepared his thoughts and experiences for publication in what are a series of handbooks on the party, he must indeed have been gratified to see a whole new generation of SWPers so ably take up his challenge.

Long live the spirit of James P. Cannon and solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party.

With socialist greetings,
Ross Dowson for the Socialist League of Canada

'Cannon's writings are key weapon in our struggle'

The following message is from the Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Toronto
James P. Cannon launched and built the nucleus of the revolutionary party in the United States—the Socialist Workers Party. He was a founder and central political leader of the world Trotskyist movement.

We in Canada remember him also as the close friend and collaborator of the Canadian Trotskyist movement.

Cannon was well-known to Canadian revolutionists in the 1920s as a leader of the U.S. Communist Party. At the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, he and Maurice Spector, a leader of the Canadian Communist Party, came upon a copy of Trotsky's suppressed critique of Stalin's course. Convinced by

Trotsky's arguments, Cannon and Spector decided to return with the document to North America, and take a stand for Trotsky's position.

Cannon launched the Trotskyist organization in the U.S., and its newspaper, *The Militant*. At first, Spector and his comrades used *The Militant* as the voice of revolutionary Marxism in Canada. Even after the Canadian group was able to launch its own paper in 1932, *The Militant* continued to be an example for us, and a teacher.

Cannon's political leadership in the world Trotskyist movement has been decisive at the turning points in the history of the Canadian movement. In 1939, he joined with Trotsky to lead the fight against an international current, with support in the Canadian movement, which proposed to drop our position of defense of the Soviet Union.

In 1953, when the Canadian or-

ganization was hard-pressed by right-wing reaction, and threatened by a liquidationist current this had produced in our ranks, Cannon's political intervention in the world movement was decisive, enabling us to resist these pressures and renew our growth.

Above all else, James P. Cannon was an internationalist. He saw that the fate of humanity was bound up with the construction of a world party of socialist revolution, the Fourth International. He bent every effort to building and strengthening the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement.

Cannon was generous in attention and political assistance to the sections of the Fourth International. He had also learned from his own experience in the Communist International, and from his subsequent collaboration with Trotsky, that political authority

in a world movement must be exercised judiciously. He aimed to promote the development of national leaderships able to think for themselves, stand on their own feet, and solve the complex problems of the class struggle in their own country.

Geography and language have certainly made it easier for English-speaking Canadian Trotskyists to study the ideas of James P. Cannon. But his influence has a different cause.

The power of Cannon's ideas flows from their historical source, which is not American, but Russian. Cannon helped pass on to us the lessons of the great revolutionary victory of 1917 in Russia. A leader of the Communist International before its corruption by Stalinism, a close collaborator of Trotsky, he understood the program of Bolshevism, and the method and practice of building the revolutionary

Continued on page 26

... 'Independent political action is a principle'

Continued from page 20

Communist Party had been a revolutionary party. It grew greatly in membership. It got as high as 80,000 members, I think.

But that upsurge coincided with Moscow's turn toward peaceful coexistence, the CP's support for Roosevelt, and all the rest. The Communist Party, instead of being an inspirer and leader of these young militants who were ready for anything, put a damper on the struggle.

Anything was possible

I think anything was possible in the late 1930s. By God, workers who'd never opened their mouths in Flint suddenly decided to go on strike, shut down the goddamn place, and occupied it. They occupied the GM plants in Flint and organized a women's battalion to parade around town raising hell until General Motors capitulated. The same thing happened in Chrysler and eventually in Ford.

Ford was supposed to have a permanent fiefdom. He had a paternalistic regime. Back in the 1920s he gave \$5-a-day minimum wage to workers coming off the farms and out of the bayous. There was one catch to it. They had to be under strict supervision of Mr. Ford. He had community organizations supervising their conduct, what organiza-

tions they belonged to, whether they went to church, etc. The workers were so pleased with the \$5 a day that they went along with that. No unionism.

Another big reform of Ford's was to give some ex-convicts a chance at \$5 a day. The catch here was that



1972 Black Political Convention at Gary, Ind.

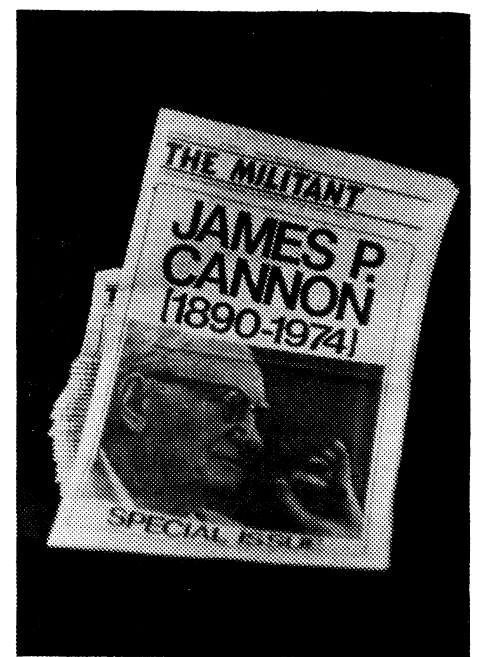
these convicts happened to be goons and their task was to look out for anybody opening his mouth about unionism.

They didn't argue with him, they beat the hell out of him and threw him out. That kept Ford out of the union drive until he was the last one left. In 1941 they finally shut down Ford's River Rouge plant and unionized this holdout.

The point is the power the workers have once they rise up and go into action. Then it's no longer a debate, it's a fight. There's no question of where the potential and ultimate power is. The only way that the workers can be headed off in a revolutionary situation is to be deceived or misled.

I think we have to convince a few thousand Black workers that socialism and revolution and liberation are all the same thing and that it's on the agenda, and that it's possible and necessary for survival to have a socialist society in their lifetime before it's too late.

When you get a few thousand Black workers inspired with that idea and that conviction, you're on the road. And when there's a corresponding development among the white workers, with ten or twenty thousand white worker members of our party, you've got the nucleus of an invincible force right there.



It is still possible to get extra copies of the Sept. 6 special issue of The Militant containing the speeches from the Political Tribute to Jim Cannon held in Oberlin, Ohio, Aug. 23.

To receive one or more copies of this special issue, send 25 cents for each to: Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

by James P. Cannon with a preface by Theodore Draper. Cannon was the only surviving leader of the formative days of the American communist movement who did not repudiate communism. He was a founder of the U.S. Communist Party and a leader of it until his expulsion in 1928 for opposition to Stalinism.

In this collection of letters to historian Theodore Draper, Cannon gives his account of the attempts of pioneer American communists to apply the lessons of the Russian revolution to the American scene. Especially important is his description of the growing influence of Stalin's bureaucracy in the international communist movement and the impact this had in the American CP. 343 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM

by James P. Cannon with an in-

troduction by Caroline Lund. This is a report of a participant in the founding of the American Trotskyist movement. 268 pp., paper \$2.95.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY

by James P. Cannon. In these essays and letters, Cannon outlines the Leninist concepts that guide the organization of a revolutionary workers' party. It deals with the political struggle with the Shachtman minority in the Socialist Workers Party in 1939-40. Leon Trotsky wrote of the first section of this book: "It is the writing of a genuine workers' leader. If the discussion had not produced more than this document, it would be justified." 320 pp., paper \$2.95.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

by James P. Cannon. As a clear and simple explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism, this book has be-

come a classic of American socialist literature. It is based on the court stenogram of Cannon's explanations of the views of the SWP when he was on trial for "sedition" in 1941 under the Smith Act. 192 pp., paper \$2.25.

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Joseph Hansen. Socialist journalism at its finest. This selection of Cannon's writings, taken from the labor and radical press, spans the years 1926-1956. It includes editorials from the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti; reports of the 1930s strike upsurge, the Korean war, the ideology of Stalinism; also sketches of Cannon's contemporaries in the revolutionary movement. 369 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45.

LETTERS FROM PRISON

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Jack Barnes. Cannon was one of the victims of

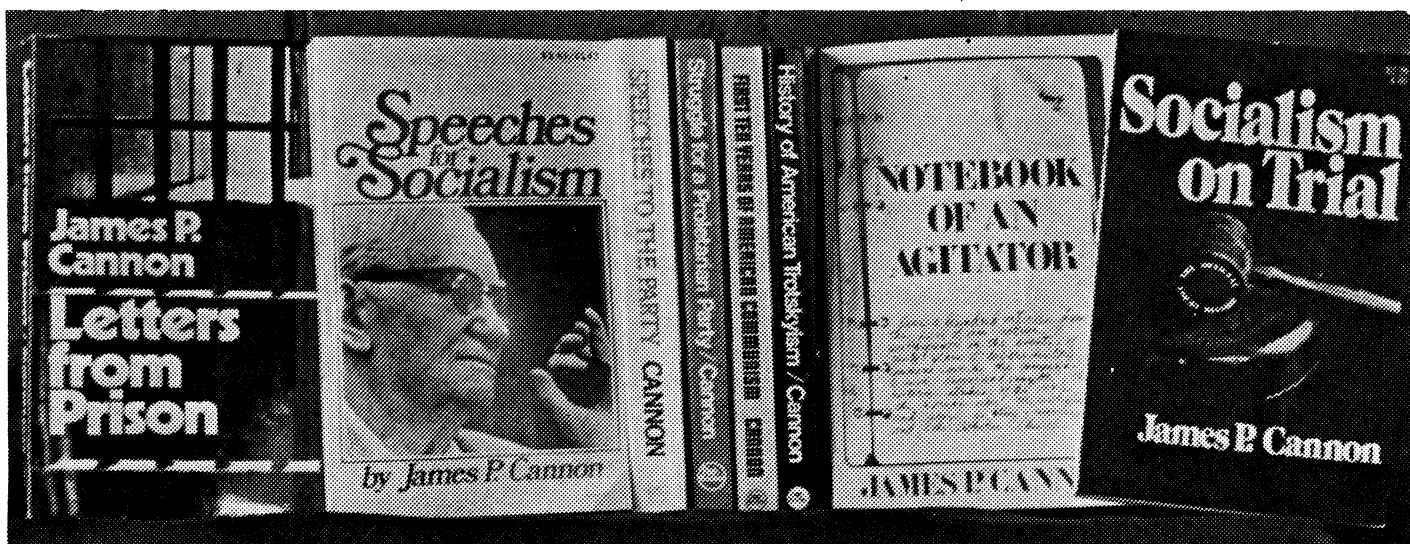
the government's first use of the Smith Act. In this, his prison journal kept during his confinement in Sandstone federal prison, Cannon addresses himself to the practical problems of building the revolutionary party: the importance of the revolutionary press, building a leadership team, the need to build a revolutionary international, and much more. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES FOR SOCIALISM

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Peggy Brundy and Dianne Feeley. These are speeches of a top-notch revolutionary orator, covering such topics as socialism and democracy, the struggle against imperialist war, Stalinism, and the role of youth in the revolutionary movement. 432 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

SPEECHES TO THE PARTY: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party

by James P. Cannon with an introduction by Al Hansen. This is a collection of speeches and documents from an internal struggle in the SWP during the era of prosperity, witch-hunt, and cold war in the early 1950s. Cannon's central theme is that American capitalism, despite appearances to the contrary, is headed for new crises that will produce a new radicalization, and that a Leninist party is necessary to lead the coming mass struggles to power. 352 pp., \$10, paper \$3.95.



Order from: Pathfinder Press
410 West St., New York, N.Y.
10014

Columbia, Mo., students hit racist policies

By JENNIFER OSWALD

COLUMBIA, Mo.—Four hundred young Blacks demonstrated here Sept. 11 to demand more Black faculty and students and to protest practices at the University of Missouri-Columbia campus (UM-C).

Frequent chants of "No Mo" expressed the students' determination to see the racist policies of the University of Missouri ("Mo") reversed.

A rally and a march from the campus into town were held despite attempts by campus and city officials to deny a permit. The presence of a squad of camera-toting campus cops also failed to intimidate the demonstrators.

The protest was sponsored by the campus-based Legion of Black Collegians (LBC).

Marvin Thompson, executive secretary of the LBC, told the rally that the campus administration and the white press have said the student movement is dead and Blacks are tired of marching.

Thompson's response was, "We've been marching for over 100 years and we'll continue to march until this struggle is carried out to its end—saying 'No Mo' all-white faculty! 'No Mo'

flunk-outs! 'No Mo' two and three dollars an hour for nonacademic workers, and 'No Mo' harassment of anyone!"

Last spring UM-C was exposed for having carried out a systematic spying and disruption campaign against student groups and individuals. The administration hired students and campus cops to bug offices, break into files, and photograph demonstrations. Although the "systematic" campaign has subsided, one on a "lower level" remains to this day, administrators admit.

Racist admissions policies were another target of the protest. UM-C has a Black enrollment of only 700 out of 23,000 students.

For those Black students who do get in, academic discrimination and the lack of adequate nonwhite programs result in an 85 percent flunk-out rate.

There are only 24 Black teachers in a faculty of more than 1,600. Even this sorry figure hides the fact that only 10 of the 24 actually carry the title of "faculty member."

The administration offers two excuses for not hiring more Black faculty. First they say there are none

to be found. And when they can be found, the school claims it can't afford them.

Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate in Missouri, spoke at the rally. Referring to the administration's plea of insufficient funds, she commented, "It's funny, though. It turns out they *do* have enough money to hire cops to check

license plates on cars in front of the LBC office.

"They have enough to pay people to break into offices and steal files of student groups fighting for justice and social change. They have enough to collaborate with the FBI and hire students to spy on their fellow students who happen to be political dissidents.

Continued on page 26



Sept. 11 protest

Militant/Chris Smith

Principals are reinstated in NY Dist. 1 victory

NEW YORK—Parents in the Lower East Side's school District 1 won a significant victory Sept. 13 in the fight to control their children's schools. School Chancellor Irving Anker bent to parent demands for the reinstatement of Ted Fletcher and Charles Berger, the coprinincipals of Public School 188.

The two principals are supporters of Luis Fuentes, a leader of the struggle for decent education for the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese children

of District 1. Fuentes was suspended from his job as district superintendent on Aug. 8 by the all-white, five-person majority of the local school board, who are supporters of United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker. Soon afterwards they ousted Fletcher and Berger as well.

Chancellor Anker's decision to "temporarily" reinstate Fletcher and Berger came after a week of demonstrations and a five-day boycott of P.S. 188 organized by parents.

Following the ouster of the two principals, hundreds of parents and community people picketed P.S. 188 every day, sustaining a 90-percent-effective boycott in the predominantly Puerto Rican school of 1,400 students.

Several times during the week the protesters marched through the Lower East Side with chants demanding the reinstatement of Fletcher, Berger, and Superintendent Fuentes. Fletcher, Berger, and Fuentes often took part in the demonstrations.

On three consecutive days, demonstrators blocked traffic at busy intersections. These blockades became militant rallies, with speeches by angry parents and by pro-community-control board members Georgina Hoggard and Henry Ramos.

On the morning of Sept. 13, a mother from P.S. 188 was arrested for throwing an egg as Shanker's new handpicked principal entered the school. Parents and supporters marched to the nearby police station, demanded that the woman be released, and then blockaded the busy avenue next to the station to await her release.

The cops promised to assign their best "community relations expert" to the case, and shortly after noon, the woman was returned to a cheering crowd.

Close to one-third of the teachers at P.S. 188 signed a petition calling

for the return of Fletcher and Berger. Also during the week, a group of teachers and paraprofessionals distributed a leaflet calling for support to Fuentes and the coprinincipals.

On Sept. 12, a city-wide demonstration of more than 400 District 1 community supporters was held in Brooklyn in front of the central board of education offices. The spirited picketers chanted, "Fuentes Si! Shanker No!" and "We want Berger and Fletcher!"

Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, spoke at the demonstration. She called for "all forces in the city—teachers, unions, and others who support the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to control their children's education—to unite in a show of strength. Massive and united action by the District 1 community and its allies throughout the city can turn back the racist attacks."

On Monday, Sept. 16, parents at Public School 34 began a new boycott. At P.S. 34 school aides and paraprofessionals have been fired, the Afro-American studies class has been ended, and the entire bilingual staff of seven teachers has been terminated.

Even as P.S. 34 parents picketed, they were joined by several school aides from other schools who had just received their termination letters.



Street rally in District 1

Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Puerto Rican farm workers build union in Conn.

By DOUG JENNESS

Puerto Rican farm workers in Connecticut have organized a union that is fighting for collective bargaining with the Shade Tobacco Growers Association. The Farmworkers Association (Asociación de Trabajadores Agrícolas—ATA) started with about 100 members in August 1973 and now has more than 1,000 members.

The ATA is calling for secret-ballot elections in order to win union recognition for 4,200 Puerto Rican migrant workers employed in the tobacco fields around Hartford. The employers' association, composed of about 15 companies and owners, refuses to recognize the union or to agree to secret elections.

While conceding that the ATA rep-

resents some Puerto Ricans, the growers argue that it doesn't speak for the bulk of the total work force of 14,000. About 10,000 of these employees are either students brought in from many parts of the country to work during the harvest period or "day haul" workers who commute to the fields from Hartford and nearby towns every day.

The ATA calls for separate elections for each category of laborers. It proposes that the elections be conducted by the American Arbitration Association.

Farm workers can only obtain recognition by a voluntary secret ballot or by a strike, because they are not covered by either the state or national labor relations acts, which provide

for secret-ballot elections for employees seeking union recognition.

A resolution adopted by the ATA calls for "legislation that will make possible a strong farmworkers union. We are not asking for preferential treatment. All we are asking is the same protective legislation that industrial workers had when they were in a position that farmworkers are in today."

The executive board of the Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, is supporting the ATA. In a resolution adopted unanimously on July 18, it suggests that "the State Labor Relations Board conduct a secret ballot election, as it has done many times in the past for employer and employee groups where there was no manda-

tory legal requirement that an election be held."

The AFL-CIO resolution asserts that "if the growers continue to refuse the ATA's request for a secret ballot election, the Executive Board also supports the ATA's right to strike." The ATA has also received the endorsement of César Chávez, head of the California-based United Farm Workers Union.

The working conditions in the 65 farms and 20 camps run by the 15 growers are inhuman. As in dozens of other places in the Northeast, where nearly 60,000 Puerto Rican migrant laborers work, there are no provisions for grievance and arbitration procedures, vacations, overtime, or unem-

Continued on page 26

Nasserism and class conflict in Egypt

Class Conflict in Egypt 1945-1971 by Mahmoud Hussein. *Monthly Review*. New York, 1973. 379 pp. Cloth, \$13.95.

The history of Nasserism in Egypt was the attempt to strengthen the rule of Egyptian capital.

The long and winding path of this effort included the outlawing of all political forces except Nasser's Free Officers, strikebreaking, anticommunist witch-hunts, and numerous nationalizations that misled many to believe that Egypt was on the road to socialism.

The first portion of *Class Conflict in Egypt* discusses the world situa-



Nasser in Cairo after nationalization of Suez Canal in July 1956. He sought to strengthen Egyptian capitalist class.

Books

tion, the relationship of class forces, and peculiarities of capital in Egypt leading up to the coup in 1953. The author, Mahmoud Hussein, points out the roles played by certain branches of the Egyptian capitalist class and middle class as well as the anticapitalist traditions of the masses since the turn of the century.

The reasons Hussein gave for the coup led by the Free Officers Movement on July 23, 1953, were essentially three: social tensions polarized by a worsening economy, Anglo-Egyptian relations reaching an impasse, and tension between the army and the old regime. Up to 1950 the Wafd, a liberal bourgeois force, was the only Egyptian party with any popularity among the masses.

The Wafd government in October

1951 tried to work out deals with British imperialists for oil. The Wafd made the mistake of assuming that Egyptian-British skirmishes on Egyptian rights to self-determination and oil could be limited to the diplomatic level. When a mass anti-imperialist movement arose, predominantly among the workers and students, it bypassed the leadership of the Wafd

and the Egyptian Communist Party, which had been supporting it.

It was then that the Free Officers Movement, backed by those interests within the ruling class who wanted Egyptian capitalist growth free of British obstruction, stepped in.

The Free Officers found it necessary to put a muzzle on the mass movements. From July 1953 through the

mid-1950s all capitalist, middle-class, and working-class political organizations were paralyzed by the Free Officers Movement and its Council of the Revolution.

As a Maoist, with the concomitant incorrect analysis of the nature of the Soviet Union, Hussein makes no distinction between the class characters of Egypt and of the USSR. In his opinion, both are state-capitalist—a characterization that led Hussein to exaggerate the autonomy of the Nasser regime from the Egyptian ruling class as well as to not understand the developments in the Soviet Union since the October Revolution in 1917.

However, *Class Conflict in Egypt* correctly emphasizes that the Nasser nationalizations, including the nationalizations of the Suez Canal, were not the result of popular mobilizations. The nationalizations, on the contrary, were efforts to strengthen the power of the national bourgeoisie. One factor contributing to this lack of popular mobilizations was the complete impotency of the Egyptian Communist Party to act as any sort of revolutionary leadership, plus the lack of any alternative to the CP.

It is this fact that is the main obstacle in the path of the Egyptian people to a real revolution—a socialist revolution. The Egyptian masses needed a revolutionary working-class party that could have been capable of exposing Nasserism to the masses and of leading the masses.

Such a leadership is more than ever needed to educate, organize, and effectively mobilize the Egyptian people against the current regime and American imperialism, which stands behind it.

— VAUGHN HOGIKYAN

Lenny Bruce: the comedian as social critic

Lenny Bruce: The Comedian as Social Critic and Secular Moralist by Frank Kofsky. *Monad Press*. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. New York, 1974. 128 pp. Paper, \$1.95.

Lenny Bruce has had several books, two plays, and a forthcoming movie devoted, supposedly, to depicting his life and art. Until the publication of Frank Kofsky's *Lenny Bruce*, however, the collection was sadly incomplete.

Kofsky's book is the first—and a very successful—attempt to draw the

Lenny Bruce was also, as the subtitle of Kofsky's book states, a social critic and secular moralist. For he was interested in more than merely getting laughs. He had a message—well-described in this book as a moral approach to living—and there were many people eager to listen and absorb his lessons.

An important characteristic of Lenny Bruce's work was that he was incredibly funny. His wry, addictive sense of humor enabled him to capture and hold an audience, and to take them with him as he jostled with the mores of decaying, morally decrepit, racist society. He could speak about most any subject—from contemporary politics to the most sensitive areas of sexual taboo—and all the time keep his audience with him, sometimes throttling them with his biting, angry, funny bits.

Lenny Bruce was universally scorned by "official criticism" of his day. Like the contemporary Black music of the time, his humor was rejected. He was portrayed as "sick," as not really funny, and, of course, "obscene."

After his death in 1966, the liberals went to work, trying to tone his image down, to make him out to be a forlorn liberal, a "nut," a dope addict (his supposed addiction to heroin was used by police and the courts to hound him to his grave), and so on. His

death itself was greeted with a frenzy of self-justification from the pundits of the capitalist press and "official criticism," who claimed that he died "by his own hand" from "an overdose," etc.

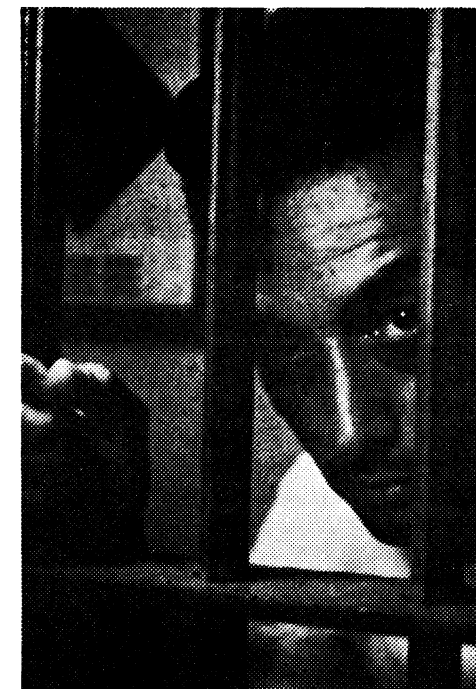
But their response reveals more than it covers up. For while it attempts to cover the ultimate guilt of society and its capitalist institutions in Lenny's death, it reveals the same callous disregard, the lack of *rachmones* (Yiddish for sympathy—a word and concept Lenny used frequently in his work), against which Lenny struggled, and to which he finally succumbed.

Ironically, though, his ultimate triumph consisted in the "new revolution" in cultural and sexual values in American society. What Lenny was arrested, jailed, hounded for, has become "normal," a part of the youth culture today.

Above all, Lenny Bruce was an iconoclastic cultural revolutionary. And although much of the so-called Brucian memorabilia (the plays, the forthcoming movie, and the several books devoted to him) try to recount and describe his "sick" iconoclasm, none of them argues so cogently and convincingly for the revolutionary aspect of Bruce's art—and Frank Kofsky's *Lenny Bruce* does that where the others fail.

The book is short but to the point. And it says more than any other book about Lenny Bruce the social critic.

In a time when we're confronted with liberal hand-wringing and "academic," "factual," "biographical" material all aimed at distorting and liberalizing Lenny Bruce, *Lenny Bruce: the comedian as social critic and secular moralist* is a necessary, refreshing countervailing wind. It's almost—though not quite—as refreshing as the art of Lenny Bruce. — RICHARD LESNIK



'Above all,' Lenny Bruce was an iconoclastic cultural revolutionary.'

Books

social and political implications of the art of Lenny Bruce, the most brilliant of the comedians of the fifties and early sixties, who was hounded to death by a callous, repressive power structure.

Lenny Bruce, both in life and in death, has been surrounded by controversy. The first of the "obscene" nightclub performers, he broke new ground in areas untouched by other, more timid comics of his day.

But he did more than utter so-called profanity from the stage of nightclubs.

Seek 12,000 new subscribers

Militant supporters begin circulation drive; sales to Blacks, Chicanos spur campaign

By ROSE OGDEN

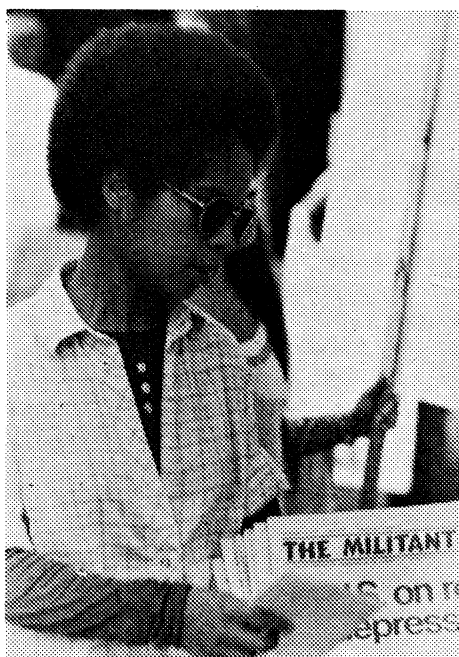
What do Atlanta; Boston; Brooklyn; Denver; Detroit; Highland Park, N.J.; Houston; Central-East Los Angeles; Lawrence, Kans.; Louisville; Portland; St. Louis; San Diego; San Francisco; Santa Barbara; and Twin Cities supporters of *The Militant* have in common? All report successfully meeting their sales goals the first week of *The Militant's* sales campaign.

The Militant's fall sales campaign is aimed at regularizing a higher level of weekly sales. To do this, supporters in cities and towns across the country have set targets for the number of *Militants* that they plan to sell each week. The goal is for each area to meet its target as soon as possible and sustain sales at least at that level for the duration of the 11-week campaign.

The 16 areas that met their goals with sales of the Sept. 13 issue—the main front-page headline was "Is U. S. on road to depression?"—are off to a good start, and the other areas report that they plan to catch up soon.

The total sold—8,546—is higher than the average of 8,400 maintained during a similar sales campaign this past spring.

As more areas meet their goals, the total sales will climb even higher. The national goal is to sell 9,400 copies nationwide through this organized effort.



Militant/Eric Simpson

One of the objectives of increasing *Militant* sales is to reach more Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos on a regular basis. Forty percent of the total sold during this first week were in these communities. In addition, many more Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano people were reached through sales at downtown shopping areas and transportation terminals.

Supporters from Central-East Los Angeles sold 146 in the Chicano community. They report that Chicanos

were especially interested in *The Militant's* coverage of the antideportation rally held in L.A. They sold an additional 122 in the Black community.

San Francisco reports that through expanding their sales in the Black and Chicano communities, where they sold 192, they were able to surpass their sales goal. They intend to continue these neighborhood sales each week.

Some cities report making a special effort to sell *The Militant* on campuses as students return for the fall term. Detroit sold 205 on campuses; Boston, 131; Philadelphia, 220; and San Diego, 107.

Other sales included 360 sold at meetings and rallies held in defense of Chilean political prisoners in various cities; 17 sold at an Arab Heritage festival by supporters in Louisville; 55 sold at a United Steelworkers of America meeting in Houston; 23 at a steel plant in St. Louis; 59 sold by Chicagoans at a Mexican Independence Day festival; and 30 by salespeople from Cleveland on a picket line of striking teachers.

Most cities agree that key to high *Militant* sales is to get off to a good start on Saturday.

Twin Cities sent Saturday sales teams to Minneapolis and St. Paul. Not only did they sell more than 300 papers, but two people *Militant* sellers met on the street decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance. Also a number of people who had picked up a copy of the paper phoned the Labor Bookstore to find out more about *The Militant* and the socialist movement.

Boston's Saturday teams spearheaded their successful effort for the week, selling a total of 640—the highest of any area.

Christopher Starr, from Lawrence, Kans., writes that his street sales have been going so well that he wants to increase his bundle from 25 to 43.

Another supporter sent in this comment about his experience in selling *The Militant* in Concord, Calif.: "My sales have continued to increase week by week. This has happened despite the fact that Concord is a rather conservative, suburban community. It seems that as the economic situation worsens, more people are willing to look at other perspectives."

One of the aims of the sales campaign is to broaden the geographical spread of *The Militant's* circulation. Since the campaign was launched, new bundles of *The Militant* are now being sent regularly to five areas—Fort Collins, Colo.; Harrisonburg, Va.; Binghamton, N.Y.; Durham, N.H.; and to a supporter on an army base in Texas.

Help us meet our goal of making *The Militant's* circulation truly nationwide by taking a bundle to sell in your city.

Once you decide to begin to sell *The Militant* in your area, be sure to report to the business office how many you sell each week so that we can add your sales to the scoreboard.

In addition to the campaign to increase street sales, *The Militant* has launched a drive to win 12,000 new subscribers by Nov. 24.

The introductory offer is two months for \$1. The drive is being held in conjunction with the *International Socialist Review's* drive for 2,300 new subscribers.

So far 190 new *Militant* subscriptions have been sent in. Most of these

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Brooklyn	400	529	132
San Francisco	375	454	121
Twin Cities	400	431	108
Boston	600	640	107
L.A. (Central-East)	400	425	106
Detroit	475	500	105
St. Louis	400	420	105
Atlanta	475	489	103
Houston	500	509	102
San Diego	275	281	102
Denver	375	380	101
Portland	300	304	101
Louisville	35	35	100
Lawrence, Kans.	25	25	100
Highland Park, N.J.	20	20	100
Santa Barbara	10	10	100
Pittsburgh	375	317	85
Cleveland	275	224*	81
L.A. (West Side)	400	313	78
Philadelphia	400	311	78
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	425	332	78
Washington, D.C.	400	310	78
Bloomington	85	65	76
Oakland/Berkeley	700	452	65
Seattle	350	222	63
Chicago	675	358	53
Lower Manhattan	450	190	42
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	9,400	8,546	91

were sold by supporters on the job or at political events.

Plans are now underway for intensive subscription selling activity.

Supporters plan to sell a large proportion of the subscriptions on campuses in their cities and throughout their regions as well.

The subscription teams sent into regional areas are an important way to broaden support for the Socialist Workers Party statewide election campaigns. They also help to build *The Militant's* geographical base.

Areas are also planning to canvas apartment buildings and housing projects, especially those in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities.

FBI memos on Black mov't

Due to the broad interest in the recently released FBI documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement, *The Militant* has made available a reprint of material from our March 22 issue.

The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operations against Black leaders and groups such as the Black Panther Party.

The reprint is four *Militant*-sized pages. The cost of bulk orders is:

4¢ each for 500 or more

5¢ each for 100 to 499

6¢ each for 50 to 99

7¢ each for 10 to 49

10¢ each for 9 or less

Send orders to Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Get our new prepaid subscription cards

Prepaid *Militant* subscription cards are a good way to introduce the Socialist Workers Party election campaigns to interested people at your job or campus.

When you're talking politics and people want to know more about the socialist alternative, sell them introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*. They can then follow the socialist campaigns throughout the fall.

When you have convinced someone to buy a subscription and have collected the \$1, all you have to do is fill out the postcard and drop it in the closest mailbox—the stamp is already on the card. The new reader will begin to receive *The Militant* the next week.

Buy a packet of cards so you always have them on hand, and pay yourself back as you sell the

subs. It's a fast and easy way to win new readers for *The Militant*.

Starting in October, at the beginning of each month we will report which supporters sold the most cards during the previous month.

Enclosed is a check or money order for

—\$5 for 5 cards

—\$10 for 11 cards

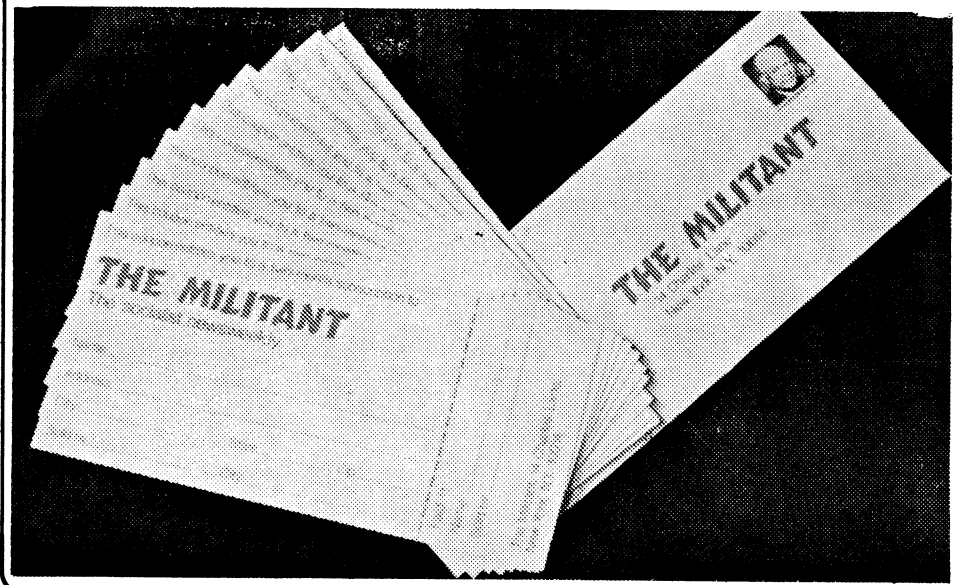
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Calendar

ATLANTA

BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION—MIND CONTROL IN THE PRISONS. Speakers: Ben Harris, doctoral student in psychology at Vanderbilt Univ.; Richard Rathers, vocational rehabilitation counselor; others. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

ATLANTA

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: SWP candidates Vince Eagan, Anne Teasdale, James Harris, and Elizabeth Lariscy. Sat., Sept. 28. Reception: 5:30 p.m.; banquet: 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 22 Butler St. (Butler St. YMCA). For more information call (404) 525-0644.

DETROIT

AMNESTY AND WAR RESISTERS. Speakers: Maurice Geary, Human Rights Party; Buck Weaver, Clergy and Laymen Concerned; James Lafferty, draft attorney, past national coordinator of National Peace Action Coalition; others. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

ATTICA: A FILM. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE BUSING CRISIS IN BOSTON: THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM IN THE SCHOOLS. Speaker: Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

INFLATION: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO FIGHT IT. Speakers: Jack Rasmus, organizer for Communications Workers of America; Sue Smith, Socialist Workers Party. 1849 University, Berkeley. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. Sat., Sept. 28. Refreshments: 6:30 p.m. Dinner: 7 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$5, \$3.50 for high school students, \$1.50 for rally only. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

SOCIALISM AND HUMAN SEXUALITY: THE THEORIES OF WILHELM REICH. Speaker: Paul LeBlanc. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR. Speaker: Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

GERALD FORD: SOLUTION TO WATERGATE OR PART OF THE PROBLEM? Speaker: Jeff Ford, SWP candidate for King County prosecutor. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way, N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...victory

Continued from page 7

and Means as the defense had asked. He said this would give the government an opportunity to appeal his decision.

Hurd said later that he predicted an appeal would be made. "The government didn't get a fair trial," the U.S. Attorney whined to reporters.

But the government had eight months to make its case, and during that time it showed that its only weapons were racism, smears, and lies, with a big stick to back them up.

The government got its trial and the government was found guilty.

Banks and Means are free, finally. Justice has been served.

...Atlanta

Continued from page 8

the rulers of Atlanta, who profit by racial oppression."

In a statement on WAOK, Atlanta's largest Black radio station, Eagan asserted after Reid's killing, "We must demand a full independent investigation of these killings, and that the killer-cops be tried and convicted for murder."

Meanwhile, all of Atlanta's liberal Democratic politicians remain silent about the latest police killings. Even City Councilman Arthur Langford, the only elected official who took part in the demonstrations against Chief Inman earlier this year, held a news conference to praise Eaves only three days after the killing of Alfred Reid. Langford commended Eaves's tough approach to crime.

In a flourish of press publicity, Eaves personally led 90 cops in a Sept. 6-7 weekend sweep to "clean up Atlanta." Eaves's raiders arrested 586 persons, mostly Black, in the Friday- and Saturday-night dragnet.

The Militant interviewed one young victim of the dragnet, who was severely beaten by the police raiders after he had been arrested and handcuffed. His face was covered with welts, bruises, and streams of caked blood. He said the police had denied him hospital treatment.

According to the *Atlanta Journal*, "The officers seemed enthusiastic with the approach and gave Eaves a round of applause both nights."

The enthusiasm for Eaves is shared even by ex-chief John Inman, who has publicly supported the appointment of Eaves.

The new public safety director will

apparently fill John Inman's shoes well. And Eaves starts out with the unconditional support of all the Black Democratic politicians who were so critical of Inman.

...Cannon

Continued from page 21

party on the Bolshevik model.

Cannon enriched the body of Marxist theory by developing and expounding these basic concepts of party building, and explaining their interrelationship to the challenges of the class struggle.

He worked to build the Socialist Workers Party as a living example of the application of this doctrine to today's tasks.

In Canada, as around the world, a new generation is turning today to the ideas of Trotskyism—the program of socialist revolution. In Cannon's writings, they will find a key weapon for this struggle.

As yet, the work of making Cannon's message available to French-speaking revolutionists has barely begun. We of the LSA/LSO pledge to press forward—in collaboration with our comrades in other French-speaking countries—in translating and publishing the works of Cannon in the French language.

We will honor his example by renewing our work of building the LSA/LSO, and of building the Fourth International—the goal of his life's efforts.

Political Committee of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (Canadian section of the Fourth International)

Correction

The caption under the photograph of Jim Cannon on page 13 of the Sept. 20 *Militant* incorrectly said he was in his home in Los Angeles. Actually he was in a hotel in New York City.

...students

Continued from page 23

"All this they can afford. But when it comes to funds for a nonracist, nonsexist education, they say the money is nowhere to be found."

Mutnick likened the campus administration's priorities to those of the federal government, which spends \$100-billion for the war machine while cutting back spending for education.

Statements of solidarity with the protest came from representatives of other Missouri campuses and Columbia townspeople.

Melvin Jones, president of the student body at Lincoln University, Missouri's state-run Black university, pointed to the economics of racism in higher education. He said Lincoln had requested a budget of \$5-million and was cut 15 percent, while UM-C asked for more than \$100-million and was cut only 1.5 percent.

Addressing the crowd after it had marched from campus to Douglass Park was Mary Watkins, mother of J. B. Johnson, a Black youth imprisoned on a frame-up murder charge. "Like you who won't stop until there is 'No Mo,' I won't stop till J. B. is free," she said.

Representatives from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP also spoke. The spirit of the day's protest was summed up by Pat Jordan, a Black graduate of UM-C, when she said, "Ears have not heard and eyes have not seen what we together can do, united and together."

...union

Continued from page 23

ployment benefits. As with many migrant workers from Puerto Rico, contracts are negotiated between the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico government and the tobacco growers.

Their current contract calls for a base pay rate of only \$2.15 an hour.

In an interview in *Claridad*, organ of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, ATA President Juan Irizerry explained that the Puerto Rican Department of Labor "signs the contracts but this doesn't mean that it protects the workers' interests. It's as if the boss assigned his manager to supervise the contract."

He indicated that the Commonwealth government "has been maneuvering to destroy our union or at least hamper its growth."

He cited the Commonwealth's creation of an advisory committee of five workers to be present in contract negotiations. "But when the farmowners complained because the workers were seated at the negotiating table," he said, "the department of labor didn't defend them and they were forced to leave the room."

"This demonstrates that no one will defend us unless we ourselves struggle for our rights. Only migrant workers through our struggle will change the situation. And we are counting on the support of our people."

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 222-2253.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor

Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Buffalo: YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562. Tel: (914) 941-8565.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State Col-

lege, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

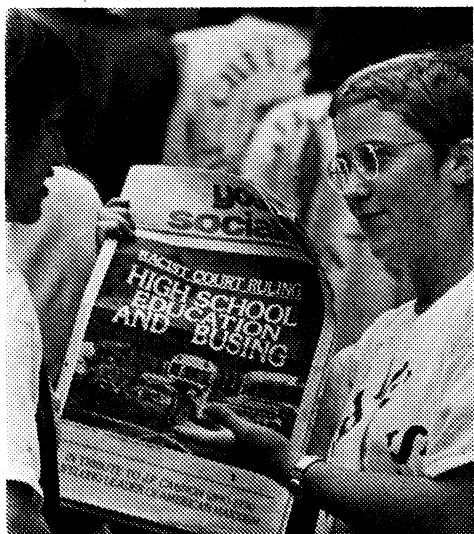
Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 108 N. Breese Terr., Madison, Wis. 53705.

Milwaukee: YSA, UW-Milwaukee Union Box 139, Rm. E-382, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: (414) 963-5551.

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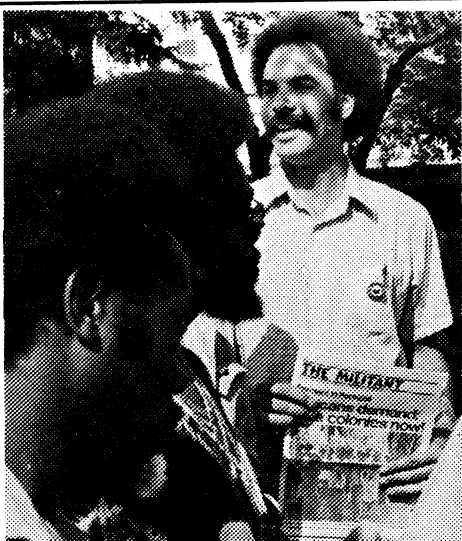
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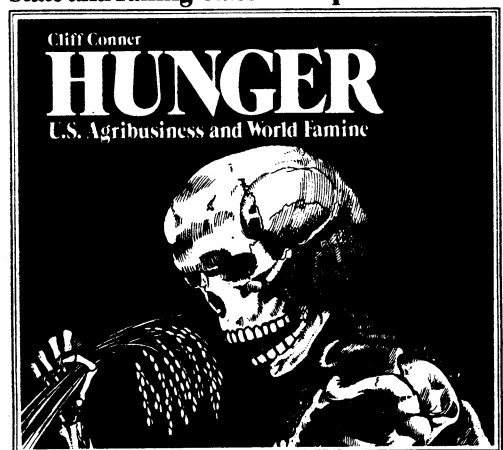
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CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNDER ATTACK: How to Fight Back and Rebuild the Unions, by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, and Carol Lipman. 35 cents.

Historic union battles

TEAMSTER REBELLION, by Farrell Dobbs. "A valuable firsthand account of heroic battles led by rebels of another day, men who faced martial law and two killings to open the road for mass unionism."—UNION DEMOCRACY REVIEW. An account of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes. A Monad Press Book. 192 pp., \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

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Order from PATHFINDER PRESS, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Classified

PUERTO RICO: COLONIALISM, INDEPENDENCE, AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY. Speaker: RUTH REYNOLDS, jailed during the 1950 Nationalist insurrection. Film: LA PATRIA ES VALOR Y SACRIFICIO. Sun., SEPT. 22, 2 p.m. U.N. METHODIST CHURCH CENTER, 777 U.N. PLAZA, 8TH FLOOR. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization. For more information call (212) 260-1290.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Free Attica Brothers!

By KURT HILL

BUFFALO—More than 2,000 people from all over the Northeast assembled in Buffalo's Niagara Square Sept. 14 to commemorate the third anniversary of the Attica rebellion.

Banners and placards proclaimed support for the 61 indicted Attica Brothers in their struggle against government frame-ups. "Jail Nixon, Free the Attica Brothers," and "Freedom for the 61—Drop the Charges," were among the many signs. Anger at President Ford's recent pardon of Richard Nixon ran high.

Legal defense coordinator Haywood Burns told the enthusiastic crowd, "We are here to indict the real criminals," those responsible for the massacre in D Yard. Thirty-two prisoners were killed in the cop assault. He demanded that Nelson Rockefeller and Russell Oswald be indicted for the deaths at Attica. At the time of the Attica revolt Rockefeller was governor of New York and Oswald was the state corrections commissioner.

"If they can talk in Washington about pardon for Richard Milhous Nixon," he declared, "they better be talking about amnesty for the Attica Brothers."

Mike Hainey brought greetings from the American Indian Movement, many of whose members are currently facing frame-up charges similar to those against the Attica Brothers.

Angela Davis, representing the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, also addressed the rally, as did Frank "Big Black" Smith, national director of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense.

Smith stressed the inequity of the present system whereby the state has spent more than \$6-million to finance the Attica frame-ups, but has refused to release funds for the defense.

Big Black also introduced several of the Attica Brothers and Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party



Part of crowd of 2,000 who demonstrated in Buffalo on third anniversary of Attica prison massacre

Militant/Derrick Morrison

candidate for governor of New York. He praised Morrison for the "support and solidarity" extended to the Attica Brothers by the socialist campaign.

Following the rally, which raised more than \$1,100 for the defense effort, demonstrators staged a militant and vocal march through downtown Buffalo. They passed the Erie County Courthouse, site of the upcoming trials, and the Erie County jail, where several of the Attica Brothers are now imprisoned, chanting, "Jail Nixon, Jail Ford, Free the Attica Brothers."

By SCOTT BREEN

NEW YORK—Six hundred people assembled at Union Theological Seminary Sept. 13 to demand freedom for the 61 Attica Brothers.

Reverend Paul Mayer from the Martin Sostre Defense Committee told the

audience "to remember Attica, remember the 61 Attica Brothers, remember Martin Sostre, and remember the hundreds of thousands of unknown political prisoners."

It was announced that lawyers for Attica prisoners had just filed a \$100-million suit against Rockefeller and other state officials. The suit points to the cop assault sanctioned by Rockefeller as "calculated to cause unnecessary and inexcusable death, serious injury, terror and suffering."

Tom Wicker, associate editor of the *New York Times*, and Ramsey Clark, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senate from New York and an Attica lawyer, were among the speakers.

Herbert X Blyden, director of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense in New York City, also introduced Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candi-

date for U. S. Senate from New York, and called attention to her statement "Amnesty for the Attica Brothers, Not for Nixon," which was distributed to the crowd.

It read in part: "President Ford's recent pardon of former president Richard M. Nixon shows that there is one standard of justice for the rich and their political allies, and another standard for the poor and oppressed minorities. . . ."

"The only way to correct this gross miscarriage of justice is to drop all of the indictments and charges against the Attica Brothers."

Florynce Kennedy, feminist attorney, in a brief concluding speech, demanded, "We want a pardon for Martin Sostre, Assata Shakur, the Attica Brothers, those in Canada, and those who refused to kill in Vietnam!"

Profit drive of steel trust

By DICK ROBERTS

Edgar Speer, chairman of U. S. Steel Corporation, was one of the speakers at the White House-sponsored meeting of businessmen in Pittsburgh Sept. 16. The meeting was one of the preparatory sessions for the forthcoming "summit" on inflation.

Speer "cautioned that profit levels were too low, in part because of the channeling of funds into pollution control equipment," the *New York Times* reported.

With an annual salary of \$266,227 (it would take the average steelworker more than 25 years to earn that amount) you would think Speer had little to complain about.

"Pollution control"? Why, the steel industry is one of the most notorious polluters in the land.

And "low profits"? The 1973 and 1974 profits of the steel industry are their record highs!

Surging ahead to admitted profits of \$573.8-million in the second quarter of 1974, the steel industry as a whole had 80 percent higher profits than in the second quarter of 1973.



Steel barons demand higher profits, less pollution control.

The increases for the "Big Eight" U. S. steel trusts were: Bethlehem, up 20 percent; Inland, up 40 percent; Republic, up 49 percent; Armco, up 57 percent; National, up 59 percent; U. S. Steel, up 89 percent; LTV (owner of Jones & Laughlin), up 175 percent; Lykes-Youngstown, up 642 percent.

At first glance it appears as though the industry is composed of a number of competing companies. Workers at a given plant tend to believe that the boss of that company is at least the major, if not the only, problem they have to deal with.

The truth is that they are up against something a lot bigger: a closely interwoven network of steel monopolies backed by the nation's most powerful banks and the capitalist government, which the monopolists control.

To begin with, the Big Eight totally dominate the U. S. steel market, controlling more than 70 percent of steel production in 1973. The two most powerful, U. S. Steel and Bethlehem, control 23.2 percent and 15.8 percent, respectively, of U. S. steel output.

It is the price moves by these two firms that determine what happens in the rest of the industry.

Both are, in turn, controlled by the most powerful Eastern banks. Thomas Gates of the J. P. Morgan banking partnership sits on the board of directors of Bethlehem; there are two Morgan bankers on the board of U. S. Steel, as well as Edwin Gott of the Mellon banking and oil empire and Wilbert Walker, a director of New York's Chemical Bank.

Stretching out from the steel companies are the railroads and the coal, ore, and limestone companies that they own—often jointly.

In recent congressional testimony, Norton Simon, a former director of Wheeling Steel, lifted the curtain slightly on the behind-the-scenes power of the Hanna mining interests: "One of the things that was very apparent was that Hanna was involved with most all of the steel companies. Before I could get changes in the contract of ore and some freedom, I had to speak to George Humphrey [chairman of

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