

# THE MILITANT

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

## Ford threatens war on oil nations

— See page 6

### Economic summit

## Window dressing for attacks on workers

— See page 3



Militant/Tom Vernier

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**Masses block rightist move in Portugal/3**  
**Dissent flares at steel union convention/5**  
**Why UFW should oppose deportations/18**

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# In Brief

**SUPPORTERS OF PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE WIN RIGHT TO HOLD RALLY:** Madison Square Garden has backed down from its refusal to house the Oct. 27 Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally.

The Garden had informed the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee, the group sponsoring the rally in support of Puerto Rican independence, that because of scheduling problems they were canceling the arrangements for the rally.

The solidarity committee took legal action against the Garden and organized public pressure. Phone calls and telegrams protesting the Garden's action streamed in and a picket in front of the Garden was called.

Feeling the heat, Garden officials backed down and agreed to hold to the earlier agreement.

A picket that had been called to protest the cancellation was held as a victory celebration. More than 200 participated in the action.

Alice Berger of the solidarity committee told **The Militant** that nearly all the 20,000 tickets for the rally have been sold. Tickets for the rally are \$3. Contact the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 319, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. The telephone number is (212) 673-0540.

**ATTICA FRAME-UP TRIALS BEGIN:** The first of the Attica frame-up trials opened in Buffalo, N.Y., Sept. 30. Jury selection began in the case of Willie Smith. Smith, a Black, is charged with sexually assaulting a white prisoner during the 1971 Attica prison rebellion.

In other court developments, Supreme Court Justice Carmen Ball set Nov. 4 trial dates for Frank "Big Black" Smith, Herbert X Blyden, and Bernard "Shango" Stroble.

Each of these Brothers is charged with the kidnapping-murder of an Attica prison guard.

While the Attica frame-ups were proceeding in Buffalo, representatives of the Attica Brothers were appearing before the Senate Rules Committee in Washington, D.C. The committee is considering the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller for vice-president. As governor of New York Rockefeller ordered the massive assault on Attica that claimed 43 lives.

Haywood Burns, legal coordinator for the Attica Brothers defense, told the hearing that Rockefeller "is responsible for a human tragedy that ranks in the annals of national disgrace with My Lai, and the massacres of Native American peoples in the nineteenth century."

**PROTEST MOUNTS TO FORD'S 'AMNESTY':** President Ford's conditional amnesty plan is "worse than no amnesty at all."

That's what the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) said in a Sept. 30 news conference that announced plans to challenge Ford's program for war resisters in the courts. Directors of the civil liberties group estimated that a large percentage of draft resisters and deserters were illegally called for induction and would be better off fighting their cases in court than accepting the "earned re-entry" deal. Aryeh Neier, executive director of the ACLU, said that the group would provide free legal aid to any exile choosing this alternative.

In another protest action against Ford's amnesty plan, 200 New Yorkers marched Sept. 28 from the National Guard Armory to Washington Square Park, where a rally was held.

**BOSTON PICKETS PROTEST GALLO PRODUCTS:** Highlighting Boston's "International UFW Boycott Days" was a demonstration Sept. 13 against C. Pappas Company, the major distributor of Gallo wines in New England. The protest marked the ninth anniversary of the Delano farm workers' strike.

Eighty demonstrators marched from South Station to the Pappas building chanting: "Gallo, Chile, Attica, Greece, union power must increase," and "Hey, hey, what do you say, don't buy Gallo wine today."

After the march a rally was held. Nick Jones, coordinator of the United Farm Workers in New England, told the rally, "Multimillionaire Charlie Pappas is an exploiter of workers in both the U.S. and Greece." George Nikidas of the Action Group for Greece also spoke.

**DEFENSE ORGANIZED FOR IRISH FREEDOM FIGHTERS:** A legal defense fund is being organized to aid four activists in the Irish liberation struggle.

The four, Henry Killick, James Conlon, Frank McMahon, and Frank Larkin, were convicted in Baltimore last July of conspiracy and of violating the Gun Control Act of 1968. The government claimed they bought and transported weapons and explosives across state lines. Despite prosecution attempts to portray the trial of the four activists as just a criminal trial, it's clear that the government is really interested in silencing any support to the Irish struggle against British and U.S. imperialism.

A demonstration called by Irish Northern Aid will be held Oct. 12 around the central demand of "England Out of Ireland." Protesters will march from Baltimore to Washington, D.C., spending the night in Laurel, Md., on Oct. 12. A rally is scheduled at the British embassy on Oct. 13.

**CINCINNATI BLACK ACTIVIST FRAMED:** James Hardy, a Black activist in Cincinnati and the founder of Solving Black Problems Now, is being framed on charges of sending intimidating letters to police officers.

The Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, a member of the national board of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, appeared at a joint news conference in Cincinnati with the National Lawyers Guild and the Committee to Free James Hardy. Shuttlesworth demanded that police and FBI files on Hardy be made public and that all charges against Hardy be dropped.

A protest rally against the frame-up was sponsored by the defense committee on Sept. 14. Addressing the rally in Cincinnati's Fountain Square were a number of speakers including Maurice McCrackin, a well-known veteran of the civil rights and antiwar movements; a representative of the National Lawyers Guild; and Charles Mitts, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 1st C.D.

**FOUR LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS CONVICTED:** After five days of deliberation, an all-white jury returned a verdict of guilty Sept. 24 in the trial of four Black Leavenworth Brothers.

The defendants, Alf Hill Jr., Alfred Jasper, Odell Bennett, and Jesse Lee Evans, were framed on charges of inciting to riot, assault with intent to murder, and assault with a dangerous weapon. The charges stem from a rebellion at the federal prison at Leavenworth, Kans., last year.

Defense attorneys intend to file for a new trial.

**MORE CHILE COMMEMORATIONS:** The Militant is continuing to receive reports on demonstrations held last month marking the first anniversary of the coup in Chile.

On Sept. 12, 100 people attended a meeting at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn. Linda Wine, an eyewitness to the bloody military takeover, spoke about her experiences during the year and a half she was a student in Chile.

At an afternoon news conference Wine said that if the American people knew about the repressive regime their tax dollars were supporting they would demand an end to all U.S. aid to the Chilean government.

Cheryl Bezis, director of the Nashville Women's Center, spoke against the savage torture of women political prisoners in Chile.

The day before the Nashville commemoration, Wine spoke at a meeting of 100 at Georgia State University in Atlanta. This meeting was sponsored by the Atlanta Chile Protest Coalition.

— NORMAN OLIVER

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 5 Dissent at steel convention
- 8 Wash. SWP presses disclosure law fight
- 9 NY socialists fight for ballot status
- 13 Response astounding, say CLUW leaders
- 14 Farrell Dobbs's tribute to Jim Cannon
- 17 Messages in tribute to Cannon
- 18 UFW supporters criticize Chavez call for deportations
- 19 Safety top demand of UMW
- 20 Murder in the workplace
- 21 Militant sales up at steel mills

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

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Left Peronists declare 'revolutionary war'
- 4 World News Notes Pentagon feared A-bombs in Cyprus crisis

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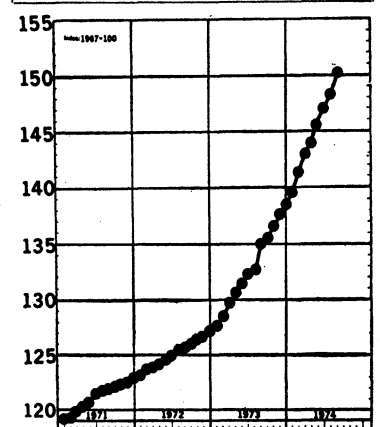
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# 'Economic summit' sets stage for new attacks on wages, jobs, social services

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C. — With inflation raging throughout the capitalist world, and amid increasing warnings of worldwide depression, President Ford's National Conference on Inflation met here Sept. 27-28 and projected a new round of attacks on the standard of living of U. S. workers.

Ford said at the outset of the "summit" that no "miracle cures" to inflation would be offered, and none were.

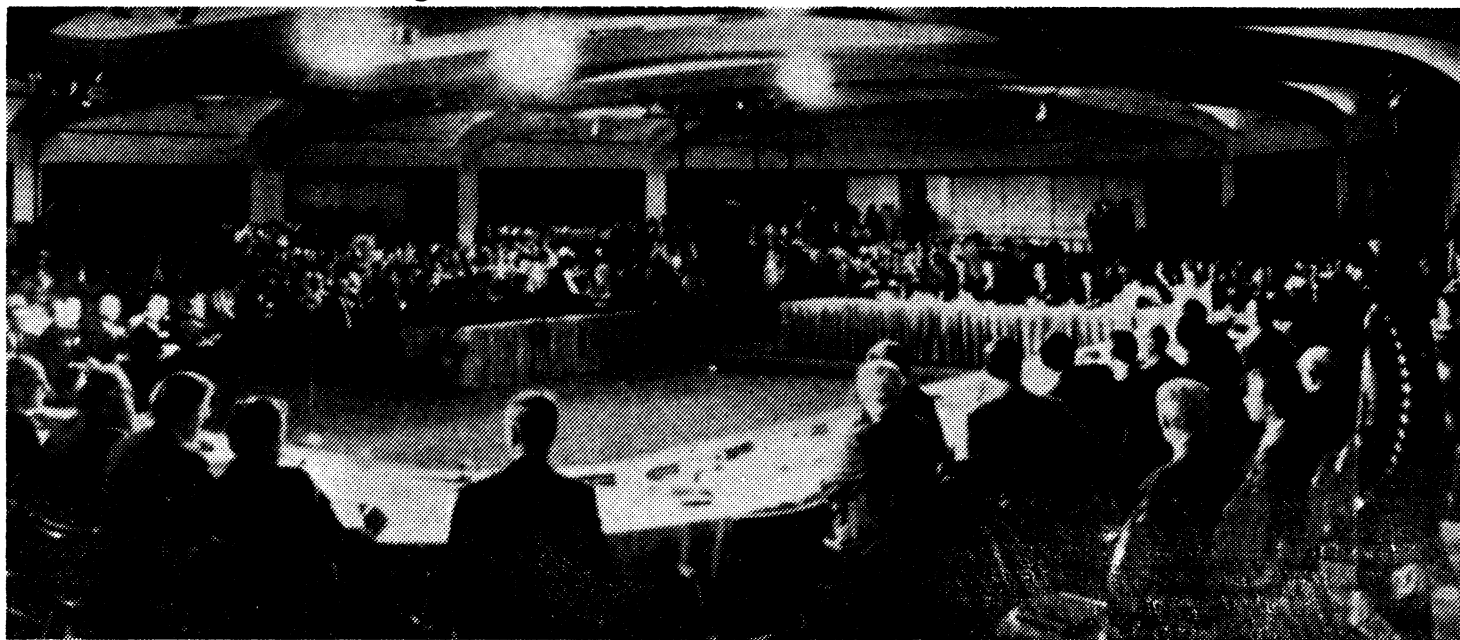
What was offered instead was higher unemployment, cutbacks in social services, speedup, pollution, new steps to hold wages down, and economic warfare against the oil-producing nations.

Like the "mini-summits" before it, the national conference on inflation was billed as a "town meeting," where free and open discussion would take place on solutions to the U. S. economic crisis. "... this conference includes the widest range of views and opinions," Ford told the opening session, as he looked out at the audience of Wall Street brokers, automobile manufacturers, bankers, and oil corporation presidents. The 800 delegates included only a sprinkling of labor officials, a handful of Blacks, and a few representatives of consumer groups.

## 'No voice for Blacks'

"There is no voice here for Black people or the vast majority of poor people," said Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in an interview with *The Militant*. "Few changes will be made in the economic situation unless we as Black people and poor people do something," he added. "We've got to make a lot of noise."

The noises heard in the conference ballroom, however, were calls of "tighten your belts" and "America first."



Bankers, Wall Street brokers, oil executives had real voice at summit

Contrary to reports in the capitalist press of big disagreements at the summit, there was virtual unanimity among the capitalist economists and politicians on three main points: 1) allowing the number of unemployed to jump substantially by deepening the recession now underway; 2) keeping the lid on workers' wages; and 3) intensifying the pressure on the oil-producing countries to lower their prices.

The capitalists want unemployment to go up because they hope it will dampen the militancy of workers. The bosses will hold the threatening prospect of unemployment lines in front of workers who aren't satisfied with wages that don't keep up with inflation.

Before the summit began, the White House was airing proposals for creating 500,000 public service jobs, a clear signal that the plan to increase

unemployment is serious. Even this number of jobs is totally inadequate, since by the most conservative estimates, unemployment has already hit nearly five million people.

But now Ford is even backing down on this minimal proposal. According to the Sept. 30 *Wall Street Journal*, "If Mr. Ford embraces any public-service jobs plan, it will be much less ambitious than the \$4 billion, 500,000-jobs proposal frequently mentioned."

In addition, the government may use whatever token jobs program is established as an excuse to cut back on welfare funds, according to Johnnie Tillman, executive director of the National Welfare Rights Organization. Tillman told this reporter that welfare recipients might be forced to work off their checks under such a program.

"It's a jive-time situation," Tillman said. "This conference is plain bullshit to me."

While unemployment rises, moreover, prices will continue to rise too. The day before the summit opened, Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, predicted that it could take up to three years to halt the inflationary spiral.

## Wage controls

Democrats at the summit, led by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), campaigned for reintroduction of "wage-price" controls—in reality, wage controls. Ford and most corporation representatives professed opposition to such a course.

But there was no real conflict over this issue. The capitalists have no other choice in the long run but to reimpose curbs on workers' wages in order to protect profits. They have no intention, of course, of controlling prices.

*Continued on next page*

## Spinola resigns as president

# Portuguese masses block rightist move

On Sept. 30 General António de Spínola resigned as president of Portugal after being forced by mass pressure to call off a major right-wing mobilization scheduled for Sept. 28 in Lisbon.

Organization had begun for the rightist demonstration following a Sept. 10 speech by Spínola in which he appealed to the "silent majority" to "awaken and to defend itself actively against extremist totalitarianism."



SPINOLA: Will he now lead right-wing coup?

*Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca called the preparations for the rally "well-orchestrated." Buses were to have brought participants to Lisbon from the more conservative sections of the country, especially the north. However, the bus drivers union responded by stopping all buses into Lisbon from the north.

In the early morning of the day of the scheduled demonstration, teams of workers, students, and supporters of the Communist, Socialist, and other political groups stationed themselves around the city to stop any armed rightists from entering.

"... a kind of revolutionary anarchy reigned on the outskirts of the city," reported *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger.

Acoca of the *Post* wrote that "troops, who had been sent out to disperse the leftist vigilantes, joined the civilians in halting and searching cars headed for Lisbon."

Spínola finally called off the rally only hours before it was to begin. His resignation speech two days later sounded like a call to arms against the very regime he has headed since the military coup last April 25.

He said the country was threatened by a "climate of anarchy" and "by an economic crisis to which we are

fast heading, by unemployment, by uncontrolled inflation, by business recession, by the retraction of investments and by the ineffectiveness of the central powers."

"He warned that the country faced 'irreversible situations' in which it would be thwarted from exercising the right to choose," reported Giniger.

The alarmist tone of Spínola's speech was echoed throughout the *Times's* coverage of the Portuguese events. The headline Oct. 1 said, "Leftists Gain Control in Lisbon." The story said of the new president, General Francisco da Costa Gomes: "... his ability to control the situation was much in doubt." The reporter continued: "... conservatives, though defeated for the moment, were considered capable of violent reactions in the future."

Such language in the *Times*, one of the main voices of U.S. imperialism, is a significant indication of the explosiveness of the situation in Portugal.

It is not yet clear where the decisive sectors of the Portuguese capitalist class stand in the split in the Lisbon government. But the danger of a rightist coup is as real as ever. Thanks to the support that the Communist and Socialist parties have given Spínola ever since the April coup, the right now has a well-established figure to rally around.

And even after Spínola threatened a coup, he was allowed to broadcast his demagogic resignation speech to the country.

It is abundantly clear that the masses cannot depend on the provisional government or on any group of officers to defeat a coup. In past months this coalition government with its Communist and Socialist Party ministers has made systematic attacks on freedom of the press, on the right to strike and the labor movement, and on the organizations to the left of the CP and SP.

Although new concessions in Africa were made under pressure from the liberation movements in the colonies, the clampdown on the working class in Portugal was accelerated.

If the capitalist rulers become sufficiently alarmed over the possibility of mass actions getting out of their control, there is a real danger of a rightist coup and reactionary terror worse than anything seen in all the 48 years of the Salazarist regime. Such a defeat could only be prevented by a broad mobilization of the masses led by a revolutionary party aiming at establishing a government of the workers and peasants.



# ...Ford summit backs assault on workers

Continued from preceding page

At the summit, Ford took a step toward a government wage-control program by setting up a new White House Labor-Management Committee.

The purpose of this committee, composed of businessmen and labor officials, is, in Ford's words, to "help assure effective collective bargaining, promote sound wage and price policies, develop higher standards of living, boost productivity and establish more effective manpower policies."

The union officials were placed on this committee to help police the workers and keep their wage demands "reasonable." But if this doesn't work, Ford will not hesitate to impose mandatory wage controls again.

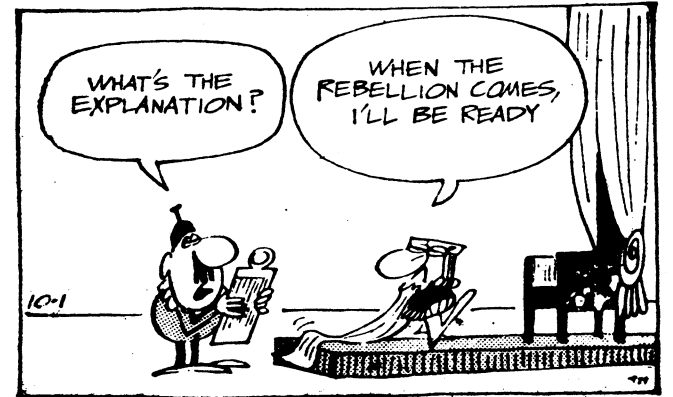
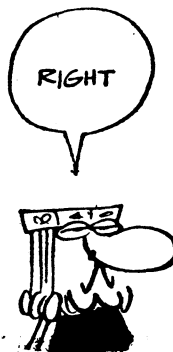
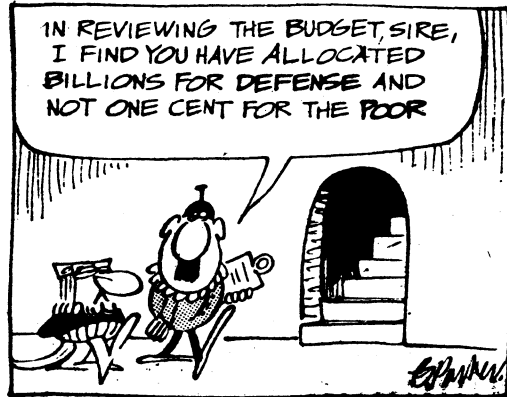
Many members of the new committee, in fact, are the very same people who sat on the Pay Board set up by Nixon in 1971.

The eight labor officials appointed include AFL-CIO President George Meany, UAW President Leonard Woodcock, Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, and United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller.



Is pollution control 'national security threat'?

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Big business also has eight representatives, including General Motors Chairman Richard Gerstenberg and U. S. Steel executive R. Heath Larry.

The trade-union officials invited to the summit demonstrated their total subservience to the policies of the Democrats and Republicans, offering only meek opposition to wage controls. While Meany complained that previous wage-price control arrangements controlled only wages, in the same breath he volunteered AFL-CIO workers for more belt tightening, asking only that "the belt have the same number of notches for industry, bankers, and workers."

"We will cooperate with an equitable program to bring the economy into balance," Meany told the summit leaders. But there is no such thing as an "equitable" way of controlling inflation under capitalism. All previous experiences with "wage-price" controls—from World War II to Nixon's imposition of the freeze—have demonstrated that. Each time, wages were held down while prices rose faster than before.

Acknowledging that prices will continue to rise, panelists urged housewives to "exercise restraint at the supermarket" and called on families to plant "victory gardens."

One of the few consumer advocates permitted to speak, Carol Foreman of the Consumer Federation of America, told of her experiences at the presummit meeting on Natural Resources and Recreation. "I was surprised to find that the discussion there was not about how to stop inflation," she said, "but about how to increase the price of oil!"

## Consumers protest

Foreman, Ralph Nader, and other representatives of consumer groups held a news conference during the summit to protest "business and industry dominance" of the proceedings.

A group of radical economists also held a news conference, calling for teach-ins around the country on "the

economic crisis of monopoly capitalism."

Meanwhile, summit participants were busy trying to blame current inflation on the oil-producing countries. There was much talk of giving the oil trusts more "incentives"—that is, multi-million dollar tax breaks—and of getting the American people to conserve energy so the United States can become "self-sufficient" in fuel.

The theme of these discussions was that American workers have grown too comfortable and must learn to sacrifice. In the words of Con Edison Chairman Charles Luce, "The basic cause of inflation is that as a society we are consuming too much and saving too little."

"We must change some of our values and our social priorities," Luce said. Then, getting to the point, he blasted pollution-control laws as the real villains responsible for higher utility rates. He even suggested that these laws threaten "national security!"

Other panelists hammered away at the demand to junk safety regulations and other "outmoded labor laws" that "hinder productivity." What they were really talking about was speedup at the cost of workers' health and safety.

One of the biggest rounds of applause went to businesswoman Mary Wells Lawrence, who demanded that the government postpone any more safety regulations "for at least two years."

## Cutbacks

In his closing speech, Ford said that he will propose a \$5-billion cut in the 1975 federal budget "as part of the demanded discipline." The American people, he warned, should get ready to "submerge personal and group interests to the general welfare."

For starters, the White House is holding up \$42-million in current health and welfare funds and \$10-million in benefits for Vietnam veterans. The \$100-billion war budget, meanwhile, hasn't been touched.

"The Ford Administration has said

repeatedly that the defense budget is at rock bottom and cannot be cut further," reported the *New York Times* the day the summit opened.

So while billions of dollars continue to flow to U. S.-backed dictatorships around the world, welfare recipients, the elderly, handicapped people, and Blacks will be told to get by with even less than they receive now.

Just the opposite—a crash program of more funds for social services—is what is needed to cope with the effects of inflation today. This was pointed out at the Sept. 21-22 Black Economic Summit Meeting, which urged the creation of one million jobs, the building of free child-care centers, the construction of low-cost housing, and other emergency measures. These proposals weren't even discussed at Ford's summit.

## 'Tax relief'

As a cover for the imminent slashing of social programs, Ford offered a lot of talk about "tax relief for the poor." But whatever small deductions are allowed on income taxes will be taken right back again in some other way. In fact, the White House waited less than a day after the summit ended before announcing that a 10-cent-a-gallon tax on gasoline was "being considered."

Even during the health, education, and welfare panel—designed to give the impression that poor people did have a voice at the summit—one congressman just couldn't resist attacking "ineligible" users of food stamps. Later, two members of the panel, Mitchell Ginsberg of Columbia University and Ruth Clusen of the League of Women Voters, charged that Ford had simply used them as "window dressing."

Actually, the entire two-day summit served as window dressing. It was an attempt to give the appearance of broad public support for the new economic attacks already planned by the U. S. rulers.

# Socialist answer to inflation, unemployment

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee picketed outside the Washington, D. C., economic summit on Sept. 27. The socialists carried signs reading: "For cost-of-living clauses in all contracts"; "Jobs for all"; and "Stop the cutbacks in social services."

Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon, co-chairpersons of the SWP campaign committee, had demanded time to present the socialist view on inflation at the summit. The request was refused.

Bustin, who marched on the picket line, pointed out that "Ford and the big business interests he represents are not interested in letting people hear working-class solutions to inflation and unemployment. The capitalist program—throwing more people out of work, lifting pollution controls, and holding down our wages—was well

under way long before this summit even met."

Bustin said that Ford's request for lists of ways to save energy and stop inflation was "a fraud designed to make working people think we have a say in economic policy."

"Well, President Ford, my list for how to stop inflation would begin with kicking crooks like Richard Nixon off the public payroll. At the same time you're asking us to foot the bill for Nixon—to the tune of \$1-million a year—you're cutting \$10-million out of the meager funds allotted to Vietnam veterans."

The socialist program to fight inflation and unemployment calls for:

- Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts, to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.
- Escalator clauses attached to all

social benefits: pensions, welfare, Social Security, unemployment and veterans' payments.

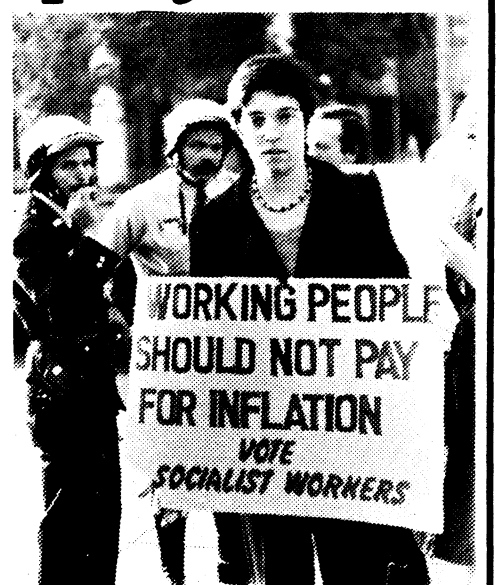
- A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

- An immediate, massive program of public works to provide jobs for all at union wages.

- Elimination of the war budget.
- A crash program to build schools, housing, hospitals, and other needed facilities in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, with all funds and programs fully controlled by those communities.

- No wage controls, "guidelines," or other interference with the unions' right to free collective bargaining.

- Repeal of all laws limiting the right to strike, picket, and boycott by any employees, including government workers.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Socialist spokeswoman Debby Bustin on picket line outside economic summit.



# Delegates to steelworkers convention protest dues increase, no-strike pact

By HERMAN KIRSCH

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J. — Delegates to the Seventeenth Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), held here Sept. 23-30, were greeted by a 60-piece brass band and high-stepping, baton-twirling majorettes.

With the same tone of carnival hucksterism, President I.W. Abel and the other union officers assured the convention that all was for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

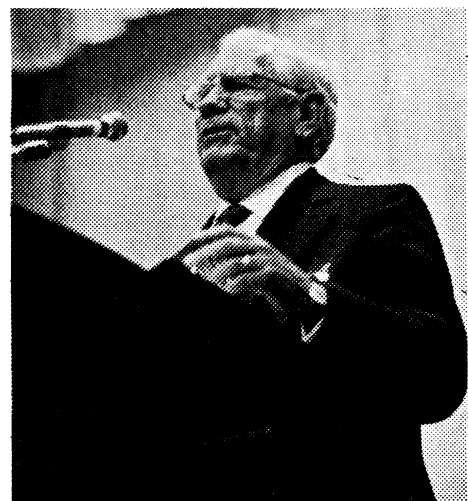
They had little to say about the international profit drive of the steel trust, about speedup in the plants and the dangerous conditions of work, about how inflation is eating away steelworkers' paychecks, or about race and sex discrimination.

The Abel leadership acted as though these problems would go away if they were just ignored long enough.

The 4,300 delegates could not take the same attitude. Most were older white workers with some minor post in the union apparatus. But they reflected, to varying degrees, the dissatisfaction that is growing among the 1.4 million union members.

There was no evidence at the convention of any organized opposition capable of challenging the Abel bureaucracy, or of presenting an alternative program to defend steelworkers from the attacks of the bosses.

But the smoldering anger erupted around several issues, and even a glimpse of it was enough to panic Abel and his cronies into crude steamroller tactics.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Abel tries to calm delegates after close vote on dues hike.

The most important issue debated was the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA), a compulsory arbitration deal that prohibits a national steel strike until 1980.

This convention was the first opportunity steelworkers have had to officially voice their opinion on ENA since it was agreed to by top union officers and 10 basic steel companies in April 1973. The current contract, negotiated under ENA, was reached in April 1974.

Abel, in his opening address, hailed the ENA as a "brand new, revolutionary collective bargaining concept . . . a victory at the collective bargaining table."

While insisting that "a great majority of our own members applauded" the no-strike deal, Abel conceded that "it was received with some reservations by some of our other members."

The fact is that rank-and-file steelworkers were never consulted nor given the opportunity to vote on the agreement. Ten thousand steelworkers have signed petitions condemning the ENA.

Abel resorted to red-baiting against dissident union members. He charged that all opposition was the work of various Maoist groups who were pick-

eting on the boardwalk outside the convention.

He attacked the rank-and-file steelworkers who went to court to challenge the right of the union officers to negotiate and sign the no-strike pact without membership approval. "They clearly challenged the right of this union to determine its own policies and to elect its own officers," Abel charged.

The irony is that, as the court case revealed, Abel was so afraid of letting the union "determine its own policies" that he negotiated secretly toward the ENA for five years behind the backs of even the international executive board.

## Delegates oppose ENA

Even the convention delegates were not allowed to directly debate the ENA and vote it up or down. Approval of the measure was buried in an all-inclusive collective bargaining resolution.

Speaking from the floor against this resolution, Jim Davis of Local 1462, and chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers, declared, "ENA was a sell-out in that it gave up the right to strike until 1980. Management has used it to tell us to go to hell. We can't settle any grievances because of it."

Another delegate, C. Taylor of Local 1005, Hamilton, Ontario, detailed the Canadian steelworkers' opposition. "Workers are being misled into thinking they got something from the agreement. They only got the 3.7 percent [wage] increase, while U. S. Steel's profits last year increased by 92 percent," he said.

Altogether 10 delegates spoke out strongly against the collective bargaining resolution. Only one spoke in favor. The resolution was passed by a voice vote, with a strong minority in opposition.

## Executive-style salaries

Another convention action that stuck in the throats of many delegates was the extravagant salary hike for the top officers. The life-style to which these bureaucrats think they are entitled — at union expense — is more like that of a steel company executive than a working union member.

Secretary-treasurer Walter Burke defended the increases as necessary. "I haven't had a raise in six years," he said. "It will help my poor wife when she goes to the grocery store."

Burke's salary was increased from \$42,500 a year to \$55,000, a \$12,500 jump. More than one delegate angrily observed that many steelworkers don't make even \$12,500 in a year.

Abel himself will keep comfortably ahead of inflation with \$75,000, up from \$60,000.

"I wonder if the leaders of this union are entitled to what they are getting now!" said Jim Davis.

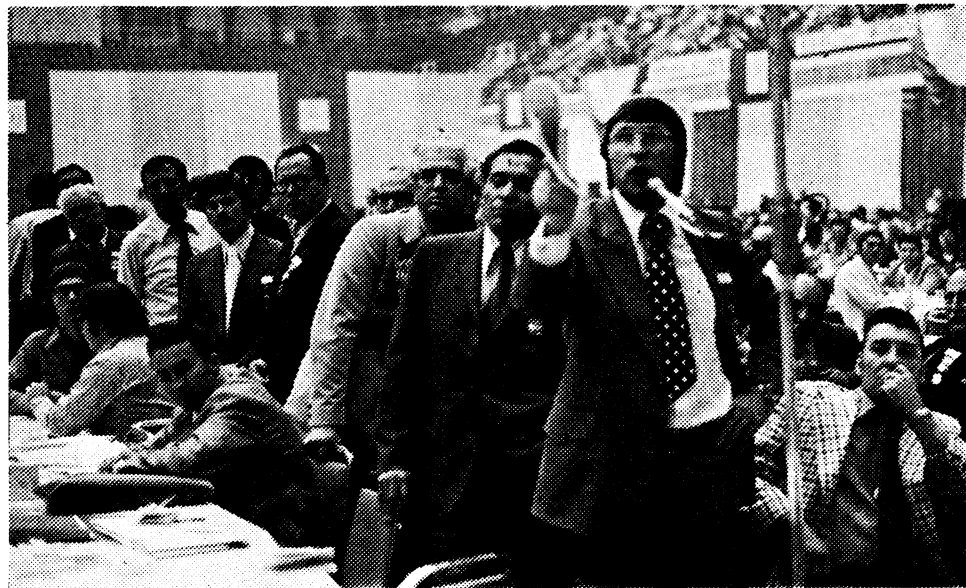
More than once the chairman, John Johns, tried to stifle discussion. After reading the salary changes, he hurriedly asked for a voice vote and ruled the motion passed without even waiting to hear the "No" vote.

The crudeness of the decision brought the convention to its feet, forcing Johns to backtrack. "The chair has ruled too hastily," he said.

After a two-hour discussion, the motion was again ruled passed and the convention adjourned for lunch despite numerous protests.

## Dues hike protested

The one fight everyone was prepared for was over the dues hike. The proposed increase removed a \$10-a-month maximum. Dues will



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Canadian delegate C. Taylor denounces no-strike 'Experimental Negotiating Agreement.'

now be two hours pay each month.

The Youngstown-based Rank And File Team (RAFT) called for "the defeat of any dues increase or change in the dues structure that would increase the amount of money going to the international."

Delegates from Local 1211, Aliquippa, Pa., called themselves Workers In Protest (WIP). They came prepared with printed leaflets, stickers, jackets emblazoned with "WIP against dues increase," and printed signs that they displayed every morning at the entrance to the hall.

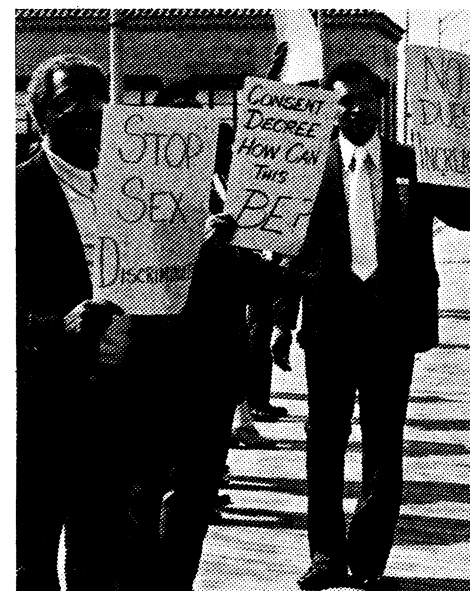
Many delegates had been elected on a program of opposing any dues increase. They were committed to vote the increase down, and they wanted a roll call so their votes would be recorded. But the steel union bureaucracy has never allowed a roll-call vote, and this convention was no exception.

A motion for a roll call was defeated when the opposition could get only 859 delegates to stand up. Approval by one-third of the delegates was required.

The voting procedure itself, with votes counted by staff members loyal to the Abel machine, infuriated many delegates. In response to complaints the counts were unfair and not representative, Abel lectured the convention, "There reaches a point where tolerance ceases to be a virtue."

At other times Abel took the gavel to calm the turmoil. "I'm not an enemy of the United Steelworkers union," he said.

Many delegates who spoke against the dues hike reminded Abel of the support they had given him against the former president, David McDonald, in the 1965 referendum to elect



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Members of Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers picket outside convention hall.

national officers. Abel's promise at that time was to restore membership control over basic union policy.

Opposition to McDonald first developed through a dues protest movement and then in the running of rank-and-file slates for top union offices.

After McDonald was defeated, the same bureaucratic policies continued, only this time under the Abel machine.

One important recommendation of the union officers was voted down by the convention. The leadership had half-heartedly proposed deleting an anticommunist clause, left over from the McCarthyite witch-hunt, from the union constitution. But the delegates took their cue from Abel's red-baiting of "outsiders" trying to "foment discontent" and soundly defeated the proposal.

Reserved for the last day of the convention, when one-third of the delegates are usually absent, was the civil rights resolution. This was a hot potato for the bureaucrats because discrimination against Blacks, Chicanos, and women is notorious in the steel industry.

In April 1974 the union, the steel companies, and the federal government entered into a "consent decree" on discrimination. Women and minority workers had no voice in it.

There is a great deal of confusion as to the decree's effect. Victims of discrimination were given a small bonus as token compensation for years of lower pay and job inequality. But to get the money they have to sign away their right to further legal action against discrimination.

There was no place on the convention agenda to discuss the consent decree. Local 1462 submitted a resolution calling for a referendum on issues such as ENA and the consent decree. While other resolutions were read to the convention when the delegates insisted, this one was referred to a committee, killing it.

## No representation

A high proportion of the workers in basic steel and related industries under USWA jurisdiction are Black, although the exact percentage is a well-kept secret.

The union officialdom, however, is almost lily-white. The proportion of Black delegates in Atlantic City, in the estimate of this reporter, was no more than 5 percent. Only about 1 percent were women.

Members of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers protested the lack of minority representation on the union executive board with a picket line one morning.

Jim Davis of the Ad Hoc Committee

Continued on page 22

# Ford, Kissinger declare economic

From Intercontinental Press

By DICK FIDLER

The Ford administration has served an ultimatum on the oil-producing countries. If they don't drastically lower prices, they will face economic war organized by the mightiest imperialist power on earth.

Addressing the World Energy Conference in Detroit September 23, Ford stated:

"Sovereign nations cannot allow their policies to be dictated, or their fate decided, by artificial rigging and distortion of world commodity markets.

"... exorbitant prices can only distort the world economy, run the risk of worldwide depression and threaten the breakdown of world order and safety."

"Throughout history," the commander in chief of the U. S. armed forces reminded his listeners, who included representatives of many oil-producing regimes, "nations have gone to war over natural advantages such as water or food, or convenient passages on land or sea."

In the "nuclear age," he added pointedly, "any local conflict may escalate to global catastrophe."

Secretary of State Kissinger, addressing the UN General Assembly on the same day Ford spoke in Detroit, stressed a similar theme. Claiming that "the present level of prices" in oil was jeopardizing "industrial civilization" itself, Kissinger charged that these prices were "caused by deliberate decisions to restrict production and maintain an artificial price level."

Without specifying what retaliatory measures were being considered, he proclaimed that the world is "poised on the brink of a return to the unrestrained economic nationalism which accompanied the collapse of economic order in the '30s."

The main target of the White House fulminations was the semicolonial countries grouped together in OPEC. They got the message.

"America warns the Arabs, threatens nuclear war over petroleum," a Beirut newspaper was headlined.

Dr. Clovis Maksoud, who recently toured the United States as a special ambassador of the Arab League, accused Washington of setting the stage for military intervention against Arab oil producers, and called for cancellation of Kissinger's scheduled visit to the Middle East.

Venezuela's President Andrés Pérez responded through a full-page "open letter" to Ford in the September 25 *New York Times*. He pointed out that for years the imperialist countries have used "a policy of outrageously low prices for our raw materials as a weapon of economic oppression." At the same time, he wrote, the underdeveloped nations have been "obliged to purchase manufactured goods from the United States at ever-higher prices."

He defended higher oil prices to the monopolies as the only way to confront this "economic totalitarianism."

## Are Arab Rockefellers to Blame?

The threats against the oil-producing countries, described in the U. S. press as the Ford administration's "first important foreign-policy initiative," are in part designed to respond to the growing public pressure on Washington to "do something" about inflation and unemployment. U. S. Treasury Secretary William Simon claims that high oil prices are responsible for half the present inflation rate in the United States.

The thinking behind the new offen-

sive was outlined in some detail in an editorial in the September 22 *New York Times*, entitled "The Real Economic Threat."

"As a result of a quadrupling of oil prices in the last year," the *Times*'s editors stated, "the accumulation of foreign funds by the Arab states and other members of the international oil cartel will in this year alone amount to some \$75 billion [milliard]."

(By "international oil cartel" the *Times* apparently meant not the giant U. S. oil trusts, which control the capitalist world market in oil, but the oil-producing countries.)

The sudden rise in oil prices "is now a major source of inflation and balance-of-payments instability, as importing nations struggle to meet their foreign oil bills. . .," the editors continued.

For the editors of the *New York Times*, mere appeals for lower prices will not solve the problem.

"The time has come to speak plainly. The United States and its allies must take effective economic action against the international oil cartel."

In a section of the editorial carrying the subheading "Program for Survival," the *Times* called for an "austerity program" of "genuine sacrifices" by "all Americans," aimed at restricting "wasteful use" of oil products, "whether in autos, air-conditioning, heat or industrial use."

Finally, under the heading of "International Cooperation"—the irony was no doubt entirely conscious—the *Times* called for the collaboration of other imperialist countries to bring the "oil-producing states to their senses."

"American leadership could head off a mad and needless world economic catastrophe as fraught with danger to political stability and peace as was the Great Depression. The solution to

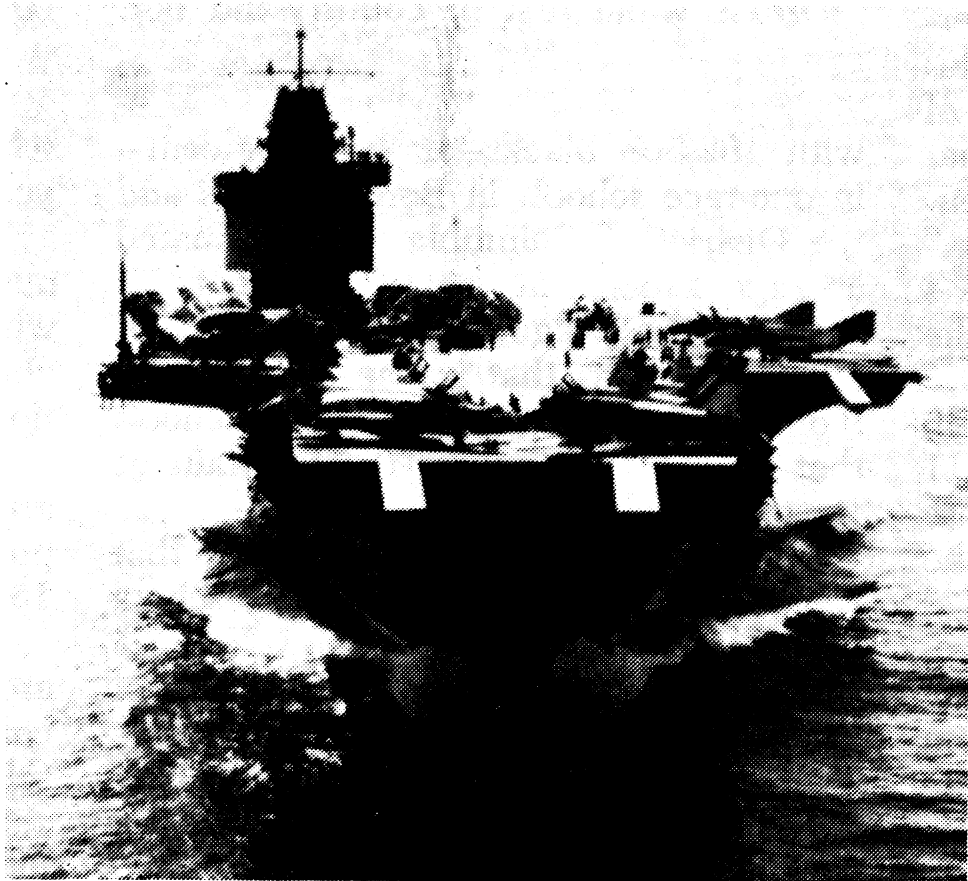


FORD: Tells oil-producing countries to lower prices—or else.

both domestic and world inflation hinges on the international energy problem, as does the hope of avoiding a world depression and breakdown in trade and payments."

In an article published in the *Times* three days after the editorial, economic analyst Leonard Silk suggested that an effective program "that will really force the price of oil down" might include "counterboycotts of the oil producers, cutting off their supplies of food, capital goods, military equipment or other acts of economic warfare and political pressure."

Silk added: "It looks as though the battle in what could be a long energy



Pentagon is ready to go into action anywhere imperialist interests are deemed threatened.

war—the first in history—has now been joined."

But a program of escalating economic reprisals may be insufficient, other commentators suggested. "... all the proposals to date seem to offer more problems than solutions," the *Wall Street Journal*'s Washington correspondent, Robert Keatley, wrote September 26. Some proposals, like higher prices or embargoes on sales to the producer states of food and manufactured goods, including arms, would require a degree of collaboration among rival imperialist states that is ruled out by increasing protectionism and international economic competition. Other projected measures, like seizure of oil exporters' foreign assets, would no doubt provoke a retaliatory embargo on much-needed oil supplies, Keatley observed.

Not surprisingly, Keatley ended his list of possible U. S. measures with: "Send in the Marines. Military occupation is suggested as a last resort. And there isn't any doubt that the U. S. has the muscle to knock over a few little sheikdoms or even a big kingdom—like Saudi Arabia."

The *Wall Street Journal* reporter thought this was impractical, however. "... any such little wars might grow into big ones, oil fields would be destroyed and local populations would conduct guerrilla operations against vulnerable pipelines and other installations."

This argument is notably unconvincing. Washington has shown many times in the past that cheap raw materials and profitable markets are well worth the risk of war.

Arab peoples can recall Washington's 1958 invasion of Lebanon with 14,300 marines and soldiers to shore up the regime in the wake of the overthrow of the pro-U. S. monarchy in Iraq.

The Ford administration's declaration of economic war was followed by denials that this signaled a shooting war. The denials themselves, however, constituted trial balloons.

Thus, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger called a news conference September 25 to declare in behalf of the Pentagon that "we are not contemplating any kind of action of that sort." But Schlesinger carefully noted that "the United States regards the problem of oil prices as detrimental to world economy."

The *New York Times* reported that these statements meant Schlesinger was "ruling out military intervention." Actually, the war minister was simply repeating the stock refrain about peaceful aims that every government leader makes in preparing public opinion for belligerent action.

## New 'Covert' CIA Actions?

Schlesinger's news conference was followed up the next day by a report in the *New York Times* that Kissinger is "gravely concerned" by the prospect of some West European countries going Communist as a result of being bankrupted by the escalating cost of oil imports. Kissinger was said to have invoked this argument when he met with congressional leaders to defend the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

"At that meeting," Washington correspondent Bernard Gwertzman wrote, "he reportedly defended the need for covert activity by asserting that despite criticism of the C. I. A., if Italy went Communist, there would be criticism that the United States had not done enough to save her."

Kissinger's remarks may explain why Ford was so brazen in defending the CIA's clandestine operations against the Allende government in Chile. It was a way of publicly warning the oil regimes that they, too, may become the object of CIA attention.

## Moscow's Reaction

Did Ford pick up the "hot line" and make sure of Brezhnev's reaction before declaring economic war on the oil-producing countries? Apparently so.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko devoted an hour-long speech in the UN General Assembly on September 24 to praising the détente. He included a paragraph hailing Ford's expressed wish to reach further Soviet-American disarmament agreements.

Instead of defending the Arab oil countries against the ultimatum issued by Ford and Kissinger, Gromyko held forth in defense of Israel's "existing and developing as an independent sovereign state." The Kremlin spokesman pictured events in the Arab East and elsewhere as evolving in a peaceful direction.



# war on oil producing countries

"Not long ago there was bitter fighting in Indochina, in the Middle East and in South Asia. . .," he said. "Now several international conflicts have been channeled to a certain extent toward a political settlement."

The next day Brezhnev utilized a Kremlin banquet to praise Ford for pursuing "good-neighborly relations between our countries." It was the Soviet party chairman's first public comment on the creature appointed by Nixon to be president.

## Who Are the Real Villains?

Washington's attempts to portray the Arabs as the villains behind the energy crisis is about as rational as similar attempts to blame the last great world economic crisis on the Jews.

In the first place, Ford and Kissinger and other political agents of the oil monopolies neglect to mention that when the initial oil price hikes were announced a year ago, Washington supported them.

The oil trusts—the bulk of which are U. S. owned—simply used the Arab oil embargo to strengthen still further their monopoly grip on the world's energy resources.

Within the United States, the price increases were used, together with the deliberately contrived oil shortages, to strangle the independent oil companies, who are partially dependent on the major firms for supplies.

The oil-producing countries are not responsible for higher oil prices on the world market. Each increase in taxes and royalties charged by these countries at the wellhead has been passed on by the oil trusts to consumers in the form of equivalent price increases. Yet, as OPEC members point out, the oil monopolies are quite capable of absorbing these increases out of their already enormous profits.

The oil monopolies are making the highest profits on record as a result of the increased prices.

When the oil producing regimes cut back production of crude oil to sustain prices, there were howls of protest from Wall Street. Yet the oil companies themselves have always operated in this way.

When a similar cutback in production was threatened by OPEC recently, the September 7 *Business Week* commented: "While such an announcement could be interpreted as fighting talk, it is in reality nothing more than common practice for the oil companies. They have always increased or reduced production in step with supply and demand; they call it 'operational flexibility.'"

Moreover, while oil prices have con-

tributed to world inflation, they are by no means its main component. "Most economists," wrote *New York Times* business analyst William D. Smith September 29, "place oil's contribution to worldwide inflation between 1.5 and 3 per cent out of the total [inflation rate] of 17 per cent." All major factors of the current world recessionary crisis were present and operative well before the dramatic escalation of oil prices that occurred last fall.

## Devaluation of the Dollar

One of the major stimulants to world inflation was the double devaluation of the U. S. dollar.

By drastically increasing the price of imported goods in the U. S. market, the devaluations of 1971 and 1973 acted to boost domestic inflation. At the same time, the flood of cheapened U. S. goods in the world market forced its leading competitors, Japan and the West European countries, to apply inflationary policies to sustain employment. Today, however, all the major capitalist countries are following parallel inflationary policies, with the result that inflation is rapidly "exported" from one country to another. This is one of the sources of the threat of a world depression.

Washington used the real "oil weapon"—that is, a sharp boost in the prices charged by the petroleum trusts—to raise costs for Wall Street's competitors in an area where they are quite vulnerable. The Arab oil embargo was only a pretext for implementing this strategy.

Higher oil prices did indeed provoke disarray among the major rivals of U. S. imperialism. The fourfold increase in the cost of oil imports was a major factor in producing trade- and balance-of-payments deficits in several European countries, Italy being the most notable example. The higher prices also served to bolster the dollar in world trade and finance.

Today, however, Washington is preoccupied not so much by the cost of oil imports as by the state of the world economy. The major capitalist countries are caught in the grip of an uncontrollable inflationary spiral.

The underlying financial instability has led to ominous bank failures in several countries, including the United States.

Washington is now pointing to the Arab "petrodollars" as the prime source of these unwelcome developments. Large accumulations of oil revenues from the OPEC countries, estimated to amount to some \$70 to \$80 thousand million this year, are being released in the world money markets. This money flow has aggravated the



Refinery in Saudi Arabia. Oil monopoly profits are soaring.

volatility of the already unsettled money markets of Western Europe.

But the primary cause of bank failures and financial instability is not the sudden flows of Arab oil money. Rather, it is the uneven rates of inflation between the different capitalist countries. Investment capital, no matter what its source—and U. S. corporations, including the oil trusts, are among the biggest investors—finds its way in massive sums from one country to the next in a scramble for the highest immediate profits.

The biggest beneficiaries, of course, are the more stable countries, in the first place the United States. As financial reporter Robert Kleiman explained in the September 27 *New York Times*, "The Eurodollar markets in London and elsewhere are choking up and Arab oil funds are beginning to flow in large volume into the New York market—at least \$7 billion [billion] so far—with large American balance-of-payments surpluses predicted."

## Scramble for the Petrodollar

It is simply demagoguery for the major imperialist powers to pretend that they don't want the Arabs' money. All countries are out to grab as many petrodollars as possible. But they also want, and need, some form of control over the allocation of these investments, so as to minimize their disruptive effect on world capitalist finance.

This is where Washington's policy comes in. The Ford administration is using the issue of OPEC funds to try to force its main rivals to concede greater control of world finance to the United States.

This strategy involves moves to forge a united front among the major imperialist countries—Washington calls it "international cooperation"—to coordinate the allocation of oil supplies and the investment of petrodollars, with the United States playing the role of ultimate guarantor and arbiter.

Thus, Washington has initiated the formation of the twelve-nation Energy Coordinating Group, which has drafted plans to divide up oil supplies in times of international crisis and shortage.

These proposals have not gone beyond the talking stage. International "cooperation" among competing imperialist powers can be achieved only

under the domination of the strongest, in this case the United States. That is why some countries, notably France, are balking at such proposals.

But "recycling" of petrodollars is not the primary concern of U. S. imperialism.

"The blunt fact," *Business Week* stated in a September 14 editorial, "is that all talk of 'recycling' the oil funds serves to obscure the real issue: There is no way that the world can keep on paying the Arabs upwards of \$50-billion [billion] a year for their oil. Trying to do so threatens to destroy the entire international financial system."

The magazine called for oil producing states to "cut prices by 50 %."

## Another Windfall for Oil Trusts

The oil trusts have their own reasons to support the bellicose stance the Ford administration has taken toward the oil-producing countries. First, any success in lowering the price they have to pay for oil at the wellhead is money in their coffers. Second, moves to limit the maneuverability of the semicolonial governments they deal with are always welcome. As the September 7 issue of *Business Week* explained, referring to the role of Arab countries in adjusting crude oil production levels:

"The real danger in shifting control of production from the oil companies to the host governments, as oilmen see it, is that changes may no longer be made according to shifts in world supply and demand. The OPEC countries are likely to move output up and down to fit their political ends, the oilmen fear."

Actually, real "control of production" remains with the oil trusts, since they control the market. The only way for the oil-producing countries to win control of their own economies is by breaking from the capitalist world market.

The real alternative to higher oil prices—a solution that would serve the interests of the vast majority of humanity—is nationalization of the entire oil industry and elimination of the profits of the oil trusts.

The only answer the capitalists and their governments propose, however, is nuclear blackmail against the oil-producing nations, and austerity programs for the working class.



GIs training in desert for possible Mideast intervention



# Exemption victory sets national precedent

By ED JURENAS

MINNEAPOLIS—The victory of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in winning exemption from the law requiring the disclosure of names of contributors is being viewed both here and around the country as a precedent-setting decision.

Citing recent Supreme Court cases, a lead editorial in the Sept. 26 *Minneapolis Star* agreed with the recent ruling of the State Ethics Commission granting the exemption. The *Star* wrote:

"The exercise of free speech and association will be destroyed if governmental bodies and police can track down at will any political dissenters who have committed no crime."

The editorial continued, "The broader aspect of the case reaches two points. One is that the SWP victory can be cited as a precedent in the federal suit and other states where the SWP is seeking exemption from disclosure on a general privacy ground. The other important aspect of this case is that the bipartisan commission found believable the allegations that the FBI harasses the SWP habitually."

The 6-to-0 decision by the State Ethics Commission came after five hearings and nearly 20 hours of testimony. The socialists entered into evidence several hundred documented cases of illegal harassment and surveillance by the FBI and other government agencies.

The core of evidence submitted to the commission was information uncovered in connection with the federal suit being supported by the Political Rights Defense Fund, seeking a halt to illegal government spying and

harassment.

In the course of the hearings, every major police agency in the area was subpoenaed. The FBI refused to testify. Other cops, from city and state agencies, claimed to know nothing about harassment or surveillance of SWP members and supporters. Their denials, however, were contradicted by such solid evidence that at the final hearing, commission members voiced disbelief in the truthfulness of the cops' testimony.

The SWP fight for the exemption was supported by messages sent to the commission from around the country. More than 100 messages of support were sent by prominent elected officials, academic figures, activists in the Black and Indian struggles, and others. Resolutions were also received from labor unions, religious groups, and lawyers' associations. Among those backing the SWP request for exemption were two Minnesota state senators who coauthored the campaign disclosure law.

The attention focused on the civil liberties issues involved in the fight is indicated by the fact that 100 articles about the case have appeared throughout Minnesota in the past two months. Four major Minnesota newspapers editorially backed the socialists' exemption fight. Major articles were also run by the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Washington Post*.

In contrast to this widespread support, two organizations—Common Cause and the Communist Party—opposed the exemption request. In a letter sent to the Ethics Commission, Common Cause suggested that the SWP had failed to conclusively prove that it was the victim of government attacks. Common Cause also argued

that other means were available to protect democratic rights.

The Communist Party made a 180-degree turn from its previous stance and withdrew its request for exemption from the disclosure law. Making this move on the eve of the first hearing into the SWP request, the Communist Party announced that it had "growing confidence in the ability of the people to prevent the return of McCarthyism."

An article in the July 25 *Daily World* went even further, arguing that re-

questing an exemption would "create the false impression that the Party was undermining a law created to expose the illegal manipulations by which the corporations maintain their control over the Democratic and Republican parties."

The Minnesota decision is the first victory in a series of challenges to the so-called campaign reform laws throughout the United States. The victory here should be a spur to other struggles to defeat these undemocratic laws.

## UMW official backs suit

In addition to challenging state campaign disclosure laws, Socialist Workers campaign committees, with the support of the American Civil Liberties Union, have filed suit against the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). The following statement in support of this challenge was released by Louis Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers, at a news conference in Pittsburgh.

I endorse the action taken by the ACLU on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party in challenging the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as it applies to the SWP. In so doing, I support not only the withholding of the names and addresses of contributors by the Socialist Workers campaign committees and their request for a hearing, but also any further legal steps necessary in pursuit of the aims of this action.

There are numerous provisions within the FECA to which I am opposed as a trade unionist. The very fact that the FECA restricts the level of involvement by trade unions in the political arena would be sufficient reason to oppose it. But, in addition to that, the act serves as a two-edged sword to be wielded against any independent alternative in the electoral arena.

FBI documents, released as a result of the SWP's Political Rights Defense Suit and other legal suits aimed at Watergate-type activities, show a clear pattern of harassment of Socialist Workers Campaign supporters, among many others. In this light, the provisions of the FECA intimidate many political supporters from contributing financially to the Socialist Campaign. In addition, those courageous enough to state their support publicly through a donation open themselves to the potential of intimidation and victimization.

# Wash. socialists press disclosure law fight

By HELEN MEYERS

SEATTLE—The Socialist Workers Party's battle against the Washington state campaign disclosure law reached a new stage this week. Subpoenas to appear at an Oct. 15 hearing on whether the SWP should be exempted from the reporting provisions of the new law were issued to a number of government officials by Roger Leed, attorney for the Socialist Workers 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee.

Under the state public disclosure law, the campaign committee is required to report to the state any contribution of \$5 or more, along with

the names, addresses, and workplaces of contributors.

Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, stated: "We intend to document a pattern of illegal harassment by local, state, and federal agencies. Our contributors and supporters fear economic reprisals, loss of employment, and threats of physical coercion should their names be exposed in association with the Socialist Workers campaign. Fear of government reprisal has deterred contributions and other forms of support for our campaign."

Among the local and federal government agents subpoenaed are:

- Archie Porter, a member of the Seattle police department. According to testimony given to the House Internal Security Committee (HISC), Porter supervised the work of agent Lily Miller, alias Mrs. Brigham, from 1968 to 1970. (Miller infiltrated the Seattle SWP; she will be issued a subpoena when her whereabouts are known.)

- FBI agent Clifford Spingler, who visited, phoned, and/or left notes in the mailboxes of at least seven members and supporters of the SWP in June of 1973.

- W.D. Coleman of the Defense Investigative Service, a branch of the Department of Defense that investigates civilian and military employees working on Department of Defense projects or on military bases. He is being subpoenaed in relation to the investigation he conducted on Diana Smith. In an affidavit, which will be presented to the hearings, Smith states:

"My only political association with the Socialist Workers Party has been



CLARE FRAENZL: "We intend to document a pattern of gov't harassment."

to attend their nominating conventions to help them get on the ballot. I do not agree with all the positions of the Socialist Workers Party, but I support their right to be on the ballot.

"In 1973, after working for the Department of Defense for several months, I was interrogated by W.D. Coleman of the Defense Investigative Service regarding my association with the Socialist Workers Party. I was also made aware at this time that agents of the FBI were contacting friends all over the state about me, my personal beliefs, my personal associations, etc.

"It became clear to me that my personal association, such as it was, with the SWP, could prevent me from ob-

taining a security clearance, and therefore cause me to lose my job. Rather than be fired with a security risk designation permanently on my record, I felt compelled to resign [the job]."

Subpoenas were also issued to the Seattle chief of police and the Seattle FBI director.

The campaign committee has taken its case to the Washington Women's Political Caucus, which must also report contributors under the disclosure law; the Seattle chapter of NOW; the Unitarian Church; the Seattle Conference on Social Issues; and the statewide convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, which was attended by candidates Clare Fraenzl and Mike Downs.

**Hearings on the SWP's request for an exemption from the Washington disclosure law will be held Oct. 15 in the Public Land Building in Olympia. A bus to the hearings will leave the SWP campaign headquarters in Seattle at 12:30 p.m. All supporters of the fight against government harassment are urged to attend the hearings.**

**The SWP will also be holding a campaign rally on Saturday, Oct. 12, at 8 p.m.**

**For further information on the rally, or for transportation to the hearings, contact the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee headquarters at 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Phone (206) 522-7800.**

## Broad support for rights

# NY socialists fight attacks on ballot status

By JANICE LYNN

ALBANY, N. Y. — "We're sick of those minor parties siphoning votes away from us," a Democratic Party official told the *New York Times*.

The Oct. 1 *Times* was reporting on the challenges to the nominating petitions of the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and Socialist Labor Party.

The challenges were filed by John Garry, a Democratic official and former Albany County district attorney, and his associate, Paul Collins.

A closed hearing on the challenges was held here Sept. 30 before an examiner of the New York State board of elections. Attorneys for the three parties presented arguments for certifying their candidates for ballot status.

The challenges are based on the technicality that the sheets of the petitions were bound together incorrectly — by county rather than by congressional district.

In previous years the law required the petitions to be bound by counties. The change was made in an obscure amendment to the election laws passed by the state legislature last June, but not made readily available to the public until September, just a few days before the filing deadline.

Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for

U. S. Senate, denounced the challenges and declared her support for the ballot rights of all three parties. Finch told reporters in Albany that she believed the leadership of the state Democratic Party was behind this attempt to keep socialists off the ballot in the Nov. 5 elections.

While Democratic state chairman Joseph Crangle responded to Finch by calling the charge "ridiculous," the unnamed *Times* source quoted above expressed the Democrats' real attitude.

Finch pointed out that her campaign supporters "spent thousands of hours collecting 37,904 signatures to fulfill the restrictive election law requirements."

On Sept. 12 the SWP candidates filed almost twice the required number of signatures. They also complied with the requirement that at least 100 signatures be obtained in a minimum of 20 of the state's 39 congressional districts.

Finch has publicly appealed to her Democratic opponent, Ramsey Clark, to protest this assault on democratic rights. Although Clark has said that a major issue of his campaign is "to restore integrity to elections and government," he has so far refused to take a stand in favor of ballot rights for the SWP.

"Clark claims to support civil liberties," Finch charged, "but when push comes to shove he is apparently more worried about a socialist 'siphoning votes' away from him than about democratic rights."

Attorney Herbert Jordan of the Rabinowitz, Boudin, and Standard law firm is representing the SWP candidates. At the hearing, Jordan cited numerous precedents for not invalidating the petitions.

He argued, "In the present case, more than 37,000 citizens have indicated by their signatures that they wish themselves and others to have an opportunity to vote for the candidates on Nov. 5. Surely the law and public policy of this state counsels against nullifying this opportunity by invalidating their petition because the sheets bearing their signatures were improperly arranged when filed."

Jordan also pointed out that as late as Aug. 27 the rules of the New York



Militant/Martha Harris  
Socialist candidate Rebecca Finch says state Democratic leadership is behind undemocratic maneuver.

City board of elections clearly instructed that nominating petitions were to be bound by county rather than congressional district.

"The candidates of small independent political parties cannot fairly be expected to know more about recent amendments to the election law than the New York City board of elections," Jordan said.

In addition to the challenge by the Democratic Party official, the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) filed objections to the petitions of the statewide SWP ticket and those of Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for Congress from the 20th C. D., Manhattan.

Because NCLC's objections were improperly filed, hearings were not held on them. But the NCLC, also calling itself the U. S. Labor Party, has decided to pursue the challenges in court. They are seeking an order to invalidate the SWP petitions and prevent the board of elections from placing the names of the candidates on the voting machines.

Finch declared, "This action by NCLC is an extension of earlier physical attacks they have carried out against me, my party, and others with whom they disagree. They have

worked together with the cops in such attacks. And this challenge to our ballot status — full of unfounded and slanderous allegations of fraud — is just another example of their right-wing character."

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) is supporting this important fight for the right of radical parties to ballot status. CoDEL has been conducting a drive to solicit protest telegrams and letters. A number of prominent individuals have protested this attempt to exclude the SWP from the ballot. They include Imamu Amiri Baraka, Congress of African People; Daniel Berrigan; Herbert X Blyden, Attica defendant; Luis Fuentes; journalists Murray Kempton and Nat Hentoff; and attorneys Florynce Kennedy and William Kunstler.

Also, City Councilman Luis Olmedo; Patrick Knight, president of Local 371, Social Service Employees Union; Beulah Sanders, National Welfare Rights Organization; Gloria Steinem, *Ms.* magazine; and Ed Rogowski, chairman of Kings County Democratic Coalition.

A resolution urging dismissal of the challenges was sent from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930, Library Guild. The Independent Democrats of Flatbush also sent a protest telegram.

A telegram from Professor Bertell Ollman of New York University stated in part, "In the era of Watergate, this is no time for Government to reduce people's democratic rights even further than Nixon and Co. already have done. . . ."

David McReynolds of the War Resisters League wrote, "Like many others who do not belong to the SWP . . . we come to their support at this time without any hesitation or reservation on the grounds that the two major parties have done everything in their power to violate the sense of democratic spirit by limiting and where possible, denying minor parties the right to run their candidates."

CoDEL must raise \$3,000 to cover legal and related expenses to fight these challenges. Contributions may be sent to CoDEL, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Democratic nominee Ramsey Clark, despite image as civil libertarian, has not spoken out for ballot rights of smaller parties.

## III. Women's Caucus backs SWP nominee

By TOM O'BRIEN

CHICAGO—Suzanne Haig, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Illinois state treasurer, has been endorsed by the Illinois Women's Political Caucus.

The caucus held a special "Women's Political Forum" Sept. 14 to hear women candidates and vote on endorsement. The forum was attended by 100 women.

In her speech to the forum, Haig emphasized the need for independent organization and action by women to win their demands, and the futility of relying on the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Willie Reid, SWP candidate for Congress from the 1st C. D., received a qualified endorsement.

Haig and Ed Heisler, SWP nominee for U. S. Senate, also addressed an endorsement session of the Independent Precinct Organization (IPO) on Sept. 22. The meeting heard the candidates from the Democratic, Republican, Socialist Workers, and Communist parties.

IPO claims to "work for candidates and issues on the basis of their value

to the people rather than on the basis of personal or party loyalty," but usually supports liberal Democrats.

Amnesty for war resisters and the Nixon pardon were the main issues the senatorial candidates dealt with. Heisler attacked the pardon, as well as those critics of it who disagree only with the timing. "I believe that Richard Nixon should go to jail," he said.

Heisler called for unconditional amnesty for war resisters and honorable discharges for veterans who received less-than-honorable discharges for their fight against the war and racism.

He also demanded an end to military spending and aid to dictatorships like the Pinochet regime in Chile.

In the event of a mine workers' strike this fall, "I'll be on the picket line," Heisler said, while predicting that Democratic incumbent Adlai Stevenson would back antistrike legislation.

Republican candidate George Burditt called for conditional amnesty and criticized Ford's pardon of Nixon. He

said cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts were "inflationary."

Burditt agreed to debate Heisler if Stevenson would.

Stevenson, considered a liberal, opposed all forms of amnesty and advised war resisters to rely on the "mercy" of prosecutors. He said he considered it a principle of civil disobedience that "those who disobey should pay the price."

Asked about debating Heisler, Stevenson replied that he had no time for more debates. The audience hissed.

Stevenson's reactionary position on amnesty and his general haughtiness nearly cost him IPO's endorsement. Even those who supported him did so with comments like, "Amnesty is only one question," "There will never be one official you agree with on everything," and "He's one of the top 30 senators, which isn't saying much, but. . . ."

Predictably, the IPO ended up endorsing the Democratic candidates, but in the course of the meeting, 11 of the 65 people present voted to endorse socialists.



Militant/Terry Quilico  
SWP candidate Ed Heisler demands amnesty for war resisters, not Nixon.

## 'Oversight' on CIA

When President Ford publicly admitted U.S. intervention to overthrow the Allende government in Chile, a howl went up from some quarters in Congress.

"We had no idea such things were going on," the politicians said, with shocked expressions on their faces for the benefit of TV cameras.

Some proposed to solve the problem through more "oversight" of the CIA by Congress. But the fact is that top congressional leaders of both parties were fully informed of the CIA's intrigues in Chile all along, as the administration was quick to point out.

While the two branches of the government tried to shift responsibility onto each other, they were at the same time cooperating to cool down and cover up the whole affair.

Influential members of Congress quickly abandoned the idea of a full inquiry into the CIA actions in Chile. Instead they are beginning an inquiry into—you guessed it—how the revelations about Chile got out to the American people in the first place!

A House subcommittee has started the preliminaries for disciplinary action against Representative Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) for allegedly leaking the information on CIA intervention in Chile to the *New York Times*.

Just as with the Pentagon papers, the first consideration of the Democratic and Republican party politicians is how to keep their secret wars and bloody counterrevolutionary maneuvers hidden from the American people.

Meanwhile, the CIA continues its promotion of mercenaries and torturers around the globe.

The American people must learn the truth about the CIA's crimes in Chile. Teach-ins and other meetings are needed, such as those being organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

Open all the secret CIA and government files on Chile!

## Jobs & 'la migra'

Throughout the Chicano communities in the Southwest, and in many large cities around the country, the federal Immigration and Naturalization Service is one of the most hated police agencies. In the guise of enforcing laws against so-called illegal aliens, *la migra* carries out dragnet raids, deportations, and racist harassment of Chicanos and *mexicanos*.

Now Leonard Chapman, the head of *la migra*, has declared that a million jobs could be provided "virtually overnight" if Congress would provide him with more money and agents to crack down on "illegals."

This demagoguery is part of the ruling-class campaign to whip up chauvinist, racist, "America first" sentiments. Its purpose is to divert attention from the real causes of the economic crisis and to soften up workers to sacrifice "for the national interest."

Blame the Arabs for inflation! the capitalists say. Blame the "illegal aliens" for unemployment! Just don't wake up and blame us and our profit system.

The trade-union bureaucracy stands squarely with the capitalists in this chauvinist campaign. At the meeting of labor officials with President Ford last month, Service Employees International Union President George Hardy told Ford "you can right now create eight million jobs for nothing" by enforcing the immigration laws.

This racist hysteria is completely against the interests of workers in this country. It pits American workers against their brothers and sisters in other countries, while telling them to look upon the capitalists and their government as allies.

Selective enforcement of immigration laws is not accidental. It is the conscious policy of the capitalists, who reap superprofits by paying undocumented workers starvation wages. The reason they can get away with this is precisely because of the "illegal" status of these workers. Living in constant fear of deportation, they are often afraid to struggle for their rights and decent wages.

The only answer is for the unions to demand complete legalization of all workers and their unrestricted right to work, vote, organize, and strike. Solidarity of *all* workers—not reliance on the capitalist government—is the way to fight inflation and unemployment.

Not one penny for *la migra*!

Stop the deportations!

Workers of all countries, unite!

### True Marxist socialist

I would like to pick up my subscription again. I am sorry I had to miss a single copy of *The Militant*. I hope you can send me the back copy of the reports on the death of comrade James P. Cannon.

I was convinced 15 years ago that the Socialist Workers Party is a true Marxist party. I was active at one time in the Los Angeles branch and I knew comrade Cannon and Rose Karsner very well. If I was starting out a young man again I would like to be the beautiful, loving man that comrade Cannon was and the true Marxist socialist that he was. A great man who founded a great party, the Socialist Workers Party.

Grady Vandiver  
Morongo Valley, Calif.

### Fine man

Thank you for the special issue to honor James Cannon. He was a fine and good man.

K. T.  
National City, Calif.

### Cannon's first activity

A factual error occurred in one of the speeches at the Oberlin tribute to Jim Cannon and was reprinted in the Sept. 6 issue of *The Militant*. The speaker correctly pointed out that one of Cannon's first class-struggle activities was his participation in a labor defense case while he was still in high school in Rosedale, Kans. However, the speaker incorrectly identified the case as that of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. These two radical labor leaders were framed up on a phony bombing charge in San Francisco in 1916—long after Cannon was out of high school.

The defense case that drew Cannon into activity in 1906 was that of Big Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone. They were then leaders of the Western Federation of Miners and were framed up on a murder charge. Their defense was made a central campaign of the mass socialist newspaper, the *Appeal to Reason*, whose chief editorial writer at the time was Eugene Debs.

In his book *The First Ten Years of American Communism* Jim described how he became involved:

"From week to week I was deeply stirred by the thunderous appeals of Debs and the dispatches of George H. Shoaf, the *Appeal's* 'war correspondent' in the Western mine fields. My father and other local socialists chipped in to order extra bundles of the paper for free distribution. I was enlisted to help in that work. My first activity in the movement—in the memory of which I still take pride—was to distribute these special Moyer-Haywood editions of the *Appeal* from house to house in Rosedale. I was then 16 years old. . . ."

"It was this great Moyer-Haywood campaign of Debs and the *Appeal to Reason* that started me on the road to socialism while I was still a boy, and I have always remembered them gratefully for that."

Andrea Morell  
New York, N.Y.

### A prisoner's suggestion

I am currently a prisoner of an Illinois penitentiary and have been receiving *The Militant* for approximately six months. I have, with one exception, been very pleased with the coverage of news that is vitally important to the socialist segment of this country.

Although I have been extremely reluctant to admit it, even to myself, I have finally accepted the realization that *The Militant* gives very little coverage of prison and prisoner problems in this country. True, *The Militant* has covered such controversial incidents as the Attica rebellion, the trial of the Leavenworth Brothers, the censorship of publications in prison, and a few other less significant problems.

Equally true, *The Militant* is obligated to report news that is important, that is unknown to the masses, and that is indicative of how the capitalist forces oppress people of every nation under their control. I fear it is only the controversial incidents that make for eye-catching stories that the publishers of *The Militant* are interested in, and not the everyday, usually unknown problems encountered by prisoners.

It would seem to me that you would strive to inform the people of the many horrors of prison life: the dehumanization, degradation, brutality, loss of pride and dignity, and the subservient role we are forced to live.

We would welcome more articles on prison and prisoner problems in future issues of *The Militant*. Perhaps, as a suggestion, *The Militant* can begin a regular column (published biweekly or monthly) concerning prison and prisoner problems.

A prisoner  
Illinois

### Renewal

Please extend my subscription for another two years. I have subscribed since the beginning, and before *The Militant* I subscribed to the *Socialist Appeal*.

*The Militant* is my *Appeal to Reason*. Thanks for all your wonderful information.

Harry von Romer  
St. Louis, Mo.

### A lot poorer

I've gone back to school and have become a lot poorer, but I'll always manage to afford your newspaper.

M.A.  
Jere, W. Va.

### Portuguese upsurge

I am impressed by the size and the scope of your newsweekly. For my money, it has the best coverage of anticapitalist struggles in North America and elsewhere.

Especially striking is the recognition of the revolutionary potential of the Portuguese upsurge. Keep us posted on worldwide revolutionary struggles.

Steven Iverson  
Sacramento, Calif.





### Irish office raided

On Sept. 13 the office of the Irish Republican Information Service was raided by 50 members of the secret political police (special branch) of the Southern government. The office, which is housed in the premises of the movement's weekly newspaper, *An Phoblacht*, was ransacked and all mailing lists, files, and office equipment were removed by the raiding party. The editor of *An Phoblacht*, members of his staff, and a girl who manages the internees' craft-shop were arrested. This latest act of suppression of the Republican viewpoint came as a direct result of talks between Prime Minister Wilson and Cosgrave the previous evening in London.

We appeal to you in the interest of freedom of speech and freedom of editorial comment to express your solidarity and extend your help to us in these repressive circumstances by writing a letter of protest to the Department of Foreign Affairs, Iveagh House, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, Ireland.

P. O'Murphy

Irish Republican Information Service  
Dublin, Ireland

### Less anxiety

Enclosed is money for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*. I can no longer stand the anxiety of racing to get a copy each week from the Vanguard Bookstore.

Mary Trew

Toronto, Ontario

### CARE

CARE is a special new behavior-modification program set on the control and the breaking of prisoners' minds and wills.

The tactics employed here are as follows. Either you are locked up on a petty charge or a trumped-up charge, or you are a politically active person in another prison. You are sent to CARE. The repression begins as soon as you arrive. You are taken before a kangaroo court and told that you are here indefinitely. This is done to attempt to destroy your hope.

The living conditions consist of one-man cages with bars, where you are kept all day with the exception of half-hour periods of recreation averaging about five periods a week. Exercise consists of running up and back the tier in front of your cage, or talking to other people in their cages.

This federal slave camp is now on trial in a U.S. District Court with plaintiffs charging, among other things, cruel and unusual punishment and denial of due process of law.

A prisoner  
Illinois

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.

## Mexico's revolutionary traditions

LOS ANGELES—The real meaning of Mexican Independence Day was obliterated from this year's traditional parade in Los Angeles. Sept. 16 is the day on which Mexicans commemorate the launching in 1821 of the struggle to remove the yoke of Spanish colonialism.

Little reference was made here to that proud event, when Miguel Hidalgo sounded "El Grito de Dolores," the battle cry of independence.

As the parade wound through the streets of East Los Angeles, thousands of descendants of those independence fighters lined the sidewalks. Unfortunately, they were subjected to a spectacle dominated by their present-day *yanqui* oppressors that would have made Hidalgo turn in his grave.

The parade was largely made up of floats sponsored by Anglo-owned businesses and banks, plus *gringo* Democratic and Republican politicians riding in their Cadillacs.

One of the biggest floats was a gigantic mock-up of a heavy cruiser, sponsored by the U.S. Navy recruiting office, complete with thundering guns.

But my nomination for first prize for the Most Racist Float went to that of the U.S. Marines. It depicted, complete with blood-dripping dagger, what purported to be Aztec rites of human sacrifice.

Fortunately, however, the "pagans" were surrounded by a healthy contingent of Uncle Sam's boys, armed to the teeth, presumably there to rescue the ignorant Mexicans from barbarism. The only thing missing was the Marine Band playing "From the Halls of Montezuma."

But neither the fanciest float that Anglo money could buy, nor the most precise military band, could arouse the more deeply felt response that the *charros* on horseback, the *mariaichis*, or the drum and bugle corps from Mexicali did.

Only two groups of parade participants marched in the militant traditions of Sept. 16. One was a contingent of young Chicano antideportation activists

with a banner reading, "Raza Si, Migra No." The other was the contingent of the Socialist Workers Party. Both received a positive response from the crowd.

The call for a "Yes" vote for incorporation for East Los Angeles in the coming election, also well received, was propagated by the socialists' banners and by the float of the Ad Hoc Committee to Incorporate East Los Angeles.

The ominous presence of the Sheriff's Department was a constant reminder of the need for East L. A. Chicanos to form their own city, take it over, and get those racist thugs out. They rode up and down the edges of the street on their motorcycles, forcing back spectators who dared to step off the sidewalk to get a better look.

During a recent visit to Mexico, I was impressed by how the memory of revolutionary heroes is preserved there. Mexico's history has been marked by bitter struggles against Spanish and French domination, as well as by the 1910 revolution.

These revolutionary traditions of the Mexican people are so deeply ingrained that the government is forced to maintain many of them. Streets, cities, and towns are named after revolutionary heroes and events. Historical museums dedicated to these themes abound. Murals depicting heroic struggles of workers and peasants adorn public buildings. Hidalgo, Juarez, Morelos, and Zapata are familiar to all.

The powers that be in this country have deliberately suppressed these traditions lest Chicanos get the idea that they should follow the example of their forbears and fight to free themselves of Anglo domination, racism, and exploitation.

It will fall to the Chicano movement to bring to life and vindicate these traditions. Sept. 16 can be an event that not only celebrates past victories, but uses that example as a source of inspiration in the rising struggle for Chicano liberation.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## The 'Hurricane' Carter frame-up

It is a story that reminds one of the frame-up of the North Carolina Black activists, the Charlotte Three, where the local cops and the feds, and even a Water-gater, had a hand in the bought testimony from the prosecution's witnesses. And it is similar to the railroading to prison of Martin Sostre, where the chief prosecution witness has since recanted and fingered the police for framing the Black activist.

In some ways, though, it is different. John Artis, a 21-year-old about to be drafted, and Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, the number one contender for the middleweight boxing crown, seemed to be an unlikely pair to be framed for a triple murder and get three consecutive life sentences.

Such police frame-ups, however, are not infrequent. Just the other day the Pennsylvania governor commuted the life sentence of a Black man after it was disclosed that the cops had pressured the real murder culprit into lying. But in this era of Watergate and Watergate-related disclosures, and of disclosures about the CIA's role in Chile, there is a growing awareness of the fact that public officials lie as a routine matter. It is this atmosphere that has allowed the grisly details around the Carter frame-up to be brought out.

Selwyn Raab, a *New York Times* reporter, got wind of the case a year ago. A New Jersey public defender who believed the two Blacks had been unjustly convicted of the barroom slaying of three whites in Paterson, N.J., in 1966 during a Black rebellion, went to Raab for help.

A new investigation led the two white men who had claimed they witnessed the shooting to recant. They told how Paterson police officials and the assistant

prosecutor offered them a reward and reduction of the sentences they faced for burglary if they lied on the witness stand.

The two "witnesses," Arthur Bradley and Alfred Bello, had testified they saw Carter and Artis making their getaway from the white-owned Lafayette Grill following the shooting in the wee hours of June 17, 1966. At the time, however, Bradley and Bello were actually burglarizing a nearby sheet metal factory. And Carter and Artis were instead at a nearby nightspot.

Rumors were spread that the slayings were perpetrated by Blacks in retaliation for the shooting of a Black tavern owner.

Carter was an outspoken civil rights activist. Artis, who was driving with him when they were picked up, was simply out for a ride. But that didn't matter, the cops had their men.

Bello now says, "They gave me a big brother line. The cops told me I'd be doing justice for the families of the white victims—it would be an eye for an eye."

The cop who headed the case describes the new evidence as "nonsense." "We don't manufacture witnesses," he said, and ordered Raab out of his office during an interview.

In his seven years in prison, Hurricane Carter has gone blind in one eye and is now penniless. He is hoping that publicity will bring him a new trial. Asked if he is bitter, he simply replied:

"That's a question better put to my wife, who has lived without a man for eight years, or to my daughter, who has been without a father and had this stigma hanging over her. They're doing hard time also."

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**Our equitable tax structure**—While insisting that he's down to his last \$66-million, Nelson Rockefeller did concede to the Senate Rules Committee that he felt "embarrassed" that he paid no federal income tax for 1970. He suffered massive capital gains that year.

**Australian crawlburgers**—An Australian scientist is developing a food product based on manure-fed dungworms. The worms are rich in protein and highly prolific. "The worm is placed in a bed of manure and straw and there he eats and breeds happily until harvest time," the scientist said, according to the New Zealand Socialist

**Action.** And if they run short of manure-and-straw feed, they can always raise them on Big Macs.

**Sounds reasonable**—California's Forestry Service provides its fire fighters with paper throwaway sleeping bags, which researchers found to be highly flammable.

**Behavioral scientist**—Ray Johnson has a number of ideas for reducing store holdups. One is to encourage clerks to smile at customers since this may unnerve prospective robbers. Another is to encourage loitering in stores since stickup people don't like to deal with crowds. The third idea is

to add the chatter of a police radio to the store's atmosphere. An ex-convict who specialized in holdups, Johnson obtained a \$153,000 federal grant to check out his ideas.

**Progress report**—The state of California has enacted a law that provides that physical education teachers may no longer give students poor grades for being unable to afford gym shoes or other required clothing.

**How appropriate can you get?**—Colonel O. K. Henderson, the highest Army officer charged in the My Lai massacre, was hired by the Pennsylvania

Bicentennial Commission to coordinate the Congress of World Unity, an international gathering of philosophers, to draft "a declaration of human rights."

**Beg pardon?**—President Ford praised a D. C. law-and-order program that he said "dramatically reduced the ability of case-hardened offenders to escape through the loopholes of the criminal justice system." He told a national gathering of chiefs of police that measures are needed to make crime "hazardous and costly" and to ensure "that swift and prolonged punishment will inevitably follow each offense."

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Bootleggers and economics professors

In the prosperous days of the 1920s some bootleggers in Chicago got hold of more money than they knew what to do with and decided the best thing was to put it in the stock market. This had the double advantage of putting them in company with "legitimate" operators and at the same time safely disposing of their excess cash, or so they thought.

Then came the 1929 stock market crash, which surprised and angered them. They thought they had been taken for suckers. So they drove to New York with a few of their muscle men and went down to Wall Street to look into the matter.

The Chicago beer barons cornered a hapless New York railroad tycoon and others they thought ought to be in charge. After some polite discussion about business in general, the alcohol syndicate brought out machine guns and told the Wall Street operators to get the stock market back up where it belonged, or else.

There is no documentation of this story, but it may be that these were the circumstances behind some of the recorded suicides and heart failures of those dark days. On top of all the other shocks on Wall Street, the threats of irate investors could have been fatal.

It is a fact that with the recovery brought about by World War II, the geniuses of Wall Street have given assurances that there can never be another

crash like the one in 1929.

A new generation of professional economists, most of them teaching at prestigious universities, have spent their lives explaining why the governments of the major capitalist countries will never again allow the world economy to sink into another Great Depression. They have devised economic controls, it was explained.

Their lectures were taken for good coin for a long time when the capitalist system seemed to prosper in the aftermath of World War II.

The U.S. government was guided in its monetary policy by a Council of Economic Advisors, and the Wall Street stock market was generally looked to as a reliable barometer of how the economy here and abroad was doing.

Now the danger signals are flashing in all sectors. World trade: declining. The gross national product (total services and goods produced in the United States): declining. Productivity (product units per hour of work): declining. The dollar (twice devalued): declining. Banks are failing here and in Europe. The stock market has gone into a tailspin. The economy appears to be in deep trouble.

It is true that most of the biggest U.S. corporations still show huge profit gains, but the corporate directors are worried that this may not continue.

All controls are functioning poorly, if at all.

Meanwhile, prices everywhere are going up like a big balloon, and the newly appointed president of the United States has ordered all the economists to get busy and bring the prices down.

The economists, who only yesterday were generally recognized as men who knew everything and had designed all the necessary controls, are in a quandary.

Two dozen of them met recently in the Empire Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York to come up with some answers. They failed. Each of them picked at a small part of the problem, but none agreed on what the government of this country ought to do even if there were anyone in government who would listen anymore to their sage advice.

One of them, Richard Cooper of Yale University, told his colleagues that they have little time left, no more than six to nine months. The world's biggest commercial banks, he said, are reaching their limits.

That means things are getting pretty bad, worse than many think. If those bankers reach their limits they are likely to tell whoever is in the White House to do something about it, and he will turn to the economists. The danger is that he may blame them for all the troubles. And if his muscle men catch all of them in one room again it could be a worse catastrophe than 1929.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Rockefeller's nomination

On the last day of the Senate Rules Committee hearings on the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller for vice-president, a dozen or so people were allowed to testify. (The Senate euphemistically calls this a "public hearing.")

Several of those testifying were opponents of abortion rights who opposed Rockefeller's nomination because of his 1972 veto of the New York legislature's repeal of a liberal abortion law. These included Senator Jesse Helms (R-N. C.), cosponsor of a constitutional amendment that would totally ban abortion, and several representatives of reactionary "right-to-life" groups.

They thumped the Bible, hailed the "Judeo-Christian" heritage of the country, and even dragged in an argument about John the Baptist's mother.

On the other hand, two supporters of abortion rights testified. One of them was Carol Burris, president of Women's Lobby, Inc. She defended legalized abortion, answered the "right-to-lifers," and should have stopped right there. Instead, she

went on to endorse Rockefeller's nomination, saying he "is a very good choice for Vice President because he has concerned himself with the problems of the silent majority—women."

That's outrageous. An organization supposedly concerned with women's rights endorsed Nelson Rockefeller. Such an absurd and repugnant position comes from being trapped in the framework of capitalist politics and the two-party system. As long as your vision doesn't go beyond "lesser evil" politics, you find yourself making backroom deals and following the "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" philosophy.

Nelson Rockefeller has not "concerned himself" with the problems of women. He is a card-carrying member of that tiny group of people—the ruling class—that is responsible for perpetuating the problems of women and of all the oppressed. He helps run the system that commits crimes against humanity on a worldwide scale. To ignore those crimes is a crime itself.

Just one example is Rockefeller's responsibility for the massacre at Attica. Thirty-two prisoners were murdered in cold blood under Rockefeller's direction. Thirty-two prisoners who wanted nothing more than to be treated like human beings.

The only power that can guarantee abortion rights for women is *our own organized power*. Even Rockefeller's position on abortion in 1972 resulted from the pressure of the abortion rights movement and the changing attitude of the masses of American people about abortion. And you can bet your life that if the pressure were to swing the other way, so would Rockefeller.

The candidates for office who stand for an uncompromising fight against the capitalist system are those of the Socialist Workers Party. They are the candidates with a program for taking control away from the likes of Rockefeller and building a socialist society. They—not the capitalist politicians—deserve the backing of those concerned with women's rights.

# Pa. legislature passes restrictive abortion law

By EILEEN GERSH

PHILADELPHIA—The Pennsylvania legislature passed a new, restrictive abortion law Sept. 10. The law, scheduled to take effect Oct. 10, places important restrictions on the right of women to choose abortion. It requires a husband's consent for married women and parental consent for women under 18 years of age in order to obtain abortions. It also ends state subsidization of abortions for women on welfare. In addition, the law forbids advertising by abortion referral agencies.

Planned Parenthood has filed a suit in federal district court challenging the constitutionality of the new law. Similar laws in other states have been declared unconstitutional and have been thrown out through court action.

Women from the University of Pennsylvania Women's Center have planned a meeting to protest the new law. The panel discussion is scheduled for Oct. 2 and is sponsored by a broad range of individuals and organizations.

In Pittsburgh, an Abortion Rights Coalition has been formed. The coalition will hold a news conference

Oct. 9, the day before the bill is to go into effect, and a demonstration and rally in downtown Pittsburgh on Oct. 12.

The new law had been vetoed by Governor Milton Shapp after it passed both houses of the legislature last July. The Sept. 10 vote was to override Shapp's veto, with a large majority of both Democrats and Republicans voting for the law.

According to State Representative Warren Spencer, Shapp "did nothing to discourage an override on the abortion bill." Another legislator said that Shapp was "keeping hands off."

In a statement to the press, Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania, blasted the law and the role of Governor Shapp. "I do not believe," Scherr said, "that those who claim to be political leaders can 'keep hands off' an issue that is so vital to 53 percent of the population."

Scherr outlined her proposals for free abortion and contraception clinics to be funded by state, city, and federal governments. She also urged people to join in the protest activities.



Militant/Barbara Mutnick

## Defend NY Dist. 1 fight

NEW YORK—"District 1 Schools Under Attack" was the topic of the Lower Manhattan Militant Forum held here Sept. 27. Ninety people attended the forum, including parents and teachers from school District 1.

Speakers included leaders and activists in the struggle for community control of the schools: Luis Fuentes, the Puerto Rican superintendent fired by the racist school board majority in August; Susana Clemente, Parent Association president at Public School 34; Charles Berger, a coprincipal at P. S. 188; William Carlotti, Parent Association vice-president at P. S. 34; and Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Lower East Side, where District 1 is located.

P. S. 34 has just completed a victorious boycott, winning reinstatement of most of the school's bilingual teachers who had been fired by the board majority. Charles Berger, one of the principals fired by the board, was also reinstated after an overwhelmingly effective school boycott.

Ninety-five percent of District 1's schoolchildren are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese. Speakers at the forum explained that the struggle for community control of the schools is at a critical juncture now, as the racist

majority of the school board is leading an all-out attack on educational programs and on minority teachers and school workers.

The speakers stressed the importance of city-wide support for the struggle in District 1, and urged participation in demonstrations demanding the reinstatement of Luis Fuentes and all other staff and teachers who have been fired.



Katherine Sojourner Militant/Arthur Hughes

# Response astounding, say leaders of CLUW

By EILEEN BERLOW

CLEVELAND—The six-month-old Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is alive and well and, with a few growing pains, taking root all over the country.

This was the picture Cleveland CLUW received, at its Sept. 27 meeting, from reports of members who attended the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) and Steering Committee meetings in Chicago Sept. 21-22.

Reporting to the meeting were three NCC members from the Cleveland area: Kathy Greenberg, Social Agencies Employees Union; Dorothy Sain, Newspaper Guild; and Jean Tussey, International Typographical Union. Also reporting was Barbara Winslow of the American Federation of Teachers who attended the national meetings as an observer.

Quoting from CLUW President Olga Madar's report to the NCC, Greenberg reported that 102 NCC members attended the Chicago meeting, which was the first NCC meeting held since CLUW was founded last March.

"The acceptance of CLUW has been astounding," Madar had reported. She cited the moral and material support national CLUW officers have received from their unions, as well as the growing list of formal endorsements by national, state, and local labor organizations. She also reported that 1,200 paid memberships had been received by the national office since July 1 and that 5,000 more applications for membership were being printed.

Highlights reported from the national meetings included the approval of charters for 13 local CLUW chapters: Cleveland, Cincinnati, Seattle, San Francisco, North Alameda County, South Alameda County, Santa Clara, Sacramento, Los Angeles, New York, Washington, D. C., Atlanta, and Houston.

The founding convention of CLUW had referred a number of resolutions to the NCC for action. At its meeting the NCC adopted a resolution on organizing unorganized workers, which included support to the United Farm Workers' strikes and the boycott of grapes, head lettuce, and Gallo wines.

It also approved resolutions on participation within unions and on legislative and political action. The latter included a statement of CLUW's opposition to amendments to the U. S. Constitution that would prohibit abortion.

Amendments to the structure and guidelines of CLUW were referred by



Olga Madar

Militant/Martha Pettit

the NCC to a constitution committee. Also referred to a subcommittee were resolutions on affirmative action on the job. The subcommittees will report back to the next NCC meeting, scheduled for January.

The NCC established several subcommittees. These are constitution, finance and fund raising, newsletter and publicity, education, program and activities, legislation and political action, minority women, and structure and organization of CLUW chapters.

It was also reported to the Cleveland meeting that the next national convention of CLUW will be held sometime between October and the first week of December 1975. The exact date and location will be set by the next NCC meeting.

Barbara Winslow told the Cleveland CLUW meeting that the NCC had authorized issuance of a national newsletter to improve communication.

"Now that both Ohio chapters have had their charter applications approved," said Jean Tussey, who is also a state convener for Ohio CLUW, "we are scheduling a meeting in Columbus on Sunday, Oct. 13, at 2 p.m., at the AFSCME hall to start the ball rolling for a chapter there."

"And we aim," she continued, "through our state organizing committee, to help CLUW members in Toledo, Dayton, Kent, Elyria, and other communities to build local chapters that will be ready with charter applications for the next NCC meeting in January."

## CLUW meets in Minn.

By PEGGI PERRONE

DULUTH, Minn.—The Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held a statewide seminar here Sept. 22. The seminar preceded the AFL-CIO state convention.

The 140 women, representing 18 international unions, were greeted by Edith Van Horn, a United Auto Workers representative from Detroit. Van Horn is one of the founders of national CLUW.

Van Horn spoke about CLUW's potential to become a bridge to unorganized women, and to bring them into the unions. She said that CLUW is needed both where women are already fighting for equal rights and to educate in those areas where they have not yet begun.

Minnesota AFL-CIO President David Roe also addressed the meeting.

In sharp contrast to Van Horn's message, Roe urged the "gals" of CLUW not to use CLUW as a "forum for discussing inequities."

The seminar consisted of three workshops: "Women's rights and responsibilities under the law," "Women's issues in contract negotiations," and "The politics of involvement."

Since its inception in June, Twin Cities CLUW has doubled in membership and now has 108 members, representing 11 unions.

The requirements necessary for chartering CLUW in Minnesota have been met and the chapter has applied to national CLUW for a charter.

Future activities projected include doing more outreach, assisting other regions in setting up CLUW chapters, speaking at union meetings, getting more endorsements, and sponsoring educational forums.



# Jim Cannon: highlights in the ca

The following are major excerpts from the speech by Farrell Dobbs at the tribute to James P. Cannon held in San Francisco Sept. 14. Cannon, who died Aug. 21 at the age of 84, was a leader of the revolutionary socialist movement since the early years of this century.

Farrell Dobbs worked with Cannon in the leadership of the American revolutionary socialist movement over a period of almost four decades. He was a central leader of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes that helped set the stage for the development of the CIO, and is the author of *Teamster Rebellion and Teamster Power* (Pathfinder Press, New York).

James Patrick Cannon was a historic political figure. In the course of his career he developed many abilities; he played many roles; he made many contributions. All I can undertake is to recount to you some of the highlights of his long and fruitful revolutionary career, and give you a few examples that help throw light on the character of the man as a revolutionary leader.

Perhaps I might begin by taking cognizance of that obscene event that transpired not long after Jim's death. That is, when that con man Richard Milhous Nixon was pardoned by the Model T.

When you consider Jim on the one hand, and Nixon on the other, it gives you a most striking comparison of the difference between revolutionary socialist morality and capitalist morality.

Nixon did many things in office. He bombed the hell out of the people of Vietnam. He attacked the democratic rights of the people of this country. He used the White House, and all the apparatus he had at hand, to enrich himself personally. He cheated on taxes; he sold his old scrap paper, which wasn't worth a tinker's damn in the first place, for hundreds of thousands of dollars to the government.

He's a living, walking—I should say limping—example of capitalist morality.

Among other things, during this joker's administration, if not during that of one of the jokers who preceded him, they tapped Jim Cannon's telephone.

What was the nature of the person whose telephone was tapped by this bomb-happy tax dodger?

## Searching for truth

Jim Cannon was born in 1890 in Rosedale, Kans. He came out of Rosedale as a young man searching for the truth. In the many years that followed, he proved in spades that he was capable of living by the truth once he found it.

You often hear people say that revolutionaries are oddballs who can't make out in society as it is; so, since everybody's got a racket of some kind or another, they take up a revolutionary racket.

Well that doesn't apply to revolutionists, and it didn't apply to Jim. Jim was a very talented man in many ways. If he had been concerned just with taking care of number one, he could have made out real well in this society, and he could have done it even without dodging taxes.

But Jim believed in the working-class movement; he lived for the movement; and he was determined one way or another to keep body and soul together and work full-time—insofar

as was humanly possible—serving the movement.

Jim became a revolutionary at an early age. At 18 he joined the Socialist Party [SP]. By this time he was already becoming influenced by one of the great figures in American revolutionary history, Eugene V. Debs.

## Admiration for Debs

Debs was an incorruptible man. He was an honest man. He was a fighter. He was a man who knew how to feel human compassion. He was one to always identify with the exploited and to detest the exploiter.

Jim began to derive some of the qualities that he later showed in the movement as a result of his admiration for Debs. He tried to learn from Debs and to shape himself as a revolutionary after Debs.

He recognized at an early stage the importance of being able to communicate. Here again he was inspired in part by Debs, who was a great orator. Jim concentrated on learning to speak. Starting as a soapboxer, he became a top-notch orator.

He also learned the importance of being able to write. He knew that to be an organizer, one must be able to communicate through both the spoken word and the written word.

While still quite young he joined the Industrial Workers of the World [IWW], before long becoming part of the organization staff. He worked under Vincent St. John, whom the young militants of that day fondly called "The Saint."

In his own way St. John was a man much like Debs. Not the versatile man Debs was, but a solid organizer with revolutionary spirit and know-how in building a movement and in building a team out of dedicated people who want to serve a common cause.

There's a story that Jim was fond of telling about his experience as an organizer in the IWW. He was sent with a team of organizers up to the Mesabi Range in northern Minnesota. They were working under the charge of Frank Little. Little was a famous IWW leader who was lynched by vigilantes in Montana during the witch-hunt that grew out of the American involvement in the first world war. This was prior to the war.

The IWW was having a convention in Chicago, and the organizers up on the Mesabi Range wanted to get there to attend. The way they worked in the

IWW was that the organizers had to get around on their own steam, grab onto a boxcar, or whatever.

So all the younger organizers were to get to Chicago as best they could. But Frank Little was getting on in years and he'd become badly stove-up with arthritis. So the organization made a special dispensation to buy Frank a ticket to ride from Duluth down to Chicago on the cushions.

## Riding the rods

Well, Jim was young, full of zip, and there was nothing he wanted more than to be respected by Frank. So he made up his mind that on the

Another example of an experience he learned from came later, in Ohio.

He was assigned with another member of the IWW staff by the name of Spike—I forget his last name—to help some workers who had gone on strike in one of the little industrial towns in Ohio. Spike got arrested by the cops on the picket line. And Jim volunteered to be Spike's mouthpiece when he got into court.

He was a good soapboxer, and he got up to plead Spike's case like he was on a soapbox on a street corner in Kansas City. He told the judge how rotten the system is, and how phony capitalist laws are. He told



Farrell Dobbs speaking at San Francisco tribute to Cannon

Militant/Joseph Ryan

rods he was going to beat Frank Little to Chicago.

He got down to Minneapolis and got on a night express, which was the real hotshot passenger train between Minneapolis and Chicago at that time. But he had a problem of getting through Milwaukee. Milwaukee had the notoriously meanest railroad bulls that prowled the yards of any railroad terminal out there in the Midwest.

So he tried what is recognized in the knighthood of the road as one of the most dangerous ways to ride. That is to get on the express car right behind the locomotive and on top of it. You lock your arm around the little vent pipe there, and you try not to freeze to death, not to go to sleep, and not to get blinded by the cinders coming out of the locomotive.

He managed to get through Milwaukee. What got him through was that the railroad bulls generally don't bother to look up behind the locomotive. They figured nobody was fool enough to ride there. Jim was. They underestimated him.

He got into Chicago, got all cleaned up, dashed over to the convention headquarters, and sat down. He'd been there about 15 minutes when in came Frank Little.

Frank walked over to him, grinned, put his hand on Jim's shoulder, and said, "You damned hobo."

Jim said it was one of the greatest accolades that he ever got in his life.

That was one incident in Jim's IWW experience that tells you something about the aggressiveness, the resourcefulness, the courage, the daring of the man. He had the capacity to set a goal and to have the guts to reach for that goal and to take chances to attain that goal.

the judge he was a faker and that they didn't expect to get any justice out of him, but he ought to give it to them anyway.

Jim no more than got through and sat down than the judge found Spike guilty and gave him a jail term. Spike turned to Jim and said, "Fellow worker, that was a fine agitational speech you made, but it struck me that you were mighty generous with my time."

## On the enemy's ground

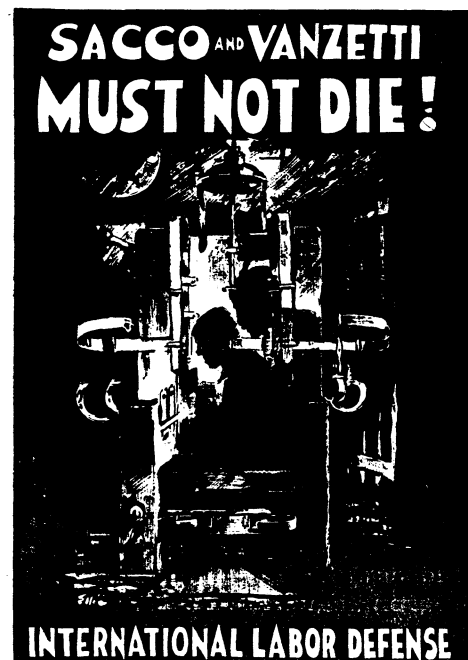
Jim said he learned something from that that was important: You always have to remember where you are, what the task is, what the ground rules are. And when you're fighting the class enemy on the class enemy's ground, proceed accordingly. You have to learn how to stand up for working-class rights without giving an edge to the capitalist prosecutor.

These accumulated experiences stood Jim in very good stead when he later became one of the founders of the Communist Party [CP]. Like many other rebels of that day, Jim was inspired by the Russian revolution in 1917 and was right in on the ground floor in founding the Communist Party. He quickly rose to the status of a national leader.

Here he made a major contribution to the communist movement in a fight over how the Communist Party should proceed to build itself in this country.

One view was that since the Bolsheviks in Russia had had to function underground virtually up to the edge of the revolutionary explosion in February 1917, the Communist Party in this country had to be underground as well.

Jim and others like him who had a wealthy background of experience



Under Cannon's leadership in 1920s, International Labor Defense set example of nonfactional defense of all class-war victims.

# reer of a historic political figure

in the American working-class movement saw instantly that this was a false road. They led an internal struggle for the Communist Party to fight for the right to function as a legal party.

Here Jim added to his own knowledge, and to the knowledge of our movement, about the importance of fighting for legality. You never cut and run, you never give away one iota of any opportunity under a capitalist regime to function legally, because that's the way you reach people.

A second great contribution Jim made was the key role he played in founding the International Labor Defense [ILD] in the 1920s. Two of the outstanding cases that were handled by the International Labor Defense under the leadership of Jim Cannon were the Mooney-Billings case and the case of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In the ILD there were certain ground rules established. For example, the rule that there be no factionalism in defense. Because what you're defending—in addition to the individual defendant or defendants—is the democratic rights of the working class and its allies. From this derives that famous labor slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all."

The principles of the ILD were, first, to defend all victims of capitalist oppression on our side of the class line. Second, not to take factional advantage of a defense case. That is, not to try to use it to push your own line and thereby alienate others who might otherwise join in the defense. Because the cardinal need is to defeat the capitalist frame-up.

Jim set these ground rules very well. After 1928, when those who went with Stalin took over in the CP, the ILD was turned into its opposite and violated every one of these rules. But the ground rules were set there. And they were picked up and improved and applied by the Trotskyist movement after the break in 1928.

Now, coming back to the break in 1928, I want to touch on one point: What did it mean for Jim Cannon to become the founding leader of the Trotskyist movement in this country?

Jim was one of the top leaders of the Communist Party. He had a big following. He was the head of the ILD. He was a member of the political committee of the party. And the CP was a big movement that had great promise, affiliated with the Third International and identified with the Russian revolution in the popular mind.

## How dear the truth

What did it cost to walk away from that? How dear was the truth at that point!

Jim was a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Comintern [Communist International] in Moscow in 1928. By pure accident he got on the commission that handled the distribution of documents that had been translated.

Trotsky's criticism of the draft program that the Stalinists were submitting to the Sixth Congress came into this commission and was routinely translated. The Stalinist bureaucrats hadn't quite tightened up all the holes yet. They had no intention of Trotsky's document getting before the congress, but Jim got a copy of it.

He read it, and he knew instinctively that this was the way he had to go, because this was the direction in which the truth went—that is, the analysis and the programmatic pro-



Meeting in defense of Cannon and other SWP leaders sent to prison during World War II

jections set forth in Trotsky's criticism of the draft program set forth at the Sixth Congress.

That meant he had to turn his back on his chance to play a bigger and bigger role in the large and thriving Communist movement. And he was experienced enough to know that to do that meant going into isolation. And he made the break.

Now that's what you call serving the truth at all hazards.

They have an expression in military parlance that's a grim order. The last three words are "at all hazards." That means you've got to keep going some way no matter what happens until you can't go any further.

That was the criterion that Jim Cannon set for himself when he came back from Moscow in 1928. He had found the truth about the profound developments taking place in the Soviet Union and hence in the Third International. And he had to serve



IWW leader Frank Little

that truth at all hazards. And he went forward to serve truth, now in the role of the central founding leader of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

## Dog days

Then there was the period of isolation that Jim called the "dog days" and that he described so eloquently in *The History of American Trotskyism*.

He was always on the alert, however, to build. Jim was always trying to draw into the revolutionary team every individual who was willing to serve. He also had a quality of watching tendencies and trends inside a movement, and of thinking always in the largest possible terms with respect to the recruitment of cadres.

Jim had a sense for this. And with the help of Trotsky, he played a major role in orienting the initial Trotskyist cadres in this country toward concentrating first on trying to win every possible member of the Communist Party who might begin to see the truth and develop toward support of the Trotskyist movement.

Then, in 1934, there was the Toledo Auto-Lite strike, led by a group of militants affiliated with the American Workers Party. Jim was among the foremost to sense the opportunity here and to take the initiative in developing negotiations leading to fusion with the American Workers Party. As a result we were again able to enrich our cadre.

Then there was the development in the Socialist Party about a year and a half later. And again, Jim took the lead.

I'll just give you one little example of the way Jim handled this. I was by then an officer of the Teamsters union in Minneapolis, as well as a party member. Several of us were in New York and Jim had a negotiation session scheduled with that young hot-shot Gus Tyler, from the "Militant" caucus in the SP.

So Jim said to me, I want you to come along and just do two things: Every time this guy makes a proposi-

tion, you scowl. And every so often shake your head like you don't like the way everything is going.

He said, "I want that little son of a bitch to think he's going to have to give away a lot before he gets the Teamster comrades to go along with his propositions."

The upshot of it was we managed to enter the Socialist Party and after a little more than a year we got thrown out by the Norman Thomas right wing. But we took with us practically every revolutionary cadre in the SP, and the American Trotskyist movement was approximately twice as strong when it was expelled in the fall of 1937 as when it had entered the SP in the early summer of 1936.

## Minneapolis Teamsters strikes

In addition to these aspects of cadre building, I for one can testify that Jim was very good at helping workers who were leading struggles in the trade-union movement.

I'll never forget his role in 1934 when we were having small civil war there in the Twin Cities. [During the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes in 1934, Cannon came to Minneapolis to aid the Trotskyist union leaders on the scene.]

What value there was in his know-how, in his capacity as a soapboxer, as a writer, in his grasp of government mediators and all the other little snares and diverse forms of entrapment that are conceived and connived by the capitalist class in order to bilk workers and cheat them out of the fruits of their struggles as well as out of the fruits of their toil.

There was another aspect of Jim's stature as a leader. He knew how to conduct himself with respect to worker militants who were engaged in struggle. I'll give you an example.

[International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Daniel] Tobin had expelled Local 574 of the Teamsters in Minneapolis from the international, and we had fought him on this for about a year and a half. He threw everything he could throw at us and

*Continued on next page*



# ...Jim's life is example for today's youth'

Continued from preceding page

he couldn't win. So being an Irishman, he finally went back to the old Irish political slogan, "When you can't whip 'em, join 'em," and he offered to let us come back into the international.

Jim and other comrades were understandably dubious about accepting the terms that Tobin laid down. They were afraid that either we'd quickly get our throats cut, or we'd get ourselves compromised—not intentionally, but there were many possibilities for entrapment.

They brought us to trial. Jim gave the main testimony for us in that trial. You'll find the full text of it in his pamphlet *Socialism on Trial*.

When we came into that courtroom—and here I must say he'd learned a lot since he defended Spike down in Ohio—he used the witness stand in the federal court as a tribune. He handled himself in such a way that he told the class truth on every point. He gave nothing to the capitalists. And he tried also to influence the working class to support us against this frame-up.



Leon Trotsky with Farrell Dobbs in Mexico. Cannon and other SWP leaders collaborated closely with Trotsky in building Fourth International.

Jim saw that we were all solidly for accepting the terms—those of us who had the everyday task of leading the union and who were closer to the work than he was. So he said to us, "I don't wholly agree, but I'll go along with it."

## Sign of a leader

And then he made the remark that showed the real sign of a leader. He said, "And if it goes bad, I'll take the blame with you."

Now that's a very, very important thing. One is not quite a leader when one looks for an escape clause. A leader always has to make one of two decisions. Either you've got to stand against an action that is proposed, and try to stop it. Or, if you agree that it's going to be carried out, then you've got to help carry it out. And you're not a leader if, when things go a little bad here and there, you go around with an I-told-you-so story, or try to find somebody you can attach the blame to.

There were none of these qualities whatever in Jim.

One of the most outstanding examples of Jim's capacities came during the fight of 1941, when Tobin had the Minneapolis city police, the county sheriff and his goons, the courts, the mayor's office, the city council, the governor of the state, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt on his side. They threw everything at us, including a couple of federal indictments.

Under one indictment we were charged with conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence right then and there. It was based on an old statute enacted during the Civil War aimed at the slaveholders.

The second indictment was under the Smith Act—conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence and to foment insubordination in the armed forces.

There's much to be learned from this pamphlet, because by this time Jim was very well versed in the literature of the movement as well as having long experience. He was equipped by this combination of factors to do an excellent job that not only served our needs there in the courtroom but became a textbook for young revolutionists.

Well, we were convicted anyway, and three years later—it was New Year's Eve 1944—15 of us celebrated the oncoming year by entering the county jail in Minneapolis. The next morning 14 of us were driven by U.S. marshals up to the federal prison at Sandstone, Minn. [The fifteenth, Grace Carlson, served her sentence at a women's prison in West Virginia, and the other three of the 18 defendants were taken into custody in New York City and served their terms in Danbury, Conn.]

We got in there and the first thing they do in the joint—as those of you who have been there know—is to put you in quarantine and vaccinate you and so forth.

You know, it's not a happy moment when you first enter a prison. Along about three in the afternoon they got through with us and let us out of our cells for an hour to sit together in a day room.

We were sitting there, not talking much, just kind of thinking things over and wondering, Jesus Christ how did I get in here, and all of a sudden Harry DeBoer looked at Jim Cannon and said, "You and your big mouth!"

It was just what the doctor ordered. We all broke out in a big laugh, Jim along with the rest of us.

## Relationship with Trotsky

I want to make one final basic point about the importance of Jim's role in the movement, and that was his relationship with Leon Trotsky.

There were many leaders of revolutionary groupings around the world in the late 1920s and the 1930s who weren't smart enough to take advantage of working with Trotsky.

I've learned in my experience that there's a certain category of people who pride themselves on being "independent thinkers." They're hung up in some kind of an ego trip—I think that's the phrase you use these days.

And instead of realizing they could learn from Trotsky, they were more concerned about making absolutely certain nobody got the slightest idea that Trotsky was ever telling them what to do.

Jim loomed like a giant in comparison with these types. He recognized some fundamental things. One, Trotsky was not only a genius, he was a smart genius. I've seen a lot of geniuses in my time, but not every one of them has been smart. A lot of them are just self-proclaimed.

Trotsky was a smart genius. And he was a man rich in experience, who had led, together with Lenin, a socialist revolution; who had organized and commanded a revolutionary army; and who had been a leader of the Bolshevik Party and a leading member of the Soviet government; and who knew his Marxism from A to Z.

You can learn something from an individual like that, and Jim was smart enough to recognize that.

Jim told me how he had heard that Trotsky was a martinet. He didn't know whether that was just part of the Stalinist slander or whether there was some truth in it.

Jim described an incident relating to a strike in New York back in 1933. A party member who was leading the strike all of a sudden got the notion that because he was leading a big union he was bigger than the party. So he ignored the party.

Whereupon the little Trotskyist party expelled this big trade-union leader—Field was his name. They said, "You're too big for us, and too unprincipled."

Field went over to Turkey and visited Trotsky, who gave him a couple of assignments. Word of this came back, and the party took this up with Trotsky. And here Trotsky showed his bigness.

He assured the comrades in this country right away that he had no intention whatever of cutting across party discipline. He said Field could

help him in a number of ways, but if we felt that would be a violation of the disciplinary norms of our movement, that would be the end of Trotsky's relationship with him.

## Disciplined party

And Jim told me once he recognized this quality in Trotsky, that's all it took. Here was a man who knew a lot about Marxism and had a lot of revolutionary experience, and knew how to deal with parties in the movement on equitable terms. This kind of relationship is necessary for building a disciplined organization. And discipline is a prerequisite for a revolutionary combat party.

If you don't have a combat party, you haven't got a goddamned thing. Anything else, no matter how big it is, is just like a big clod of dried dirt—it looks formidable, but you throw it against the wall and it just crumbles and splatters. It's got to be a steel fist—perhaps a steel fist with a silk glove on it, from the point of view of strategy and tactics, but a steel fist.

No matter how much genius an individual has, or how much experience, if they don't know how to contribute to building a disciplined combat party, they can't be much help in the last analysis.

## Fourth International

But Trotsky passed with flying colors on that count as well as on every other count. From then on Jim became a full and unqualified collaborator with Trotsky in all spheres. The Socialist Workers Party, under Jim's central leadership, played a key role in backing Trotsky in the work of building the Fourth International.

For example, there was Jim's trip to Europe in 1939. This was on the eve of World War II, when we had a big antiwar campaign going on. We were just getting ready to put the party's paper out twice a week, and we were preparing to set up new party branches in Flint and Detroit.

Trotsky asked Jim to make a trip to Britain and France to help try to straighten out a few people—some of these "independent thinker" types that I mentioned earlier. He asked Jim to go because of his role as a central leader of the SWP, which had great standing in the world movement.

Despite all the things that were going on here, Jim went over there, with the agreement of all of us.

This was the pattern that he set. The Socialist Workers Party is a thoroughgoing internationalist party—internationalist in its outlook; internationalist in the sense that we realize the necessity to collaborate in the closest possible way with revolutionaries throughout the world; and internationalist in the sense that we also realize that one of the prime criteria of internationalism is to build a revolutionary combat party in your own country.

He worked at that really from the time that he joined the Socialist Party back in 1908. He stayed at it until the day he drew his last breath in 1974 at the age of 84.

He remained true to himself, true to the movement, true to the working class with which he identified throughout his whole life. And in that he set a powerful example for today's young revolutionaries. He put down indelibly for you an impelling message: Go thou and do likewise.

## Rare document

Are you studying James P. Cannon's contributions to the revolutionary-socialist movement? Then you may want to read a very rare document—the full text of a discussion on the preparations for the founding congress of the Fourth International, in which Leon Trotsky and Cannon were the main participants.

This is the first time the full stenogram has been published. It is scheduled for the October 7 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. To get your copy just send \$.50 to:

Intercontinental Press  
P.O. Box 116, Village Station  
New York, NY 10014

You can get them for \$.35 each if you send for five or more copies. Pass them on to your friends.



# Messages in tribute to James P. Cannon



Messages have continued to come to *The Militant* from around the world in tribute to James P. Cannon. Following are the texts of some of those received since our Sept. 27 issue.

## Example of greatest value

Beirut, Lebanon  
We learned with grief of the death of Comrade Jim Cannon, founding member of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Fourth International.

Comrade Cannon was the greatest representative of the proletarian tradition of the Trotskyist movement. Dying at the age of 84, more confident than ever of the victory of Trotskyism and of the world socialist revolution, Comrade Jim is an example of greatest value for the militants of our generation recruited to Trotskyism in the framework of the new rise of world revolution.

To the current builders of the Trotskyist movement in the USA we send our most sincere condolences. *Revolutionary Communist Group of Lebanon*

## Invaluable assistance

Wellington, New Zealand  
Although we in the New Zealand Trotskyist movement were only familiar with James P. Cannon through his writings, his passing affected us as though we knew him personally.

Many of us were introduced to socialism through his book *Socialism on Trial*, and his contributions on the difficult task of building a Leninist political party have been read and reread. The clarity and directness of what he wrote made him understandable to everyone. James P. Cannon could be counted as a cofounder of our movement in this country because of this invaluable assistance.

James P. Cannon's lifetime of tireless work to bring closer a socialist world, is an example for all of us to follow.

*National Executive, Socialist Action League, New Zealand section of the Fourth International*

## Unfinished tasks

We have just read the sorrowful news of Comrade Cannon's death in *Intercontinental Press*. Though this reached us so late, we have to express our deep mourning and send our condolences to you, the closest fighters with Comrade Cannon.

Comrade Cannon's life is a rare model in the history of the revolutionary movement. It was dedicated to fighting for the interests of the proletariat, to defending Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism, to maintaining and practicing the principle of building revolutionary parties and the International, and to insisting on the struggle for such a long period.

His contribution to the Fourth International and the SWP is so great, his embodiment of the correct tradition is so valuable, and his experience in guiding the movement so rich, that after 66 long years of struggling for the revolutionary movement and being so old, his death is still an irreparable loss to you, to our movement, and to the world's laboring masses.

Aug. 21 is an ever-memorable day on which we lost two giants and teachers that founded the Fourth International. Now we can only carry on their unfinished tasks. A particular job here is to translate his works into Chinese so that they can be read and accepted widely.

*Provisional National Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Chinese section of the Fourth International*

## Youthful in his mind

Colombo, Sri Lanka  
The news of James P. Cannon's death was brought to the attention of our General Membership Meeting held on 15th September and there the general body as the first item of the agenda observed two minutes of silence as a mark of respect to Comrade Cannon and passed the following resolution as a tribute to a great revolutionary leader:

"This meeting resolves that the passing away of Comrade James P. Cannon, the founder and national chairman [emeritus] of the SWP, is an immeasurable loss to Trotskyism in particular and the world revolutionary movement in general.

"The late Comrade Cannon devoted his entire life to the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in America. In the process, his writing has contributed greatly to Marxist literature and his personal qualities brought him to the level of a great revolutionary organizer.

"It is very difficult to find a man of his caliber to fill the vacuum created by his death. He was loved by revolutionaries of all ages, especially by young cadres. In his life, there was no antagonism between the younger and older generations. He was young and youthful in mind till the end of his life.

"In our view he made a great contribution to the theory of Leninist party organization by fighting relentlessly the attempts by opportunists to say the Bolshevik type of combat party was outmoded. His loss is a vital blow to the Fourth International in an epoch in which the world proletariat faces a leadership crisis. We salute him wholeheartedly as an immortal international revolutionary."

*Young Socialist Front of Sri Lanka*

## Perseverance

Nottingham, England  
We have just learned of the death of Jim Cannon and wish to write to express our great sorrow.

He was a fine man. The American Labour movement will be fortunate if it can find others with the same qualities of perseverance combined with deep humanity.

*Ken Coates and Chris Farley*

## Irish origins

The following is the obituary for Cannon published in Volume 2, Number 11 of the *Plough*, newspaper of the

**Revolutionary Marxist Group, sympathizers of the Fourth International in Ireland.**

James P. Cannon was one of the outstanding leaders of the Fourth International. His story is the story of the American revolutionary movement. He was a member of the IWW (the Wobblies), and then joined the Socialist Party, becoming a leader of its left wing. On the formation of the American Communist Party he was one of its first leaders.

On a visit to Moscow on Comintern business he learned of the real positions of the Trotskyist opposition. Being a true internationalist and democratic centralist he joined the Trotskyist movement and remained with it till his death.

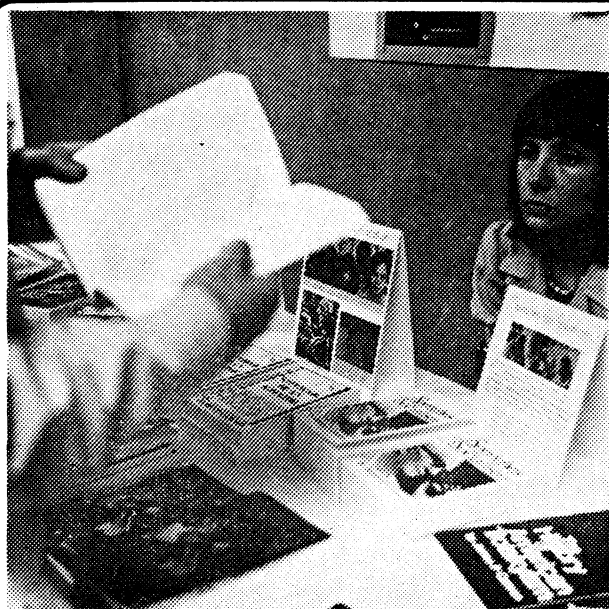
On Trotsky's exile to Mexico the collaboration of the two men was extremely close. Trotsky's admiration for him was great: he especially valued his contributions on the building of proletarian parties.

During the second world war Cannon was imprisoned for his opposition to the intra-imperialist war. His letters from prison provide a vivid guide to a Marxist education.

In the early fifties he predicted the eventual opening of revolutionary opportunities during a time of McCarthyite repression. A consistent party builder, he guided his party to its present position in the forefront of the current radicalization in the USA; and he always took a close interest in the progress of other sections of the Trotskyist movement.

In these days when the corruption of bourgeois politicians becomes more and more apparent the life history of Cannon is a style to be emulated. We in Ireland can take pride that Cannon was always proud of his Irish origins, though he never capitalized on them in the manner of his class enemies.

The American working class has lost a leader, but he leaves a mighty heritage.



Display of Cannon's works at New York tribute

## SUPPORT THE CANNON FUND

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched Aug. 23 as a tribute to this foremost American revolutionist. After five weeks the fund now stands at \$59,329.47.

The fund is being used for three main purposes. One is to help publish the many interviews, speeches, and writings of Cannon that are still not in print. The second is to help *The Militant* keep up its current scale of publication in the face of spiraling production costs brought about by inflation. And the third is to help finance the 15 Young Socialist teams that will be traveling around the country during October and November selling socialist literature and campaigning for socialist candidates.

In past weeks the fund grew significantly from donations made at Cannon tribute meetings around the country. With these meetings over, we are now making a special appeal for support to the fund from *Militant* readers.

Donors of \$50 or more may choose a complimentary copy of one of Cannon's books listed in the ad on page 23.

Enclosed is my contribution of (circle):

\$1,000 \$500 \$100 \$50 \$\_\_\_\_\_

(Make checks payable to James P. Cannon Fund.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: James P. Cannon Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Fund directors: Reba Hansen and George Novack. Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

# UFW supporters criticize Chavez call for deportation of undocumented workers

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Significant opposition is developing to the reactionary attacks by United Farm Workers (UFW) officials on undocumented Mexican workers—the so-called illegal aliens.

Criticism of the UFW leaders on the issue has come from Chicano organizations and publications, from most of the radical press, and from other movement activists. In making their criticism, virtually all have reiterated their continuing support of the UFW in its struggle against the growers and their treacherous Teamster allies.

One indicator of the opposition to UFW President César Chávez on this question was seen in the Aug. 16 issue of *El Sol de Texas*, a Spanish-language weekly published in Dallas and widely read by Chicanos throughout Texas. The paper reprinted, in translation, an extensive article from *The Militant* criticizing UFW policy on the undocumented workers. In a caption under a photo of Chávez ac-

leadership did not support it.

Unfortunately Chávez and other UFW leaders have not responded to the growing criticism by reconsidering their position. Instead they have sought to justify their position within the movement by cloaking it in militant-sounding rhetoric.

Soon after criticism of Chávez's attacks on the undocumented workers began to be voiced, there was a response in the UFW paper, *El Malcriado*. An editorial in the July 31 issue states:

"Cesar Chavez and the UFW believe that Mexicans should be allowed to immigrate to this country, provided they are granted full rights and guarantees.

"The 'illegals' must either be granted full democratic rights, including the right to join a union of their own choosing, or they must go." (Emphasis added.)

## Catch-22

This is a real Catch-22 formula. The undocumented workers will not be granted their full rights—including the right to join a union of their choosing—without a battle. They cannot win that battle unless they have the support of their sisters and brothers in the fields and in the barrios.

But clearly an organization cannot fight for the rights of the undocumented while at the same time demanding their deportation. As long as the UFW leadership continues to provide *la migra* with names and addresses of undocumented workers, their talk of favoring full rights is so much empty rhetoric designed only to make their deportation position more palatable to the movement.

No one knows the exact number of undocumented workers in the United States or how many of them are working in the fields.

On March 14, Chávez was quoted by the *New York Times* as estimating that of the quarter of a million agricultural workers in California, 20 percent—50,000—were "illegals." Since then, it is generally agreed, the figure has increased.

Some people try to explain away the UFW position by asserting that they are only demanding the deportation of strike breakers, not of all undocumented workers. Can it be seriously argued that all of the more than 50,000 undocumented workers in California, or the tens of thousands in other areas, are strikebreakers?

They're not. The grape, lettuce, and Gallo strikes don't involve that many workers. But even if they were, this would still be the wrong way to deal with the problem. And the fact is that the UFW leadership is not limiting itself to calling for deportation of scabs. Its demand clearly includes all undocumented workers.

In the previously cited *New York Times* article, Chávez was quoted as saying, "The illegal workers from



Immigration agents arresting undocumented workers in California. UFW leaders give cover to victimization of Chicanos by 'la migra' when they call for deportation of undocumented workers.

Mexico are a severe problem. It is a problem that is out of control. These illegal workers will accept 30 per cent to 50 per cent less pay than the Chicanos."

The writer of the article continued: "Chavez says that whenever he finds wetbacks at work he calls Immigration. 'In one place I knew that at least 500 of the 2,000 working were illegal. They came and arrested 19. I say they weren't really trying to get them.'"

That is still the position of the UFW leadership—deport all undocumented workers, not just strikebreakers. This is confirmed by the fact that the union continues to circulate a petition to Congress to "enforce immigration laws" and "remove the hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens now working in the fields."

Joining in the hue and cry against the undocumented workers will do nothing to aid the embattled farm workers in their bitter fight against the growers and their allies in the Teamsters Union. But it is serving to discredit the UFW in the eyes of many Chicanos and other opponents of the victimization and exploitation of the undocumented workers.

Chávez's stand has even made it possible for the capitalist media to begin to put responsibility on the union for current widespread round-ups by *la migra*.

For example, a Sept. 16 *Associated Press* dispatch from Fresno stated:

"Pressed by labor leader Cesar Chavez to halt a massive flood of illegal workers from Mexico, the U.S. border Patrol says it is making a 'record harvest' of arrests in California's fertile farming regions. August was the patrol's busiest month in Northern California, with 5,400 arrests," the dispatch said.

The Sept. 4 *El Malcriado* carried a news article headlined, "Chavez Lashes Out at Critics." It reported a speech to farm workers in Davis, Calif., where Chávez declared: "We're getting criticized because we're saying the farm workers' big problem are the illegals and we want them out of the fields. . . ."

## 'Deal with reality'?

"While regardless of what some people in the cities say," Chávez continued, "they don't know because they don't have to deal with reality."

Apart from the fact that Chávez's

critics on this issue include people who have been or now are actively involved in farm workers' struggles, the truth is that he is the one that is not facing up to reality.

Even if the fields were swept clean of undocumented workers, the UFW would still be facing the growers and their agents in the government and in the Teamsters union. The struggle would continue unabated.

But the reality is that the government has no intention of clearing the field of "illegals" precisely because they are a source of cheap labor and of strikebreakers.

The deportations that do occur are not intended to end the presence of undocumented workers. They only drain off the "surplus" when deemed necessary, and serve as a club to keep the remaining workers fearful and submissive.

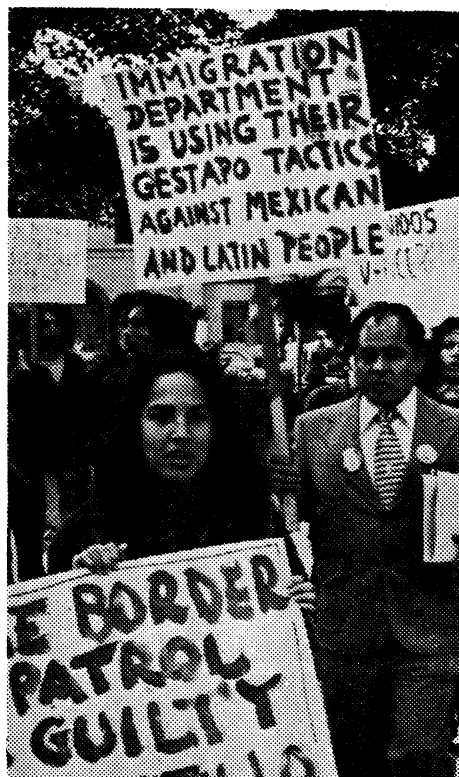
Undocumented workers are and will remain a large, significant component of the agricultural labor force. The only realistic course for the UFW is to end the bosses' game of using them as a weapon against the union. That means winning the undocumented to the union banner, organizing them, and making them part of the union's fighting force. But they will be won to the UFW only if the union becomes the major champion of their rights.

But is such a course "realistic"? It certainly involves a big struggle, that's true. But it's a lot more realistic than looking to *la migra* to solve the problem.

To cite just one illustration. The Sept. 21 issue of the *People's World* contained a report on the status of the strike at the Gallo vineyard in Livingston. Juan Perez, a union organizer, told the paper the big problem now is that the sheriff's department and Border Patrol are working closely with Gallo.

"Perez also charged that immigration agents are cooperating with the company," the report said. "He said that the border patrol refused to pick up six men without documents whom the union had identified as scabs. On the other hand, he noted a worker without documents who joined the UFW picketlines was immediately sent to the Immigration Service Detention camp in El Centro. . . ."

That story pretty well sums up how "realistic" it is for the union to be hollering for *la migra*.



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Antideportation demonstrators in Los Angeles.

companying the article, the editors of *El Sol* wrote: "The criticisms are pouring down like rain."

There is also opposition to the Chávez policy on undocumented workers among UFW staff members and other union activists.

In Oxnard and Stockton, Calif., and elsewhere there have been reports of union staffers refusing to take the assignment of compiling lists of names and addresses of undocumented workers in their area to be turned over to *la migra*.

When the antideportation demonstration was held in East Los Angeles Aug 31, a number of UFW members participated even though their union

## Further reading

ON ISSUES FACING THE CHICANO MOVEMENT. . .

BERT CORONA SPEAKS on La Raza Unida Party & The 'Illegal Alien' Scare in English or Spanish. 35 cents.

VIVA LA HUELGA! The Struggle of the Farm Workers by Jose G. Perez. 25 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.





# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 11, 1974

## Argentine Trotskyists analyze sudden shift

# Left-wing Peronists declare 'revolutionary war'

[The following document, signed by the Editorial Board, appeared in the September 9 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina). It has been slightly abridged. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*]

The foremost champions of mass mobilizations, who used to fill the Atlanta Stadium and occupy key spots in demonstrations and marches (much to the mortification of the union bureaucrats), and who before that fought arms in hand against the military dictatorship, have just declared war against the very government they helped install through their quite weighty support and action.

Behind what appears to be a revolutionary affirmation lies hidden in reality the tacit confession of a colossal defeat—the defeat of the naïve effort to break up the so-called Miguel-López Rega<sup>1</sup> circle "from within"; the defeat of plans to replace the union bureaucracy; the defeat of the proclamations based on the brilliant strategy of the "Old Man" [Perón], who, on the day following his return, would "dump" the Gran Acuerdo;<sup>2</sup> the defeat of the promise to "bridge the generation gap"; and, finally, the defeat of the utopian project to expropriate imperialism and construct the "socialist homeland" with Perón and Peronism; that is, through the instrumentality of a bourgeois party that some time ago gave up its principal reformist projects.

### Montoneros Understood Too Late

After a year and a half of unfortunate experiences they have finally seen the absurdity of their pretensions. They came to this conclusion in quite a tragic way, it is true, through the torture and assassination of a number of militants. During the fifteen months of the Peronist regime the losses were much greater than during the entire period of the commanders in chief [the dictatorial army regimes], as Firmenich<sup>3</sup> himself pointed out.

Nonetheless, they have not understood how to convert their tragedy into a fruitful and positive experience. They have proved incapable of making a self-criticism that could save them from future popular-frontist adventures, from becoming slaves of another bourgeois leader. Far from that, they have opted to remain enamored of their earliest errors, at the same time trying to free themselves of responsibility for bringing to office a government that did not liberate the nation from imperialism and that continues to oppress the working class. Thus they have gone so far as to use the cover of their banned weekly newspaper to publicize such a leading question as "Who Voted for Isabel?"<sup>4</sup>



Left Peronists remained faithful to Peron despite right-wing terror campaign carried out with his blessings. Above, victim of rightist violence is carried off.

Leaving aside the heroism with which the young Peronists idealistically offer their lives, and leaving aside the democratic and anti-imperialist programs that inspire them to struggle and die, the recent declaration of war by the Montoneros,<sup>5</sup> in addition to being surprising and not thought out, is irresponsible and erroneous.

### Essence of Regime the Same

In the first place, it is difficult to see what changes have been fundamental enough in the orientation of the regime to justify such a violent zigzag, taking them from electoralism to guerrilla warfare. What has made them abandon the bass drum in favor of the machine gun?

The arguments that the Montoneros use to try to justify their action (enforcement of the Social Pact, bureaucratic control of the CGT,<sup>6</sup> campaign of violent attacks and repression against activists in the mass movement and on the campus, closure of newspapers and magazines, etc.), far from being a recent surprise, were the essential bases on which the Peronist government was established. The Social Pact, for example—which lays the basis for the liquidation of the parity commissions,<sup>7</sup> the denial of the right to strike, a wage freeze, and an increase in the profits of the bosses—was signed during the days of initial euphoria by President Cámpora,<sup>8</sup> one of the traditional leaders who is still supported by the young Peronists.

The shameful Ezeiza massacre, much worse than the Trelew shootings and only comparable to the shootings in Patagonia or the tragic week of 1919,<sup>9</sup> also belongs to that period.

Furthermore, the reforms of the Penal Code, the Trade Union Law, the Law on Redundancy, the assassination of activists, the destruction of headquarters, and the closing down of newspapers are practices that antedate by far the regime of Perón's wife. These are the repressive instruments of the government that the Montoneros

*Continued on next page*

1. Lorenzo Miguel and Jose Lopez Rega, right-wing Peronist leaders.

2. Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Agreement, a class-collaborationist plan developed by the dictatorship to return Argentina to constitutional rule.

3. Leader of the Montoneros, one of the main left-wing Peronist groups.

4. Isabel Peron, former vice-president and wife of General Juan Peron, who assumed the presidency upon his death.

5. On September 6, the Montoneros announced they were going underground to resume armed struggle for the liberation of the Argentine people.

6. Confederacion General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor.

7. Bodies made up of management and the workers to negotiate contracts and other work-related issues.

8. Hector Campora, Peron's stand-in in the March 1973 elections, served as president briefly in the summer of 1973.

9. Scores were killed and several hundred wounded in May 1973 while awaiting Peron's arrival at Ezeiza airport after his exile.

In August 1972 sixteen political prisoners were massacred at Trelew.

Twelve hundred rural laborers were shot down during a strike in Patagonia in 1922.

The tragic week of 1919 refers to the cold-blooded murder by police of workers attending the funeral of two strike victims in Buenos Aires.



Peronist rally. Guerrillas have now declared 'revolutionary war' against regime they helped to install.

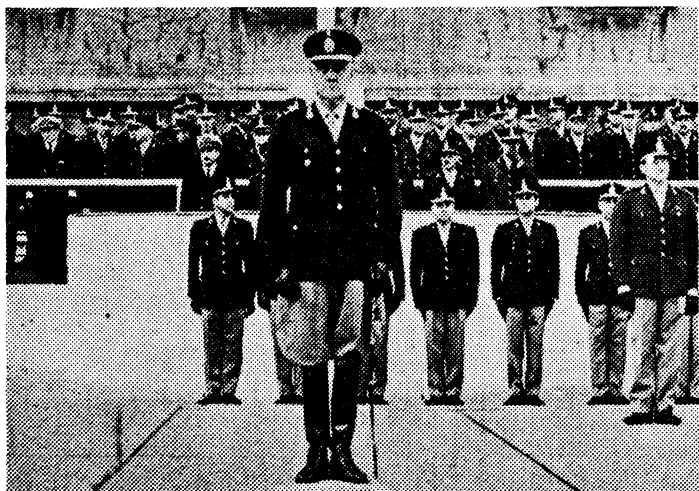


## '...without the masses there can be no socialist revolution'

Continued from preceding page

and the JP [Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth] campaigned for. They were designed for forceful implementation of the capitalists' plans to end the workers' resistance to greater exploitation.

But if the political position of the Montoneros was not thought out, the 180-degree turn they have taken in their methods of struggle is just as ill-considered. Scarcely twenty days ago in the pages of *La Causa Peronista* they warned that the guerrilla actions in Villa María and Catamarca<sup>10</sup> did not represent "the violence of the people" in contrast to all the "blows that the popular movements dealt the military dictatorship in conjunction with the massive uprisings of Córdoba, Rosario, Tucumán, Mendoza. . . . The lines then were clearly drawn. On one side Lanusse<sup>11</sup> and the armed forces signifying dependency; on the other Perón, the revolutionary organizations, and the liberation forces. Today's



Military dictator Alexander Lanusse. Bourgeoisie turned to Peron when army proved unable to rule.

Lanusse has not come out openly on the scene. There are all sorts of trappings of legality to conceal him. And Perón is no longer in the other camp, the people's camp."

Leaving aside the political differences we have with this assessment, we have to ask the Montoneros if the Lanusse and the Perón they used to need to launch armed struggle were born during the last twenty days. Because we have not been able to identify them, nor have the Montoneros told us who they are. And, furthermore, because nothing essentially new has happened, no qualitative changes that would permit us to differentiate Isabel from her Peronist predecessors. So we maintain that the change in methods of struggle is also irresponsible and erroneous.

The Montoneros' turn to violence does not correspond to a change in the national political situation. It is the expression of their own internal contradictions, of the clash between the proletarian and anti-imperialist demands driving them into struggle and the reality of a government oriented to guaranteeing capitalist profits and preserving the continuity of the current system.

### Right Turn Began May 25, 1973

As long as the Peronists were in the opposition, the growth of all sectors of the movement was stimulated by the chief as a military tactic to rout the enemy. In those days each faction of the Peronist movement used to display its tape recording or letter from Perón approving the most contradictory positions—from the assassination of Aramburu<sup>12</sup> to the negotiations with Lanusse.

But, once the Peronists got into office, there was no longer any question of tapes or speeches. Each day they had to define their policy with laws and decrees, with government actions clearly and necessarily reflecting the class interests the regime defended and represented.

The Peronist movement and its leader came to office in 1973 presiding over a broad alliance of the bourgeoisie and the trade-union bureaucracy. Even imperialism participated in it, deeply involved in the nation's affairs through important economic investments. This powerful presence substantially reduced the Bonapartist arbiter's capacity to maneuver. It reduced the possibility of repeating the concessions that he had given to the working class during his first term in office. Thus the

right turn that the Montoneros just discovered began May 25, 1973.

It is a lie to say that this right turn is simply the result of López Rega's personal influence or of Lorenzo Miguel's overtures. It is a lie to say that it began after the death of Perón. It was developing in keeping with Peronism's need to respond to the interests that had returned it to power. On May 1<sup>13</sup> the youth demanded clarity, and the famous dialogue "between Perón and his people," which the youth had stubbornly demanded, finally took place. Perón called the bureaucrats who had supported Frondizi and Onganía<sup>14</sup> heroes and condemned the heroes who had fought against the military dictatorship to obtain the return of their leader as "beardless" and "stupid."

The institutionalization of the Peronist movement marked precisely the culmination of the right turn. With it the last illusion was demolished. The old guard was exhumed to bury once and for all the demagogic promise to "bridge the generation gap." The youths who had been driven out of the plaza<sup>15</sup> were now formally segregated from the Peronist movement.

And as part of that relentless siege, the youth were attacked on the university campus where they had retreated. With [right-wing Peronist Oscar] Ivanissevich in the Ministry of Education, and the threatened naming of Tecera del Franco [another right-wing Peronist] as rector, the offensive of the old guard against the bulwark of the Juventud Peronista threatened to liquidate the social and political base of the Montoneros.

The conclusions they had failed to draw from the Ezeiza massacre, the assassination of activists, the wage freeze, the encroachments on trade-union democracy, they now understood to the marrow of their bones when the government moved against the university. Suddenly, to the Montoneros, Perón's wife became the same as Onganía. With the instability typical of the petty bourgeoisie, they went from conciliation to guerrilla warfare.

### 'De-Peronization' of the Middle Class

But the turn made by the Montoneros is not only a response to their internal contradictions. While the loss of the university fiefdom was the spur—the contradiction that forced the 180-degree turn—we must point out that the phenomenon expresses a deeper reality: the political frustration of broad sectors of the middle class.

The middle class, with its civil servants, teachers, students, and professionals was in the past profoundly pro-military and anti-Peronist. Its growing impoverishment brought it closer to the working class, and it joined the latter in its hatred of the Onganía take-over. The appearance of the phenomenon of the Juventud Peronista with its power in the student movement and in the public-workers unions reflected the hope those middle sectors placed in the Peronist variant of the "Gran Acuerdo Nacional."

One year of Peronist rule has been frustrating for them. Many sectors have become "de-Peronized," moving to the left. Their vacillations are expressed in the political oscillations of Alendeism<sup>16</sup> or in the warring tendencies within almost all the parties.

The same frustration also pushes the volatile middle class toward the opposite camp. There are already signs of the "strong state" refrain from many Peronists or ex-Peronists, providing a base and foundation for fascist groups.

In this newly born social and political movement only

10. In August 1974 guerrillas carried out an abortive attempt to take over a military installation in Catamarca and a successful attack on an explosives factory in the Villa María section of Córdoba.

11. General Alejandro Lanusse, final military dictator before the 1973 elections.

12. Pedro Eugenio Aramburu, former president of Argentina, kidnapped and killed by the Montoneros in 1970.

13. A reference to this year's May Day rally, at which Peron spoke.

14. Arturo Frondizi and Juan Carlos Onganía, two of the presidents who served between Peron's first and second regimes.

15. A reference to the Juventud Peronista's exodus from the Plaza de Mayo after Peron's May 1 attack on them.

16. Oscar Alende, a leader of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria—People's Revolutionary Alliance, a centrist formation.



Isabel Peron reviewing troops. Montoneros mistakenly identify her regime with military dictatorship.



Left-wing and right-wing Peronists clash at May Day rally earlier this year.

the Communist party remains immune to the pressures and holds steadfastly to its official policy as watchdog and prop of the political and trade agreements between the USSR and the Argentine bourgeoisie.

The turn of the JP occurs in this very turbulent social setting. The JP, which grew in the setting of the struggles of the impoverished middle class and which was consolidated in the university, has been incapable of linking up to the industrial working class. Its new policy is the desperate response of a sector whose impatience separates it more and more from the methods and goals of the labor movement.

### Isabel—the Same as Onganía?

The call to begin a "revolutionary war" is a serious error of characterization and perspective.

The differences among the four Peronist governments that have followed one another since May 25, 1973, and the military dictatorship of Onganía are obvious. It is not necessary to look for them—as the young Peronists did until very recently—in official programs and actions. Because it is exactly in this sphere that the resemblances appear. Thus, what once was called a wage freeze is now called the Social Pact.

Nonetheless, the Peronist regime is diametrically opposite to the Onganía regime and also to Lanusse's, with the latter serving as a transition between two extremes. This is true in two respects:

First, Peronism has had to recognize many of the democratic conquests won in memorable struggles by the masses from the dictatorship. These conquests—among which is the relative legality once held by the Montoneros and which our party still holds—are trophies won in the Cordobazos. They belong to the masses and we revolutionists have the obligation to defend them jealously and to try to deepen them.

The decision of the Montoneros to close their headquarters and go into semiclandestinity, invoking a persecution that actually exists, implies giving up the conquests of the masses without a fight. Only the bourgeoisie gains by this surrender.

The Montoneros have shown that they are incapable of defending the democratic gains that make the Peronist regime infinitely superior to Onganía's, despite the fascist gangs and the daily attacks suffered by the working class and the people.

### The Seven Million Votes

But, in addition, the Peronist regime is different in another fundamental aspect, which a genuinely revolutionary policy cannot ignore—support from the workers. While the military dictatorship was hated by the masses, the workers still consider the Peronist government to be their own and they cherish it—despite attrition and frustration, the desperation of the middle layers, and the combativity of some sectors of the workers vanguard.

The political course of our middle class, so well reflected by the Montoneros, is rich in surprises. For a long time the young Peronists—with ironic and contemptuous remarks—brandished the "seven million votes" to justify their tail-ending the Peronist government and opposing those of us who have consistently stood in opposition to Peronism.

The turn of the Montoneros shows that all that was involved was an argument to justify opportunism and not a position of respect for the masses, because their current position shows petty-bourgeois scorn for the working class.

No one with that scorn can be considered a genuine revolutionist, even when raising apparently very militant proposals. For example, if in a workers assembly a compañero were to propose launching a "war" against the boss and this was rejected by the majority, yet he decided to begin the "war" on his own, no matter how valid his reasons were he would be dividing and confusing the workers and arming the enemy. Especially if the same compañero a few days before had insisted on supporting the boss. It is obvious that we who had tried patiently and respectfully to convince the majority (and especially this compañero) of the necessity of mobilizing against the management would have every right, along with the rest of the assembly, to distrust this compañero's attitude.

The first thing that must be stated clearly is that all guerrilla movements disconnected from the masses seriously injure them. A vigilante attack at Peugeot was used by the bureaucracy to obtain the factory's condemnation of SMATA<sup>17</sup> in Córdoba. The murder of an executive of IKA [Renault] a few days ago contributed

even more to isolating the struggle of the Córdoba mechanics. It is practically inevitable that adventurist actions will contribute to unifying the enemy camp and to introducing division and confusion into the ranks of the labor movement. A golden rule applies here:

One learns only from one's own experiences and mobilizations and never from the external example of one's self-appointed saviors.

### A Mirror Image of the Tupamaros

An initial effect of the Montonero call is that it has added to the psychological setting and climate favoring a coup. That broad fringe made up of the fascist groups (nourished in the ranks of the repressive apparatus and the frightened trade-union bureaucracy), the generals posing as "saviors," the military commands speculating on how to take over—all these counterrevolutionary circles have felt encouraged at the very least. If they do not prosper it will be fundamentally because the mass movement itself prevents it—with its threatening presence or its mobilization.

The perspectives opening up for the Montoneros and the rest of the guerrilla movements can be judged from the experience of the Uruguayan Tupamaros, which mirrors what has happened to similar movements elsewhere in Latin America.

We can see the Tupamaros from their massive ascent starting in 1968, lifted by the mounting struggles of the middle class, and in their turbulent fall—jailed, divided, infiltrated, and shot down—after the military under the influence of the Tupamaro "war" took full control.

The two sides of the Tupamaro coin must be examined: One permitted them to become one of the most imposing guerrilla movements in the world.

The reverse at first made them go down on their knees at the bourgeois altar supporting the candidacy of Liber Seregni, the bourgeois "nationalist" military figure in the neighboring country who did not have time to arouse the frustration that Perón did here. And afterwards, it prevented the Tupamaros from denouncing and fighting against the military coup. Instead they endorsed it.

### 'Revolutionary War' or Electoral Operation?

All the precedents enable us to say that the Argentine guerrillas with their slogan of "revolutionary war" have set in motion an electoral operation, spattered with blood, that will serve one wing of the bourgeoisie. Not much time will pass before some Cámpora, Obregón Cano, or Alende will come forth to call for a sacrifice like the one Perón called for, only to later get rid of the "beardless ones" who survive.

Our mentioning the Uruguayan experience above requires us to make it clear that we nourish no pessimism whatever about Argentina. We have a profound respect for the aroused Argentine working class in whose depths an ideological battle is being waged. We are convinced of labor's imminent combative rise despite government attempts to slow it down, bureaucratic gags, aggressions of the fascist gangs, and the confusion aroused by its self-appointed "saviors."

We are convinced that the working class will soon take a path that the guerrillas do not envision—the path of the Cordobazos that already overthrew the military dictatorship and won the present democratic gains.

Those Cordobazos will culminate in a socialist Argentina when they are led by a great socialist workers party. Thus, the main task for Argentine revolutionists has the following two prongs:

To discuss and convince the masses themselves to play the leading role in mobilizations and struggles and to construct their own independent revolutionary party. It is the same task that Lenin posed as a priority just a few months before the great proletarian revolution, the essence of which is summarized in his phrase:

"Patiently explain."

And that is how it must be, because without the masses there can be no socialist revolution.

We are totally convinced that the combative upsurge of the working class and the construction of the revolutionary party will lead to a socialist Argentina. That is why we count on the process also saving from the swamp of reformism many young people who have taken up guerrilla warfare.

Since we recognize the anti-imperialist—and in some cases socialist—flame that has been kindled in them, our party is committed to recognizing them as honest fighters in the ranks of labor in spite of their error and irresponsibility. We will fight for them to be viewed as such—in death or in the courts. They should be judged by workers and people's tribunals and not by bourgeois justice, which out of class hatred and even fear, stigmatizes them as common criminals. We will struggle for that to be registered in the coming socialist constitution.



PST election rally. Argentine Trotskyists are attempting to draw the masses into independent struggles while building a revolutionary party.

17. Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades.

## Pentagon feared allies would use A-bombs in Cyprus crisis

During the crisis in Cyprus Washington considered taking direct military action to remove its atomic weapons stockpiled in Greece and Turkey, Pentagon officials disclosed September 8.

"Concern in the Pentagon over the security of the warheads was so great," reported the September 9 *New York Times*, "that early in the Cyprus crisis, according to the officials, the Defense Department ordered special measures to protect the atomic stockpiles."

"Among the measures reportedly taken was an order to a United States carrier with the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean to be prepared to send in a Marine detachment aboard helicopters to recover the atomic warheads."

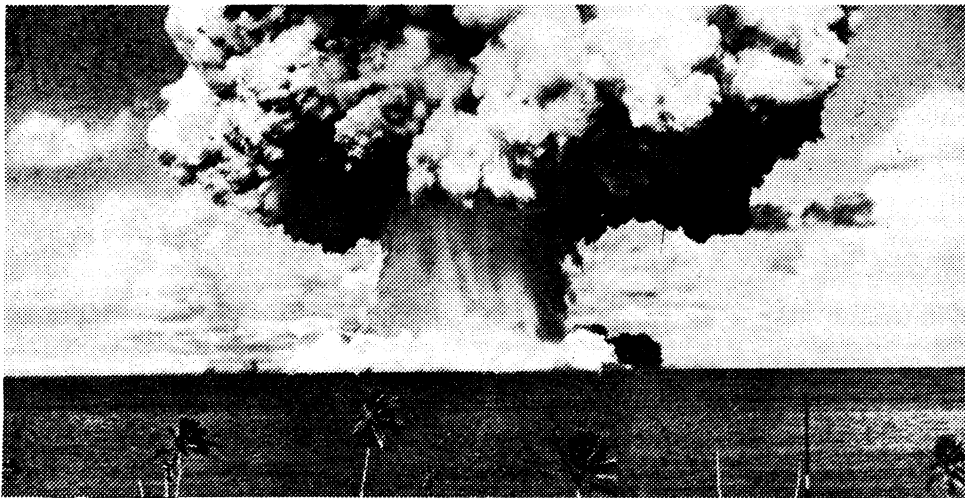
The Defense Department said it was concerned not so much that the warheads might be seized by Greek or

ber 9 *New York Times*, "it is proposing to move toward more modern and superior protective devices."

After a hydrogen bomb was lost off the coast of Spain in 1966, Dr. Hans Bethe, a leading U. S. nuclear physicist who was privy to all the secrets of the H-bomb, "said . . . that no extraordinary engineering skill would be required to detonate the weapon even without its own arming device." (New York *Herald Tribune*, January 30, 1966.)

Furthermore, as in several other NATO countries, Greek and Turkish planes, armed with atomic warheads fixed under their wings, were on "quick reaction alert" stationed near the ends of runways for swift takeoff. In this situation the warheads must have been very close to being functional.

The only conclusion possible is that Greece or Turkey could have taken



U.S. nuclear weapons stockpiled in Greece and Turkey added to threat of atomic war during Cyprus crisis.

Turkish forces but rather, the *New York Times* reported, that "in the event of fighting between the two countries, some of the warheads might be damaged and cause radioactive contamination."

That might well be the case. The Pentagon has had accidents with their nuclear weapons that have led to radioactive contamination even in peacetime. But this wasn't what really worried the Pentagon officials.

Their real fear was that the Greek or Turkish generals might raid the stockpiles and use the bombs against each other.

U. S. officials admitted that the warheads had been in Greek and Turkish aircraft, and that after the Cyprus crisis they had been removed and "placed in American custody." Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger told reporters September 11 that some of the atomic warheads were assigned for use by Greek forces in event of war. There is no reason to assume that similar provisions were not made for Turkey.

The U. S. officials claimed that "technical control" over the bombs always rested with the United States. Safeguard measures such as mechanical and electronic lock-and-key systems are supposed to prevent the detonation of a weapon without the approval of U. S. authorities. Defense officials described these safeguard systems as providing "a virtually foolproof guarantee" against unauthorized detonation of a warhead.

However, it seems that the Pentagon itself does not have very much confidence in its own safeguards. ". . . partly as a result of Congressional urgings," reported the Septem-

ber 9 *New York Times*, "it is proposing to move toward more modern and superior protective devices."

Humanity is thus faced with a new danger from nuclear weapons. It is possible for Washington's allies to take over nuclear warheads stationed in their country and detonate them in a local conflict outside Washington's control. That could well touch off a global nuclear war.

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## World news notes

### Mathematicians defend Ukrainian dissident

In response to an appeal by Soviet dissident Andrei Sakharov, the International Congress of Mathematicians has come to the defense of Ukrainian mathematician Leonid Plyushch.

Plyushch has been confined for a year and a half at the "special" psychiatric hospital at Dnipropetrovsk, a punishment meted out to him because of his outspoken defense of democratic rights in the USSR.

A petition circulated by the congress, which was held in August in Vancouver, British Columbia, was signed by more than 1,000 mathematicians.

### Sri Lanka trials: no defense allowed

The Criminal Justice Commission in Sri Lanka has banned Bala Tampoe, the defense counsel for many of the accused in the show trials currently being staged by the government against youths associated with the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), from making any further statements before the commission.

Tampoe is general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and secretary of the Revolutionary Marxist party, the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International. These two organizations have consistently campaigned for the restoration of democratic rights and the unconditional release of all political prisoners since the Bandaranaike regime cracked down with a nationwide state of emergency in March 1971. More than 14,000 youths were imprisoned.

The Criminal Justice Commission was specially set up in 1972 to conduct tribunals to try suspected members and supporters of the JVP who were arrested in the government's dragnet.

The order banning Tampoe was issued in early August while he was in the middle of an address to the commission.

When Tampoe pointed out that removing him as attorney for the defense would affect the case of the defendants, who have been held for three years in prisons and concentration camps, the chairman said that the commission would look after the interests of the suspects.

Rohan Wijeweera, the main leader of the JVP, who is conducting his own defense, has refused to appear before the commission as long as the ban against Tampoe remains in force.

### Spanish police arrest oppositionists

Police invaded a convent in Sabadell, a textile town near Barcelona, on September 8 and arrested sixty-seven persons said to have been participating in a meeting of the illegal Assembly of Catalonia.

Those arrested, *Le Monde* reported September 11, included workers, students, professional persons, and artists and writers from the Barcelona region.

Fifty of those arrested were reported to have been released on September 11. The remaining seventeen, who are still being held, appeared before a judge September 10. Four of them were fined 150,000 pesetas (about US \$2,630) each.

Two thousand persons demonstrated in the streets of Barcelona September 12 against the arrests and the continued detentions.

The "first assembly of the democratic forces of Catalonia," held in November 1971, adopted a program calling for amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles, the establishment of democratic rights, and reinstitution of a 1932 statute providing for Catalanian autonomy.

The current arrests were said to indicate the regime's reassertion of a hard-line approach to opposition movements, coinciding with Franco's resumption of full powers following an attack of phlebitis.

### South Koreans demand release of prisoners

South Korean riot police are dragging away a Roman Catholic priest in the picture at right. One thousand Catholics demonstrated in Seoul September 26, demanding democratic reforms and the release of political prisoners. Student leaders at Seoul National University met at the same time to demand freedom of political action.

The campus meeting followed a September 23 meeting at which 4,000 women students demanded the release of political prisoners. At least 175 people have been sentenced since January by special military courts set up by South Korean President Park Chung Hee.

Those sentenced have included South Korea's best-known poet, Kim Chi Ha, whose original death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. On September 7, however, eight other death sentences were upheld.

In the meantime, U.S. President Gerald Ford is scheduled to visit Seoul on November 22 and 23.





# Safety top demand of UMW in coal talks

By CINDY JAQUITH

Will 1,200 coal mines be shut down Nov. 12 when the United Mine Workers (UMW) contract runs out? This question grows more real each week as negotiations continue between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA), representing the soft-coal companies.

The terms of the new soft-coal contract, now being negotiated, will affect 120,000 miners who produce 440 million tons of coal a year.

The UMW has pledged to call a national strike if necessary to win a decent contract. All contract terms must be approved by the rank and file.

More than 200 demands have been submitted to the BCOA by the UMW. Most prominent among these demands are those dealing with health and safety.

Among the union's safety demands in the current negotiating sessions are the following:

- The right of miners to walk out of a mine they deem unsafe.
  - Guaranteed union right to inspect mines.
  - A full-time union safety inspector in each mine, elected by the workers and paid by the company.
- The miners are also demanding substantial increases in pay and benefits. These demands include:
- A cost-of-living clause to keep up with inflation, amounting to a one-cent-an-hour increase for each 0.25 increase in the Consumer Price Index.
  - An increase in pensions, with a cost-of-living clause included in pension payments.
  - The right to strike over grievances and contract violations.
  - Promotion by seniority, not by company-determined "merit."
  - Sick pay and improved hospital benefits.

The coal companies and the government have already begun a two-pronged attack on these demands.

Government officials, citing the growing demand for coal, are pre-

dicting "economic disaster" if the miners strike Nov. 12. The coal bosses have chimed in with an attack on safety demands as a hindrance to "productivity."

The operators especially bristle at the idea of the miners choosing their own safety inspectors and having the right to walk out of dangerous mines. According to the Sept. 20 *Wall Street Journal*, the BCOA "will strongly resist UMW insistence on greater worker say in mining operations."

BCOA negotiator Walter Wallace is also labeling the UMW wage and benefit demands "inflationary." After the first bargaining session, according to the Sept. 1-15 *UMW Journal*, Wallace warned that "the President's fight against inflation" must be "kept in mind as we go along."

But the miners are well aware that their own real wages have declined in the past year, while profits have soared by more than 100 percent for many of the coal companies. Pittston, the fourth largest coal company in the country, actually raked in an 868 percent increase in profits in the first half of 1974.

## American Motors shut down by UAW

By BILL CLAYTON

MILWAUKEE— "You'd have to ask the negotiators, the people in the big hotel. They got all the facts. They're the only ones who know what's going on and so far they won't tell."

That was the response of one disgruntled Black auto worker here when asked about the issues in the United Auto Workers (UAW) strike against American Motors Company (AMC).

Fifteen thousand UAW members struck AMC Sept. 16 after all-night bargaining sessions failed to yield a new contract. The strike has shut down AMC plants in Milwaukee; Kenosha, Wis.; and Brampton, Ontario.

Negotiations are kept secret from the union membership, who also have little role in formulating their union's demands.

According to press reports, union and company negotiators reached agreement on a wage and benefit package that would give AMC workers approximate parity with those in the Big Three auto companies (General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler).

In the previous contract, the UAW officials had agreed to lower wages and delayed benefits because AMC, the smallest U.S. auto company, was "pleading poverty."

The talks broke down, however, over AMC demands that would eliminate union gains won in the past. The company wants compulsory arbitration of grievances and a no-strike pledge; a reduction in the number of company-paid shop stewards; and an end to the "progress sharing" plan, the only profit-sharing plan in the auto industry.

In earlier negotiations AMC reportedly dropped a demand for an end to voluntary overtime and paid break-time.

Already agreed upon are a 19 cent increase in base pay, a 14 cent cost-of-living increase, and benefits including a 30-years-and-out retirement plan.

Union officials here in Milwaukee have not seen fit to inform strikers



Auto bosses seek to reduce number of union shop stewards, outlaw strikes over grievances.

about these points. "Thirty years," commented one worker. "Ain't no one can live that long, not to mention retire, not with prices like these and no decent wage."

A tentative agreement has been reached in the strike against American Motors, the Oct. 2 *Wall Street Journal* reports.

The proposed settlement still must be submitted to auto workers for a vote, but union negotiators will urge acceptance. Local work agreements remain to be negotiated.

According to the *Journal*, the contract "apparently meets almost every union demand."

"Sources close to the negotiations contended AMC may have underestimated the willingness of workers to effect a long strike to preserve the contract terms that AMC wanted changed," the *Journal* wrote.

The strike had already severely cut into AMC's September production of its new 1975 models.

The capitalist newspaper also speculated that the union negotiators' resolve was stiffened by the presence of numerous local representatives, "unlike Big Three talks, which are generally handled between small groups of negotiators from the international union and each company."

## Univ. of Chicago employees walk out

By NEIL DAVID

CHICAGO— In the first strike at the University of Chicago since 1951, 320 electricians and maintenance workers voted unanimously to walk out Sept. 15.

The strikers are members of Local 321, Service Employees International Union, and Local 134, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Inflation has hit hard at the already substandard wages these workers receive. Two-thirds of the maintenance workers make between \$3.55 and \$4.00 an hour; electricians do slightly better at \$4.25 to \$6.45 an hour.

The workers understand that the 5.5 percent increases they've received for the past two years under "wage and price controls" amounted to pay cuts. They seek to make up their losses

by demanding a 25 percent raise in a one-year contract.

The university administration, which is in the midst of a successful drive to raise \$388-million in alumni gifts, put forward an initial offer of no raise. In addition the university wants to reopen talks on an agreement that gives the workers premium pay on weekends.

The university, which tries to keep up a "progressive" image, has come under fire in the past few years for expansion in the neighboring Black community, frequent tuition raises, soaring charges in the university-run hospital, and for being one of Chicago's biggest slum landlords.

Now the administration is engaged in a campaign to break the striking unions as an example to other workers now starting organization drives, especially in the hospitals.

They have gotten an injunction limiting pickets to two at each entrance, and have used police to harass the pickets.

They have stopped payment on the union health insurance, threatened firings, and even broken through picket lines by bringing in food in the same trucks used to haul out garbage. (Mayor Richard Daley's board of health looked the other way.)

Nevertheless, the strikers' morale remains high. Workers have been friendly to the aid offered them by the United Farm Workers, students, and other workers who have joined the picket lines. Support has also come from Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, a Black community group.

## Federal workers protest demotions

By MARK UGOLINI

WASHINGTON, D. C. — One hundred fifty members and supporters of Government Employees United Against Racial Discrimination (GUARD) attended a rally and news conference here Sept. 18 at the Central Heating Plant. They were protesting the proposed demotion of more than 300 General Service Administration (GSA) workers.

GSA and Civil Service spokesmen claim the demotions are to bring about "equal pay for equal work" by paying the same wages to all government workers doing the same job. Affected by the demotions are workers classified as painters, electricians, machinists, welders, and laborers.

GUARD members say the demotions are one more example of the government trying to make federal employees bear the burden of inflation.

At the rally, GUARD Chairman Roy Johnson charged that affected workers are being denied information on how to appeal their demotions. He demanded a halt to the demotions and an end to hazardous working conditions.

"The employees have constantly informed the administration of the many health and safety problems," Johnson said, "but there is no corrective action taken."

"In one instance a crane being used to unload motors weighing 700 to 1,000 pounds was not checked. The result was four deaths and one serious injury."

The rally also protested the unhealthy fumes welders are exposed to and the lack of health centers in GSA plants.



Miners protest unsafe conditions at Washington, D.C., rally last summer.

# Murder in the workplace: crimes of Watergate go on



Detail from fresco by Diego Rivera

By JACK RASMUS

OAKLAND, Calif. — To believe the capitalist press, now that Nixon has left office the crimes of Watergate are a thing of the past.

But in reality the meaning of Watergate has little to do with personalities and administrations, and everything to do with a capitalist system that places the profits of the wealthy before the needs of working people.

A good example of this broader meaning of Watergate is how Nixon's Committee to Reelect the President (CREP) systematically sold the safety and health of millions of workers in return for corporate campaign contributions in 1972, and how this particular crime was actually only part of a broader criminal policy of sacrificing safety on the job to corporate interests—a policy that continues to this very day.

## Thousands killed

A recent government report shows that between 1958 and 1970 the injury rate for manufacturing workers increased by more than 32 percent. During the same period, injury rates in the construction industry consistently remained two to three times higher than those in manufacturing.

The rise in injuries was particularly sharp after the 1958-61 recession, when emphasis on productivity and speedups by corporations began to increase significantly.

According to the National Safety

Council the above percentages amounted to more than 14,000 workers killed on the job and more than 2.2 million disabling injuries in 1970 alone.

Even these appalling figures are highly conservative, since they exclude non disabling injuries and all occupational illnesses. They also exclude farm workers, miners, and government workers. An independent medical study commissioned by the Department of Labor in 1970 estimated that as many as 25 million work injuries and 300,000 occupationally caused illnesses occurred in 1970 alone.

To placate growing discontent among workers over health and safety hazards, Congress passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act (OSHA) in December 1970. The law was praised by Democrats and labor officials as the answer to the accelerating rate of injuries, illnesses, and deaths on the job.

But no sooner was the law passed than the Democratic-controlled Congress granted a blanket exemption to many small businesses. Nearly five out of every six workplaces, employing 15 million workers, were thus eliminated from OSHA coverage.

## OSHA sabotaged

Even more effective in destroying the little that workers might have gotten from the law, however, were the efforts of the Nixon administration to delay and prevent its enforcement.

Though the act was signed into law

on Dec. 29, 1970, the administration prevented it from going into effect until September 1971. Meanwhile, standards upon which enforcement could be based were consistently delayed by the Department of Labor.

When standards finally did begin to appear, they were based not strictly on the safety of workers but also on the profit performance of the employers. To this day air quality standards for inside a plant or factory are five times less stringent than Environmental Protection Agency standards for air quality in the community at large.

From the outset OSHA was refused adequate funding, preventing effective inspection and enforcement. As late as 1973 only 500 inspectors were available to inspect the more than four million workplaces in the United States. By the end of 1971 only 0.3 percent of all workplaces had been inspected. For 1972, the first full year of the law, only 0.9 percent were inspected.

Those employers caught violating the weak OSHA standards, in the few cases where inspections were carried out, got only minimal fines and penalties. In 1971 the average fine per violation amounted to only \$20.57! And for 1972 this average increased only to \$24.88.

Even this weak inspection and enforcement arrangement was not to the administration's liking. In 1972 the administration began a major effort to "defederalize" the law by turning inspection and enforcement functions over to the states—returning responsibility for health and safety to the same state agencies that proved so lax and unconcerned prior to OSHA.

With this record, it isn't surprising that in 1972 the Nixon administration deliberately set out to raise funds for Nixon's reelection by offering corporations the promise of lax enforcement of OSHA in exchange for campaign contributions.

## Lives for sale

Early in 1972 the White House set up its "responsiveness" program, designed to use federal agencies to "respond to re-election needs." Laurence Silberman, then undersecretary of labor and now deputy attorney general, was put in charge of the labor department's "responsiveness" efforts.

In a June 14, 1972, memo, George Guenther, then assistant secretary of labor for OSHA, responded to Silberman's orders by promising to withhold issuance of any controversial safety and health standards, in exchange for which CREP could solicit campaign contributions. Guenther's memo stated:

"... no highly controversial standards (i.e., cotton dust, etc.) will be proposed by OSHA or by NIOSH [National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health]. A thorough review with NIOSH indicates that while some criteria documents, such as on noise, will be transmitted to us during this period neither the contents of these documents nor our handling of them here will generate any substantial controversy."

The memo concluded: "While I have discussed with Lee Nunn [of the Nixon campaign finance committee] the great potential of OSHA as a sales point for fund raising and general support by employers, I do not believe the potential of this appeal is fully recognized. Your suggestions as to how to promote the advantages of four more years of properly managed OSHA for use in the campaign would be appreciated." (Emphasis added.)

The evidence shows that the perspective of this memo was carried out. Emergency standards for 14 cancer-producing agents were delayed for

nearly two years. And no new standards have been issued to this day for highly dangerous and toxic materials such as mercury, arsenic, chromic acid, beryllium, ultraviolet radiation, carbon monoxide, lead, cadmium, sulfur dioxide, trichlorethylene, toluene, and coke-oven emissions.

How many tens of thousands of workers have suffered unnecessary injury, illness, or death in the past two years as a result of this criminal policy, and how much blood money Nixon and his cronies received in exchange, will probably never be known.

No doubt Attorney General William Saxbe and other government officials will do their best to prevent further public disclosures of this crime of murder in the workplace.

But Nixon's actions were only examples of the broader policy of both capitalist parties of diluting, delaying, and destroying the efforts to achieve job safety and health for American workers.

Last June the House of Representatives voted 201-194 to exempt all businesses employing 25 or fewer workers from inspections by OSHA. This amendment would exclude 90 percent of all workplaces and 30 percent of the total labor force including most workers in the highly hazardous occupations of construction, logging, and chemicals.

The same exemption was voted down in the Senate on Sept. 17, but the Senate-House conference committee reconciling the two versions of the bill may well come out with some further weakening of OSHA.

## No profit in safety

Meanwhile, safety standards are coming under new attacks in the guise of Ford's "fight against inflation."

In "presummit" meetings on the economy, "Many of the nation's biggest manufacturers urged . . . that the Administration help contain inflation by loosening the environmental, plant safety, and consumer protection legislation enacted over the last five years," the *New York Times* reported.

The businessmen argue that safety and environmental regulations "hamper productivity" and "impede industrial capacity." What this means is simply that it costs money to provide safe working conditions, and that such investment is "unproductive" so far as the capitalist is concerned.

The greatest profit can be obtained by constantly pushing the workers to produce more and faster, although the cost to the workers is measured not only in dollars but in lives and limbs. There is no profit for the industrialists in safety.

There is every indication that the Ford administration and Congress will look favorably on the pleas for more delays and more exemptions from health and safety standards.

As in the past, tens of thousands of workers will be crippled and killed on the job, proving once again that the crimes of Watergate are rooted in the capitalist system and will continue despite Nixon's removal from office.

The attacks on job safety can be defeated, however. The labor movement has the power to do it. A campaign by the unions for enforcement and strengthening of health and safety standards would rally broad support and could save untold thousands of lives. OSHA can be one useful tool in this effort.

But the record of the nearly four years since the OSHA law was passed shows workers will have to rely on their own strength—not their so-called friends in government—to do so.



# Steel union coverage boosts sales at mills

By ROSE OGDEN

Militant street sales continue to climb as the fall campaign progresses. With 20 areas meeting their goals, the national total sold was 10,372 copies of the Sept. 27 issue (headlined: "CIA role in Chile exposes U. S. drive to police the world").

Because of the extensive coverage on the issues facing the steelworkers convention, St. Louis and Pittsburgh stepped up their sales at steel mill gates.

"The paper sold mainly on the basis of the articles dealing with the issues before steelworkers," reports Dianne Groth from St. Louis. "We'd ask people, 'How do your wages compare with National Steel's profit increase of 59 percent?' This interested many to stop and check out *The Militant*."

"Most salespeople sold every issue they brought," adds Bill Breihan, who is a member of Steelworkers Local 3643. "And we know that the copies sold were passed around inside the plants. We sold 50 copies at Granite City Steel early one morning. People who sold there that same afternoon were approached by workers who mentioned that they had seen *The Militant* inside and were interested in buying a copy. Thirty more were sold on the afternoon sale."

St. Louis supporters also sold at Scullin Steel. "The coverage of the Attica frame-up trial was another selling point at Scullin, where 80 percent of the workers are Black," explains Liz Jayko. "Unfortunately we only had 19 copies left to sell at Scullin. We intend to go back there with future issues."

Forty-five copies were sold at Clairton Works outside of Pittsburgh, the plant featured in one of the *Militant* articles. "Coke workers were especial-



Interest in Chile helped sales at this San Francisco demonstration.

ly receptive," reports *Militant* seller Steffi Brooks.

At one gate a Socialist Workers Party campaign table was set up. Twenty-two copies were sold to people who stopped by the table.

Another feature of the Sept. 27 issue was the coverage of the racist attack against school desegregation in Boston. Supporters there sold 1,020 copies—the highest any area has hit so far this fall.

Evelyn Clark reports, "*Militant* sellers actively participated in winning support for the Black community in the face of these racist attacks. We took *Militants* to subway stops, bus stations, campuses, and street corners throughout Boston. Two hundred six were sold in the Black community, many of these at SWP campaign rallies."

Detroit supporters have consistently gone over their goal of 475, so they decided to raise it to 600. With sales of 780, they even made 130 percent of the new goal! Sales director B. R. Washington reports that "the main thrust of our sales are the Saturday teams that cover the entire city. Seventy percent of our sales are to Blacks."

Adding to *The Militant's* distribution, four traveling Young Socialist teams hit the road this past week selling *Militants* and *Young Socialists*—the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance—and building support for the SWP election campaigns. They sold 458 *Militants*.

Many areas report good *Militant* sales at meetings and street rallies for SWP candidates. Upper West Side New York sold 178 at campaign street rallies; Philadelphia sold 277 during a "Campaign Saturday" when supporters sent campaign/sales teams to seven locations throughout the city; and Twin Cities activists took the Minnesota SWP campaign to Duluth and sold 92 copies at street rallies held there.

These sales are an indication of the potential for the special election campaign/sales week slated for late October. Areas are mapping out plans now for intensive socialist propaganda activity. Some cities will be doubling or tripling their normal *Militant* bundle in order to maximize sales of the Nov. 1 "Vote Socialist" issue of *The Militant*.

Join us in this effort! Order a bundle now from the Militant Business Office. Use the coupon on p. 23.

# 'Sub hustlers' find our new cards easy to sell

By LENORE SHERIDAN

The top salesperson of *The Militant's* new prepaid subscription cards for the month of September was Maceo Dixon. Dixon, who is the cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, hustled 18 subs using the prepaid cards while on his current speaking tour. His success should serve as an incentive to other socialist candidates and speakers on tour across the country to make good use of the prepaid cards at public meetings.

"After hearing a talk about socialism," Dixon reports, "people want to read more about our views, so I get them to buy a sub."

About one-third of his subs have been to reporters and news photographers. Dixon points out that many members of the working press have been affected by the radicalization of American politics and are interested in reading about the socialist alternative.

The next highest prepaid sub sellers were Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts, and Carol Lisker, a member of the organizing committee for Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union at Macmillan publishing company in New York. They both sold four subs. Lisker reports that all of her subs were sold to co-workers at Macmillan.

Supporters who sent in three sub cards in September include Mark Ugolini from Washington, D. C., Robin Maisel from Detroit, and John Robinson from St. Louis.

We invite all *Militant* readers to become sub hustlers and help spread the word about socialism in your area. The prepaid subscription cards are a fast and easy way to win new subscribers. You buy the cards from *The Militant* and collect a dollar back each time you sell an introductory sub. That way you don't have to bother getting a money order or writing a check and then running around to get

a stamp and envelope each time you send in a sub.

Instead all you have to do is fill in the subscriber's name and address and drop the card in the nearest mailbox. The new reader will begin to get *The Militant* the next week.

Get in the running for top sub getter in the month of October. Order a packet of the prepaid cards from the business office. They come in groups of five for \$5 or 11 for \$10.

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Militant/Ernest Harsch

MACEO DIXON: Setting pace for prepaid subs.

## Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
East Lansing, Mich.	50	90	180
Boston	600	1,020	170
Glendale, Calif.	7	10	143
Denver	325	448	138
Detroit	600	780	130
Philadelphia	400	495	124
Cleveland	250	300	120
San Francisco	375	424	113
St. Louis	400	447	112
Oakland/Berkeley	700	778	111
Seattle	350	390	111
LA (Central-East)	400	440	110
Twin Cities	400	440	110
San Diego	275	297	108
Upper West Side NY	425	445	105
Houston	500	518	104
Washington, DC	400	417	104
Portland	300	302	101
Syracuse	5	5	100
Durham, NH	12	12	100
Edinboro, Pa.	50	48	96
Chicago	675	625	93
LA (West Side)	400	364	91
Brooklyn	400	360	90
Lawrence, Kans.	43	38	88
Louisville, Ky.	35	30	86
Atlanta	475	339	71
Pittsburgh	375	268	71
Lower Manhattan	450	242	54
TOTALS	9,400	10,372	110
YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS			
Upper Midwest	100	134	134
Pennsylvania	100	120	120
Southern Calif.	100	108	108
Southeast	100	96	96

## ... 'Stop killer-cops'

Continued from page 24

According to Benjamin Hernández, the victim's brother, Hernández was unarmed when the police shot him, then knocked him down and pumped two more bullets into him.

In a statement on the murder of Claude Reese, the two Brooklyn congressional candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, this writer in the 12th C. D. and Robb Wright in the 16th C. D., declared:

"We pledge our support to the struggle against police terror. We support the demand of the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese that Frank Bosco be suspended from the police force and put on trial for murder.

"The police in the Black and Puerto Rican communities are not here to protect us, but to terrorize us and maintain the oppressive system under which we live. Murders such as this one are a basic part of the intimidation and oppression systematically carried out in our community.

"Police brutality will not end until the police are removed from the Black and Puerto Rican communities and replaced by a security force selected from and supervised by community residents."

The Brooklyn Militant Forum held a meeting Sept. 28 on the "Fight Against Police Terror."

Speaking at the forum were Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor; Brother Hekima of the Newark Congress of African People, Omowale Clay of the Committee for Justice for Clifford Glover, and Ray Whitfield of the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese.

Referring to the role of the cops in the Black community, Whitfield noted that he had never viewed the police force as a servant, but rather as an instrument of terror. "They don't serve our community, they serve in our community," he said.

"Equal justice under the law," declared Morrison, "does not exist in reality. There is one standard of justice for the rich and another for Black and other oppressed people. In order to get justice there must be struggle and mobilizations. This has been the lesson of every defense case, from that of Sacco and Vanzetti to Angela Davis."

During the question and answer period Brother Hekima spoke on the struggle against police terror in Newark and the involvement of CAP in that struggle.



# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**HARPER'S FERRY, ITS MEANING TODAY—JOHN BROWN MEMORIAL MEETING.** Speaker: Seth Wigderson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 11, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## BROOKLYN

**THE CIA AND CHILE.** Speakers: Michael Krinsky, legal representative of Allende government; Ollie Rosengart, of National Lawyers Guild investigative team sent to Chile; and Mirta Vidal, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota; Anita LeFlore, paraprofessional representative of AFSCME Local 2000 and national executive board member of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., rally. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Illinois Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

## CLEVELAND

**THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CHE GUEVARA.** Speaker: Robin Maisel, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## DETROIT

**CHINA—OLD SOLDIER VISITS COMRADES.** Speaker: Saul Wellman, recently returned from China where he headed delegation of Spanish Civil War veterans. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**AMNESTY FOR WAR RESISTERS.** Speakers: Bill Rayson, SWP candidate for land commissioner; representative from Veterans for Total Amnesty. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**RTD WORKERS ON STRIKE.** Speakers: Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 28th C.D.; representative from the Amalgamated Transit Union. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Second Floor. Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**WHY THE SYSTEM WON'T WORK: A SOCIALIST VIEW ON INFLATION AND ECONOMIC CUTBACKS.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**AN EVENING WITH THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES.** Speakers: Claire Moriarty, SWP congressional candidate, 20th C.D.; Cecil Lampkin, SWP congressional candidate, 19th C.D.; Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Oct. 12. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Party to follow. 2726 Broadway (at 104th

St., Third Floor). Donation: \$4.50. Rally only \$1. Ausp: West Side Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California; Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Sat., Oct. 12, 5:30 p.m., cocktails; 6:30 p.m., classic buffet; 8 p.m., program; party to follow. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$5.50; \$2 for program and party only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 548-0537.

## PITTSBURGH

**BUSING AND HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION.** Speakers: George Van Hook, deputy chairman, University of Pittsburgh Black Action Society; Christina Adachi, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (Fifth and Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## ST. LOUIS

**MEDICAL CARE IN AMERICA: YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO GET SICK.** Speakers: Judy Day, Workers Health and Safety Project; Sheryl Effron, Union Sarah Neighborhood Community Health Center; Chris Smith, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Rm. 17 (at Eudid). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**PROPOSITION I: ITS MEANING FOR CITY WORKERS.** Speakers: L.B. Martin, president of Transport Workers Union Local 250A; Victor Thuesen, research director of Service Employees International Union Local 400; Nat Weinstein, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th C.D. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## SEATTLE

**RALLY IN SUPPORT OF PUBLIC DISCLOSURE EXEMPTION.** Speakers: Debby Bustin, cochairwoman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Syd Stapleton, national secretary, Political Rights Defense Fund; Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sat., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**VICTORY IN ST. PAUL—BUT WOUNDED KNEE DEFENSE CONTINUES.** Speakers: Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement leader; Mark Lane, defense attorney in Wounded Knee trial. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

# ...steel

*Continued from page 5*

told *The Militant*, "Black workers make up 33 percent of this union, but we have yet to get a Black man on the policy-making board."

Davis also condemned the "consent decree," calling it "a sweetheart deal between the union leaders and the owners of the steel mills."

The bureaucracy's attitude toward women is no better than that toward Blacks. When Yvonne Porter, recording secretary of Local 1010, Gary, Ind., asked to have her resolution on women's equality read, it "couldn't be found."

Finally, losing her temper, Porter read the resolution from the floor. It called for the formation of women's rights committees in every local to fight for equal pay and equal work, and for improved benefits for women.

The resolution was ducked by referring it to the civil liberties committee. The convention took no action whatsoever to endorse or support the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

Criticism of the self-serving and treacherous leadership of the steelworkers union by dissident union members flared up again and again at the convention. Nevertheless, the steamroller tactics of the chair, reinforced by the 700-member "security" staff, guaranteed that the results would be, as one loyal Abel supporter commented, "cut-and-dried."

# ...Boston

*Continued from page 24*

We should pull our kids out. We should control our own schools in our own community."

Another woman told the gathering she had three children being bused to South Boston, a nearly all-white area in which the boycott against Black children coming into the schools is particularly violent and widespread.

"Anything *they* do to us in South Boston is an 'incident,'" she said, "but when Black people decide to take care of ourselves, when *we* do anything, then it's 'violent.'"

A sea of fists, shouts, and whistles greeted her call for the Black community to control its own schools and for "getting the police out of the Point."

Chants of "Get them out now!" sprang up. Many speakers called for demonstrations. Others denounced police harassment, detailing recent victimizations of friends and relatives.

As the meeting moved toward discussing proposals for action, a shout from the rear of the auditorium that "the Point's in trouble" broke up the gathering. Hundreds of people bolted toward the door. The chairman of the meeting was unable to bring it back to order, in spite of an announcement that the project was not in immediate danger.

When the meeting resumed, about 100 people remained in the hall. Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor Ollie Bivens spoke.

"There's only one weakness here tonight," he said. "We have not come up with anything concrete, with what to do next. I think we have to orga-

nize, to demonstrate, to get out in the streets, to get the whole Black community to mobilize to defend the students and to get the cops out of the Point."

Though his remarks were well received, as were others along similar lines, the reduced meeting was unable to come to any decision on how to move forward through future actions.

The meeting had been called by the Ujima Society, the Black student organization at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. Sponsors and endorsers included Representative Bill Owens of the Black Caucus in the state legislature; state AFL-CIO vice-president Rexford Weng; Black student organizations at Tufts University, Boston State College, and Emerson College; the U Mass Boston Asian-American and Puerto Rican student organizations; and the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Since the meeting, white antibusing groups have continued their offensive, calling for nationally coordinated demonstrations this month against "forced busing."

Antibusing forces in Denver, San Francisco, Dallas, and Memphis, as well as Boston, have all been involved in this activity. The demonstrations are to be accompanied by Friday school boycotts every week in October.

Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered the busing, has stated that areas untouched by his ruling this fall would be included in the fall of 1975, further enraging the white racist leaders of the boycott.

City officials have steadfastly refused to act effectively to halt the boycott and the racist attacks on Black students and the Black community.

In addition, in a move of unbelievable demagoguery, the Boston School Committee has attempted to reverse the busing decision through a court appeal charging that it discriminates against Black students.

Ollie Bivens commented on the current situation, "The need for independent action by the Black community is more urgent than ever."

"The racists have been on the offensive for years in this state," Bivens said. "But the Sept. 26 meeting gave an indication of the potential militancy and power the Black community has. It was the first step forward. More meetings like it should be organized, to unite the Black community and democratically decide upon and launch the massive actions that can defend the students and our community, and win the quality education we must have."

# 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) 623-2875 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 Wileoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

**Buffalo:** YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

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**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.

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**OHIO:** Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32024, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

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**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.

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**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.

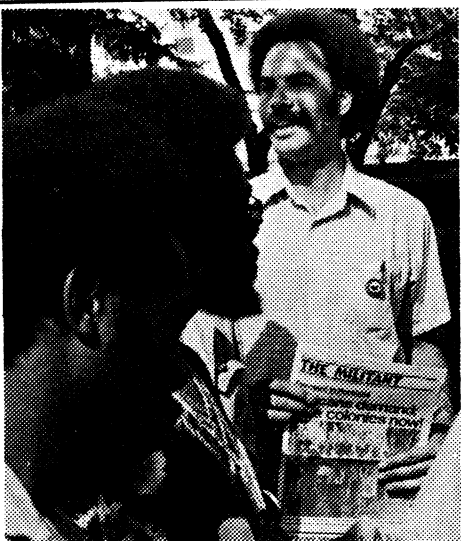
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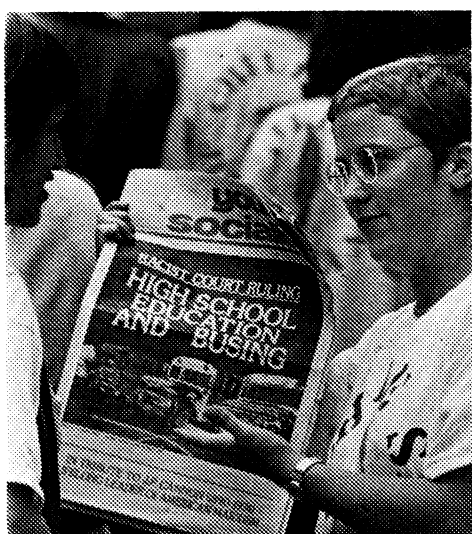
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## LOS ANGELES WESTSIDE Socialist Workers Campaign BANQUET and RALLY

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SWP candidate for U.S. Senate

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**Omari Musa**

SWP candidate for U.S. Congress,  
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### THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

Preface by Theodore Draper. Cannon was a founder and leader of the U.S. Communist Party until his expulsion in 1928 for opposition to Stalinism. In this collection of letters to historian Draper, he describes the efforts of the pioneer American communists to apply the lessons of the Russian revolution to this country, and he explains the impact of Stalinism on the American CP. 343 pp., \$10, paper \$3.45.

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Introduction by Caroline Lund. This history tells of the founding of the Trotskyist movement in 1928 and its development, through recruitment from the Communist Party, strike battles of the 1930s, fusion with A.J. Muste's American Workers Party, and entry into the Socialist Party. The account ends in 1938 with the founding of the Socialist Workers Party. 268 pp., paper \$2.95.

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These essays and letters deal with the political struggle against the Shachtman minority in the SWP in 1939-40. They outline the Leninist organizational concepts of a revolutionary workers party. 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.

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This clear and lively explanation of the principles and aims of revolutionary socialism is based on the court stenogram of Cannon's testimony during his 1941 trial for "sedition" under the Smith Act. 192 pp., paper \$2.25.

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Introduction by Jack Barnes. In these letters written from Sandstone Penitentiary, Cannon discusses the practical problems of building the revolutionary party, the role of the revolutionary press, the building of a revolutionary international, and more. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45.

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Order from: PATHFINDER PRESS  
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### CHICAGO

## SWP Campaign Rally

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12. Reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Speakers: ED HEISLER, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; JANE VAN DEUSEN, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota; ANITA LEFLORE, paraprofessional representative for AFSCME Local 2000, Illinois social service employees and national executive board member, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Donation: \$1.50. 428 S. WABASH, FIFTH FLOOR, CHICAGO For more information call (312) 939-0756.

## Protest murder of Claude Reese

# NY rally: Stop killer-cops!

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—Chanting "Stop Killer-Cops," and "We want Bosco," 600 people held a rally and demonstration in the city hall area Sept. 25 against police brutality. The demonstration was called to demand that Frank Bosco, the policeman who gunned down 14-year-old Claude Reese, be indicted for murder.

Reese was brutally slain Sept. 15 in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn while helping to clean out a basement for a surprise birthday party for a friend.

Despite demands from the community, Mayor Abraham Beame and other city officials have refused to suspend Bosco, stating that it would be "illegal" to do so. Instead, Bosco has been temporarily reassigned to administrative duties.

The Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, which organized the city hall protest, has denounced this token gesture, demanding "that any policeman involved in the killing of a youth be immediately suspended while the investigation is being conducted."

Ida Murphy, speaking for Irene Austin of the Committee for Justice for Claude Reese, told the rally that Frank Bosco must be made to stand trial for his crime.

Reverend Alfred Sharpton of the National Youth Movement also spoke. "Black people in 1974 will take no more of this crap," he said.

Sharpton received wide applause when he said, "We must take power of our own destiny. We have our own community leaders and people who will police our community. We don't need the police. If it were not for the police Claude Reese would be here today."

"We will stand up from this point

on. We want the city to know that when they shot Claude Reese they shot all of us."

Imamu Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People (CAP) gave a brief speech connecting the struggle against police terror with the struggle against the system that is responsible for it.

Additional speakers included Assemblyman Ed Griffith, Omowale Clay of the Committee for Justice for Clifford Glover, José Alberto Alvarez of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and others.

Many of those at the rally were youths in their teens who had come by chartered bus from Brownsville. The young people went to the rally rather than attend school, as a means of showing solidarity against the police murder of Claude Reese.

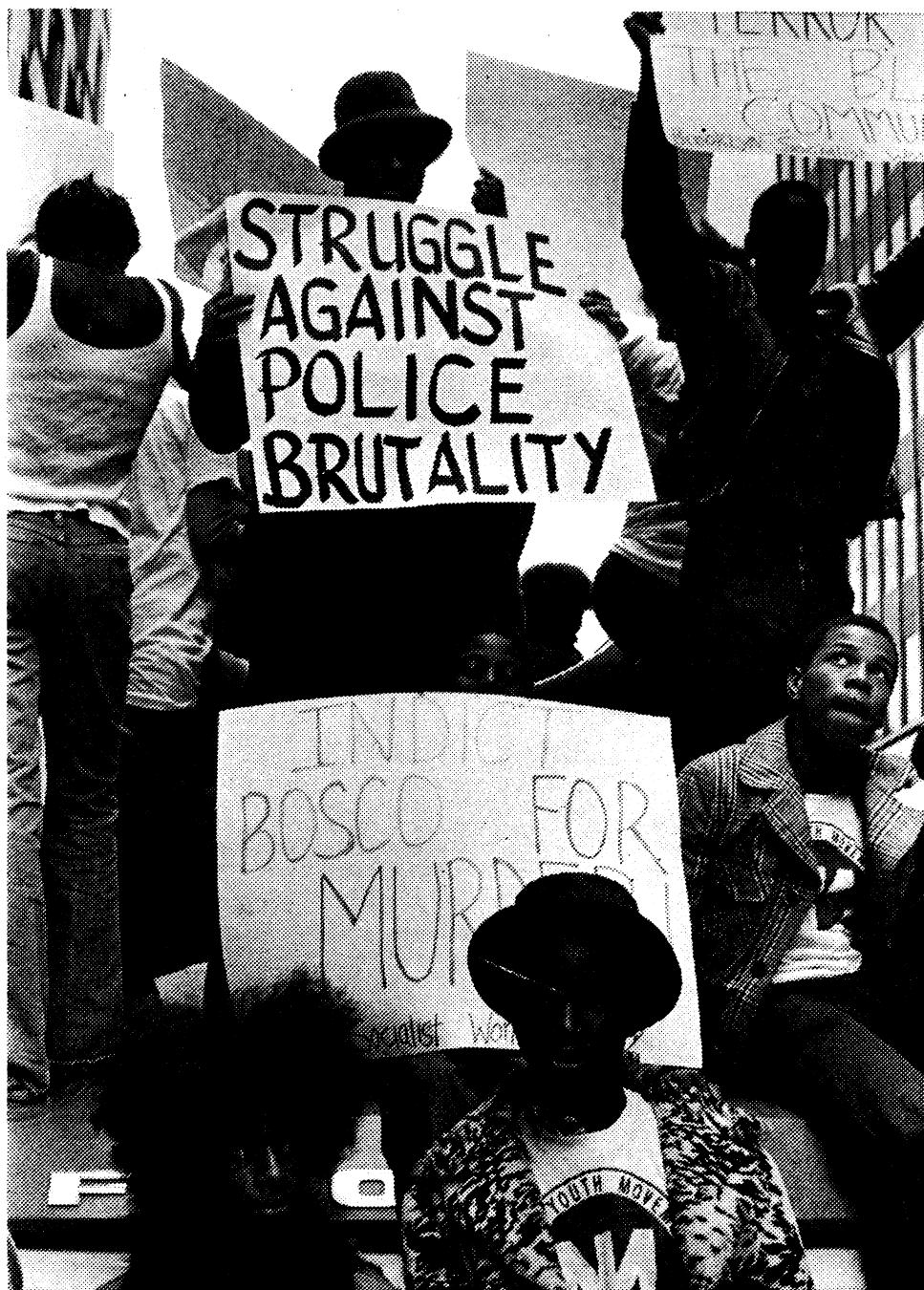
A boycott of all stores in Brownsville along Pitkin and Belmont Avenues was also called for the day of the rally. Most of the merchants responded to the sentiment of community activists by closing their shops.

At a later meeting held in Brownsville, the committee projected forums to be held in each of the boroughs as a means of education and consciousness-raising. The first forum is slated to take place in Brooklyn around the theme "Stop Killer-Cops."

The anger at police killings has been growing as new incidents of unprovoked police shootings are reported. Following on the heels of the killing of Claude Reese, trigger-happy cops savagely shot into a car with four Black men in Washington Heights on Sept. 22.

In another shooting 17-year-old Fernando Hernández was slain by police on Sept. 29 in the South Bronx.

Continued on page 21



Sept. 25 demonstration

Militant/Sam Manuel

## Blacks discuss strategy

# Boston: Unity needed to defeat racists

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Five hundred angry residents of Boston's Black community packed the National Center for Afro-American Artists here Sept. 26 demanding an end to police occupation of the predominantly Black Columbia Point housing project.

They also demanded a halt to the racist attacks against Black students being bused as a result of federally ordered desegregation of the city's school system.

This was the first united response organized by the Boston Black community against racist white violence since that antibusing mobilization started several weeks ago with the opening of school.

The Columbia Point housing project

had been the target of sniper fire from white night riders and gangs, and from members of the Ku Klux Klan who journeyed to Boston to exploit the widespread racist boycott of desegregation orders. Residents of Columbia Point set up their own observation patrol when the cops refused to take effective steps to halt the sniper fire.

During the night of Sept. 25, police armed with sawed-off shotguns and automatic weapons moved into the projects, ordering the community patrols to disband. As of this writing the police still remain in the projects as an occupation force, although their numbers have been reduced.

At the protest meeting there were brief remarks by former state depart-

ment of corrections commissioner John Boone and State Representative Bill Owens of the Black Caucus in the state legislature. A representative of the Congress of African People in Newark also gave solidarity greetings.

After these remarks, high school students living in the Columbia Point area took the floor and laced into the police occupation and the racist anti-desegregation mobilization at the root of it.

"When the Klan comes across state lines nothing happens," one speaker said, "But when a Black man like H. Rap Brown crosses those lines, he's busted." His remarks were frequently interrupted by applause.

"The only difference between the Boston police and the Klan is that one's

suit is blue and the other's suit is white."

As the chants grew louder, he said, "We've got to take care of ourselves. We can't trust the cops. The community has to protect the Point."

As more high school students spoke, the hall erupted in shouts and cheers. The speakers had all been bused and had faced the racist abuse of white parents and boycotting students. The reception given the young, militant speakers was in sharp contrast to that which greeted the earlier, more moderate remarks.

A mother whose children are being bused told the gathering, "Why should we let our kids get busted and beat up? We should boycott the schools."

Continued on page 22