

# THE MILITANT

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

## Ford incites Boston racists



Antiracist demonstration in Boston, Oct. 13. Blacks vowed not to retreat in face of racist antibusing violence. For coverage of events in Boston see pages 3-6.

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## THE MILITANT

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**VERMONTERS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST FORD:** More than 2,000 people turned out to protest the visit of President Ford to a GOP fund-raising event in Burlington, Vt., on Oct. 7. The official White House Press Corp called the action "the largest, most hostile demonstration the President has faced."

From the time of Ford's arrival until his departure several hours later, protesters braved the damp, 34-degree weather and biting winds to maintain a series of demonstrations against what organizers called Ford's continuation of Nixon's policies.

The demonstration and rally were organized by a coalition calling itself "Vermonters for Equal Justice." Groups participating in the coalition are Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization, People's Bicentennial, People Acting for Change Together, Vermont Alliance, and Student Organizing Committee.

The demonstration was called to protest Ford's pardoning of Nixon. Demonstrators also called for universal, unconditional amnesty for all war resisters, including veterans with less-than-honorable discharges.

### AMNESTY SPEAK-OUT HELD IN PORTLAND, ORE.:

Five hundred people attended an Oct. 9 speak-out at Portland State University demanding universal and unconditional amnesty for draft resisters and deserters. The gathering also called for the rescinding of all less-than-honorable discharges forced on antiwar and Black GIs.

The speak-out was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Coalition for Unconditional Amnesty, a committee of campus and community organizations including the Indochina Peace Campaign, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Young Socialist Alliance, Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Portland Draft and Military Counseling Center.

Speakers at the meeting included Steve Adler of Clergy and Laity Concerned; Patricia Simon, national coordinator of the Gold Star Parents for Unconditional Amnesty; and Rick Berman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

**PORTLAND ACTIVISTS FACE FRAME-UP:** Frank Giese and Jim Cronin, both longtime political activists in Portland, Ore., have been on trial there for allegedly bombing an Army and Navy recruiting station in January 1973.

Giese, 58, is a professor at Portland State University. He has been active for more than 20 years in the civil rights and antiwar movements. Cronin, 31, was formerly the Portland coordinator of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and has worked with Vietnam Veterans Against the War and other antiwar groups. Both men have been associated with the United Front bookstore, a center of radical activity in Portland.

The two have pleaded innocent to the charges in the government's 10-count indictment.

As in the recent Wounded Knee case where the defendants were able to prove illegal and improper government conduct during the Wounded Knee occupation and trial, Giese and Cronin think it is crucial to unearth the scope of illegal FBI surveillance and possible government involvement in the recruiting station explosions.

**SAN DIEGO MEETING PROTESTS CHILE REPRESSION:** On Oct. 10, 75 people attended a meeting at the University of California in San Diego (UCSD) to protest the complicity of the University of California sys-

tem with the junta in Chile. Concern has been expressed over the continuation of the exchange program with the University of Chile, because of the intense political repression there.

Speaking at the meeting were Miguel Monteon, UCSD Latin American history professor who has recently returned from Chile; Frank Halpern, president of the San Diego local of the American Federation of Teachers; and Marta Richmond, of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The meeting was sponsored by the UCSD chapter of USLA.

### DEMONSTRATION SET TO PROTEST DAYAN VISIT:

Moshe Dayan, former defense minister of Israel, will be speaking at the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley on Oct. 31. A statewide meeting, held Oct. 10, made plans for a demonstration to protest this visit of one of the main architects of Israeli aggression in the Mideast.

Demonstrators will assemble between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m. at the Student Center at the University of Northern Colorado, then will march to the site of Dayan's speech.

### CHE COMMEMORATION BOMBED IN PUERTO RICO:

A powerful bomb exploded in the early morning hours of Oct. 8 at the Modelo Theater in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. The theater was showing a week-long series of films in commemoration of Ernesto Che Guevara, who was killed on Oct. 8, 1967, by U.S.-trained armed forces in Bolivia.

The film showing was hosted by the film group Tirabuzon Rojo, which is associated with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

Pro-independence student leaders at the Rio Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico believe that the terrorist attack was the work of right-wing Cuban exiles, known as "gusanos" (worms).

This has not been the first such terrorist attack against the pro-independence movement and supporters of the Cuban revolution in Puerto Rico. Earlier this year, the offices and printing plant of the PSP's twice-weekly newspaper, Claridad, were attacked. There have been many other instances of right-wing terrorism in the past few years.

Although pro-independence activists have repeatedly denounced these attacks as the work of gusanos, the police forces in the U.S. colony have taken no effective action against them.

No one was reported injured in this latest attack.

### ARSONISTS DESTROY GAY ACTIVISTS OFFICES:

The offices and social center of the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) in New York City were destroyed Oct. 15 by an early morning blaze set by arsonists.

The GAA offices, housed in a former firehouse, suffered 30 to 50 percent damage. Chief Fire Marshal Edwin Sheppard said the fire had been "set in at least six places" on the upper floors of the three-story building.

GAA President Morty Manford charged that the fire had been set as part of "a wave of harassment against gays." Manford linked the attack to a number of firebombings of gay offices, centers, and churches around the country, as well as the antihomosexual campaign whipped up to defeat a gay civil rights bill in New York City.

— NORMAN OLIVER



The Militant will continue to provide first-hand accounts of the struggle in Boston, explaining the real issues and standing up for the rights of Black students and parents. The capitalist newspapers are covering up the situation, attempting to whitewash the real character of the lynch-mob attacks against the Black community. Our team of reporters in Boston will provide the truth about the struggle and background information. Don't miss an issue. Subscribe today.

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# Ford backs up racists in Boston

By DON GUREWITZ

BOSTON, Oct. 16—White racists fighting against school desegregation here got several big boosts from President Gerald Ford and other government officials this week.

Ford's first blow against the embattled Black community came less than 48 hours after a Black motorist, Jean-Louis Andre Yvon, barely escaped with his life from a frenzied lynch mob screaming, "Get the nigger!" Racist violence had reached the point that Black leaders demanded federal troops to protect Black students being bused to white schools. Ford's response was to refuse the troops and to declare that busing "was not the best solution to quality education in Boston."

The white racists were overjoyed. As one of their leaders said, "We're pleased with [Ford's statement]. We were encouraged. We're sending telegrams to the White House saying 'Thank you, we love you.'"

State Representative Raymond Flynn of South Boston, a leader of the racists, rejoiced that "with the kind of things coming out of Washington these days, we just may not have busing to worry about much longer."

Black leaders were angry. State Representative William Owens called Ford's statement "racist to the core." And in Washington, the Congressional Black Caucus accurately described Ford's remarks as "an incitement to violence."

With Ford's statement to bolster them the racists have continued their school boycott. Black children attempting to go to schools in white neighborhoods continue to be greeted with racist slurs and, in some instances, physical attacks. The potential is building for a renewal of major violence by the racist mobs.

## Cynical maneuvers

In face of the danger to the Black community, the response of government officials on all levels has been one of cynical maneuver, as each tries to pass the responsibility onto others.

- Judge Arthur Garrity refused to send federal marshals to implement his own court order.

- Mayor Kevin White threw up his hands, saying that both Ford and Garrity "have abandoned their commitment to the use of federal resources to implement the court order."

- Governor Francis Sargent called up 450 National Guardsmen on Oct. 15, but did not deploy them, asking instead that Ford send federal troops.

Ford rejected Sargent's request saying that it was a local responsibility and there had not yet been "serious domestic violence" to warrant federal troops.

Perhaps the crassest statement came from Mayor White. After Ford issued his antibusing statement, White said that this "fanned the flames of resistance that will almost inevitably lead to further disruption in Boston, and will endanger the safety of our school children in the process." Then, in almost the very next breath, he said that he himself was against busing! Furthermore, he said that he would not implement phase two of the desegregation plan until its "inequities" were eliminated and federal resources were committed to implement it.

Thus, as it stands today, all responsible government officials have come out against federal troops. Some 445 state and metropolitan police have been deployed to replace the Tac-



**"Hey, it reads just like one of them presidential pardons!"**

tical Patrol Force in South Boston. "They have a relaxed look about them," commented the *Boston Globe*, which then added, "It's the same relaxed, professional air the Tactical Patrol Force had Sept. 12, opening day at South Boston High School. . . . But that was almost a month ago."

The racists realize that these developments are to their advantage, and have pledged to continue their rallies and mobilizations.

On Oct. 15 they organized an antibusing motorcade of 1,000 cars. In the evening, in Hyde Park, some 1,500 gathered to map out their plans to stop desegregation.

Speaking to the cheers of the crowd, Democratic City Council President Gerald O'Leary and Democratic Councilwoman Louise Day Hicks demanded that Judge Garrity suspend his desegregation order. Democratic State Representative Michael Paul Feeney called on school authorities to close the schools for 30 days.

Echoing this theme, which the racists have begun stressing, Democratic City Councilman Joseph Tierney raised the possibility of seeking a court order to stop further implementation of the desegregation order. These politicians reflect the growing feeling among the racist forces that they are on the of-

fensive and that with another effort they can succeed in stopping and rolling back desegregation of the Boston schools.

## Blaming the victim

The capitalist news media have jumped in to do their part in helping the racists along. They are sounding the theme that the violence in Boston is caused equally by Black people and white racists.

The media have gone out of their way to play up relatively minor incidents of violence by Blacks against whites, while de-emphasizing the attacks by white racists. Each day the papers headline reports of robberies and other street crimes committed by Blacks against whites alongside the news of white racist violence against Black students—even though the robberies and muggings have no connection with the school crisis. When in some instances Black youth have lashed out at whites, the media have equated these spontaneous outbursts of retaliation with the organized violence of the white racist mobs.

Thus, the media is reinforcing the argument of the racists that school desegregation will place white students at the mercy of violent Blacks.

The offensive by the racists, the backtracking by the liberals, and the

distortions by the media are laying the basis for further racist violence leading to an official reversal of the court's desegregation order. Clearly the Black community faces an emergency situation. Only a massive mobilization of supporters of the Black freedom struggle can turn back the racist offensive.

## Blacks protest

On Oct. 13 there occurred the first city-wide protest demonstration called by the leaders of the Black community. Hundreds of Black demonstrators marched in the streets to a rally at Boston Common, where they were joined by others, both Black and white, to make up a crowd of 1,500.

Mayor White had tried to prevent the protest action. He issued a ban on all demonstrations within three hours after the initial call for the action was made by the state legislative Black Caucus on Oct. 8.

White had allowed the white racists to demonstrate for weeks without any restriction whatsoever, but as soon as the first Black protest was called he issued a ban. For several days it was not clear whether or not the demonstration would take place because of White's refusal to grant the permit, and this undoubtedly cut down on the final turnout. In the end, however, White was forced to back down and issue a permit.

The rally was preceded by a spirited, all-Black march of 700 followed by a 70-car caravan. Starting at Carter's Playground in the Black community, the marchers chanted "Uhuru Sasa" ("Freedom Now" in Swahili) and carried red, black, and green balloons with "Black is beautiful" written on them.

A contingent from the Haitian Action Committee carried a sign reading: "Stop South Boston Tontons Macoutes." (The Tontons Macoutes are the hated secret police of the Haitian dictatorship.)

Speakers at the rally included Tom Atkins, head of the Boston NAACP; Tanya Poe, a Black student being bused to South Boston; State Representative Royal Bolling; and Malnea Cass, a community activist. State Representative Mel King chaired the meeting.

Thirteen-year-old Tanya Poe received the most enthusiastic response at the rally when she said: "My cousins came home the first and second days all bloody. People don't want us to stay, but we're not going to run. . . . The cops don't do nothing, the teachers don't do nothing, . . ." but "I am not going to run from South Boston."

Her remarks captured a theme that was stressed by the march organizers: Black students must not be intimidated; they should defy the racist mobs by attending schools in the white areas in large numbers. More than 400 Black students responded to this call and went to classes at South Boston High School on Oct. 16.

## Other voices

Other voices have begun to be raised against the anti-Black offensive. On Oct. 15 a statement was issued on behalf of a coalition of trade unionists demanding federal troops to protect the rights of Black students and enforce the desegregation order. The statement was released by Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts

*Continued on page 26*



# Black students brave insults, violence

## On a school bus to South Boston High

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON, Oct. 15 — It's 7:45 a.m. The first yellow school bus bobs over the hill, swings through the traffic circle and into the Bayside shopping mall near Columbia Point. Two, three, four buses appear, 12 altogether, snaking their way into the mall to pick up Black students to be bused to South Boston High School.

Already about 70 Black students are gathered, and others approach in small groups. They greet each other and chat quietly. Metropolitan Division Commission motorcycle policemen take up positions near the buses, preparing to lead them along South Boston streets, where racists have previously hurled rocks, eggs, bottles, and debris at the buses, often causing injuries to the students.

Soon bus monitors who aid in the transportation of the students move onto the buses, along with the students, whose number has swelled to about 150.

Several Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office, who have flown here from other states to demonstrate support for the Black community and to gather firsthand information on the school desegregation struggle, join the students.

It is damp and misty, and the chill in the air does nothing to calm the apprehension that many are feeling. Just last night the racists held a 500-car caravan to protest desegregation.

On the last day of school before the Columbus Day weekend, one of the buses was stoned, sending glass all over the students. That could happen today.

### Freedom Ride

One of the riders likens the trip to the southern Freedom Rides in the early 1960s. Another person compares it to the violent encounters that Black ex-slaves had with bounty hunters when they left Louisiana and other parts of the South in wagon trains heading west to freedom.

The comparisons were made in jest,

of the Captain's Room, which was a popular "Southie" haunt until a fire gutted it one night last week. Hoodlums have sprayed "Niggers suck" on its front.

Campaign posters for John Kerrigan, the Democratic chairman of the Boston School Committee, the racist body that had to be forced to desegregate the public schools, still appear in windows and tacked on trees. Kerrigan recently ran for district attorney and lost. His poster declares in large letters that he is "a fighter."

### South Boston High

South Boston High sits atop a hill at Sixth and G Streets. As the buses lumber along, only a few people have gathered to jeer. A few women draw their shades, some bystanders scowl, one woman thumbs her nose, and another sticks out her tongue, but no rocks are thrown today.

Several of the wood-framed triple-decker houses near the school have printed signs in their windows saying, "We support the South Boston school boycott."

Bob's Variety Store on G Street has a sign that reads, "French fried niggers for sale."

For about 50 feet on both sides of the school entrance the cops have roped off an area so the students can enter. News reporters have gathered and are jotting down notes. Television cameras grind away.

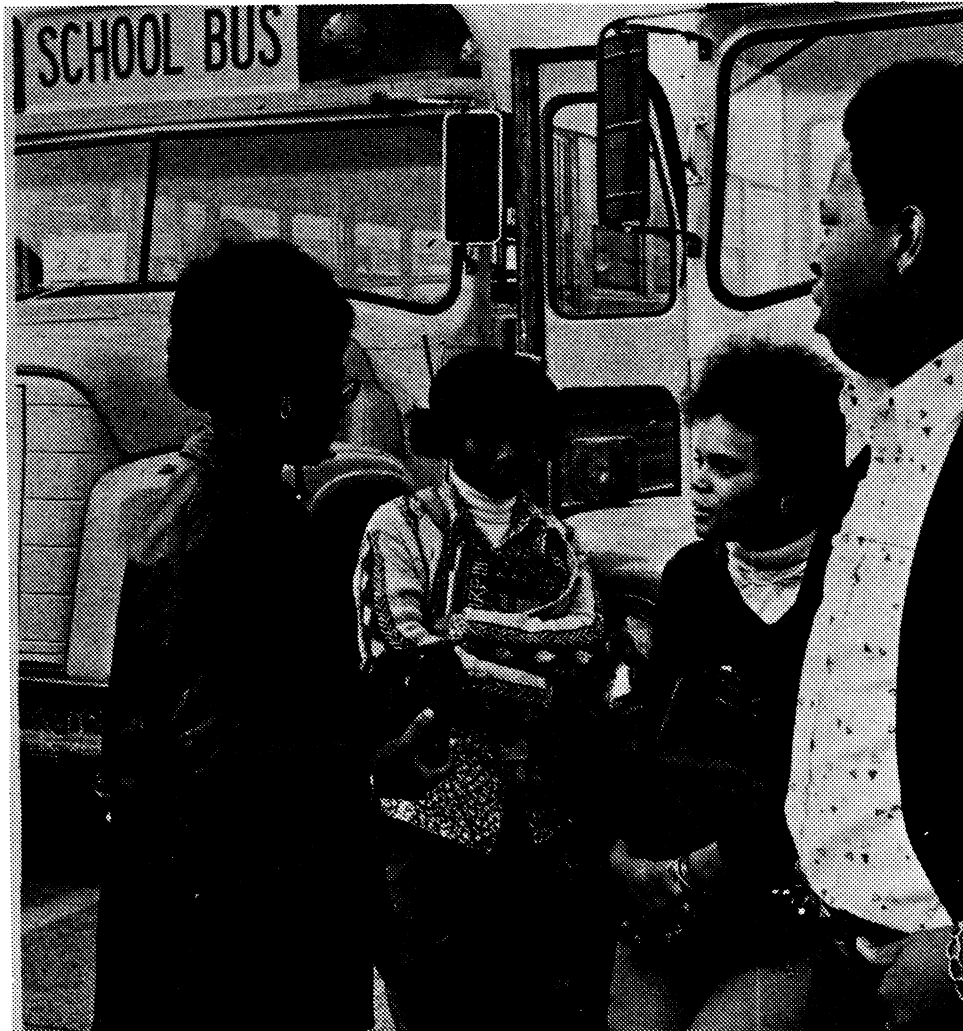
The bus doors swing open and a white school administrator pops his head in.

Although the school term is now a month old, white violence has kept Black student attendance down.

"Any new people in here?" barks the administrator. "Any who haven't been registered before?" He pauses and then says, "O. K., c'mon."

The students disembark and walk through about 100 cops to the school's entrance and disappear.

The bus monitor says it looks to him as though there are more Black students attending today than any



Militant/Baxter Smith

Maxine Williams (left), SWP congressional candidate from Brooklyn, talks with Boston students.

School, where fist fights had broken out between Black and white students. The cops were, no doubt, expecting a reaction from people who had heard of it in South Boston. But again, calm prevailed.

Upon returning to Bayside Mall, several students told of their experience at South Boston High. Most reported there were no incidents today.

There are about six cops on each floor of the three-story main building, and almost as many cops as students in the cafeteria, one student said.

"The cops just sit around playing cards, drinking, eating, and carrying on," one young woman said.

The Black students have often complained that white students waylay them in the lavatories or in the cafeteria.

Gwen Reeves, a 16-year-old, said that there have been a number of fights in the cafeteria. She told of one fight where a white student pushed a Black student in the food line and the Black student pushed him back. A shouting match erupted, "then all of a sudden people who were sitting down began throwing their trays," she added.

The cops rushed in, she said, and started beating the Black students.

Another student remarked how she felt the cops' presence wasn't necessarily that good, "because if they [the whites] want to get us, they're going to get us, police or no police."

Gwen Reeves said that often grown white men will come into the school for no good reason. "They're just looking for trouble," she said, "and the cops do nothing."

### Whites armed with chains

Two Black students told how white students come to school armed with chains and aerosol cans that often contain Mace. When they're caught, they use the excuse that they have to protect themselves from Black students who carry plastic Afro hair combs. In several cases, Black students entering the school have been searched for weapons and have had

their hair combs taken from them, the two young women said.

Monitors agreed with much of what the students had to say.

Monitors are supposed to be paid \$20 a day. One of the women, who is Black, says she has been monitoring every day since school started but hasn't been paid yet.

"They keep telling me something about waiting 'til civil service checks me out," she stated. She said she also believes the cops' presence has not been all that helpful. The first day of school, three youngsters on her bus were cut by flying glass. "I spent the whole ride just ducking and dodging," she said.

One of the bus drivers, Joe Lewis, who is Black, said one day his bus was buffeted in a hail of rocks. One tore through his front windshield, sending glass onto his shirt and into his lap.

Gwen Reeves' mother, who spoke with this reporter at a Black community meeting in Roxbury Oct. 12, said she often frets that the racists' actions at South Boston High will bring harm to her daughter.

"They say it's just a few incidents, but my child can go out the house and I don't know whether she's gonna come back with a broken head or not. We have to do something about all this violence."

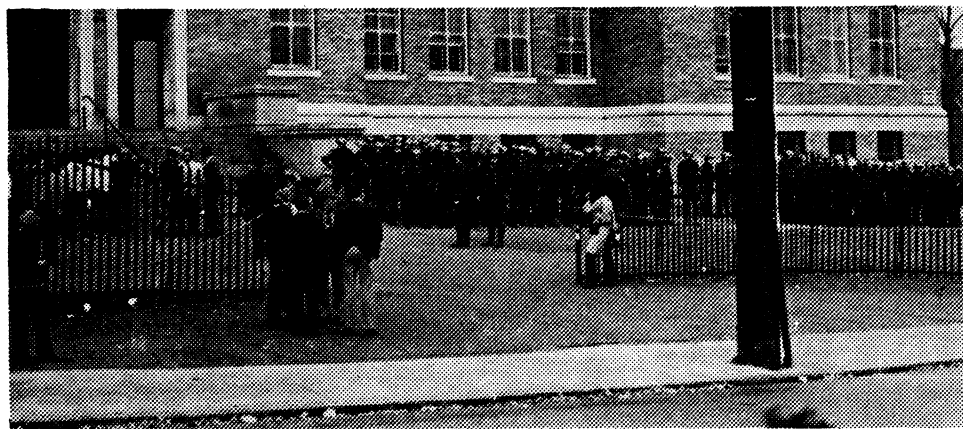
Ann Stokes, a Black mother of two, one of whom attends South Boston High, agrees.

"I'm not a flag-waver or anything like that," she said. "But we've always raised our children to believe in equal rights."

"Now, what does all this mean?" she asked, pointing to the violations of Black students' rights in South Boston.

Ann Stokes' husband is a 30-year serviceman who is stationed in Florida. She said her 19-year-old son is "something of a militant."

"He believes his father's war is [Uncle] Sam's," she stated. "He thinks his father should be back here fighting in South Boston."



Militant/Joanna Rohrbach

Cops mass at South Boston High. They have done little to protect Black students.

but they didn't seem remote.

Warren Evans, an eleventh-grade student, says he doesn't know what will happen. But he adds, "You can expect anything."

Around eight o'clock the buses pull out, following six motorcycle cops grouped in threes. The buses make a broad sweep along Columbia Road, skirting the harbor. Scores of cops follow the buses, and others have cleared about 50 yards of traffic in front. One state trooper, it seems, stands about every 50 feet along the short, two-mile route.

Over the harbor to the right, the sun is struggling to burn away the morning fog. To the left, across the street, is Noonan's Inn. Three-foot-high letters scrawled on its front proclaim, "Welcome niggers."

Up the street is the burnt-out shell

other day since school opened. Two days ago, at the downtown demonstration, Thomas Atkins of the NAACP and other speakers exhorted Black students to go to school this week.

Projected Black student attendance at the main building of the high school is 358. At the L Street Annex, it is 439. Total projected school attendance is more than 1,500, but few white students have shown up either.

The buses soon leave the school and return to the Bayside Mall staging area. They will rendezvous at 1:30 p.m. to return to the school to pick up the students.

For the afternoon trip, more state troopers had massed to accompany the buses. Few monitors and others had heard that the desegregation fight had boiled over at Hyde Park High



## Behind gov't retreat on desegregation

By DAVE FRANKEL

The monstrous spectacle of racist mob violence in Boston—including the stoning of Black school children, the chants of "nigger go home," and an attempted lynching—is a clear example of what the call for "neighborhood schools" is really about.

The racist ringleaders who have organized the resistance to school integration in Boston have tried to make their poisonous bigotry more palatable by packaging it under labels such as "opposition to forced busing," and "support of neighborhood schools." But what it all boils down to is the simple fact that they want to keep the Blacks out.

As one South Boston youth told a *Newsweek* columnist, "Our folks don't say 'nigger,' they say 'alienation of our rights.' But let's face it, we all mean the same thing."

The yellow school bus has been a familiar sight in the United States for decades. Students have been bused substantial distances for years without generating any controversy. There is mob violence now, not because of busing, but because Black students are being brought into schools that were previously all-white.

What is at stake in the battle over busing is the right of Black children to go to the schools of their choice in order to get the best education available.

Harry Biggs, a Black farmer from South Carolina who helped initiate one of the five court suits that led to the famous 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, has put it this way: "What we knew was that mixing meant going into better schools and more benefit toward the colored kids."

In Briggs's home town white parents showed up with rifles on the opening days of school in 1956 and 1957 in order to keep the Blacks out. It wasn't until 1965 that a handful of Black children finally went to school with whites.

Today, more than 20 years after the Supreme Court ordered the desegregation of American schools with "all deliberate speed," and five years after the court ruled that "the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once," the situation isn't much better for many Blacks.

In 1972 one-half of all Black children were enrolled in the 100 largest school systems in the U.S., and of these, two-thirds were in schools that were more than 80 percent Black.

The slick argument of the antibusing racists that they are for equal, quality education for all in *neighborhood schools* really comes down to the old segregationist formula: "separate but equal" in words; separate and unequal in practice.

### A nationwide conflict

The conflict over school desegregation is a nationwide one that has been building up for years in the courts and in the streets. The ugly chants of "nigger, nigger, nigger" were also heard in Pontiac, Mich., in 1971, and in Brooklyn, N.Y., in 1973. They will be heard in other northern cities as well, especially if the racists in Boston succeed in derailing the desegregation plan there.

The schools are segregated in practically every northern city, and the leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties have repeatedly made clear that as far as they are concerned, things should stay that way.

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), the most prestigious Democratic Party politician in the country, has refused to take a strong stand against the racist bigots. He told reporters Sept. 9 that the white racists "feel very strongly about these issues. They're entitled to their views."

While the liberal Democrats have refused to stand up to the bigots, the right wing of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts has openly placed itself at the head of the racist protests. The all-white, all-Democratic school board has marched at the head of the racist demonstrations, while the all-white, all-Democratic city council has turned its chambers over to the antibusing organizers for their weekly meetings.

This typifies the general pattern on a national scale. Liberals and conservatives both are against school desegregation. This is a change from the period following 1954—a change that should be examined more closely.

The Supreme Court's 1954 desegre-

with kid gloves, but the mass pressure finally forced the government to move.

The oppressed Blacks had a different idea than the capitalist rulers about the meaning of "all deliberate speed." They demanded freedom *now*. It was the massive mobilization of southern Blacks and years of determined struggle that finally did away with the caste system in the South. The civil rights mobilizations reached such a scale that the capitalist rulers decided it was necessary for them to support the elimination of the Jim Crow system.

Now the story is different. The capitalists have nothing to offer the Black ghettos, north or south. The demands of the Black movement today are no longer for *formal* legal equality through the repeal of discriminatory Jim Crow laws, but for *actual* equality—for equal pay, for the same job and educational opportunities as white workers. Inflation and recession are making these demands more and more urgent. But while the capitalists

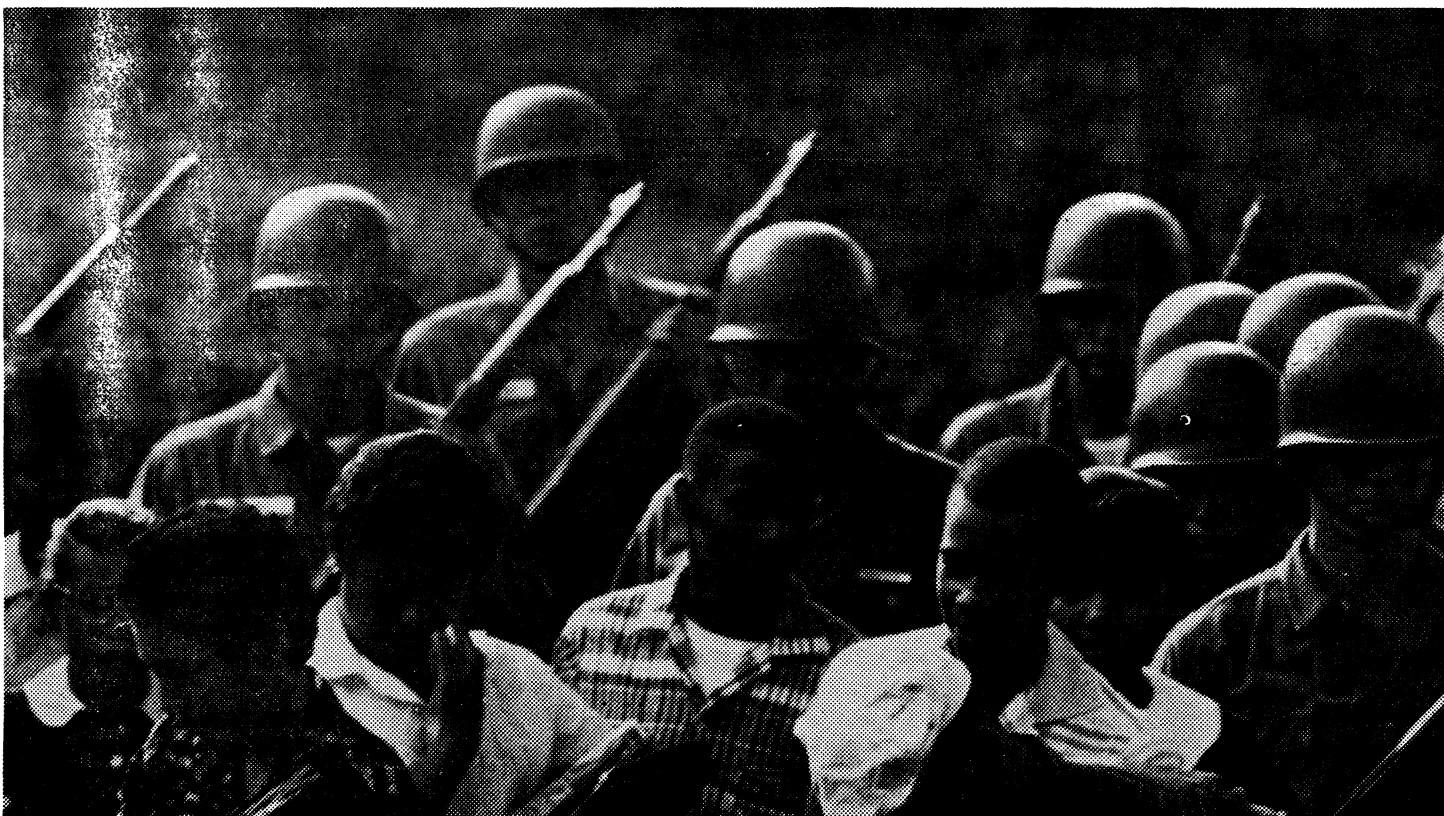
the bill had no effect except as a statement of intent.

In March 1974 Nixon spent 12 minutes on a nationwide radio hookup speaking against busing to bring about desegregation. In July the Senate passed a bill, previously adopted by the House, with curbs on busing: busing was to be prohibited if it posed a risk to a child's health or constituted "a significant impingement on the educational process" of the pupil. That bill was recently signed into law by President Ford.

But the sharpest blow came July 25 when the Supreme Court, in a 5-to-4 vote, struck down a desegregation plan for Detroit that would have linked that city's school system with those of its suburbs.

### 'Local control'

The court couched its decision in terms of the "tradition" of "local control over the operation of schools," and "local autonomy." But the state government in Michigan retains the



Black students needed protection of federal government to get into school in Little Rock, Ark., in 1957. Issues in Boston are the same: racist violence and right of Black children to get a decent education.

gation decision was meant to provide a face-lift for "the land of the free" at a time when a large number of African nations were just gaining their independence from Britain and France. The Jim Crow system of legal (de jure) segregation in all aspects of life was outlawed. But the court decision still left open the question of when and how Jim Crow would actually be changed.

The ruling class was determined to move very slowly at first.

In the 1956 presidential elections, both Republican Dwight Eisenhower and Democrat Adlai Stevenson vowed never to use troops or any other form of coercion to enforce the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

When Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus mobilized the National Guard in 1957 to prevent the registration of nine Black children in a white school in Little Rock, Eisenhower appealed for understanding for the racists! After all, he explained, they "see a picture of mongrelization of the race. . . ."

But after three weeks of stalling, and in the midst of a crescendo of outrage both within the U.S. and around the world, Eisenhower finally sent U.S. troops into Little Rock—after first removing all Blacks from their ranks.

The racists in the South were treated

were willing to go along with the elimination of de jure segregation, they are neither willing nor able to eliminate the oppression of Blacks. The whole structure of capitalist society is inseparable from that oppression.

### The racist offensive

The inability of the capitalist rulers to meet the demands of Black people has required them to take the offensive against the Black liberation movement. This offensive has been underway ever since the late 1960s. The federal government has been taking actions and creating a political atmosphere designed to beat back the Black struggle.

In November 1971, three months after Richard Nixon stressed his opposition to busing in a major speech, an antibusing amendment sponsored by five Michigan Democrats and two Michigan Republicans sailed through the House of Representatives by a vote of 235 to 125. Among those speaking against busing was Gerald Ford.

In June 1972 Congress passed a bill to temporarily prohibit any further court orders requiring additional busing. Because of a technicality overlooked by the lawmakers, however,

right to abolish school districts at will, without their consent. The issue was obviously desegregation, not autonomy.

The effect of the Michigan decision is to guarantee the preservation of de facto segregation in cities such as Chicago, New York, Detroit, Newark, Atlanta, and others in which Black and Latino students make up the big majority of the school population.

If the racists in Boston are successful in scuttling the busing plan there, their victory will embolden whites across the country to take similar action. The federal government, which sent 500,000 troops to Vietnam to fight against an oppressed people, has done nothing to protect the rights of the Black children in Boston. By its inaction the government—including the liberal Democrats in Congress—encourages the racist mobs.

These mobs have to be stopped. The way to do it was shown by the civil rights movement, with its perspective of drawing the Black masses and all supporters of civil rights into struggle.

Rallies, marches, boycotts, and other mass protests forced the racists in city after city to back down during the late 1950s and early 1960s. That is a precedent that should be applied in Boston.

# Speak out on radio & TV

## SWP candidates defend rights of Blacks

BOSTON—"The Socialist Workers Party is unconditionally for the right of Black students to attend any school they choose. This includes the right to utilize busing," declared Donald Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor of Massachusetts, in a statement aired over Channel 2 TV on Oct. 8.

"We demand the immediate implementation of the court desegregation order and we demand that President Ford immediately dispatch federal troops to Boston to protect the rights of Black students."

The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party campaign has launched a drive to publicize the truth about the racist offensive here and to defend the rights and safety of Black students. The SWP candidates and their supporters have been speaking on radio and television, distributing leaflets, selling *The Militant*, and addressing forums and meetings.



SWP leader Peter Camejo urged national effort in defense of Boston Black students.

Gurewitz used his television time to explain: "The white boycotters claim that they are simply against what they call forced busing. This is a lie."

"Black students have been segregated into the worst schools, with the worst facilities and the least-trained teachers, for decades. The real question is whether this segregation will end and Black students will have the right to attend any school they wish, including the better schools previously reserved 'for whites only.'"

Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, was heard over Channel 7 TV on Oct. 13, shortly before the march and rally called for that afternoon by the Massachusetts legislative Black Caucus.

Bivins urged a large turnout for the action, saying, "The Black community and its allies must show in the most massive possible public way that the racist offensive will not go unopposed."

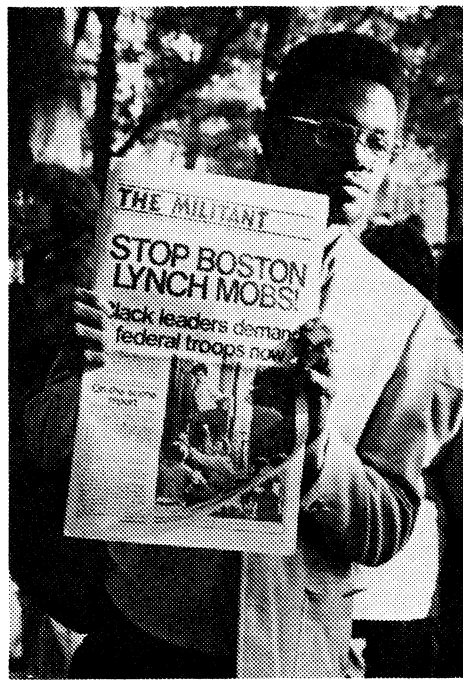
Bivins and socialist campaign supporters participated in the demonstration, distributing a campaign statement and selling 200 copies of *The Militant* to the demonstrators.

Bivins also spoke to 50 students at Southeastern Massachusetts University Oct. 15, at a meeting that set plans for a teach-in in the near future.

Peter Camejo, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, appeared at a news conference Oct. 11 along with Bivins and Gurewitz to call for a national effort in defense of the Boston Black community.

"This is no longer a local Boston issue," Camejo stated. "It is a national emergency. Boston has become the focus of a national campaign by extreme racist forces trying to stop further progress of the Black freedom struggle. If the racists succeed here, they will grow in strength and confidence all over the country."

Camejo denounced the Democratic



Socialist candidate Ollie Bivins at anti-racist rally. More than 2,500 copies of *The Militant* have been sold in Boston.

and Republican politicians around the country and especially in Massachusetts for their refusal to speak out in support of the desegregation order and the rights of Black students.

The socialist candidates sent a telegram to President Ford, Camejo said, declaring, "Your statement against what you call forced busing in Boston gives aid and comfort to white racist mobilizations and paves way for escalation of, racist violence against Black community."

Another telegram was sent to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) demanding that he go beyond his "woefully inadequate statements and initiate Senate measures to provide troops."

Camejo announced that SWP candidates from around the country were coming to Boston to express their soli-

arity with the Black community and to gather firsthand information on the struggle. Upon returning to their own states, he said, the socialist candidates will help get out the facts and mobilize support for the embattled Black community in Boston.

Among those coming to Boston are SWP gubernatorial candidates Vince Eagan from Georgia and Derrick Morrison from New York; mayoral candidate Nan Bailey from Washington, D. C.; congressional candidates Willie Reid from Illinois and Maxine Williams and Cecil Lampkin from New York; and Sam Manuel, candidate for New York attorney general.

Socialist campaign supporters around the country are also stepping up distribution of *The Militant* to help expose the real extent of the racist onslaught in Boston and the inaction of federal and state officials.

At *Militant* press time, supporters in Boston had sold more than 2,500 copies of the Oct. 18 issue, headlined "Stop Boston lynch mobs." Most have been sold to Black people at shopping centers, subway stops, and on street corners.

One example of the enthusiastic response to *The Militant* was related by Boston sales director Diana Travis. "I was walking down a street with one copy of *The Militant* under my arm and a Black man who was driving by stopped his car and jumped out, yelling, 'That's the paper I've been looking for!'"

Many other cities also took extra copies of the Oct. 18 issue. Detroit, Chicago, and Houston each took 1,000 or more. Philadelphia and Washington, D. C., report they have already sold more than their normal goals of 400.

"Many of our sales have been to people who never before read *The Militant* but were looking for a paper with information about Boston," says Washington sales director Rich Hill.

## Maoists on wrong side of barricades in Boston

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—The racist antibusing mobilization here has posed a big challenge to all radical organizations. With the exception of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, none of the radical groups have grasped the importance of the present struggle or put forward a fighting strategy against the racists.

Many radical organizations have adapted to the white-supremacist hysteria. The most blatant example of this is the response of the Revolutionary Union (RU), the largest Maoist group in the United States.

The racist offensive against the Black community has taken the form of a drive to beat back federally ordered busing to initiate desegregation. The racists' central slogan is "Stop the busing!"

The precondition for defense of the rights of the Black community in this situation is to defeat the antibusing campaign. Yet the RU has put forward the same demand as the racists! The October issue of the RU national newspaper, *Revolution*, has a headline reading, "People must unite to smash Boston busing plan."

The racists in Boston have used a traffic stop sign as the symbol for their "stop the busing" campaign. Buttons with the stop sign are proudly worn by South Boston bigot leaders. Yet the RU here has distributed a leaflet that not only raises the identical "stop the busing" slogan as the racists, but even

features the same stop-sign-like symbol!

The Maoists claim they oppose the racists. Yet the RU's perspective is virtually indistinguishable from that offered by the racists, especially the more sophisticated ones who call for "quality education for all"—after the buses have been stopped and the all-white schools guaranteed.

RU's leaflet, issued in the name of "People for a Decent Education," declares that racism is only "an element of some of the resistance to busing." It states that the "solution to low quality education is to fix up the schools in each neighborhood."

These proclamations echo the cynical justifications offered by the white racists opposed to busing who falsely declare, "We are not racists, we only

want to preserve our neighborhoods."

The racist offensive to block desegregation is being carried out through violent attacks against the Black community. White mobs have thrown bricks at school buses transporting Black students, white night riders have fired into the Black housing project at Columbia Point, and a white lynch mob nearly murdered a Black man passing by in his car.

In response to this terror there have been spontaneous outbursts by Black youth against whites. These incidents have been grossly exaggerated by the capitalist press, which is trying to create the impression that there is equal responsibility for violence on both sides.

Where do the Maoists stand on the question of the responsibility for this

violence?

The RU leaflet, while calling for Blacks to defend themselves from racist attacks, also cites "white people being attacked by Black and Latin kids." And it adds, "We defend the right of anyone to defend him or herself against these kinds of attacks."

RU thus gives credibility to the racist calls-to-arms against the "threat of Black violence."

The Maoists condemn the use of police to protect Black students. They claim that the stoning of the buses was only "a pretext" for the cops coming in. And then the police, according to RU, "vamped on some of the white teenagers" as well as Blacks. The RU leaflet, which raises the slogan, "Stop police attacks," makes it clear that they not only oppose police attacks against the Black community, but also oppose those cases where the cops "vamp on" the racist mobs attacking Black students.

Revolutionaries should be for decisive action against the hoodlum gangs attacking Black people. Revolutionaries should demand the fullest possible protection for the students being bused. The RU, however, opposes state or federal interference between the racist attackers and Black students—a position that in reality abandons the Black community to the highly organized, widespread racist terror.

Such glaring accommodations to white bigotry have caused dissension

Continued on page 26



### THE BUSING PLAN & POLICE ATTACKS!

Headline on leaflet issued by Maoist Revolutionary Union in name of 'People for a Decent Education.' Stop sign is symbol of Boston anti-Black mobilizations.



## Smears District 1 leader

# CP echoes racist slander against Fuentes

By DOUG JENNESS

The *Daily World*, which expresses the views of the Communist Party, has slanderously charged Puerto Rican school Superintendent Luis Fuentes with anti-Semitism. This scandalous attack against the recently suspended superintendent of New York City's school District 1 appears in an article by Celia Zitron in the paper's Sept. 28 issue.

"Fuentes deserves severe criticism," she writes, "for anti-Semitic statements he made at one time. But the parents will not tolerate anti-Semitism on his part."

This echoes the charge made by the worst enemies of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents struggling for better education in District 1, especially Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT).

What are the facts? The slander that Fuentes is anti-Semitic goes back to the 1968 UFT strike against the experimental school district in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Fuentes was a principal in this district at the time. During the strike the UFT officials slandered the entire leadership of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville community-controlled school district as anti-Semitic, including Luis Fuentes and Rhody McCoy, the district administrator.

Fuentes became prominent at this time because Puerto Rican parents in Manhattan's Lower East Side waged an unsuccessful battle to pressure their board to appoint him superintendent. The board's refusal to hire Fuentes was made after the UFT strike amid

a crusade against the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

The UFT officialdom, many Jewish organizations, the *New York Times*, Mayor John Lindsay, and the city council went on the warpath against what they claimed was "Black racism" and "anti-Semitism." A typical headline in the *New York Times* in January 1969 was "Outcry Growing Against Bigotry—City Council President Urges Action on Anti-Semitism."

As a veteran of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle and an articulate champion of oppressed minorities controlling their own schools, Fuentes was among those hounded by the racist crusaders who hid under the mantle of fighting anti-Semitism. A 1969 report prepared by the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL), entitled "Anti-Semitism in the New York School Controversy," included trumped-up charges of anti-Semitism against Fuentes and many militant Black leaders.

When the community school board in District 1 appointed Fuentes superintendent in the summer of 1972, Shanker immediately launched a drive to remove him. His tactic was to smear Fuentes with the charge of anti-Semitism. The ADL, the American Jewish Congress, and the Jewish Labor Committee, supported by the *New York Times* and the *Daily News*, demanded a hearing based on the charges in the 1969 report.

The New York City board of education set up a special committee under the direction of Vincent Broderick to investigate these charges. The

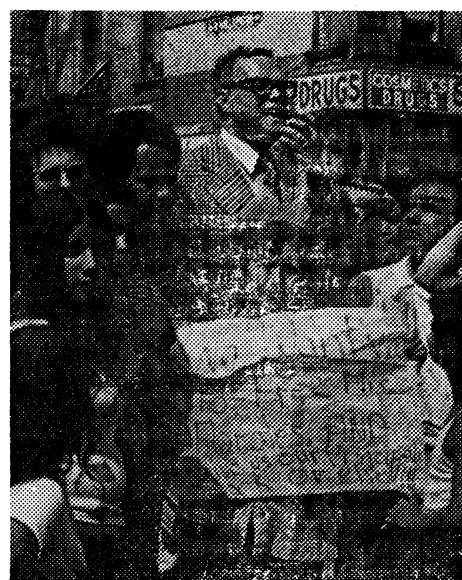
committee examined the evidence and questioned dozens of witnesses. Its report to the chancellor of education concluded that Fuentes is "neither a bigot nor a racist."

Following this verdict, Fuentes told reporters, "For almost six years these charges have dogged my career because I have fought for the rights of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese in the school system. I have been tried in the press."

"Prominent public officials have sought my suspension without a hearing. . . . I hope that with the results of the intensive investigation before the public, we can at last bind the wounds that divide people and move ahead together on behalf of the children. . . ."

By repeating this disproved slander against Fuentes, the Communist Party reflects the pressure of Shanker's smear campaign. This is shown by the context in which Zitron's attack appears. She argues that during the community school board election campaign last May, the Shankerites continually made Fuentes the issue and "referred to the supporters of the parents' slate as 'extremists' and the 'Fuentes' Band. They asked: 'What happens to your neighborhood if the Fuentes Band continues to make our schools into magnets for bands of rowdies?' 'Fuentes Band' was the term used to describe the parents."

Then she complains, "The tactic of making Fuentes the main issue in the election, was picked up by the press which constantly refers to the parents as simply supporters of Fuentes. This



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Fuentes speaking at community rally in District 1.

tactic obscures the fact that the parents are battling for the education, health, and future of their children."

It's at this point that Zitron accuses Fuentes of anti-Semitism.

While saying she supports the parents' struggle, Zitron clearly feels uncomfortable about defending Fuentes. She makes a false dichotomy here. The facts are that Fuentes was selected by a school board that was won in struggle by the parents. Fuentes helped implement programs the parents wanted and appointed supervisory personnel screened by the parents. The defense of Fuentes is the defense of an important achievement of the parents' struggle.

Fuentes has in many respects become a symbol of that struggle. To separate the parents' struggle and its aims from the defense of Fuentes is absurd. Moreover, it plays into the hands of the Shankerites, who are continually probing for divisions in the camp of those struggling for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in District 1.

During the May election campaign when the Shankerites tried to slur the parents by referring to them as the "Fuentes Band," the parents responded by putting a band on a sound truck and marching through the streets of the Lower East Side with a banner saying, "Fuentes Band." The Communist Party may not consider itself part of the "Fuentes Band," but there are many parents who do.



This was community response to attacks on 'Fuentes band.' CP repeats this insult.

Militant/Rebecca Finch

## Puerto Rican parents continue school boycott

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The doors of Public School 188 in Manhattan's Lower East Side have been closed almost every day since school began this fall in protest of the actions of the racist school board majority in District 1.

Hear Katherine Sojourner and leaders of District 1 struggle at the Socialist Workers Party 1974 Campaign banquet. Oct. 19, 6 p.m., social hour; 7 p.m., dinner; 8:30, rally. 706 Broadway, 8th floor (near 4th Street) Donation \$5.50, high school \$3.

Last year, children's reading scores finally began to rise at P.S. 188. But the five-member majority on the local school board, viciously opposed to

community control of education by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents, has fired the two parent-chosen principals at P.S. 188 as well as the District 1 superintendent, Luis Fuentes. They have also fired 150 bilingual teachers, special-program teachers, and paraprofessionals.

On Oct. 3 parents and supporters began a four-day sit-in at P.S. 188 to protest the firings. People brought them food and blankets, and as many as 500 supporters gathered outside the school at times. This reporter joined the sit-in for two nights.

On Oct. 5 those sitting in were served with a court injunction. This was followed by a midnight visit on Oct. 7 by Chancellor Irving Anker of the city's central board of education.

Surrounded by cops, Anker came to try to intimidate the parents. This

school boss has worked hand-in-glove with United Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker in a racist attempt to break the back of the community-control struggle in District 1.

Anker made parents the ludicrous offer of a "special executive session" of the local school board if they would only end their protest and wait three days for such a meeting to take place.

He also expressed phony "concern" that the demonstrators would be judged in contempt of court if they did not leave. This was actually a thinly veiled warning. "I think you have caused a great deal of attention," he told the parents. "And I think you can and should avoid the confrontation that could happen. . . . The money we are losing from the state cannot be recovered. . . . The alternatives are very, very bad."

After his "appeal to reason," Anker nervously listened for an hour while parents and pro-community-control school board members denounced his lies and his intentions of buying off the parents with rhetoric.

While rejecting Anker's threats, parents decided to end their sit-in on Oct. 7 and to devote all energies to organizing an effective boycott of P.S. 188.

Anker's promised executive session of the school board met Oct. 10. Not only did the racist majority not reinstate the fired principals, but more bilingual staff were fired!

Five hundred community-control supporters demonstrated outside the meeting until 2 a.m. Another protest action was held Oct. 15, when District 1 parents went to Albany for a hearing by the state commissioner of education on the firing of Fuentes.

## Minority workers win jobs

# Blacks, Puerto Ricans occupy building site

By GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

NEW YORK—A militant protest demanding jobs for Black and Puerto Rican construction workers has resulted in a victory here.

The New York State Dormitory Authority reportedly agreed Oct. 7 to meet the demands of the Manhattan North Coalition for Employment, Business and Housing.

The coalition includes organizations of Black and Puerto Rican construction workers such as Fight Back and Black Economic Survival as well as Black and Puerto Rican contractors and Harlem community groups.

It had demanded that 50 percent of the jobs and 25 percent of the subcontracts on City College of New

York's \$53-million North Academic Complex project be given to minority workers and contractors. Virtually none are currently employed on the site.

The coalition had also demanded the appointment of a "site coordinator" from the community to guarantee that the demands are implemented.

Sherman Edmiston, a coordinator of the coalition, told *The Militant* that the State Dormitory Authority had issued a statement agreeing "to promote the specific employment and contractor objectives of the coalition."

This decision was reached after a series of demonstrations organized the previous week by the Manhattan North Coalition. With chants of "We don't want no welfare, we want jobs," 300 Black and Puerto Rican construction workers, supporters from the Harlem community, and City College students had occupied the construction site Oct. 3.

At a rally held on campus the evening before the job-site action, Edmiston explained the purpose of the protest:

"There is a cartel of contractors who unite to keep minority workers and businesses from obtaining their fair share of work in the construction industry," he said.

"The purpose of this gathering is to ensure that the workers and businesses of this community receive an equitable share of the money being spent on the North Academic Complex."

The action at City College is part of a larger struggle to break the white job trust in the building trades in New York City. James Haughton, a leader of Fight Back and a coordinator of the coalition told the rally:



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Protest demanded that 50 percent of jobs at New York City College job site go to minority workers.

"We were here three years ago but we were not successful because the community and the students were dormant. This time we are united and we are going to maintain a constant demonstration until they have to shut down the site."

Haughton pointed to the depression-like conditions that already afflict the Harlem community, particularly the high unemployment among youth.

He also explained that in the course of fighting for preferential hiring of Black and Puerto Rican workers, white workers must also be won to the fight in order to protect their own standard of living against the bosses.

The determination of those participating in the Oct. 3 action was summed up by Bob Muñoz, one of the Puerto Rican leaders of the coal-

tion. "We'll sleep overnight here if we have to," he said. "We'll turn this into another Wounded Knee."

Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, participated in the job-site occupation, as did Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee.

Morrison addressed a rally held during the day and pledged his continuing support to the struggle. He challenged his Democratic and Republican opponents to speak out in support of the rights of Black and Puerto Rican workers.

Morrison's campaign supporters in the City College Young Socialist Alliance have been active in mobilizing student support for the actions.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Construction workers' action drew support of many students.

## The fight for jobs in N.Y. construction industry

By BAXTER SMITH

Long before protesters wriggled under fences into the City College construction site to close it down a couple of weeks ago, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Asian-Americans had fought long, bitter, and sometimes bloody struggles to break down job discrimination in the New York construction industry.

Construction is the largest single industry in the country. In New York City it is estimated to employ 350,000 workers—250,000 full-time and 100,000 seasonal workers, chiefly white high school and college students during the summer months.

Figures supplied by the contractors and building-trades unions claim that minority employment ranges from 15 to 40 percent in 17 of the 26 skilled and unskilled building trades. Only nine of the trades, union officials claim, have less than 15 percent minority employment.

Groups pressing for more Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American jobs in the construction industry, however, say this is a lie.

"There's no construction site anywhere in the city where I've seen 40 percent Black," says James Haughton, head of Fight Back, one such group. "And if they've got them, then where the hell are they?"

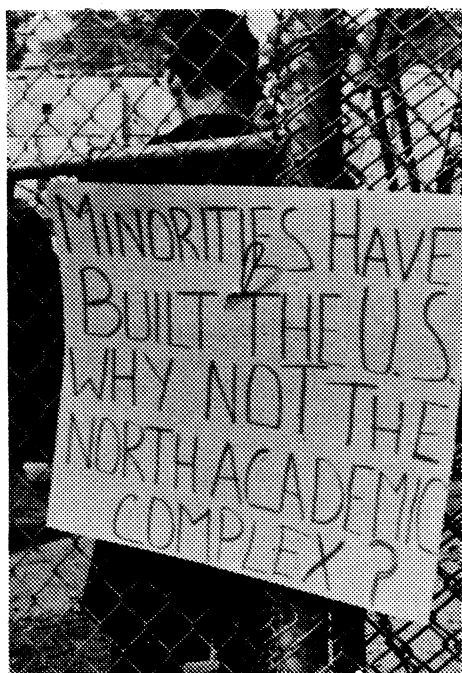
Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, calls the unions' figures "vastly inflated" and estimates the real proportion of minorities in the skilled crafts at 0.5 to 2.5 percent.

Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities constitute at least 40 percent of the city's population, and have an astronomical unemployment rate. Local struggles have often been sparked when construction

is undertaken in a minority community and white work crews are brought in to do the job.

One drawn-out struggle has been at the \$18-million Boys High School project in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. Work on the new school has been halted several times. The Boys High School Coalition, representing 10 community groups, has demanded that 60 percent of the workers be minority, preferably from the surrounding area, and that \$3-million of the subcontracting go to minority firms.

Last April, sheet-metal construction came to a halt at five sites in the city. At the Ruppert Houses development in East Harlem and at Public School 308 in Bedford-Stuyvesant, workers walked off the job in response to pick-



Militant/Arthur Hughes

eting by community groups. There and at other sites, white members of Local 28 of the Sheet Metal Workers' union walked off to protest the possibility that the union might be forced to take in more Black and Puerto Rican members.

The 3,500-member union has a minority makeup of less than 3 percent. It is recognized as one of the most intransigently racist job-trusts in the industry. It did not admit a single nonwhite to its apprenticeship program until 1965.

Most earlier protests had been by Black and Puerto Rican groups, but last spring a struggle broke out around the Confucius Plaza site in the midst of Chinatown.

In May and June, hundreds of demonstrators shut down work on the 764-unit apartment complex to demand the immediate hiring of 40 Asian-Americans and that eventually 25 percent of the work force be Asian-Americans.

During these and other struggles, some jobs have been won. But Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American workers hired as a result of these community protests are usually the first to be laid off or fired when a site is completed. The unions, moreover, have been loath to take these workers into membership.

Along with local actions centering around particular job sites, there is the long-standing dispute over a city-wide plan to eliminate racist discrimination in construction. The government is supposedly obligated to do this because of federal civil rights legislation.

In December 1970 the "New York Plan" was agreed upon by the city,

state, unions, and contractors. It is termed a "hometown" plan because it was voluntarily reached, without federal imposition.

The New York Plan was implemented in July 1971, but in January 1973 Mayor John Lindsay announced the city was withdrawing from it. The city was partially funding the plan, which was to have seen the unions voluntarily take in 1,000 minority trainees. But by January 1973 less than half that number were actually working as trainees and a mere 34 had reached journeyman status.

Lindsay proposed an alternative plan, known as Executive Order 71. It was argued that, under this plan, by 1978 minority representation in the building trades would equal the proportion of minorities in the city as a whole.

This was to be done by requiring all contractors on city projects to hire one minority trainee for every four regular journeymen. The order could also require contractors bidding on city projects to implement the same 1-to-4 ratio on all their other work, including private jobs. The order set quotas and timetables and, unlike the New York Plan, included provisions for enforcement.

These stricter measures generally met with approval from groups favoring more Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian-American employment in the construction industry. But a howl of protest went up from the contractors, racist union bureaucrats, and the federal Department of Labor.

Labor Secretary Peter Brennan used to be head of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Council in

Continued on page 26



# Runaway inflation: what causes it?

By FRANK LOVELL

When the Ford administration announced a series of high-level meetings on the faltering economy, leading to the Sept. 27-28 "summit conference," one of the projected goals was "to identify the causes of inflation."

After a dozen meetings with the most authoritative economists, prominent business executives, and a few high-ranking union officials, a variety of conflicting "cures" were proposed, but little was said about the causes of inflation. This defies the time-tested axiom that those who would prescribe cures should first seek the cause.

Monetary inflation is not a new phenomenon, and its causes are in fact well known. After World War I the countries of Europe suffered from inflation, especially the defeated central powers and Germany most of all. This was caused by the destruction of industry during the war, the resulting scarcity of commodities, and general social instability.

## Printing paper money

The Weimar Republic in Germany, seeking by desperate means to maintain capitalist property relations, embarked on deficit spending with a vengeance. In 1921-22 the German government spent three times as much as it took in. By January 1923 it was spending 10 times as much as its



Berlin Reichsbank, 1923. Cart was needed to carry one firm's payroll as paper money became practically worthless.

revenues. It made up the difference by printing vast quantities of paper money that were not backed up by any real material value.

Then as now, when a government puts into circulation more money than there are goods to be bought, the result is inevitable. The value of money in terms of goods falls drastically; the price of goods, measured in money, skyrockets.

A day's wages would not buy a loaf of bread. Newsprint was more valuable than paper currency. A Berlin newspaper exchanged for eight billion marks. The money system of exchange was virtually replaced by barter. There were food riots and mass unemployment.

When the German workers moved to overthrow the government and replace it with workers councils, socialist revolution was on the agenda. But the Weimar Republic managed to weather the threat of revolution and to restore a semblance of stability.

Under the Dawes plan of 1924, the U.S. advanced a massive loan to Germany. This helped underwrite a new German currency, with one new mark, called a Rentenmark, equaling a trillion old marks.

After the Wall Street crash in 1929 and the 1931 collapse of the world banking system, the German ruling class called upon Hitler's fascist gangs to break up the union movement and the working-class political parties. It then proceeded, after installing Hitler as head of the government in 1933, to prepare for World War II in order to redivide the world market to its own advantage.

## Depression and world war

There was nothing mysterious about the causes of the incredible currency inflation in Germany after World War I. What caused the Great Depression of the 1930s was likewise well known.

At the end of the 1920s the U.S. economy reached a crisis of overproduction, an inevitable point in the capitalist business cycle. More com-

modities had been produced than could be profitably sold, the stock market crashed, industrial production was cut back, and unemployment lines lengthened. The depression spread from the U.S. abroad, and as each capitalist state adopted nationalist, protectionist policies—imposing high tariff barriers against foreign goods and refusing to make long-term foreign loans—world trade stagnated.

Hitler was credited with solving the problem of unemployment in Germany because the Nazi government opened the war plants and put everyone to work—except those it shipped to concentration camps.

Mammoth war expenditures by the capitalist powers during World War II brought a new wave of inflation, including in the United States, despite phony price controls.

With war production pulling the economy out of the Great Depression, the millions of workers who had just found jobs for the first time in years were at first little inclined to protest the rising prices. Most workers thought the inflation was temporary and caused only by wartime scarcities.

But the real cause of inflation was government deficit spending for war materiel. The government made up the difference between its spending and its tax revenues by borrowing from the banks. This mechanism is slightly more complicated than simply printing more paper money, but the inflationary effect is the same.

A measure of how much was borrowed is the contrast between the federal budget deficit in 1936 and 1943. The highest deficit in the depression years, when Roosevelt was trying to "prime the pump" and when there were still nine million unemployed, was \$4.4-billion. That was 1936.

In 1943, to finance war industry and build "the arsenal of democracy," the deficit was \$57.4-billion. This huge amount of money, pumped into the bloodstream of the economy, serving to produce for the war machine and not for useful goods, drove up the prices of consumer commodities, which were in short supply.

## Inflation in colonial world

Colonial and semicolonial countries are beset with chronic inflation, especially since World War II. The cause is different. The national currencies in these countries are largely dependent on the international monetary system and are severely affected by unfavorable trade relations with the imperialist powers.

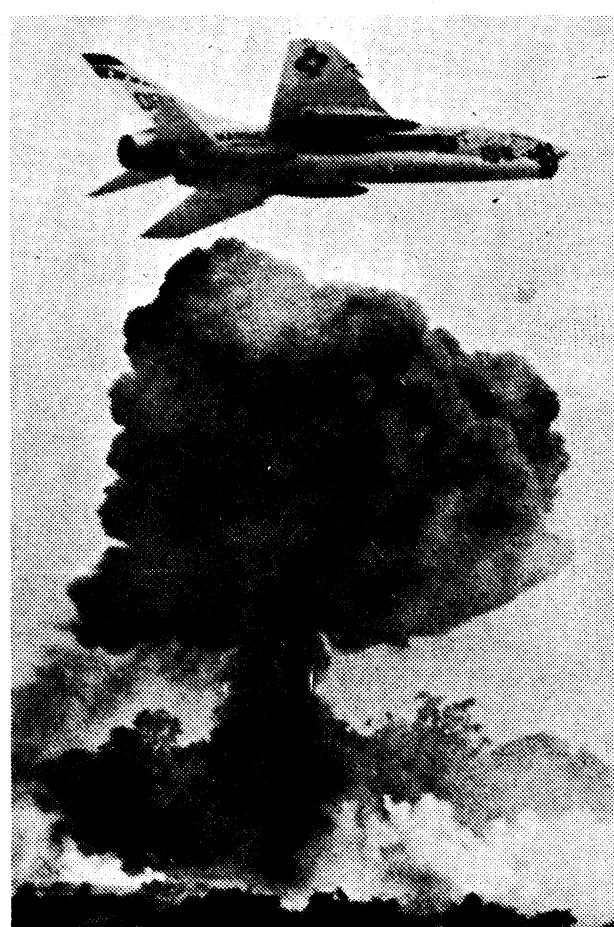
Industrial nations control the rates of exchange and are thus able to extract raw materials from Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia while giving little in return. The device of withholding credit or limiting purchases of raw materials in any of the colonial countries creates shortages of finished goods and causes domestic prices to rise.

One glaring example of this was the U.S.-induced inflation in Chile, which produced economic and social instability and helped lead to the Allende government.

Inflation in the colonial world is a constant part of the relationship with the imperialist countries. Michael Manley, prime minister of Jamaica, recently protested this.



Chuquicamata copper mine in Chile. Unequal terms of trade keep colonial countries poor and inflation-prone.



U.S. government's deficit spending to finance war machine is main cause of inflation.

"Over the years," says Manley, "the prices received for exported raw materials, on which poor countries depend, have tended to be unstable with little tendency to rise, while prices of manufactured and processed goods exported by the metropolitan countries have tended to be stable with a steady tendency to increase. Therefore, more and more raw materials have to be exported to finance the imported goods on which the poorer countries depend, because prices have moved constantly to our disadvantage."

## World crisis

Today's worldwide inflation is the climax of a process that has unfolded throughout the post-World War II period. There are three main currents in this process.

First is the huge military outlays. In 1974 the military is costing \$100-billion, one-third of the federal budget. This is what it costs U.S. imperialism to police the world.

The second is continued deficit spending to meet the military budget, especially during and since the Vietnam war. Since 1965 the federal government has spent \$102.9-billion more than it has taken in.

The deficits have produced a staggering national debt, totaling \$468-billion by 1973. The interest payment on this debt for 1974 alone will be about \$30-billion.

The third big development is the steady growth of competition from the other capitalist powers. With the rebuilding of industry in Western Europe and Japan, commodities from these countries entered the marketplace, swelling the volume of world trade.

A shift occurred in the U.S. balance of foreign trade. In 1971, for the first time in this century, the U.S. imported more than it exported. Turning this situation around and improving U.S. industry's competitive position on the world market was the central reason for Nixon's Aug. 15, 1971, declaration devaluing the dollar and freezing American workers' wages.

The devaluation itself was doubly inflationary. It automatically made all imported goods more expensive and gave U.S. corporations leeway to raise their own prices to match those of foreign competitors. In addition, devaluation increased world demand for U.S. goods, helping to drive up prices still more.

These three economic factors—unprecedented military spending for a quarter century, a crushing national debt, and sharpening interimperialist competition—are the basic causes of the crisis of the capitalist economy and the instability of the world monetary system.

Coupled with this, and arising from it, is the threat of mass unemployment throughout the capitalist world. Unemployment combined with inflation on a broad scale is something new for capitalism. A future article will examine how this has happened, and what causes unemployment.

## Proposition L: attack on S.F. city workers

By NAT WEINSTEIN

**SAN FRANCISCO**—City workers here face a major attack on their standard of living. The majority of the San Francisco board of supervisors, all supported by labor in previous elections, have put a vicious antilabor measure on the Nov. 5 ballot for referendum vote.

Proposition L would establish a new wage-setting formula for city workers that would rule out any semblance of collective bargaining. Wages would be set by a "scientific formula" establishing "prevailing rates of pay" as a criterion.

By selecting pay scales from private industry and other California city governments, this formula would systematically set lower pay standards for each category of workers.

Other aspects of Proposition L provide for repeal of city charter provisions establishing salaries and benefits for municipal railway, crafts, and trades workers. It would also mean a wage freeze for an undetermined period of time for 65 percent of city workers.

Those affected most by this reactionary proposition are Blacks, Chicanos, Filipinos, and women, who

*Nat Weinstein is an active member of Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from California's 5th C. D.*

make up the majority of workers in low-paid city jobs.

This attack was prepared at least two years ago. As a result of the cutbacks in social services and steady erosion of public employees' living standards, an unprecedented wave of militancy and union consciousness has swept through public employee ranks.

The relative strength of the trade unions in San Francisco has also helped some categories of city workers keep their wages more or less abreast of prices.

For example, as a concession to the powerful building-trades unions, city building-trades workers' pay scales have been pegged to the contracts won by these unions in private industry. Also, the powerful Transport



Militant/Howard Petrick

City workers' strike last spring. Democrats are leading drive to roll back gains won by unions then.

Workers Union in the municipal transit system won pay scales based on the next to the highest wage won by transit unions in the country.

The ruling class in San Francisco, anticipating a wave of struggles from the rapidly expanding unions of low-paid city workers, took advantage of the tax squeeze on workers. They sought to direct the anger over high and unfair taxes against the city employees.

In 1972 a high-powered media campaign was launched trumpeting the "scandalous overpayment" of city workers. "\$21,000 a year bus drivers" and "\$17,000 a year street sweepers" became the battle cry in the propaganda assault. The figures cited were contrived and had little to do with real wages.

Despite this attempt to generate a hostile public atmosphere, the city workers won massive working-class support for their strike early this year. Although winning only modest wage increases, they were in a position to press the advantage of having won a test of strength.

The impressive labor solidarity responsible for the victory could have brought thousands of new recruits to the unions, and encouraged unorganized office workers in private industry to follow the city workers' example.

Beaten in an economic struggle, the boss class, represented by the Cham-

ber of Commerce, counterattacked on other fronts. They immediately went about the business of taking away what had been won on the picket line, and more. The first step was to stop payment of the strike settlement increases through a court injunction. To this day, wage increases owed to city workers have not been paid.

Now, through their control of the political apparatus—the board of supervisors—the employing class has introduced Proposition L, which is designed to pit working-class voters against their brothers and sisters who work for the city.

Slick? Yes. But only effective because of the self-defeating political strategy of the heads of the unions. They have painted up one faker after another in the capitalist parties as "friends of labor," concealing their real antilabor acts and taking their empty promises for good coin.

Workers were thus politically unprepared for the shock of seeing the supposedly prolabor board of supervisors ram through this vicious piece of legislation.

The heads of the San Francisco labor movement are beginning to show symptoms of disarray and division over implementation of their political strategy of supporting Democrats and Republicans. Stung over and over again, they have been grabbing onto the coattails of ever less friendly pol-

iticians. More frequently now they find themselves divided into opposite camps because they cannot agree which scoundrel is the "lesser evil."

Although Mayor Joseph Alioto and Company are "on record" against Proposition L, the labor chiefs don't really expect much help from that quarter. Labor officials know that a defeat on this issue will be interpreted as another proof of the decline of labor's ability to deliver the vote. They fear that would reduce their "influence" with capitalist politicians to new lows.

Thus the labor officialdom, halfheartedly and with much foot dragging, has set out to mobilize its own forces to defeat this latest attack.

Two labor-sponsored committees have surfaced. One is composed exclusively of workers. The other is a coalition composed of Democratic and Republican officeholders, including Alioto. The all-labor committee seems to be the one that is to do the work, while the coalition committee is to be the public face. To this date almost nothing has appeared in the media indicating even minimal campaigning by labor's capitalist political "friends" against Proposition L.

The labor officialdom has been unable to explain how the present situation came to pass, because of its fear of embarrassing and alienating these capitalist politicians.

And worse, the appearance of having a powerful coalition with Alioto stands as the chief obstacle to telling workers the most important fact of this situation: that labor is in this fight *alone*. The workers cannot depend on Democratic and Republican "allies," and the only way they can win is to organize as an independent political force.

One example of the type of action that is needed is the mass labor rally called for Oct. 19 at city hall. The rally is sponsored by Transport Workers Union Local 250-A and is endorsed by a wide spectrum of unions.

Such actions, which can mobilize workers and inspire them with a vision of the real power of the labor movement, point the way toward a break from class-collaborationist politics.

## Cop raid destroys office of Argentine socialists

Police in the Argentine city of Córdoba smashed in the door of the headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) on Oct. 10 and seized all 15 persons who were inside.

The Communist Party headquarters in the city was raided at about the same time.

Those arrested at the PST offices were badly beaten and kept in jail for 48 hours. They were then released without being charged with any offense.

The police raiders completely wrecked the PST offices. Painted all over the walls were the slogans "Viva la Policía!" and "Viva las Tres A's!" (Long Live the Police! and Long Live the Three A's!) The "Three A's" refers to the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, a rightist murder gang that has already taken responsibility for the assassination of several well-known figures on the Argentine left.

The attack on the PST and CP in

Córdoba came in the context of a general rightist assault against the vanguard of the workers movement in that city. Córdoba is the stronghold of the class-struggle tendencies in the Argentine labor movement.

The rightist offensive began last



Rightist goons in Cordoba

February, when a coup carried out by local police and goons of the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy removed the elected liberal Peronist governor from power. Perón later sanctioned the coup by forcing the resignation of the elected government and putting the province under administration of the national government.

At the end of September the rightists took a new step in their offensive. They engineered a takeover of the Córdoba council of the automobile union, SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades). The deposed leader of SMATA in Córdoba is René Salamanca, a well-known class-struggle unionist.

Then on Oct. 10 police staged a raid on the headquarters of the Light and Power Workers Union, headed by Agustín Tosco, the country's most prominent independent militant trade-union leader. The union was subsequently put under trusteeship by the national Ministry of Labor.

The PST has faced murderous attacks in cities other than Córdoba. It has been active throughout the country in trying to build up a class-struggle tendency in the unions.

Over the weekend of Oct. 11-13, two members of the PST were kidnapped by a rightist gang in Buenos Aires and tortured for several hours before being released. In the city of Mendoza the PST headquarters was destroyed by a bomb.

The PST has demanded a halt to police complicity with the rightist gangs and has initiated a legal suit against the government, calling for redress for the attacks on its members and headquarters.

Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the PST, said at a conference in Buenos Aires that what democratic rights do exist in Argentina are due not to Perón but to the force of workers' struggles since 1969, in particular the struggles of the Córdoba workers who are now the victims of repressive attacks by the Peronist government and rightist Peronist gangs.



## Wilson program: wage 'sacrifices'

# Labour wins majority in British elections

From Intercontinental Press

In Britain's general election October 10, the Labour government was re-elected with a narrow three-seat majority in the 635-seat House of Commons.

Final returns gave the Labour party 319 seats, with 39.3 percent of the total vote, up 2.1 percent from the previous election last February. The Conservatives held 276 seats, a drop of twenty, with 35.8 percent of the vote, their lowest standing in modern electoral history. The Liberals held thirteen seats, a loss of two. Their vote dropped slightly to 18.3 percent.

The popular vote totals of all three parties declined below their levels in the election eight months ago. A considerably smaller proportion of the electorate went to the polls—72 percent, compared with 79 percent in February.

A significant feature of the October 10 election results was the increased vote for nationalist candidates in Scot-

land and Wales. The Scottish Nationalist party, campaigning for the political independence of Scotland, went from seven to eleven seats, their most ever; and the Welsh Nationalists gained one for a total of three.

In Northern Ireland, the Protestant Unionists took ten seats.

The Conservatives had campaigned with a promise to form a "stop-Labour" coalition government with other forces, in the first place the Liberals. Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson, campaigning for a solid Labour majority, dismissed this as "a desperate attempt by desperate men to get back into power by any means."

The Labour victory indicates that the British voters did not want a return to the Conservatives, defeated last February when Prime Minister Edward Heath called an election to back his hard-line stance toward striking coal miners.

But the slimness of the Labour majority—much smaller than last-minute

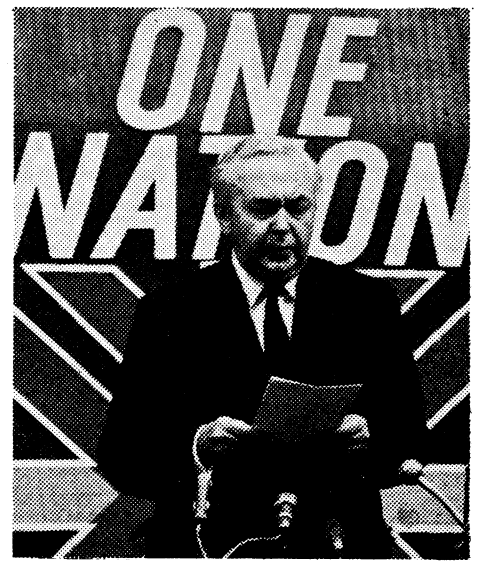
polls had predicted—and the size of the vote for the Scottish and Welsh nationalists, showed that many workers do not feel that Labour offers a solution to their problems. Those problems include an inflation rate now running at 17 percent annually, and an unemployment figure of close to 700,000—much of it concentrated in underdeveloped areas like Scotland and Wales.

Wilson's program was summed up in the theme of his election-night victory speech: the need for "national unity" to confront the economic crisis, based on appeals to Labour's working-class constituency to make "sacrifices" in wages and living standards. Many workers evidently thought that since they would be called on to sacrifice no matter who won the election, Conservatives or Labour, they would rather have a government somewhat more sensitive to pressure from the trade unions.

The trade-union bureaucrats went along with Wilson's strategy, agreeing to his "social contract"—a promise of "voluntary" restraints in wage bargaining and increased efforts to avoid using the strike weapon—in hopes that this concession would encourage conservative-minded voters to turn to Labour.

Speculation immediately after the election centered on the extent to which Wilson would invoke his narrow parliamentary majority as justification for retreating still further from the hopes and demands of the labor rank and file.

The London *Financial Times's* political editor thought the election verdict would "not immediately" affect the issue very much one way or the



Both Labour and Tories stressed 'national unity' to avoid reality of class struggle.

other. "Everyone" in the Labour government, he wrote October 11, "will say that it is an approval of the social contract and will start talking about national unity as if they were Conservatives. In practice, however, external events and pressures seem far more likely to dictate Government policy."

Those "external pressures" include the course of the class struggle in Britain and the deepening trend toward a world recession—which would have a catastrophic effect on British capitalism.

The Labour government's attitude toward the coming class conflicts was illustrated just before the election, when Shirley Williams, secretary of state for prices and consumer protection, charged that "rogue" employers were granting unjustified wage increases in an "irresponsible fashion."



Slums in Glasgow. Vote was up for candidates favoring political independence for Scotland.

# New moves toward U.S.-Cuba relations

The recent visit of U. S. senators Jacob Javits and Claiborne Pell to Cuba has increased the momentum building in U. S. ruling circles for a resumption of trade and diplomatic relations with Havana.

The moves toward resuming relations stem from a combination of factors. First, Washington's economic blockade of Cuba, instituted in 1962, has failed. More and more Latin American governments have unilaterally resumed trade with Cuba. And the Cuban planned economy—although still facing huge problems—has taken tremendous strides forward despite Washington's attempt to strangle it.

At the same time, Cuba's inescapable economic dependence on aid from the Soviet Union has pressured the Cuban leadership into increasing acceptance of Moscow's détente policy. This is one of the reasons the U. S. rulers are amenable to reviewing their blockade policy; they see signs that Castro is willing to make concessions in terms of supporting the capitalist status quo in Latin America instead of promoting the example of the Cuban socialist revolution.

Senators Javits (R-N. Y.) and Pell (D-R. I.) are both members of the Foreign Relations Committee and have introduced a Senate resolution calling for a review of U. S.-Cuban relations.

Following their three-hour talk with Fidel Castro Sept. 29, which the senators described to reporters as "friendly, frank, and warm," Senator Javits said, "We felt the Cuban Government, Premier Castro particularly, were interested in working for better relations

with the United States—that was our impression."

Before meeting with Castro, Javits said he was "disappointed" by the Cuban premier's speech to a mass rally in Havana Sept. 28 celebrating the fourteenth anniversary of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. The senators refused to attend the rally but watched the speech on television in the Swiss Embassy, which handles U. S. affairs in Cuba.

Castro devoted most of his 45-minute speech to attacking Washington. Referring to Ford's threats against the oil-producing countries, Castro said that international inflation resulted not from the prices they charged, but from the policies of the imperialists.

"They [the U. S. imperialists] imposed on the community of nations the monetary system that gave the dollar a privileged position over all other currencies," Castro said. "They inundated the world and the central banking reserves of almost all countries with U. S. bills that greatly exceeded their gold backing; they blockaded and isolated the socialist community from international commerce; they began the Cold War; they unleashed the arms race; they and their allies in military pacts invested thousands of millions each year in armaments over a quarter of a century; they promoted the Vietnam war, that cost more than 150,000 million dollars.

"The war budget of the United States surpasses the figure of 80,000 million dollars a year, and the CIA alone spends thousands of millions a year. In this dismal imperialist policy lie

the roots of inflation and the monetary crisis that arose considerably before the increase in oil prices. Finally, they imposed the consumer society and the unlimited waste of the peoples' natural resources. The increase in oil prices, at most, sharpened a situation of crisis already unleashed by the imperialist society itself."

The Cuban premier called for unity of the underdeveloped world behind the oil-producing countries in the face of Washington's threats. He especially stressed the need for support to Venezuela if it nationalizes its iron and oil resources as its government has vowed to do. "We must see in her battle a battle of all our peoples!" stated Castro.

Castro described the Organization of American States, which "suspended" Cuba at Washington's behest 12 years ago, as "shameless, discredited, and prostituted." He urged the formation of a new Latin American organization that would exclude imperialist countries.

During their three-day visit to Cuba senators Javits and Pell toured farms, housing projects, and public-health facilities. The achievements of the Cuban revolution in these areas were recorded by some of the 28 U. S. journalists accompanying the senators.

"They have made fantastic medical progress," Javits said. Pell added, "Cuba's medical services are all scot-free."



Brezhnev in Havana lobbying for Cubans to make accommodations with U. S. imperialism

## Don't get sick

Ford is at it again. The response to his earlier "Eat less, heat less, drive less" speech was less than overwhelming. People aren't beating down the White House doors to get WIN ("Whip Inflation Now") buttons to wear while they tighten their belts.

So the commander-in-chief has laid out more advice for "fighting inflation":

- Form "citizens' action committees" to hold down wages. The committees are also supposed to watch prices, and can award WIN flags to corporations that stick to "reasonable" price increases. Try that one next time you're in the supermarket.

- Plant "WIN gardens" to grow your own vegetables.

- "Make economizing fashionable. Shop wisely, look for bargains."

- "Clean up your plates" in order to "waste less."

Some may be tempted to regard Ford as a bumbling idiot out of touch with the real world—where working people are already forced by inflation to scrimp, cut corners, do without, and for millions, go hungry.

But Ford's purpose is deadly serious: to convince American workers to accept cuts in their standard of living while boosting the profits of the ruling rich. "In short, work better," he demanded, "waste less of both time and materials."

Finally, to add insult to injury, Ford told us not to get sick. "Guard your health," he said, because "one of the worst wastes we have today is days lost through sickness."

This is as we shiver in our apartments, eat less, breathe dirtier air as pollution controls are abandoned, and suffer cutbacks in medical care programs.

Even the capitalist media seem to regard Ford's exhortations as embarrassingly inept. The TV networks at first declined to carry his message live, and they might have been wiser not to. The crude demands for sacrifice are only adding to the anger of working people.

But the "more serious" proposals to "fight inflation," such as Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield's demand for immediate wage controls and gasoline rationing, are equally aimed at making workers pay for the economic crisis.

The only way to fight the effects of inflation is for the masses of workers themselves to fight uncompromisingly for their own needs against the profiteers.

## Nixon's backers

Richard Nixon was driven out of office as a crook. His hand-picked successor, Ford, pardoned him from all criminal charges. Now Ford has decided to hand over public funds to help Nixon defend himself against civil suits by Americans who were the victims of illegal harassment and surveillance during his administration.

The civil suits—brought by Jane Fonda, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and others—charge Nixon and other defendants in the government and FBI with such things as the keeping of secret dossiers, wiretapping, disruption, and terrorist attacks against dissenters.

The Justice Department has said that it is giving Nixon free legal aid because of the need to defend the "continuing functions of the government." This is simply an admission that in the view of the Ford administration one of the necessary "functions of the government" is to spy on and try to disrupt the efforts of any who dare to challenge the injustice of the status quo.

In an editorial aptly headlined "Justice Dept. or Nixon Defense Committee?" the *New York Post* stated Oct. 12 that the charges in the civil suits "concern varieties of 'dirty tricks' engineered by the Nixon cabal in illicit political operations designed to perpetuate its power. Is it the duty of the taxpayers—many of whom were, in effect, the victims of this mischief—to subsidize a legal defense fund?"

The American people have for years been footing the bill for illegal frame-up prosecutions of political activists by the government. It is well known that massive financial and political efforts have been needed to beat back these frame-ups.

Now the victims are on the offensive, yet we have to face the formidable obstacle of the massive resources put at Nixon's disposal by Ford.

One of the best ways to fight back against this new outrage is to support the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is working to publicize and raise funds for the suit by the SWP and the YSA. Offer your help, or send a contribution, to: PRDF, 156 Fifth Ave., Rm. 703, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 691-3270.

### Plumber strikes again

*Militant* readers may recall an article last year about Bob Wilkinson, a man who had infiltrated the Denver Young Socialist Alliance and who after being expelled as a police agent turned up six months later as a key figure in the White House "plumbers" unit bugging of Dita Beard's hospital room here in Denver.

This foot soldier has added new testimony as to the low moral stature of those who enlisted in Nixon's secret Watergate army to defend the "national interest."

On Sept. 2, Wilkinson was sentenced to 60 days in the Jefferson County jail and two years' probation for his role in "setting up" the head of "intelligence" of the Lakewood, Colo., Department of Public Safety.

Wilkinson hired a prostitute and then used a James Bond apparatus of secret cameras and hidden tape recorders to record a liaison between the woman and the Lakewood cop. Wilkinson was hired for this job by the owner of the Red Rocker Lounge, a local bar, to set up the cop in an attempt to blackmail him into stopping harassment of the bar.

The prosecutor in the case said that Wilkinson had "the greatest arrogance of law that I have ever seen."

Peter Seidman

Denver, Colo.

### Not underground

If it had not been for you sending me the paper, I would not know one-half of what goes on in the world. As you know, the radio only gives out very little news and the TV only what the Department of Justice wants them to run.

Many of the things that go on in other prisons we would not know about if you had not run it in your paper.

They call your paper an "underground" paper, but we call it the true, right-on, people's paper.

A prisoner  
Illinois

### A valuable investment

I would like to subscribe to *The Militant*. I was made aware of your socialist newsweekly through another inmate here. It is my understanding that *The Militant* is available to prison inmates at no cost.

Although I do think the paper well worth the few dollars, I haven't any in my account to donate in support of *The Militant*. But as soon as I do I will send what I can, for I regard the socialist movement as a valuable investment.

A prisoner  
Kansas

### Thanks

Enclosed is \$5 for the Prisoner Fund. And thank you for not stopping, not giving any phony sighs of relief when others do.

R. K.  
Denver, Colo.

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't

pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

### Keep on saying it

Please open a trial subscription to *The Militant*. I expect to open a regular subscription when that runs out. I disagree with what you say in some instances but feel you should keep on saying it.

H. F.

Washington, D. C.

### What's in a name?

Having recently purchased a copy of *The Militant* in New York City, after already getting briefly acquainted with it in St. Louis, I'd like to get into your \$1 introductory offer.

Let me say that so far, of the two issues that I've read, there's a lot that can be said to be more true than people would suspect in view of the paper's name being *The Militant*. Your fresh point of view is a break from *Newsday*, and says a hell of a lot more in some cases.

Here's the buck, send the issues.

Joseph Delmore  
Massapequa, N. Y.

### Community control

I am a teacher in a small educational experiment begun in 1968 on the Goddard College campus. Many of our students are members of minorities and most of them are earning below-average salaries.

A substantial number of our students work in paraprofessional positions in schools and day-care centers and have hopes of becoming certified teachers in the near future. So the problems of contemporary American education are a recurring subject of research and study here.

I have noticed that one theme that students are often interested in is the issue of community control of the schools. There are few sources that offer information or analysis of this issue, and I have followed for more than a year *The Militant's* coverage of the fight of the parents of New York's District 1 for control of their school system.

Many of my students can appreciate *The Militant's* defense of the right of communities to control their own schools. Further, many of them can be cheered to see that there is a clear alternative to the racism and repression that exists in the modern American school system and that there are parents and teachers who believe strongly enough in that alternative to fight for it.

Nancy Brumback  
Plainfield, Vt.

### On auto workers

When the current United Auto Workers contracts were negotiated in 1973, workers who had retired before 1970 were told they would receive \$8.25 for each year of service as of October 1974. Then the company told them that there would be a 12 percent deduction for those who retired early, and a





## Miners beware of slick mediators

further deduction of 11 percent for their survivors' benefits.

In other words, the actual benefits are nearer \$6.50 per year of service.

For workers still on the job, speedup is again rampant. At Fleetwood Fisher Body, for example, 1975 Cadillac bodies are going down the lines at a record pace.

The president of UAW Local 15 reports that "management is back at their old tricks again, adding work and taking away manpower."

He assures the workers that neither he nor the other officers of the local are strike-happy. Production is working nine hours a day, six days a week. So by Christmas holidays the company will have a substantial inventory of new Cadillacs. Then they will tell the union officers to call a strike if they want to. The future of the auto worker does not look good.

John W. Anderson  
Dearborn, Mich.

### The real criminals

Why should the petty thief or shop-lifter go to jail at all? That's the issue at stake in Nixon's "getting off" or not for his crimes.

I do not believe the issue is that Nixon should go to jail, however that might please many people (myself included).

Many individuals are forced into "criminal" behavior, like stealing to eat, because they were doomed to not receiving a decent income.

By contrast to Nixon, these people are far less deserving of jail. The reason they are put in jail is because the governing group will not change the poverty that it knows is the impulse for the next theft or "crime."

Rufessa Martens  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

### Kangaroo court

Something caught my eye in the Sept. 27 issue of *The Militant*. It was an article that quoted Mary Watkins, mother of J. B. Johnson, who was framed up on a murder charge in St. Louis more than two years ago.

In St. Louis I met Ms. Watkins several times at meetings of the Committee to Free J. B. Johnson. I also attended one of the court hearings where J. B. was trying to get a new trial, which he certainly deserves. That hearing, like others, would have made even a kangaroo court feel jealous.

I hope that *The Militant* will continue to present information on J. B.'s progress in the near future. A prisoner  
South Carolina

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.

Federal mediators are expected to have a big part in the coal settlement next month. They have carefully prepared to enter the negotiations at the proper time, a necessary preliminary operation.

The United Mine Workers have traditionally opposed government interference, and this year the UMW leadership indicated very early that it felt capable of negotiating a new contract without government "help."

Contract demands were drafted at a series of rank-and-file district conferences this summer and submitted to the coal operators Sept. 4 by UMW President Arnold Miller and the union negotiating committee.

John DiBiase, a Bargaining Council member and UMW District 4 president, said at the outset, "Every miner knows we're not going to win every demand we've made, but every operator better know that if we don't get a lot of them, they're not going to get any coal."

Miller warned the operators not to stall until the Nov. 12 deadline because, he said, "I want the rank-and-file membership to have ample time to study any agreement before they are asked to vote on it."

This attitude of union officials cast gloom, real or feigned, in the camp of the operators. They are raking in big profits and intend to keep them. This summer the Tennessee Valley Authority, biggest U. S. coal buyer, was forced to renegotiate an \$8-a-ton contract and pay \$28.50. *Business Week* (Oct. 5) reports that "some utilities have had to pay \$40 a ton and higher." But miners' wages are the same now as when they dug \$8-a-ton coal.

The price gougers know that they must make concessions to the miners in the form of higher wages and safer working conditions. For them it is a matter of how much they can get and how little they must give. One of their best aids in this game is the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, headed by W. J. Usery Jr., a onetime union official. This is why the conciliation service is preparing to enter the union-management bargaining in the soft-coal industry. The coal operators are looking for help.

Usery boasted recently that for him 1974 is "a bench-mark year." He claimed partial credit for the steel industry's Experimental Negotiating Agreement,

which, he said, "virtually guaranteed there will be no major interruption . . . this decade." According to Usery, this "can be counted as a victory for the collective bargaining process—American style."

About the coal negotiations, Usery said he is "hopeful that the collective bargaining process will once again succeed."

The Ford administration named Arnold Miller to the new Labor-Management Committee, and earlier Usery was brought in to settle the 13-month strike in Harlan County, Ky., against Duke Power. "Not since the days of John L. Lewis has the federal government paid such attention to the relatively small UMW," says *Business Week*. These are useful preliminary moves before the big settlement.

After the Harlan County settlement in August, Usery said of the negotiations for a new miners' contract in the soft-coal industry that he will "let bargaining run its normal course," but is prepared to step in when called.

He comes from Georgia and likes to pose as an "ol' country boy." One of his associates in the conciliation service says of Usery, ". . . such a line of B. S. You wouldn't believe, the purest strain in Washington."

According to all accounts, Usery is heavy on patriotism. A *Washington Post* story calls him "a genuine patriot who can wrap himself and everybody else at the table in the flag and not have people throwing up."

In coming negotiations with the miners Usery will try all manner of deceit to get a good deal for the operators. But the miners, unlike the steelworkers, will have a chance to study the contract when it is written and they will vote on it before it is signed. This makes it tough for slick mediators.

The mediators have remedies for getting around this problem by softening up the workers in a strike or lockout combining this with government pressure for a quick settlement. This may be why some major employing-class journals, like *Business Week*, are predicting "a short strike a probability." Perhaps wishful thinking on their part.

The miners will have something to say and they may decide to extend the strike if necessary. In any case, the hopes of the employers ride on Usery at this stage.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Virginia Slims opinion poll

Support for efforts to improve women's status in society is, for the first time, a mainstream sentiment among the American people. That's one of the conclusions of the Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll released Oct. 3.

The study was conducted in the spring of 1974 by the Roper Organization. A representative cross-section of the male and female population, age 18 and over, was interviewed about the changing status of women, sex roles and stereotypes, marriage, divorce, life-styles, the family, and other related issues.

A clear majority of both women and men now support efforts to strengthen women's status in society: 57 percent of women and 63 percent of men. These percentages are up 19 points for men and 17 points for women since 1970.

The most significant increase comes from Black men. In 1970, 52 percent answered in favor of women's rights. By 1974 the figure had jumped to 67 percent. Black women, it should be noted, have always been the strongest supporters of such efforts. In 1970, 60 percent of Black women, compared to only 37 percent of white women, answered in the affirmative. By 1974, Black women's support had risen to 67 percent, and white women's to 55 percent.

Support for women's rights is accompanied by a growing awareness that women are in fact discriminated against, particularly on the job market.

Greatest awareness of sexual discrimination on the job and in education is expressed by two groups: college-educated men and women, and Black men and women.

The women's liberation movement's fights around

specific issues have made an impact on people's attitudes. The fight against tracking of girls in school, for instance, has helped convince 82 percent of women and 79 percent of men that it's a good idea for girls to study woodworking and shop. And even more men and women believe it's a good idea for boys to take cooking classes.

The education that has been done around the issue of abortion, however, is perhaps the most significant. Three out of four women feel that where abortion is legal the decision should be left up to a woman and her doctor. Seventy percent of men agree.

And in spite of the reactionary "right-to-life" campaign to overturn the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion, only 36 percent of women and 31 percent of men think the laws legalizing abortion should be repealed.

Among the most interesting statistics revealed by the survey are those surrounding marriage and the family. According to 96 percent of women and 92 percent of men, marriage is by far the preferred way of life compared to living alone, living in a commune, living with someone of the opposite sex without marrying, or living with someone of the same sex.

The concept of marriage, however, is going through an enormous change. People have different expectations and demands regarding their own role in a marriage, their partner's role, and the role of children.

These changing expectations, as well as the survey's revelations about changing morality, sexuality, and life-styles will be the topic of next week's column.



**News item**—Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz confided to a Los Angeles audience that "the big increase in food prices is behind us."

**Problems, problems**—Bishop Bernadin of Cincinnati told the World Synod of Bishops that the Catholic Church in the U.S. is faced with a growing shortage of priests, coupled with an "authority obedience problem."

**No problem**—A University of Southern California scientist says the chemical released from spray cans—three billion produced last year—is affecting the ozone layer around the earth's atmosphere. He said this is causing a rise in skin cancer, and, unchecked, will ultimately become a critical problem for life on earth. A

spokesperson for DuPont, principal manufacturer of the spray, said this was an interesting hypothesis, but they really couldn't act until something happened. Like when there's no more ozone?

**He might have tapes**—A New York committee on "judicial conduct" found a state supreme court justice had not proven his case in charging that some of his colleagues on the bench were, among other things, "outright thieves" and "fakers." However, the committee decided, judiciously, that no disciplinary action should be taken against the free-speaking jurist.

**The name of the game**—The owners of Monopoly are suing a new game called Anti-Monopoly for muscling in on their territory.



Little Shaver

## iLa Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## Chavez and the debate over 'illegals'

The leadership of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is clearly feeling the pressure of supporters—and members—who have sharply criticized its reactionary attacks on the undocumented workers.

When César Chávez opened a campaign last spring demanding that *la migra* step up deportations of the undocumented, it evoked strong objections from UFW partisans. Initially, Chávez responded to the criticisms with speeches "answering" his critics.

Now he is approaching it differently.

The Sept. 27 issue of the UFW paper, *El Malcriado*, reported:

"Cesar Chavez narrowed his attacks on 'illegals' during an Aug. 29th rally of striking lemon workers.

"Chavez, who has come under fire from 'leftists' and some Chicano activists for his anti-'illegal' stance, said that 'We are not necessarily against the 'illegals': what we are against is the scab.'"

For the first time to my knowledge, Chávez

publicly declared that the union's door is open to the undocumented.

"If an 'illegal' supports our struggle, then let him come, and we will more than welcome him," the union paper reports Chávez as saying.

If in fact the UFW leadership is "narrowing" its position in this way, it is a very welcome development.

But unfortunately, the same issue of *El Malcriado* indicates a good deal more "narrowing" is needed.

The entire back page of the issue is devoted to the text of a speech by AFL-CIO President George Meany in support of the grape and lettuce boycott.

A large part of Meany's speech is a vicious attack on the undocumented workers, blaming them—in classic racist fashion—for low wages and unemployment in the fields.

Meany says:

"More than 600,000 illegal aliens were apprehended in 1973 in the Southwest alone, and the estimate of the numbers who remain at large, taking jobs away from U.S. workers, run into millions.

"These millions of illegals could be stopped, could be returned to their own country, if the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service did what it should be doing—enforcing the law.

"The AFL-CIO will press relentlessly for enforcement of immigration laws. The phrase 'law and order' lost its prominence in recent weeks, but we are going to demand that the law be obeyed."

Meany's speech is a prime example of what a racist business the game of attacking the undocumented workers is.

It will greatly benefit the UFW if *compañero* Chávez narrows his position still further. A good step in that direction would be to repudiate Meany on this question.

If Meany really supports the farm workers let him put some of his money where his big mouth is. The UFW has not seen a dime from the AFL-CIO since April of 1973. Meanwhile, there should be an end to playing the bosses' game of pitting the "illegals" against the "legals." They are all sisters and brothers.

## The American Way of Life

## Rockefeller's Watergate

First we heard vice-presidential nominee Nelson Rockefeller claim he was worth \$33-million. Then, as the "investigations" started, the figure jumped up to \$218-million.

As one story has it, this discrepancy over how much money he has was just due to a misunderstanding: "Oh, I thought you mean *on* me," Rockefeller explained.

Whatever the true figure of Rockefeller's holdings, it is obvious that it is huge and has been put to anything but public-minded purposes. The leaks that have come out so far show that he:

- Gave more than \$200,000 to Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. Nixon then demonstrated his gratitude by reversing a ruling by the Civil Aeronautics Board against Rockefeller's Eastern Airlines.

- Distributed at least \$2-million to a host of public officials as "gifts" and "loans." Rockefeller says he did this out of the kindness of his heart to help with the "pressing human needs" of these individuals.

- Financed a phony biography of former Supreme Court justice Arthur Goldberg, his opponent in the 1970 New York gubernatorial race. The book has a none-too-subtle anti-Semitic slant.

- Gave more than half a million dollars to William Ronan, now head of the New York and New Jersey Port Authority.

With the Rockefeller scandal coming so soon after Nixon's ouster, the ruling circles in this country are getting more and more exasperated about the fact that the American people don't believe in the government even "after" Watergate. Some have even voiced doubts that *any* of their people—the rich and powerful—could survive even the most cursory investigation as a vice-presidential nominee. Such are the problems of today's "post-Watergate morality," as Spiro Agnew—Rockefeller's predecessor—called it.

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress have responded to "Rockefeller's Watergate" with the same class instincts that guided them in the first months of the revelations about Nixon: they tried to keep as much as possible hidden from the American people. The congressional investigating committees knew all about the \$2-million in pay-offs—and who knows what else—weeks ago from Rockefeller's income tax returns and other confidential information. Nonetheless, they asked Rockefeller no embarrassing questions when he testified before the Senate Rules Committee.

The Rockefeller revelations also shed some new light on the real "reform" potential of the campaign financing bill Ford signed into law Oct. 15. The exposures give a glimpse of the virtually limitless techniques of financial manipulation and control that are open to a billionaire like Rockefeller. With staffs of lawyers and bank managers at his command, he has no problem buying off whomever he pleases, no matter what the campaign spending law says. He can set up phony corporations, launder money through his international financial empire, or take a multitude of other measures to hide what he wants hidden.

The only way to really investigate the control of the government by the rich is to look into the books of the corporations themselves.

And the people to do this are not the capitalist politicians who are already in the pay of the corporations, but the workers in each company. It is the working people who have an interest in finding the full truth about the price-fixing, financial manipulations and political crimes of Rockefeller and his cronies. Let's take a look at *all* the "business secrets" of the Rockefeller empire and then see if the American people want him as vice-president.

— CAROLINE LUND



# SWP speakers find upswing in student interest in socialism

By CINDY JAQUITH

Why won't the capitalist system work? This is what more and more students want to know—and they also want to know how they can do something to help change the system.

There is an upswing of interest in socialism on the campuses, according to Maceo Dixon and Debby Bustin, who are currently touring the country on behalf of Socialist Workers Party candidates. The two are heading up the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee.

Since late September when the tours began, Dixon has spoken in Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania. Bustin has been to Washington, D. C.; Maryland; Minnesota; and Washington state.

Both have found a different response on campus than last spring, when they made similar tours. "Several of my meetings have attracted 50 or 60 people this time," said Bustin. "And more people are asking to join the revolutionary youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)."

"People are very concerned that something's going wrong," explained Dixon. "Inflation, unemployment, shortages—the whole uncertainty of capitalism has really got students worried."

Combined with the economic crisis is the growing cynicism toward the capitalist government produced by Watergate, Dixon said. "Watergate has really blown people's minds. People think Nixon made a deal with Ford before he resigned, and they hate Rockefeller. It's not just his wealth, but they also remember him from Attica. People have not forgotten that."

## Interest in economy

Students today are more interested than before in economic issues, Bustin and Dixon have found. "When I tell



Socialist campaign spokesman Maceo Dixon on picket line demanding more construction jobs for minority workers at City College of New York.

class in America anymore," replied Dixon.

He added that students are also concerned with the threats Ford is making against the oil-producing nations. "A question that comes up more and more is 'Will the U. S. go to war in the Middle East?'"

## Socialist alternative

The socialist alternative to wars, shortages, higher prices, and unemployment has a "greater believability" now, according to Bustin. She gave the example of food production.

"People who come to my meetings are horrified when I explain how the capitalists are withholding food to increase profits, resulting in the starvation of millions in Africa and Asia. Last spring I was often told by students that the real problem was overpopulation; that we can't really feed all the people anyway.

to join the YSA since Dixon and Bustin began their tours. When Bustin spoke at the University of Minnesota in Morris, for example, 12 students in the audience of 30 asked about joining.

Many Black students are more open to socialist ideas, Dixon has found. "During the 1972 socialist campaign, some Blacks argued that Marxism is a 'white ideology,'" he explained. "Now I find that Black students are looking to the socialists for answers."

Frequently Dixon's meetings have been jointly sponsored by the YSA and Black student organizations. At Brooklyn College, for example, the YSA and the Umoja Society cosponsored a panel at which Dixon spoke. One hundred Black students turned out for the meeting, where discussion focused on the crisis of leadership in the Black community.

Thirty Blacks came to Dixon's meeting at Yale University, and 25 to his talk at all-Black Lincoln University outside Philadelphia. At Livingston College in New Jersey, Dixon addressed an audience mainly made up of Puerto Rican students.

## Support to Boston Blacks

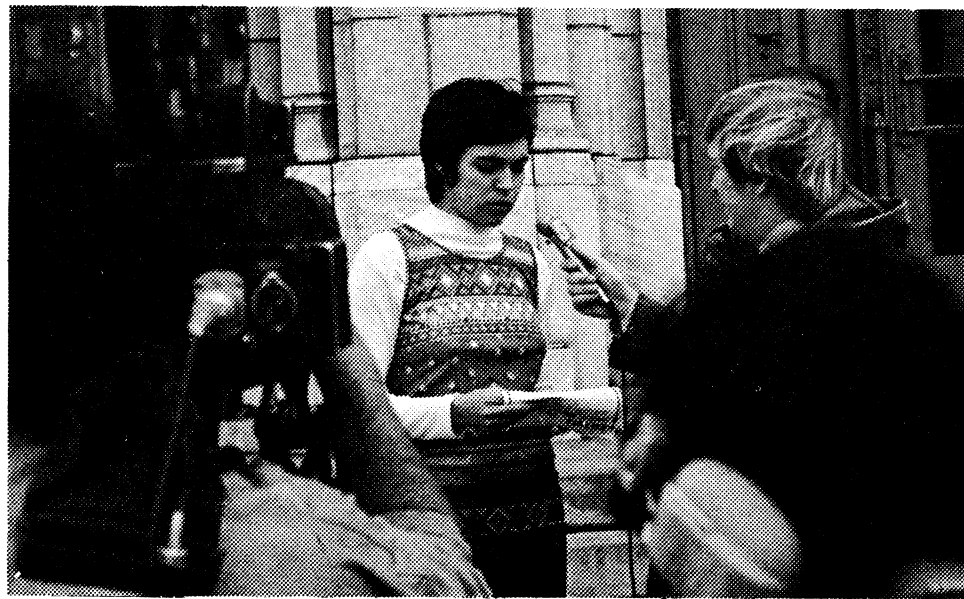
A central theme in the talks of both Bustin and Dixon is the need to defend the rights of the Black community in Boston, now under attack from racist mobs. Dixon toured Boston during the first weeks of court-ordered busing this fall and discussed with Black student groups and community organizations how to combat the racist violence.

"The first task we have," Dixon explains in his talks, "is to get out the truth about the attacks in Boston. We need to expose this reactionary attempt to roll back gains won by Black people under the guise of 'opposition to busing.'"

In addition to campus meetings, Dixon also addressed Black and Puerto Rican construction workers while in New York and joined them in a demonstration at City College, where officials were forced to accede to their demands for greater hiring of minorities on a campus construction site.

Dixon spoke to 60 activists in Fight Back, one of the groups leading the struggle against racism in the building trades. He centered his remarks on the question of unemployment and the need for preferential hiring of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Asians on New York job sites.

At the conclusion of his talk, the chairman of the meeting suggested that Fight Back members "check out the socialist program," since Democratic and Republican politicians have done nothing to support their struggle for jobs.



'Socialist ideas have a greater believability today,' says Debby Bustin.

students at my meetings, 'You may be getting a degree in unemployment,' I see a lot of heads nodding in the audience," said Bustin.

Dixon added that students respond favorably when he explains that the socialist program calls for guaranteed jobs for all after graduation from high school or college.

The Socialist Workers platform also calls for cost-of-living clauses in all contracts, as well as in pensions, Social Security, and veterans' benefits, to help people keep up with soaring prices. "Often when I mention this," said Bustin, "students ask if such a clause won't increase inflation. This gives me an opportunity to explain the real causes of inflation in capitalist society."

What impact has the recent jump in strikes had on the campuses? "People don't tell me there's no working

"Now I find that more and more people agree with me that what is desperately needed is a worldwide planned economy. We have to take food production out of the hands of the profit-seekers."

Many of the questions posed at their meetings, said Dixon and Bustin, focus on how such a social transformation can take place. Students want to know how a socialist revolution will come about; how democracy will be guaranteed in a socialist society; how the economy would be organized.

"Things like famine in Africa, the energy crisis, and the threat of nuclear war have impressed on many people that we can't wait forever to build a socialist world," said Dixon. "The talk I give has crystallized this fact in some people's minds, and they realize that they should be joining the YSA."

Dozens of young people have asked

# Socialist calls new campaign law a fraud

Peter Camejo, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, has denounced the new campaign "reform" bill signed into law by President Ford Oct. 15.

"This measure," said Camejo, "would provide public funds for Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, but not a cent for socialists and other working-class parties. Beginning in 1976, candidates in the Democratic and Republican party primaries would be able to draw up to \$10-million each. Those running in the general elections would get \$20-million each."

"Where would this money come from?" asked the socialist spokesman. "From the taxes paid by working people! Our tax dollars are going to be poured into the coffers of the capitalist politicians, strengthening big business's monopoly on elections in this country."

Camejo pointed out that under the income-tax checkoff system, taxpayers may voluntarily earmark \$1 in their tax payments for a special fund to finance election campaigns. "But taxpayers can't specify which party gets this money, and there's no way they can have their \$1 go to a socialist candidate or the candidate of any other small party."

"In an attempt to camouflage this boondoggle," said Camejo, "the bill's sponsors have provided for some funds to go to small parties, but only those that received at least 5 percent of the vote in the last election." No parties except the Democrats and Republicans will be able to meet this undemocratic requirement for the 1976 elections.

"The Democrats and Republicans make it as difficult as possible for parties like the Socialist Workers Party to obtain 5 percent of the vote," Camejo explained. "Our candidates and supporters face the obstacles of discriminatory election laws, media blackouts, and unconstitutional FBI and police harassment."

Camejo noted that the new campaign bill further restricts the rights of the SWP by demanding the names of contributors, who are then vulnerable to government surveillance.

The new bill, he pointed out, also places restrictions on the amount of money that labor unions may give to candidates. "The SWP opposes all such government interference in the political activities of the trade unions," he said.

Camejo challenged the assertion of one of the bill's sponsors, Representative Wayne Hays (D-Ohio), that if the new bill had been passed two years ago, "Watergate would never have happened."

"This new campaign 'reform' legislation will have no effect on the domination of politics in this country by the rich," said Camejo. "Big business will continue to control the Democratic and Republican parties, while the tax money of working people will be used to give the capitalist party candidates an extra multi-million-dollar boost."

## Police-state tactics exposed

# Texas socialist confronts cop spy chief

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

AUSTIN—"Showdown on files ends in standoff," is the way the headline in the *Houston Post* put it.

The scene was at the state headquarters here of the Department of Public Safety (DPS), where on Oct. 7 Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for governor of Texas, had a face-to-face confrontation with the DPS director, Colonel Wilson Speir. Smith demanded that all files pertaining to the SWP and its campaign supporters be turned over to her and that all illegal surveillance and harassment of her party cease.

Smith had earlier sent Speir a letter explaining the purpose of her visit, and reporters were present to witness the meeting.

"The people of Texas were outraged at recent disclosures of the Watergate-style police-state operations of the DPS in the case of Robert Pomeroy in Dallas," Smith said.

Pomeroy came into possession of his DPS intelligence file and made it public, causing a major scandal for the DPS.

"That case brought to light the secret widespread illegal political intelligence operations carried out by the DPS against numerous Texans at the behest of the corporations and the government that represents their interests," Smith told the number one Texas cop.

Speir responded by repeating a number of times an obviously rehearsed statement. "We do not keep files on political parties, and as far as I know, we never have," Speir said.

Speir claimed that any files kept on individuals by the department would be related solely to criminal activity.

"What criminal activity was Robert Pomeroy involved in?" Smith asked.

"We never had any files on Mr. Pomeroy," Speir replied.

"What are you talking about? Every-

body knows you compiled a file on Pomeroy," Smith retorted.

Speir then retreated, saying that the file on Robert Pomeroy had never entered the DPS "permanent files."

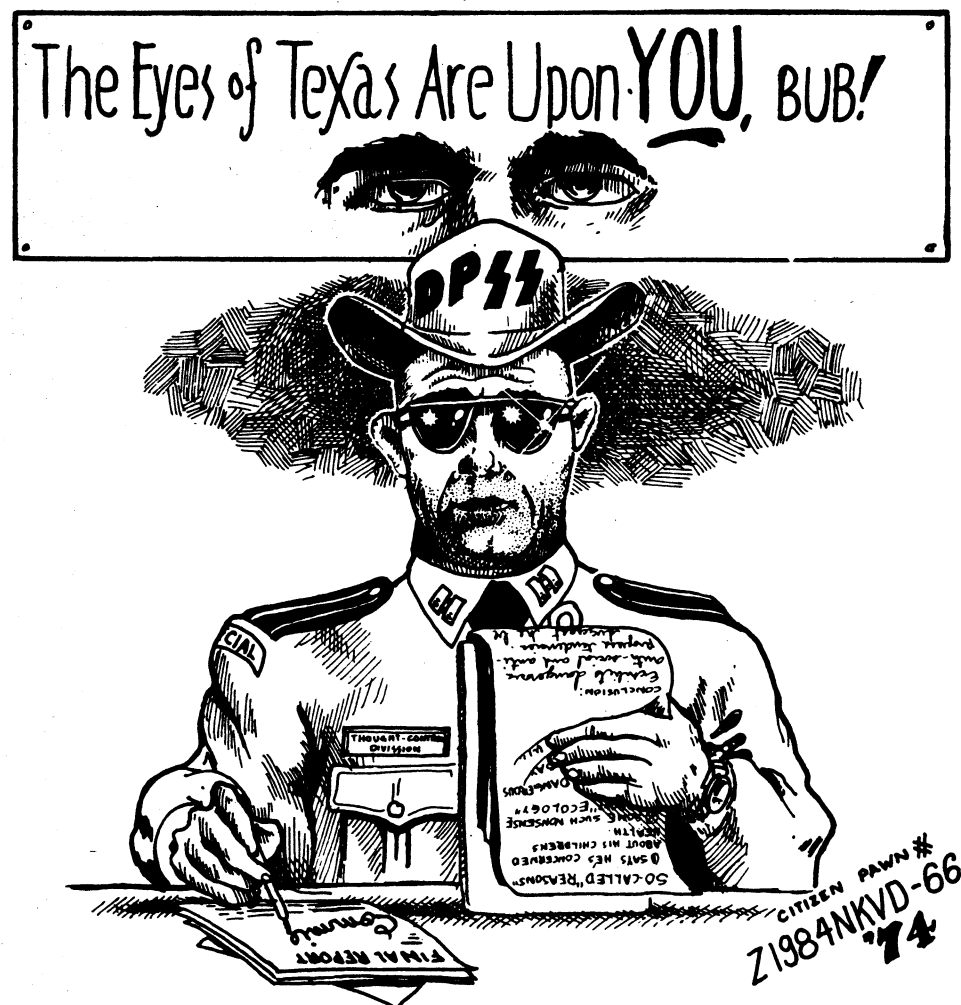
The socialist candidate's confrontation of Speir was the latest round in a controversy that has been brewing in Texas since last August, when Pomeroy, an airline pilot from Dallas, made public a file gathered on him by the DPS. He was under surveillance as a result of his public opposition to the construction of a nuclear power plant. Pomeroy had been given the file by his employer, Continental Airlines, which had received the file from a DPS agent who had apparently hoped to get Pomeroy fired.

The file, which characterized Pomeroy as a "subversive," was begun after he spoke before the Dallas city council in opposition to the construction of a nuclear power plant. In addition to containing such information as the fact that Pomeroy belonged to a fraternity while in college and the date that he entered the Marines, the DPS investigation recorded that upon leaving the city council meeting, Pomeroy "was observed talking to Carl Brannin, white male, approximately 70 years of age, who has been a long time socialist party organizer in Dallas, Texas."

The file also noted that Pomeroy planned to debate the power plant issue at a Unitarian church, which the DPS characterized as a sponsor of "radical left groups," which had hosted a "workshop in January, 1974 where all major subversive groups in the North Texas area set up information booths."

In the uproar that followed the publication of the file, Speir was forced to make a public apology to the Unitarian Church, as well as apologize to both Pomeroy and Brannin.

Speir's apology did not prevent Pomeroy and Brannin from initiating



'So you don't like nuclear power, eh?'

Danny Garrett



SWP candidate Sherry Smith demands that Colonel Wilson Speir (left) end spying and harassment.

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

an ACLU-sponsored suit asking \$40,000 damages for violation of their constitutional rights.

The jurisprudence subcommittee of the Texas Senate has begun hearings on DPS activities. At a session held Sept. 24, DPS intelligence agent David Dimick, who conducted the investigation of Pomeroy, testified that he thought the airline pilot might crash his plane into the nuclear power plant. Pomeroy thought this was so ridiculous that he refused to comment on it.

Speir has stated that he has recently conducted a purge of the DPS file and that boxloads have been committed to the incinerator.

In her statement at DPS headquarters, Smith said, "Colonel Speir was forced to admit that he had 'overstepped' his bounds by conducting this illegal activity. In the clearest expression of his guilt, Speir did what even the discredited former president Nixon did not dare to do with his Watergate tapes. Speir seized all the incriminating evidence and destroyed it. We may never know the extent of his crimes."

Smith presented Speir with an affidavit designed to allow him to make a sworn statement concerning past DPS harassment of the SWP and to pledge to not engage in any harassment of the party in the future. Speir refused to sign the affidavit.

The affidavit refers to an incident

that occurred in Houston in 1970. An individual calling himself "Ralph," who had attended some SWP-sponsored forums, asked if he could carry a gun on a bus taking antiwar activists to a demonstration in Austin. When his request was refused, he drove his personal car to Austin. An investigation by the SWP revealed that the license plate on "Ralph's" car was registered to the DPS.

When Smith asked Colonel Speir about this, he said, "I will not comment on what criminal investigation we may have been pursuing."

"Are you saying that the SWP, a legal party in Texas, and that the legal, peaceful demonstrations organized by the antiwar movement are criminal?" Smith asked. "The only crime I can see is that your agent Ralph was attempting to incite violence in the antiwar movement."

Smith informed Speir of the suit that the SWP has recently filed in Texas requesting that the names of the party's campaign contributors not be turned over to the state, because their disclosure would "provide a ready-made enemies list for agencies such as the DPS and the FBI." Smith announced that she intended to take steps to see that Speir is subpoenaed in conjunction with the suit and forced to testify under oath in order to bring out the facts concerning DPS harassment of the SWP.

## Eagan demands: turn over secret political files

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—At a news conference at the city hall press room here Oct. 8, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial candidate Vince Eagan demanded that police turn over all secret files kept on political organizations and activists.

Eagan read a statement signed by J. Lowell Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*, Georgia's largest Black newspaper; Gene Guerrero, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union in Atlanta; Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and others.

Earlier this year Atlanta police informers were caught spying on the *Atlanta Voice* and on radio station WRFG, as well as on several Black political figures. Recently the Atlanta police intelligence division admitted turning over copies of all its political files to the federal Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit.

The signers of the statement called on Public Safety Commissioner Reginald Eaves to retrieve the files, turn them over to those who had been under surveillance, and end the cop spying.

After numerous demonstrations

against police terror in the Black community, Democratic Mayor Maynard Jackson had appointed Eaves, who is Black, to oversee the police department. But police spying, it is now admitted, goes on as usual. Eagan and Williams were leaders of the earlier Black protests.

Williams was among the guests at a campaign banquet for Eagan and other Georgia SWP candidates held last month and attended by 90 people.

A special honored guest and speaker at the banquet was Idella Gibson, mother of Brandon Gibson, the 17-

year-old Black youth whose slaying by police touched off the largest demonstrations last summer.

Another speaker, Renitta Alexander, explained how her experiences in the struggle against the police impelled her to make the decision to support Eagan's campaign and join the Young Socialist Alliance, even though caring for her three children and working as a nurse leave her little time.

Also speaking was Bill O'Kain, who recently won election as secretary-treasurer of the Atlanta local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.



## Chicano party fields 70 candidates

# Texas Raza Unida gears up fall campaign

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—About 200 delegates and observers assembled in the ballroom of the Whitehall Hotel here on the weekend of Sept. 21-22 for the statewide convention of the Texas Raza Unida Party (RUP).

The convention, which is compulsory for the party under state law, elected statewide party officers, discussed aspects of the party program, and prepared activists to go back to their local areas for the last few weeks of campaigning before the elections.

In addition to running Ramsey Muñiz for governor and Fred Garza for railroad commissioner, the Chicano party is fielding candidates for 35 local offices in 16 different counties. This includes 16 candidates for state representative and candidates for such county offices as commissioner, clerk, judge, and treasurer. In addition, the party is running three candidates for constable and 10 for justice of the peace.

In a speech to the delegates on the first day of the convention, Ramsey Muñiz addressed himself to the Democrats. "Democratic Party, keep your flunkies and hacks," he said. "We will not have 'yes men' or people waiting for orders in our party."

"If you are wondering when we will return to the old parties, let me ease your minds today. We will not go back to your crooked poker-game party, in order to defeat you. We are dedicated to bringing down the kind of politics that the old parties represent."

Muñiz asserted that his stand on

answered more questions than both of my opponents combined."

The convention was conducted in a professional manner and was widely covered by the Texas media as a serious political event.

### A step forward

This was the first RUP convention ever held in Houston, and it was obvious that the delegates view the party's new growth in this urban center as a step forward for Raza Unida.

The convention was chaired by Maria Jiménez, candidate for state representative from Houston's 87th district. The gathering elected Houston party leaders as two of the three Texas delegates to the "Congreso de Atzlán," the nationwide body of representatives from local RUPs established in 1972. They are Tatcho Mindiola Jr., chairman of the Harris County Raza Unida Party, and Daniel Bustamante, past Harris County chairman.

The delegates elected Guadalupe Youngblood of Robstown as the new state chairman. Mario Compeán, the former chairman, withdrew from the election when the balloting indicated that Youngblood would probably win.

Youngblood promised more party communication on a statewide level and said that he intended to revitalize "the old MAYO [Mexican-American Youth Organization] structures" to expand the party. Many of the current party leaders were activists in MAYO on Texas campuses in the late 1960s and early 1970s.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Gubernatorial candidate Ramsey Muñiz at Texas RUP convention. He denounced 'the type of politics the old parties represent.'

and a Black police chief with an Afro six inches high who wears a dashiki.

"Everywhere you go there is nothing but Black faces in high places, but go to where the masses of Black people live and you find that we still have the highest infant mortality rate in the United States. We still have the highest tuberculosis rate in the United States. Our people still live packed up in projects 19 stories high where the rats and the roaches live like millionaires."

"But what has happened? A few Black people have gotten into positions of so-called authority. A few Black people have moved into the system and made this system seem more humane."

"We must realize that even though our struggles are at the stage of national liberation movements, that ultimately those struggles will never be resolved until our struggles seek to eliminate the system of private profit."

"We must find ever-increasing ways of fighting against capitalism and racism together," Baraka concluded.

Baraka's appearance at the convention is related to the support recently given to the RUP by the Houston chapter of CAP. A small group of CAP activists has been campaigning for Raza Unida in the Black community.

Any significant support by Blacks for Raza Unida is a new phenomenon, and the party leadership has been considering the ramifications of this development for Raza Unida.

In his speech to the gathering Muñiz said, "When we talk about the Blacks and ourselves, the proposal will not be for a Black and Brown coalition, because we must first have a Brown coalition of our own people. And the Blacks also have to have their own coalition. However, we can get together to talk about something we both have in common."

"I can't organize the Blacks and the Blacks can't organize me," Muñiz went on. "The point is that we have to begin to talk to all the people, knowing all the while that our main purpose is to bring up the oppressed, the *Mexicanos*, and all of our children and bring up the state of Texas."

### RUP & the liberals

Muñiz's remarks also seemed pertinent to another question. In the Texas press in recent months there has been speculation that some RUP leaders—Muñiz and his campaign manager, Carlos Guerra, in particular—would like to convert Raza Unida from an essentially Chicano party into a "populist party" or a "people's party" in order to broaden its electoral appeal among Anglo liberals.

If any orientation toward Anglo liberals has produced results, it was not apparent on the convention floor, where practically the only Anglos present were reporters.

The *Texas Observer*, a small but influential magazine published in Austin and the main voice of Texas liberalism, has become increasingly hostile during the past year to Raza Unida. Even though both the Democratic and Republican nominees for governor are right-wingers, the *Texas Observer* has shown no inclination to support Muñiz.

At one point in his speech, Muñiz commented on Raza Unida's relationship to the liberals. "We are the terror of the liberals who have used our people for their own ends," Muñiz said. "Raza Unida is showing liberals that we will never be used again and we are showing them that we can speak for ourselves. If the liberals are so concerned about us, then let them follow our leadership."

On Sunday José Angel Gutiérrez, speaking as "chairperson of National Raza Unida Party," delivered a speech

Continued on page 26



Militant/Steve Rose

school financing and his call for abolishing the sales tax had pushed these issues into the forefront of the race for governor and had forced the Democratic and Republican candidates to take a stand on them. He raised several other issues as a focus for his campaign as well.

"I propose that we go on record advocating free day-care facilities and free junior colleges and vocational schools," Muñiz said. "To finance them the state can replace the income tax with a tax on corporation profits and tax all petroleum produced in Texas, not just gasoline sold at the pump."

Muñiz also called for lowering the retirement age to 60, recognizing bilingualism in every aspect of life, and adopting a constitutional provision that would allow the state to take over the public utility companies.

"I don't expect much support from the big oil companies or the King Ranch and I don't want it," Muñiz said.

Muñiz indicated that in his campaign he had "already visited more cities, talked to more people, and an-

Maria Elena Martínez of Austin was chosen as vice-chairwoman of RUP.

One of the major speeches was given by Imamu Amiri Baraka, secretary-general of the National Black Political Assembly and chairman of the Congress of African People (CAP).

"We are in the era of the final elimination of imperialism, monopoly capitalism, and racism, when Cuba is so strong that its existence can only be challenged by the threat of world war," Baraka told the delegates.

However, Baraka pointed out that the recent revelations concerning CIA intervention in Chile and the COINTELPRO documents, which indicate possible FBI involvement in the murders of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, show the continued "danger of this monster."

"We must first decide," he said, "whether our goal is to get into the American system or to eliminate it."

### Lessons of Newark

"In Newark," Baraka continued, "we struggled to elect a Black mayor in 1970. Now, we have a Black mayor

## Solidarity from SWP

HOUSTON—Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, sent the following telegram to the Texas Raza Unida Party convention:

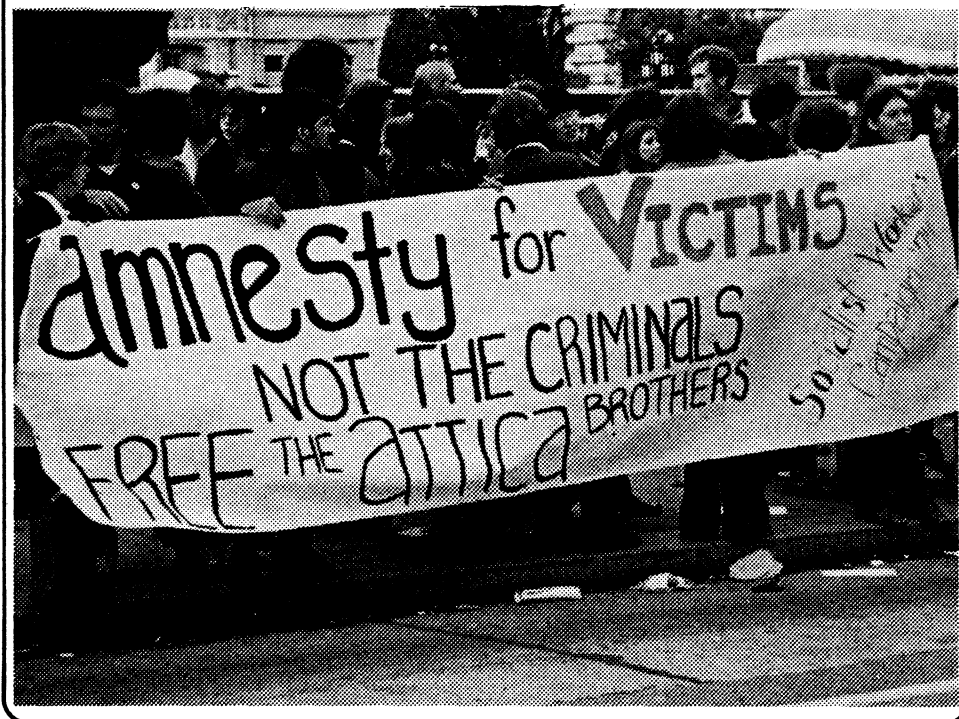
"The Socialist Workers Party of Texas extends warm and fraternal greeting to your convention. Your work in establishing La Raza Unida as an independent party of the Chicano people is most valuable. It provides a living example for Black people and trade unionists of the road of political action independent of the twin parties of war, racism, and sexism."

"Our best wishes to Ramsey Muñiz and all your other candidates. As you know, we are currently waging a fight against the Democrats' attempt to keep our party off the ballot this year. We look forward to campaigning with you and hope that Texans will have the right to vote this November for two parties that are exposing the lies and deception of the Democrats and Republicans."

"Que Viva El Partido Raza Unida!"

A few days after the convention the SWP won a place on the Texas ballot for this November.

# Campaigning for socialism



**REMEMBER SAM BROWN & GARY HART:** Back in 1969 Sam Brown was a leader of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, the antiwar group that called the Oct. 15 moratorium demonstrations.

He quickly got "tired of marching" and urged the rest of the antiwar movement to get out of the streets and become "effective" through the Democratic Party.

Gary Hart had the same proposal: antiwar activists should start ringing doorbells for "peace candidate" George McGovern. Hart was campaign manager for McGovern's presidential bid in 1972.

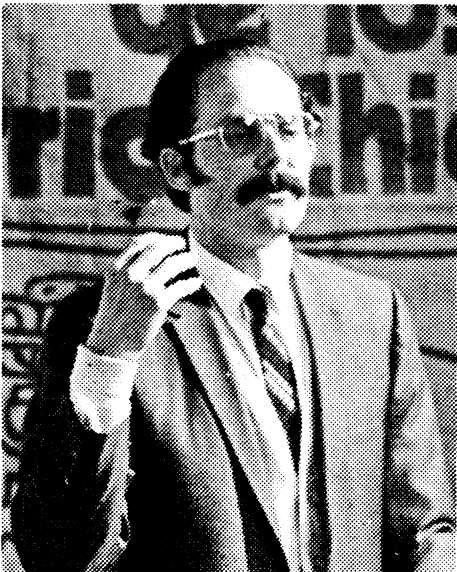
Today both occupy high spots on the Colorado Democratic Party ticket. Hart, running for U. S. Senate, has a big lead over incumbent Republican Peter Dominick, while Brown is expected to win the post of state treasurer.

Capitalist politics has its own physical laws: to move up the ladder in the Democratic Party one must swing to the right, and Hart is a textbook example.

Syndicated columnists Evans and Novak, in their Oct. 9 column, note that Hart's success is based on "abandoning abrasive liberal ideology for a bland moderate facade."

They report that Hart backs President Ford's fake "conditional amnesty" plan, and "has courted benevolent neutrality from the Right-to-Life anti-abortion movement."

Evans and Novak continue: "Confronted last week by a young member of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party delivering a Marxist harangue,



Militant/Frank Lord  
Jack Marsh, socialist candidate in Colorado race for U. S. Senate.

Hart replied the country needs more — not less — free enterprise."

Even if some of his youthful supporters are becoming disillusioned, Hart probably counts on being seen as a "lesser evil" to Dominick, a Watergate-tarred political Neanderthal.

Dominick is linked to laundered dairy trust contributions to Nixon's 1972 campaign, and has termed the Watergate break-in "insignificant."

In response to suggested United Nations distribution of food, Dominick objected, "Uganda is in there (the UN) and they'd rather eat their own people than food."

**SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE IN COLORADO:** The real alternative to the overt racist Dominick is not the up-and-coming opportunist Hart but the Colorado Socialist Workers Party campaign of Jack Marsh for U. S. Senate.

Marsh addressed a gathering of 70 campaign supporters in Denver last month. Also speaking were Elfego Baca from Metropolitan State College MECHA, a Chicano student group; and Vincent Harvier from the American Indian Movement.

Harvier expressed special thanks to *The Militant* for its coverage of the Wounded Knee trials. He told the audience that "only two papers in the country helped bring the truth to the people. They were *Akwesasne Notes* and *The Militant*."

In response to an appeal for funds given by campaign director Rich Feigenberg, the audience contributed more than \$2,000.

**CANDIDATE BLASTS PA. ANTI-BUSING AMENDMENT:** On Oct. 2 the Pennsylvania state legislature passed an amendment that would remove from the state's human relations commission the power to order busing to achieve integration.

A statement issued by Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Pennsylvania's 2nd C.D., condemns the amendment as "part of an antibusing drive by the politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties."

"The real target of these legislative measures, and of the racist violence in Boston, is the right of Black youth to a quality education," Austin said.

"Although the legislators use a lot of rhetoric about 'neighborhood control,' their real aim is to perpetuate the racist educational system that

denies Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities equal education."

**BLACK, PUERTO RICAN ACTIVISTS ATTEND BROOKLYN SWP BANQUET:** Highlighting the Brooklyn Socialist Workers campaign banquet, held Oct. 5, were the many greetings presented by activists in Black and Puerto Rican struggles in New York.

Among them was Moses Harris, director of Black Economic Survival, a group fighting for equal job opportunities in the construction trades. He told of his experiences with Democratic and Republican politicians who pledge their support but then desert you when the struggle begins.

Harris said this year he supported and would be working with Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 12th C.D. in Brooklyn.

Resounding applause filled the room when Eloise Glover was introduced. She is the mother of Clifford Glover, a 10-year-old Black youth killed last year by cops in South Jamaica, Queens. When she filed a lawsuit against the city administration, the city responded by removing her from the welfare rolls.

Jerry Henderson, an SWP campaign supporter from Brooklyn College, spoke about Glover's case and the work now being done in her defense.

Carmen Maymie, who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, brought greetings from the YSA and explained her reasons as a Puerto Rican woman for joining the YSA.

Arturo Rivera, president of the Federation of Socialist Puerto Rican University Students, a youth group affiliated with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was also introduced to the gathering.

Written greetings were presented from Dr. Mohammed Mehdi of the

A statement issued by the Indiana Socialist Workers campaign committee points out that "the SWP is in full compliance with the election law, as discriminatory as it is against third parties. To continue to deny us ballot status is a slap in the face to the almost 1,600 Indianapolis voters who signed nominating petitions to place the SWP on the ballot."

**YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAM HITS MICH. RED SQUAD:** The Michigan-Indiana Young Socialist team recently visited Grand Valley State College in Grand Rapids, Mich., to build support for the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Ann Owens, SWP candidate for Congress from Michigan's 5th C.D. (Gerald Ford's old district), is traveling with the team.

Addressing a meeting on "Michigan and the Fight for Democratic Rights," Owens urged support for the SWP and YSA's suit against government harassment.

"It becomes clearer each day that the real subversives are in Washington," Owens told the group of students and reporters. "The CIA spent \$8-million to overthrow the Allende government in Chile. You can't get much more subversive than that."

She said the controversial Michigan "Red Squad" is a "junior version of the White House 'plumbers' unit" and called for its immediate abolition. She also demanded repeal of the witch-hunting Subversive Act of 1950, still on the books in Michigan.

Owens's speech was widely covered by local TV, radio, and press.

**HEISLER TOURS CHAMPAIGN, ILL.:** Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from Illinois, recently visited Champaign for a one-day speaking tour.

At the downstate campus of the Uni-



Militant/Martha Harris

Among many community activists speaking at Brooklyn socialist campaign banquet was Eloise Glover, whose 10-year-old son Clifford was slain by a cop last year.

Action Committee on Arab-American Relations.

The 135 people attending the banquet contributed \$2,000 to the SWP campaign.

**INDIANA SOCIALIST RULED OFF BALLOT:** The Marion County election board has ruled Greg Peterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Indiana's 11th C.D., off the ballot.

The SWP had submitted nominating petitions bearing nearly 1,600 signatures, far exceeding the required 650 names.

One reason given for denying Peterson ballot status was that the SWP had not filed a "loyalty oath." The Indiana law requiring a loyalty oath from candidates, however, was declared unconstitutional by the U. S. Supreme Court last January.

The election board, made up of one Democrat and two Republicans, also claimed the SWP failed to file a required certificate. But the election law says nothing about submitting any certificate other than the nominating petitions.

versity of Illinois, Heisler addressed 400 students in a lecture hall.

Students cheered when Heisler said, "Nixon should be put behind bars where he belongs. I'd personally like to see him sent to Attica. It couldn't happen to a nicer guy."

As for Ford and Rockefeller urging "compassion" for Nixon, Heisler said, "What kind of compassion did Rockefeller have for the inmates at Attica prison? They only have compassion for the rich and powerful—their own kind, their own class—not for us." The students responded with applause and shouts of "Right on!"

Heisler was interviewed by local news media and later in the day addressed a campaign meeting of 30 people. Fifteen of them signed cards endorsing his campaign, and three joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

In another recent campaign appearance, Heisler spoke to 25 people at the Arab Community Center on Chicago's Southwest Side. Heisler's support for the Palestinian liberation struggle was well received, and the center took 1,000 copies of the SWP platform to distribute. —ANDY ROSE



# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 25, 1974

## Unions threaten general strike

# Inflation fuels discontent among Mexican workers

By Eugenia Aranda

Mexico City

At the beginning of August the Congress of Labor<sup>1</sup> issued a call for a general strike if the bosses did not grant a 35 percent wage hike to unionized workers. Carrying out the strike would have meant that eight million workers in about 200,000 factories and businesses would have walked off the job.

At the outset the bosses refused to even discuss the matter with the unions. They called the demand for a raise "absurd and excessive" and offered solutions from the class point of view to the problem of rising prices:

"Create a climate of tranquility, end strike threats from labor, make all

Mexicans understand that we must work more and spend less, and increase production and productivity," said Jesús Vidales Aparicio, president of the Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio (CONCANACO—Confederation of National Commercial Firms), according to the September 7 issue of the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*.

It is not necessary to point out that this solution has its flaws, since not "all Mexicans" can "work more and spend less."

"I haven't eaten meat in the last three months, because I can't afford it," said one cleaning woman shopping in an open-air market.

And it is not easy to explain the thesis to the peasants in the state of Morelos, 60 percent of whom cultivate 500-meter plots of land that bring them \$80 a year to maintain families averaging nine members.

President Luis Echeverría immediately stated his agreement with the Congress of Labor. This can be easily understood if we keep in mind that one of the principal pillars on which the Mexican regime rests is trade unions controlled by a highly privileged bureaucracy.

However, the country remained calm, life continued its normal course, and no one was worried about the "imminent revolutionary general strike," as it was called by Fidel Velázquez, top leader of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM—Mexican Workers Federation).

The reason for this peace is that almost everyone knew that neither the Congress of Labor, nor the CTM, nor any *charro* (trade-union bureaucrat) would dare to go as far as a general strike. Fresh in the minds of everyone were two similar experiences:

1. The threat of a strike leveled by the Congress of Labor in September 1973 if a raise of 33.3 percent were not granted and the final settlement of 22 percent that did not even extend to all unionized workers.

2. The call by Fidel Velázquez in February 1973 for "a workers revolution within the Mexican revolution"<sup>2</sup> if the bosses did not grant the forty-hour week with fifty-six hours pay. This demand has been dropped.

Even the functionaries of the Conciliation and Arbitration Board recognized that the way had been paved for reaching a settlement. The chairman of that body stated September 5:

"The chairman of the board pro-

1. The Congreso del Trabajo. The body consists of representatives of the officially recognized union federations. All the large Mexican unions belong to it, including the Confederación de Trabajadores de México, the major trade-union federation.

2. The bourgeois revolution, which began in 1910.



Mexican Trotskyists in 1966 demonstration. Demands for trade-union democracy and independence are part of fight against inflation.

poses to stop all hearings by September 13 and leave September 14-20 as open dates for settlements or for a union waiver of demands for agreements."

However, though the union bureaucrats were not about to fight for the 35 percent, *they did feel the need to obtain some improvement in wages*. This was the form through which they were trying to recover some of the control they had lost over the workers, who in greater and greater numbers have come to realize that starvation wages and bad working conditions cannot end while the unions are controlled by bureaucrats tied to the government. Wages and better working conditions had become synonymous in their eyes with union democracy.

There are rather compelling reasons for this discontent. For several decades the Mexican bourgeoisie was able to maintain stability in the standard of living of the main sectors of the proletariat and even to give them concessions of a certain magnitude, like Social Security. The *charros* were able to make an appearance every two years, when contracts were to be reviewed, which helped them keep on top of the unions.

In contrast to this, the official price index now shows an increase of 22 percent in the last twelve months. Moreover, the price of many basic foods—like beans, corn, and cooking oil—has increased almost 100 percent in that same period, according to the government itself.

During the same period, ninety-four companies registered on Mexico City's stock exchange showed an increase of 23.3 percent in sales and 113.8 percent in profits.

This explains why a noticeable resurgence in working-class struggles has begun in Mexico. The struggle is already visible in important actions, many of which have been carried out against the desires of the *charros*, who are tending to lose their grip on the unions.

During the recent months more strikes have taken place in Mexico

than during the last ten years. Among these labor struggles the following are outstanding:

● The strike against two metal plants—Compañía Industrial del Norte, S.A. and Compañía Industrial Fundidora del Norte, S.A.—where 6,500 workers were mobilized in the northern city of Saltillo. The main issues were higher pay and the workers' right to choose their own representatives instead of having designated bureaucrats negotiate a contract behind their backs.

● The strike of Section 67 of the miners union in Monterrey (in the north of the country), where the question of union democracy was also posed.

● The strike in central Mexico of the construction workers at the refinery in Tula, Hidalgo, where the powerful gun-slinging bureaucracy of the oil workers union was confronted. A solidarity movement was formed to support this strike, and the students of Mexico City played an outstanding role in it.

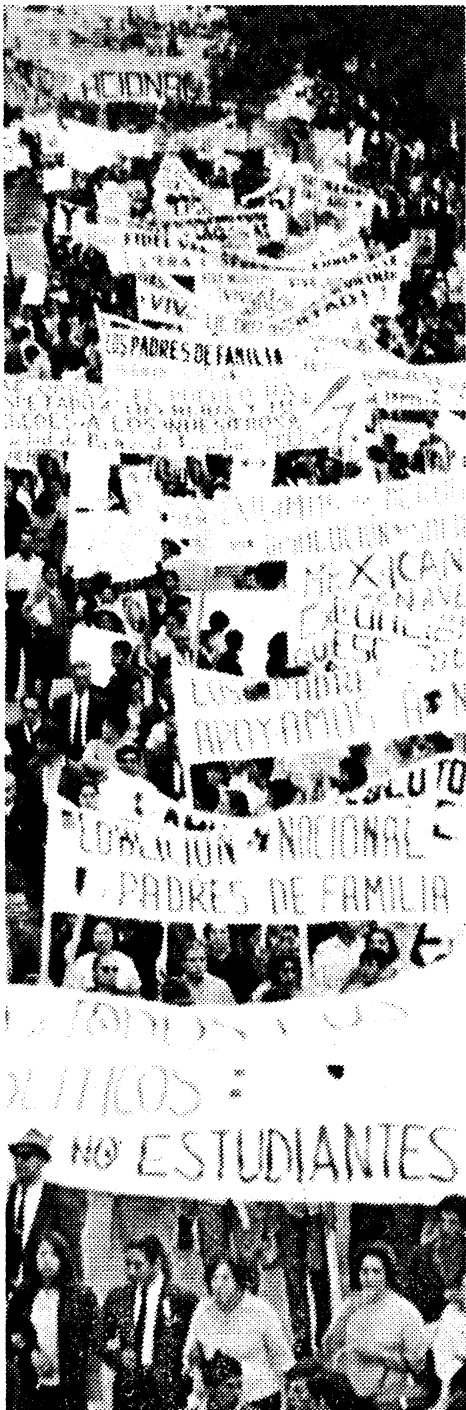
● The wildcat strike of 3,000 workers at the General Electric plant near the capital that began when the bureaucrats informed the workers that "they had already signed the contract."

These mobilizations forced the Congress of Labor to raise the demand for a wage increase. It is not strictly demagoguery. Their heads are at stake.

The Liga Socialista (Socialist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Mexico, took the following position in the September issue of its paper, *El Socialista*:

"The attitude that we socialists must take toward this demand is to support it, without having the slightest expectation that the union leadership will fight for it in any meaningful way."

The Liga Socialista also pointed to the need to fight for union democracy and for a sliding scale of wages, as starting points for organizing the proletariat's struggle to regain leadership of the unions.



Inflation has resulted in resurgence in working-class struggles in Mexico. Previously, although there were massive student protests like the one above, the workers were not in motion.

## Background to political crisis

# Portugal: how Stalinist policy helped right wing grow

By Gerry Foley

[The following is abridged from an article written before the resignation of General António Spínola as president of Portugal September 30. The second provisional government referred to in the first paragraph was appointed by Spínola in July.]

Even after the second provisional government began a new wave of repression in early August with the one-day suspension of most of the major dailies, the banning of the largest Maoist paper, and a six-hour military occupation of Lisbon's central square, the Portuguese Communist party continued to help the authorities prepare the way for a witch-hunt against the left. With certain tactical adjustments, it is still continuing its policy of supporting the government's repression of critics from the left.

Nonetheless, it has become more and more obvious that the increasing repression against left-wing opposition groups has gone hand in hand with a bolder and bolder anti-Communist campaign by a rapidly reviving right. In its zeal to demonstrate its loyalty to the provisional government, the Communist party was clearly arming its enemies. In at least one case, in which CP members participated in an assault on a Maoist demonstration August 12, it seemed even to have set an example for goon-squad attacks against the left.

Anti-Communist posters and wall slogans began appearing in Lisbon in July; they became more and more numerous toward the end of the month. Yet in an interview on the front page of the August 9 issue of the Communist party organ *Avante!*, Alvaro Cunhal indicated that the main danger to the Communist party was from the left.

In the early morning of August 15, for the first time since April 25, demonstrators were fired on in the streets, and one person was killed; ironically he may have been a supporter of the CP, since he was known as an activist in the MDP (Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, a CP-dominated popular-front formation).

The police had broken up a rally in support of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) that an African student center, the Casa de Angola, had scheduled for the Pavilhão de Deportes. Some of the crowd filtered back to Rossio Square, where a small demonstration took place.

From 12:15 a.m. to about 1 a.m. when I was in the square, there was no hint that anything out of the ordinary was about to happen. There were just groups of people talking and arguing, the usual scene after demonstrations in Rossio Square.

In Portugal, as in many other countries, there is no lack of ultraleft thrill-seekers. But in the kind of conditions the police faced that night in Rossio Square, they cannot really have felt threatened. According to the indirect reports I got from friends later, the police opened fire in a cool, deliberate way, completely without warning. There could, after all, hardly be a more direct way to discourage the kind of street demonstrations that have proliferated in Portugal since April 25 and that have been a feature of the "anarchy" Palma Carlos, the premier of the first provisional government, cited as his reason for resigning on July 9.

The shootings did rouse the CP to protest. A statement by the Political Committee in the August 16 issue of *Avante!* said:



Portuguese provisional government spoke hypocritically about 'warlike attitude' of Angolan liberation organization, while it continued to maintain colonial garrisons in Africa.

"These actions by the police do not reflect the policy of the Provisional Government and the Armed Forces Movement, whose prestige they have gravely damaged, and should be condemned unequivocally by all those who are for democracy and peace.

"While condemning these repressive acts, the PCP stresses that the ultraleftist intoxication and the violations of democratic order are playing into the hands of the reactionaries. The PCP condemns the provocative actions of the fascists and ultraleftists against the Armed Forces and the Military Police."

### Junta Defends Police Assault

It is true that the government claimed it had not ordered the shootings. This is not surprising, especially if the reports are true that the soldiers stationed in the square refused to join in the repression. But it did defend politically the actions of its repressive forces and thus gave the lie to the CP's claim that the incidents did not reflect official policy.

The communiqué issued jointly by the chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and the provisional government included the following points:

"1. The meeting in support of the MPLA . . . had been banned by the Provisional Government and the General Staff of the Armed Forces.

"2. The MPLA has so far rejected all the peace offers of the Provisional Government and declared its intention to continue the struggle indefinitely in Angola, thus showing disrespect for the desires of the Angolan peoples. The soldiers of Portugal will be obliged to remain on guard to defend themselves in Angola. The government and the General Staff cannot permit support for the MPLA to be expressed on the Portuguese homefront while this organization maintains its warlike attitude."

### Police Ignore PIDE Prison Mutiny

The hypocrisy of the government's statement was all the clearer because of the very different attitude the police and military had taken toward the mutiny on August 11 of 600 PIDE (Salazarist secret police) agents jailed in the Penitenciária de Lisboa. No violence was used to quell this riot by a group of murderers and torturers who had terrorized the Portuguese people for many years. When the mutineers called on General Galvão de Melo, the most outspokenly rightist member of the junta, to negotiate for them with the prison authorities, he was quick to oblige. The riot was ended, but it was not clear on what conditions.

The military and the police did move into the area. But they functioned primarily to defend the PIDE veterans, since masses of people surrounded the prison to make sure that the hated bullies of the Salazarist regime did not get away with anything. It was the people the police attacked, not the mutineers.

"Without its being planned or organized by any political party," Fernanda Mestrinho wrote in the August 13 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*, "thousands of persons gathered at the Penitenciária de Lisboa. . . .

"'Vigilance by the people, vigilance by the people,' the persons present shouted. 'Death to the PIDE' and 'Galvão Out of the Junta' were chanted in unison by the crowd.

"At about 6 p.m., the numbers of people present increased considerably. They were pressing against the windows of the building. But all they did was protest against any concessions by the authorities to the PIDE agents. At exactly 6:15, the PSP charged the crowd, swinging their clubs. It was in the 'good old pre-April 25 style.' They clubbed people indiscriminately. A four-year-old child was hit. Women were beaten. The demonstrators responded by throwing stones."

General Galvão de Melo's role in negotiating with the PIDE agents won him still more national attention. In its August 16 issue, the rightist weekly *Tempo Novo* ran a special interview with him, under the headline "Galvão de Melo Tells *Tempo Novo*: 'Communism and Fascism Are Very Similar.'" This was the same message that was expressed by thousands of expensively printed posters that appeared all over Lisbon in late July.

The reactionary journal asked him: "As regards the former DGS [Direcção Geral de Segurança—General Directorate of Security] and its dismantling—which of course you approved of, general—doesn't the country need some service that will carry out the task of synthesizing information that was previously assigned to that body?"



Above, May Day demonstration in Lisbon. Within two months Stalinists were helping to repress demonstrators demanding that Portugal withdraw from Africa.



The general replied: "Obviously I agreed with the dismantling of the ex-DGS, since I had always condemned its existence. But I did not condemn it as a national intelligence service. . . ."

"It is my duty to make clear that from the standpoint of national survival, it is more of a problem to have no intelligence service at all than to have one such as has now been abolished."

The general seemed to be testing the ground for the government's logical next step, the restoration of regular surveillance of left political groups. One organization, the MRPP, had already been virtually outlawed; obviously some kind of political police force was needed to maintain this repression. The resumption of political spying would mark the full restoration of bourgeois "order."

While the rightist general discussed bringing back the hallowed institution of the political police, another old institution of the Salazar regime was being revived—the parallel police, or gangs of rightist toughs.

## Flowers for Salazar

In the town of Santa Comba Dão in central Portugal, a gang of fascists surfaced on August 19. Holding the population at bay, they began provocatively to clean off the uncomplimentary graffiti that had been painted on a statue of Salazar since April 25.

"Later, at about 10 p.m., an incident occurred," *República's* correspondent wrote. "When an excursion stopped in the center of the town and people began to saunter nonchalantly toward the statue, fascists armed with clubs and pitchforks threatened them. The GNR [Guarda Nacional Republicana, the riot police] were called on to intervene. GNR officers came to advise the excursionists to leave the place so as to avoid disturbances."

"But the climate of emotional agitation continued into the night. Well-known local Salazarites paraded through the streets in a festive way. Some decided to offer a posthumous homage and placed wreaths of flowers at the feet of Salazar."

"Indignation prevailed among most of the population, but a feeling of impotence stilled the voices that might have been raised. Around midnight, a donkey appeared at the foot of the statue, and that is when the most serious incident occurred. Someone warned the owner of the donkey to leave the square. When he refused, he was attacked with a knife. He died in the hospital a few hours later."

"Only then, at the insistence of the people, did the GNR pay some attention to what had happened."

While official and unofficial political intimidation was being stepped up in this way, Premier Vasco Gonçalves stressed that the authorities could now have a new confidence in the people. In his speech August 18, the most important since his taking office, he said:

"The time is past of the government lying to the people. The country must know the real situation. Only in that way can it understand why it is being asked to accept sacrifices and austerity. . . . A country cannot leap in a moment from being one of the most backward in Europe to the level of a France or Italy."

"This is a process that requires a devotion and a patriotism that can inspire all, everyone, to greater sacrifices in the austerity we will have to get used to in our lives, or at work. We will have to dedicate ourselves to work, and all this in a climate of real democratic order and social peace, the indispensable conditions for national reconstruction."

In other words, the workers could expect no more raises. At the same time, the government began to remove the price freeze that was imposed after the April 25 coup.

But Vasco Gonçalves was apparently not convinced that patriotic enthusiasm was sufficient to inspire all sections of the Portuguese people to make the maximum sacrifice.

## Stalinists See 'Positive Side' to Antistrike Law

At the end of August the government announced its long-expected antistrike law. In his interview in the August 9 *Avante!*, Alvaro Cunhal had promised that after the passage of the new legislation "we will not be worse off than most of the bourgeois democratic countries." He admitted that this was not a very "comforting comparison." But he stressed the "positiveness" of having the right to strike recognized by the law.

Actually, the implication of the CP's policy of supporting a "democratic stage" and of not raising the perspective of socialism is that the kind of freedom that is supposed to exist in bourgeois democratic countries is all that can be hoped for.



Striking postal workers in Lisbon. Communist Party told them they were helping fascists, and led drive to break their strike. Such incidents helped demoralize workers and encourage reactionaries.

In point of fact, the government's new strike law is generally worse than the kind of legislation that has been in force in most of the countries that can still boast of having bourgeois democracy, although perhaps not so far from what the ruling circles in a number of them would like to impose in the present period of economic crisis.

The law bans sit-in strikes and the take-over of factories by workers. The latter type of action has assumed special importance in Portugal, where some foreign companies, attracted by the low wage rates and "labor discipline" enforced by the Salazarist regime, have now abandoned their factories. This provision in particular made clear which side of the class line the government stands on.

Strikes for "political" or "religious" motives are outlawed. Sympathy strikes are outlawed. All work stoppages that seek to change the terms of collective agreements arrived at after April 25 are outlawed. Unless thirty days notice is given, a strike is illegal. Before any strike, workers must submit their claim to arbitration. Demands on the bosses must be approved by the officials of the unions involved, or by an assembly of workers in situations where the unions do not represent a majority of the personnel affected. Only if the bosses reject these demands totally or "in large part" can a decision to strike be taken.

The new law contains some rights for workers. For example, it bans lockouts except in "cases of illegal strikes or grave disturbances in the workplace." (Under normal standards of bourgeois justice, including those observed in Portugal in the preceding months, this right is likely to be honored in the breach.) It also formally denies employers the right to bring in strikebreakers.

However, this law has to be seen above all in the context of a situation created by fifty years of authoritarian rule. The labor movement is fragmented; there are more than 400 unions. In this situation, it is easy for local caudillos and bureaucratic combinations to dominate. In particular, the banning of sympathetic strikes is a grave obstacle to developing broader unity among workers.

## Salazarists on the Move

Furthermore, the Portuguese workers once again face especially strong repressive forces. The COPCON (Comando Operacional do Continente—Continental Operational Command) units, which the reformists and "friendly progressives" expected to be used to "bar all the doors to a reactionary counter coup," barely lifted a finger against the right in the first month and a half after their creation. And there was no lack of targets. It is really quite serious, for example, that only a few months after 500,000 to a million inhabitants of Lisbon demonstrated their joy at the collapse of an almost universally hated regime, that rightist and pro-Salazarist elements are already raising their heads again all over the city.

Threats have been painted on the walls of buildings near African student centers. And persons trying to tear down anti-Communist posters have been attacked by armed gangs. But so far the COPCON, like the other forces of "order," has been used only to break strikes and suppress demonstrations by the left.

Even before the government's new law against plant occupations was announced August 26, military forces commanded by a COPCON major had surrounded the offices of the *Jornal de Comércio*, which were being occupied by the workers. At that time, the strikers were discussing publishing a journal of their own.

*Continued on next page*



Soon after this article was written an attempt at a right-wing coup inspired by General Antonio de Spínola (above) failed. But Stalinist policy of trying to maintain capitalism ensures that there will be new coups in the future.

## ...Portugal

Continued from preceding page

"If the strike journal comes out," the major told a reporter for *A Capital* August 26, "we will have to get new orders, which certainly will not be favorable to the workers. Such an attitude is bound to displease the Government and the General Staff of the Armed Forces."

In the case of the strike of Portuguese airlines workers that occurred about the same time, the authorities sent a force of ten armored cars to the Portela airport to "maintain order."

Furthermore, because of the importance of the class-collaborationist experiment in Portugal for the reformist parties in Europe and for the peaceful-coexistence policy of the Soviet Union, the Portuguese government has received considerable international backing for its "restoration of order." In one case already, the combination has reportedly been rather powerful:

### Moscow Helps Break Fishermen's Strike

"A Portuguese fishermen's strike was broken last month," an article in the September 6 *Washington Post* noted, "after the targets of the strike got emergency help from the Communist Party of Portugal and the Soviet Union."

The fishermen in Matosinhos, a town near O Porto, struck against the sardine canneries June 15, demanding a fixed wage instead of one based on the size of their catch.

"Initially, other workers at Matosinhos were favorable to the fishermen's strike, according to well-informed sources," the article continued. "However, the Portuguese Communist Party, which is represented in the Lisbon government, urged the men not to strike."

"A strike, Communist officials said, would play into the hands of the capitalists."

"The cannery operators, according to informed sources, sent a delegation to a Scandinavian country where it arranged for the Soviet ship *Nachichevan* to bring 3,400 tons of frozen sardines to the Portuguese canneries."

"The Soviet ship arrived July 16, and at first stevedores threatened to refuse to unload the cargo. Well-informed sources report that the stevedores changed their minds after the Portuguese Community Party urged them to abandon their support for the striking fishermen."

Since the governmental crisis in July and the more and more pronounced offensive by the right, the Communist party has had to try to balance between supporting the government and supporting at least some struggles and demands of the workers. By focusing all its propaganda on "multinational corporations" and "capitalist sabotage" of the economy, it has been able to combine militant-sounding language with support for "patriotic labor discipline," the primary demand of Portuguese capital at this moment.

The CP apparently hopes to appeal to small-business owners by denouncing the banks for refusing credit to smaller enterprises. According to the CP, the unavailability of credit is part of a plot to wreck the "democratization."

The reason for the unavailability of credit to small business is quite clear. The cheap labor and protectionist policies of the Salazarist regime maintained a large sector of low-productivity enterprises. In order to safeguard their own competitive position internationally, the strong economic groups in Portugal had to sacrifice this sector. This was one of the main implications of the April 25 coup. It was precisely the monopolies that backed the coup, not an "antimonopoly coalition."

The government's talk about nationalizing the banks will probably strengthen the kind of illusions the CP is encouraging. Without the expropriation of the capitalists, the nationalization of the banks, even if it is carried out, can only be fictitious. It will not fundamentally change the credit structure as long as the investment funds remain in private hands.

### Forecasts Not Borne Out

In a situation that remains essentially unstable, both the representatives of the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the leaderships of the reformist parties may make significant tactical shifts. But by the end of August, the basic objectives of all the forces in the government were absolutely clear to anyone willing to check the facts. Since all of these tendencies were committed, in their own way, to maintaining the capitalist system, they were forced inexorably to follow a certain logic.

Seldom have the prognostications of the reformists and their fellow travelers been so quickly disproved as those that were made after the installation of the Vasco Gonçalves government.

## World news notes

### Mandel tours Australia

The September 11-20 tour of Australia by Ernest Mandel, internationally known Belgian Marxist economist and one of the leaders of the Fourth International, has been the largest in terms of audience, impact, and press coverage of any tour by a left-wing figure for decades. A total of nearly 8,000 persons attended public and campus lectures, with many meetings having to turn people away at the doors.

The fact that the entry ban on Mandel, in effect since 1970, was lifted so that he could make the tour was a significant event in itself. With attempts being made to overturn similar undemocratic exclusions in the United States, West Germany, France, and Switzerland, the Australian precedent can be of importance.

The tour was jointly sponsored by the Socialist Workers League, the Socialist Youth Alliance, and the Communist League, which are all sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International in Australia.

The ideas of Marxism reached a wide number of people during the tour. Australian television audiences, with obvious sensitivity to current economic problems, saw reporters focus their attention on what a Marxist economist had to say about the questions of unemployment and inflation. And it brought its responses. The *Australian*, one of the most influential bourgeois dailies, even felt compelled to devote a sizeable editorial on September 13 to Mandel's views.

The first two days of the tour were centered in Sydney, with lecture audiences of more than 1,400 persons on campus and 900 in the main public meeting. In Brisbane and Adelaide, the major public meetings drew 300 and 500 persons, and at two campus meetings, 400 and 700.

Mandel's Melbourne meetings were by far the largest, with about 2,600 persons attending three campus meetings and a capacity audience of 900 attending the public lecture. At the public meeting a further 200 had to be turned away at the door.

On campus, Mandel's main talk was on the subject "What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?" In the public meetings, Mandel addressed himself to a question increasingly being heard in Australia today: "Can Capitalism Survive?"



Ernest Mandel speaking in New York in 1968. Nixon administration later barred Mandel from entering U.S.

### Police attack Saigon rally

Provocateurs and members of the South Vietnamese secret police force attacked a street rally of about 100 Buddhists, Catholic priests, and opposition political figures in Saigon September 29.

Among the demands raised by the demonstrators were the release of political prisoners, a halt to torture in Thieu's jails, and freedom of the press. The attackers were driven off after several minutes of scuffling, and the rally was able to continue for more than an hour.

### U.S. food used for blackmail

The United States government has successfully blackmailed Bangladesh into closing its trade relations with Cuba.

This summer U. S. officials informed the Bangladesh government that all credits under the Food for Peace program would be canceled unless the export of locally made gunny sacks to Cuba was halted. The sacks, one of Bangladesh's few exports, are used all over the world to transport rice, grain, sugar, and fertilizer.

The Bangladesh government has estimated that it will face a food deficit of 2.3 million tons because of recent floods.



Floods this summer left half of Bangladesh under water and millions in danger of starvation. Washington took opportunity to threaten cutoff of food aid if Dacca refused to end trade with Cuba.

### 100,000 protest Chile coup

News of additional demonstrations marking the anniversary of the bloody military coup in Chile continues to come in to *The Militant*.

In Rome, 100,000 persons immobilized the center of the city September 14 with their protest march. In Milan, 60,000 persons took part in a Chile solidarity demonstration the same day.

In Bogota, Colombia, 50,000 persons attended a rally September 21, where Beatriz Allende, daughter of Salvador Allende, and Gladys Marin, a leader of the Chilean Communist Youth, spoke.

Demonstrations were also held in Brussels and Liege, Belgium; West Berlin; and Glasgow in mid-September.

In Hamburg, West Germany, longshoremen refused to load a Chilean freighter September 18 and 19 as part of a two-day international boycott called by the International Federation of Transport Workers.

### Saigon press faces new curbs

Dozens of cops stormed the offices of the Saigon newspaper *Great Nation* September 28 and seized its entire press run. It was the fourth Saigon newspaper to have been confiscated within eight days.

The official reason given for the seizure was an article the paper had printed disclosing Thieu's approval of a plan called "Comet," a secret-police operation aimed at smashing the opposition political movements.

### New protest in South Korea

On October 9 South Korean Roman Catholics staged the largest antigovernment demonstration since President Park Chung Hee declared martial law two years ago. About 5,000 took part in the action, which was held in Seoul.

The demonstrators demanded the release of political prisoners, the restoration of basic civil rights, the elimination of corruption, and an increase in the standard of living.



# Offers 'revolutionary alternative'

## Black woman challenges Rodino in N.J.

By NORMAN OLIVER

For more than two decades, Peter Rodino has represented the Tenth Congressional District in New Jersey, which includes most of Newark. This year Sandra Hill, running on the Unity Movement ticket, is offering a socialist alternative to the Democratic congressman, whose role as chairman of the House Judiciary Committee during the recent impeachment hearings brought him national prominence.

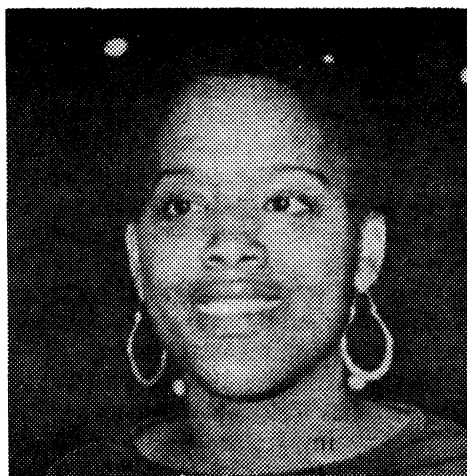
Hill, a central committee member of the Congress of African People (CAP), told *The Militant* that she is running to "propose the revolutionary alternative to the masses of our people." In her campaign the 25-year-old Black candidate hopes to "heighten the contradictions, particularly around the corrupt political machines of the Democratic and Republican parties." Neither the Democratic nor Republican Party, Hill said, can solve the problems facing the masses of poor people, because they both represent the interests of monopoly capitalism.

In the October issue of *Unity and Struggle*, published by CAP, the Unity Movement campaign is characterized as being an alternative for the people, who are "suffering under semi-colonial domination (Rodino style)" and under "neo-colonial domination (Gibson style)." Kenneth Gibson is the Black Democratic mayor of Newark.

Hill's campaign marks a new stage in CAP's political development. CAP, headed by Imamu Baraka, was in the past one of the leading Pan-Africanist organizations in the country and was opposed to Marxist ideas. It has been an active force in the National Black Assembly and played a big role in helping to elect Gibson in 1970.

Now, however, CAP is running one of its leaders in a socialist campaign against the Democratic and Republican parties.

Hill said that the major problem that confronts the people of Newark—which is predominantly Black and Puerto Rican—is that they have no control over their lives. "We believe," Hill told *The Militant*, "the people



Unity Movement candidate Sandra Hill and incumbent opponent, Democratic Congressman Peter Rodino.

should control the government completely. We believe that the workers should control the large corporations.

"That is, since they produce the wealth, they should control the factories they work in. In general, poor people should control the agencies that are exploiting them, such as the welfare department."

The Unity Movement believes that the key issues in the upcoming election are housing, education, police brutality, and unemployment.

Hill said that the recent struggle against cop terror in the Puerto Rican community of Newark has made people more receptive to the idea of having a civilian review board over the police department. CAP, along with many other organizations, was active in the protest against police violence following a cop attack on a Puerto Rican festival in Newark last month.

Hill said her campaign platform is based on belief in democracy, justice, and equality for all people. It is in that context, she said, that she calls for self-determination for oppressed minorities and equal rights for women.

The Unity Movement candidate said that the racist offensive against school desegregation in Boston "has significance not only for the struggle in Newark, but struggles of oppressed peoples wherever they're located—the struggles of workers in particular. We



believe that the old tactic of racism and racial riots is used by the imperialists to perpetuate disunity among the working class."

It is up to revolutionaries to redirect this struggle, Hill said. "Oppressed nationalities, racism, all of that was created to perpetuate the capitalist system and to continue the division of the working class and to get maximum superprofits. And if the people are educated to know that the economic system is the reason why racism exists, then they can struggle to overthrow the economic system that is at the base of this problem."

As far as fighting for reforms to

better education today, Hill said, "We support reforms only insofar as they can be used to heighten the struggle and advance the revolution. Reforms in and of themselves are just that—reforms. They aid the bourgeoisie." She said that the kind of reforms her campaign is fighting for are those directed at having the masses of poor people gain control over the institutions that affect their lives.

"This leads the people in a revolutionary direction," Hill said. "For example, when you talk about people controlling the police, you must necessarily talk about people controlling the state. So, in and of itself you're speaking about revolution."

Hill says she is trying to reach as many people as possible during her campaign. The Unity Movement is organizing street rallies at supermarkets, in housing projects, and elsewhere in Newark.

"We're getting the word out," Hill explained, "that there is an alternative this Nov. 5 to the corrupt politics of Congressman Rodino—that's Line 1-C on the ballot."

For more information about the Unity Movement's campaign in the 10th C.D. contact the Unity Movement, 13 Belmont Ave., Newark, N.J., or phone (201) 621-2300.



Protest in Newark during September police attacks on Puerto Rican community

## Al Furth: pioneer in U.S. Trotskyist movement

By ART SHARON

The sad news comes from Los Angeles that our friend and comrade Al Furth has died, a victim of cancer.

Al was among the pioneers who organized the first Trotskyist youth group in California in the early thirties, the Spartacus Youth League.

He played a key role from the first, both in the youth movement and a short time later in the formation of the Socialist Workers Party. Both as a party activist and a worker-organizer during a turbulent period of the class struggle, he was an outstanding figure.

I remember well when Al first came into contact with our small group. He came out of Chicago as part of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), assigned as a fire fighter in the Santa Barbara area. We met him through his uncle, Bill Furth, who together with Frank Halstead were leaders and spokesmen of perhaps the largest unemployed movement in the country at that time.

Al was part of that army of rebellious youth in the large cities who were considered a major social menace by the first Roosevelt administration. The CCC design was to remove these

youth from the large urban centers, and under Army control, put them to work in the forests and other remote areas, removed from the movements of social protest.

Assistant Secretary of War Harry Woodring wrote candidly at the time what the others at the top were discussing privately. "The Army," he wrote, "was prepared to organize the CCC along with the veterans of the First World War and the people on relief into a system of 'economic storm troops.'" The reader can guess against whom these storm troops were to march.

Al was by no means an easy young rebel to recruit. In fact, he was at first outraged at the "antipatriotism" of his uncle's comrades. Like many others of his generation, however, Al's shallow reactionary ideology gave way to the harsh realities of the class struggle.

Al came to us as a fighter, attracted by the deep involvement in the mass movement of the early Trotskyists. Many more like him were recruited by the Stalinist movement, only to be led back by stages to the Roosevelt camp, their healthy rebel instincts and revolutionary aspirations betrayed and destroyed.

After his stint in the CCC, Al plunged into the work of building a revolutionary movement. He participated in many movements, including the struggle to organize agricultural workers at Delano.

I recall how he and I, together with two others, took time out to go to one of the early conventions of the Trotskyist movement in New York City. As the "hoboes" of an earlier period, we grabbed a "head full of box-cars" and beat our way back—with no money. Al by this time was a veteran of the road. He turned out to be the most resourceful of our group.

We made the party convention after nearly three weeks on the road, and we were not unique in that respect. Many of the other delegates came from other parts of the country under similar difficulties. But it would all be forgotten as soon as we entered the convention. What was important was that we had made it.

Back in California, more opportunities opened up, and Al was outstanding in his quick response to the call to fill the most difficult assignments.

He became part of the maritime industry and soon was active in the sailors' union drive to organize cannery

workers on the West Coast. From one cannery to another, from Monterey to San Diego, Al plunged in. He would permit no personal need or desire to stand in the way of the work that had to be done. He won wide respect and affection among the men and women with whom he worked.

More recently, the rise of a new radical generation and the mass movement against the Vietnam war once again stimulated his enthusiasm and optimism. Early this year, when I was confined to a hospital bed, he wrote me and chided me for coming down at a time when a great shift in American politics was in the offing. "The bourgeoisie," he wrote, "are in great trouble. This is no time for you to be in bed. . . ."

To the last Al maintained his political grasp of the important developments of these times. He enjoyed his many conversations and discussions with the new young generation of Trotskyists, who found in him an inspiration for their own optimism and courage.

This generation will write the true story of our times. Al Furth will loom large in that story as one of the fighters of his generation.

# Reminiscences and tributes to James

Over the past weeks *The Militant* has printed numerous speeches, messages, and interviews by and about James P. Cannon, who died Aug. 21 at the age of 84. Cannon was a member of the pre-World War I Socialist Party and Industrial Workers of the World, a founder and leader of the American Communist Party, and a founder and leader of the world Trotskyist movement and of the Socialist Workers Party.

Following are excerpts from three speeches and a message in tribute to this great revolutionist.

## S. African socialist tells of discussion with Cannon

The following remarks were made by Joyce Meissenheimer at a tribute meeting to Cannon held in Vancouver, British Columbia. Meissenheimer was for many years a socialist leader in South Africa. For her activities she was placed under the ban by the apartheid regime and finally forced to leave her homeland.

Today she is a prominent left-wing leader in the British Columbia New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party.

When I was privileged to meet Jim Cannon in January 1973, the first thing he said to me was, "Well, it's very exciting meeting you, comrade." And I said, "Well, Jim, it's very exciting meeting you. What can I tell you?" He said, "Tell me about yourself."

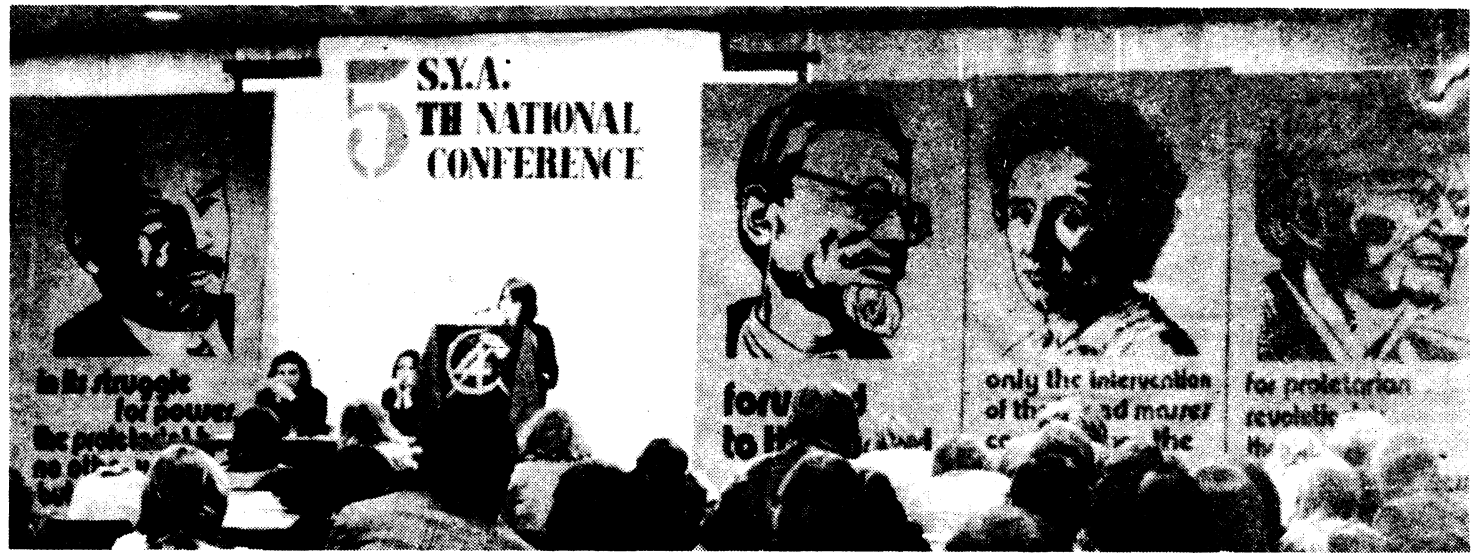
I told him about my participation in the liberation struggles in South Africa, and particularly I told him why I felt so privileged to meet Jim Cannon. Because you see, in South Africa in 1946, the movement I was in, the Unity Movement, started a newspaper, the *Torch*. I became editor in 1948. We used to exchange copies of our paper with papers from different parts of the world, and one of these papers was *The Militant*. And this is where I first got to know about Jim Cannon, from reading *The Militant*.

Afterwards, I ceased receiving *The Militant*, and instead, I got in the mail pieces of paper from the South African government, saying that they had confiscated the following subversive material in my mail, and the list included *The Militant*.

Other comrades here have spoken



Joyce Meissenheimer speaking at a convention of British Columbia NDP.



Cannon was honored at June conference of revolutionary socialist youth in Australia (Cannon is picture farthest right).

about the internationalism that Jim knew was so important to the struggle for world liberation. He wanted to know everything that had gone on in South Africa during my experience, a lot of things I couldn't even tell him, things that had happened before I was born even. And then he told me things that had gone on in my country that I didn't know about.

He said, it's so important for people like us to get together, because we can gather together all this information—what I know, what you know, what somebody else knows. That is one of the most important aspects of an international movement. People can collectively gather their history, and he said how important this was.

We followed this with a discussion of Canadian politics, and I told him something about our labor party experience in the NDP. And he was intensely interested in this; he had always followed it very closely.

We talked about the youth radicalization. We talked about the rise of political consciousness among people who are racially oppressed: Black people, Chicanos, and so on.

When it was time for me to go, Jim got up and said, "I want to show you this picture." On the wall there was a picture of a little baby.

He said, "That's Bernadette Devlin's baby." This was when there was a terrible scandal because this young woman had a baby without benefit of wedlock. Jim had a picture of Bernadette's baby on the wall.

He told me that his granddaughter was a close friend of hers. Bernadette was shortly to be married, and he was going to send her a wedding present, his book *Speeches for Socialism*. As I left I told him I thought it was a good wedding present, and he should send her all his books, because I was sure that they would be very useful to Bernadette Devlin, and all revolutionaries in Ireland.

## 'Cannon was interested in people who think for themselves'

The following are excerpts from remarks made by Art Sharon at a tribute meeting for Jim Cannon in San Francisco Sept. 14. Sharon is a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party who joined the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s.

I came to the Trotskyist movement as a member of the Young Communist League, thoroughly convinced that

Jim Cannon was a renegade because he had left the Communist Party.

Up until the time approaching when Hitler took power in Germany, I was not only a firm believer in the course of the Communist International, but I had fought the early Trotskyists I had met. I had told them, "The German Communist Party will show you. This Hitler means nothing! When the German Communist Party shows its muscle, Hitler will disappear as just trash in the dustbin of history."

As the days drew closer to the final denouement in Germany in the early 1930s, I, with many others of my generation, for the first time began to become concerned. The Hitler movement began to attack with impunity meetings not only of the Socialist Party, but also of the Communist Party, and drive them out of their halls. We could not believe our eyes or our ears. We said something must be wrong.

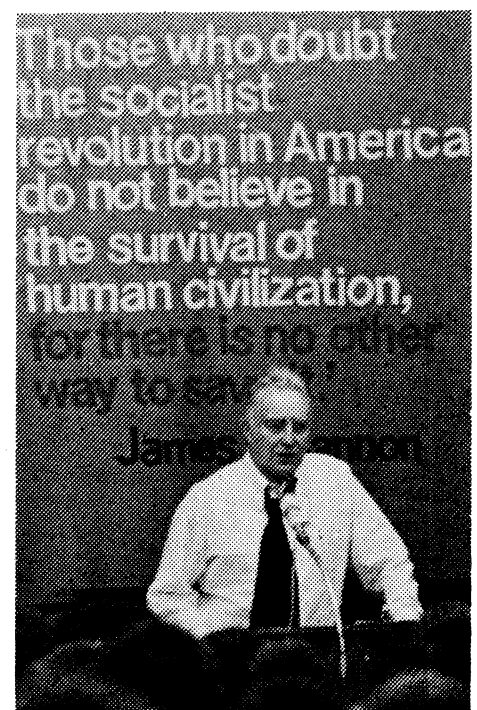
It was only then that I began to think that possibly what Trotsky had to say had some merit, and I made an examination of those Trotskyist ideas.

I recall my first meeting with Jim Cannon. I was looking forward to it with great pleasure. I was a fresh young recruit from the Stalinists. I was in New York and was invited to a party at an apartment.

And there was Jim Cannon. He called me over and started asking me some questions, and I responded as a typical Stalinist kid would respond. I gave him all the answers that I thought a leader would want to hear.

And then I was shocked when he sort of looked me over up and down, kept quiet for a while, and then got up from the piano stool he was sitting on and walked away.

I thought, my god, what did I say or do wrong?



Art Sharon

Militant/Joseph Ryan

It took me years to realize that Jim, as well as the others in the team that he built, were not interested in the types of people or in the kind of party that Stalinism had produced throughout the world.

Cannon was interested in building, encouraging, and forging revolutionary cadres who thought for themselves, who were critical, who were not afraid to express their own feelings, even at odds with those of the leadership, and to engage in debate and polemic to defend their ideas.

I, on the contrary, had come from a school where you didn't whisper your doubts or your skepticism or your disputes. You kept them to yourself and you said what you thought they wanted to hear. That was the school of Stalinism.

I've had the occasion in the past few years to meet old comrades of mine from the early Young Communist League and Communist Party. I see them now bitter, cynical, thoroughly disillusioned, and—to put it bluntly—sold out bag and baggage, enjoying good jobs, and looking with disdain on their time in the Communist movement.

So for myself, I consider it one of the greatest fortunes of my life that I came in contact with Jim Cannon and his associates.

## Australian revolutionists: He taught us the need for a party

The following message in tribute to Cannon was received from the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers League, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Australia.

The death of James P. Cannon marks the passing of one of the great figures of Marxism. But the ideas he did so much to preserve for today's generation of young revolutionists have never had more adherents. The growing support for the ideas of revolutionary socialism both in the United States and across the world is a testament to his life's work.

We in the Socialist Workers League and the Socialist Youth Alliance consider ourselves disciples of Cannon. The ideas expounded in his many books and writings played an important part in the formation and growth of our movement here.

In August 1970 the SYA formed after a struggle in the broad youth organisation Resistance. In Cannon's



# P. Cannon

Struggle for a Proletarian Party our initial cadre found a valuable guide in this founding struggle. And it was from James P. Cannon's writings above all that we came to understand the need for a party organization and we held the founding conference of the SWL in early 1972.

From the beginning our party-building work and general activity have been guided by Cannon's ideas, learned from his writings and through a very fruitful collaboration with the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, the organizations which carry on his work in the United States.

At the June conference of the SYA, alongside large portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Luxemburg stood one of James P. Cannon. The inscription read: "For the Proletarian Revolutionist the Party is the Concentrated Expression of their Life Work."

To us this will remain the lesson of James P. Cannon's lifelong devotion to the revolutionary movement. His life is an inspiration to revolutionaries fighting today to bring about the realization of socialism.

## How Cannon got a new suit of clothes from Joe Stalin

Following is an excerpt from remarks made by Anne Chester at the San Francisco tribute to Cannon. Chester, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has been in the revolutionary socialist movement since the 1930s.

Jim Cannon had a deep feeling of oneness with those who had proved loyal to the Trotskyist movement.

During the second world war, the party had several seamen members who risked their lives on ships delivering material to Murmansk, that northernmost part of the Soviet Union above the Arctic Circle. We lost some comrades to the submarines and airplanes operating under and over those icy seas.

Jim made it a point to see every seaman that returned, to listen to his experiences, bring him up to date, and to inquire about those who had not yet returned.

I remember one Saturday night at a party—and Jim attended all the party's social events in those days—who should walk in but Abe Marcus, the last returnee from the Murmansk run.

Jim threw his arms around Abe and hugged him with great joy. Another comrade had survived the horrors of the imperialist war.

There is another sidelight of this story that points up the almost child-like glee that Jim took in certain peculiar situations. The Soviet Union had made a practice of giving a bonus to seamen who survived the run delivering cargo to Murmansk. One of Jim's friends from the Minneapolis Teamsters strikes who had since gone to sea, Jack Maloney, was a recipient of the Murmansk-run bonus.

When Jack got back, he decided the best thing to use the money for was to outfit Jim in some badly needed new clothes.

Sitting near Jim at the party that evening, I commented on how nice he looked, and asked if that was a new suit.

With great pride Jim replied, "Yes indeed, and it's of very high quality. You know who bought it for me? Joe Stalin."

"See these beautiful new Florsheim shoes?" he went on. "Also bought by Stalin. And the shirt too. Stalin also bought the underwear I have on, but I can't show that to you."

# Women unite to defend abortion rights in Pa.

PHILADELPHIA—Amid mounting protests by supporters of legal abortion, a three-judge panel has suspended a new anti-abortion law passed by the Pennsylvania state legislature.

The court ruling came Oct. 10 in response to a suit filed by Planned Parenthood. The suit challenges the constitutionality of the new law, which requires a husband's consent for married women seeking abortions, and parental consent for women under 18. It also outlaws the use of welfare payments to pay for abortions.

The law is now suspended until Oct. 28, when the courts will rule on its constitutionality. Similar bills in other states have been struck down by the courts.

Opposition to the reactionary law has united many women's, church, and community groups in action across the state.

In Philadelphia 150 women turned out for a panel discussion on the law Oct. 2. Sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania women's center, the panel was endorsed by the National Organization for Women (NOW), Women's Political Caucus, Welfare Rights Organization, and Triple Jeopardy.

Fifty activists participated in a picket line in support of Planned Parenthood's suit at the federal courthouse here on Oct. 9.

In Pittsburgh, the newly formed Abortion Rights Coalition held a news conference Oct. 10 where representatives of 13 organizations spoke out against the proposed law.

More than 200 people participated in a march and rally in Pittsburgh on Oct. 12 to support women's right to abortion. Speakers included Stephanie Brooks of the Abortion Rights Coalition; Charles Robb, executive director of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union; Addie Armstrong of the Black Women's Association; and Reverend John Gal-

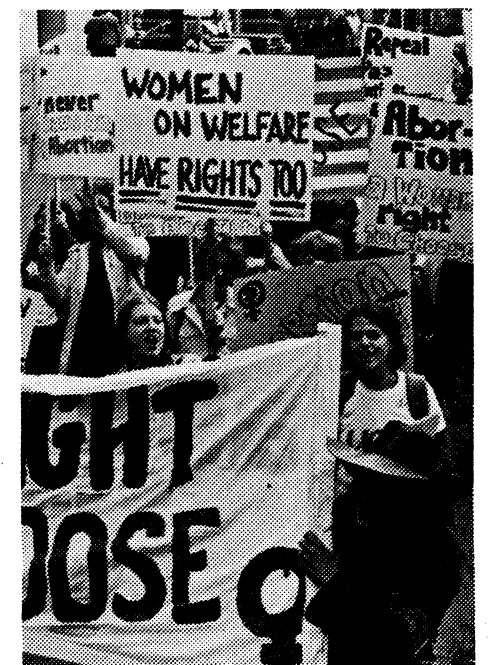
breath of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

Also, Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Cindy Spell, from Gay Students at the University of Pittsburgh; and Irene McCabe, from NOW.

Armstrong and Spell emphasized that they and other Black women would suffer the most under the new law because of the restrictions on welfare payments.

"We are therefore left to the extreme alternatives," said Spell, "either to give ourselves an abortion, or go to the butchers who kill 8 percent of the women they give abortions to."

Adachi told the rally, "It is sickening to watch the Democratic and Republican politicians play political football with an issue that is literally a life and death matter for women. Their total disregard for our rights, our health, and our safety was shown by their overwhelming vote to pass this reactionary legislation."



Abortion Rights Coalition march in Pittsburgh, Oct. 12.

## Support the Cannon Fund

The James P. Cannon Party-Building Fund was launched Aug. 23 and now stands at \$59,364.47.

One of the main purposes of the fund is to aid in publishing works by Cannon that are still not in print. Here is a sampling of some of the types of material that has yet to be published:

- Correspondence with Leon Trotsky about the consolidation of the American and European Trotskyist organizations leading up to the founding of the Fourth International.



Cannon in 1938

- Speeches on proletarian military policy and other aspects of the antiwar stand for which Cannon and other Socialist Workers Party leaders were imprisoned during World War II.

- Speeches and articles evaluating the depth of the reaction during the witch-hunt of the 1950s.

- Speeches, articles, and correspondence concerning the Khrushchev revelations about Stalin's crimes, and the resulting regroupment within the American left.

Your help is needed in order to make the rich legacy of Cannon's works available to the new generation of revolutionary youth both in this country and around the world. Please send your contribution today.

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## Puerto Rican rally in NY wins wide support

By MARK FRIEDMAN

NEW YORK—The Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally, to be held here Oct. 27 at Madison Square Garden, is gathering broad support throughout the country.

Initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the rally is being organized by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee. The purpose of the action is to protest U.S. domination of Puerto Rico, particularly the plans to build a superport for oil tankers and the construction of dozens of U.S.-owned petrochemical and pharmaceutical plants along the Puerto Rican coast. These factories will not provide many jobs for the large number of unemployed workers and will destroy the environment.

Similar solidarity rallies are scheduled for San Francisco and Puerto Rico.

Through a massive distribution of publicity materials, 250,000 brochures, 40,000 posters, and more than 50,000 buttons for the New York rally have gotten out. Nearly all 20,000 tickets for the event have been sold.

Organizers expect Chicanos to attend from Texas and Colorado, and busloads of other supporters from Chicago; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Philadelphia; New Haven, Conn.;

Hartford, Conn.; Buffalo, N.Y.; and cities in New Jersey.

Support actions are being held on campuses, at high schools, and through meetings in Harlem, Brownsville, and other communities.

More than 100 organizations and many prominent individuals have endorsed the rally, including Black Democratic Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.). Supporting groups include the Denver Crusade for Justice, La Raza Unida Party, American Indian Movement, Congress of African People, United Farm Workers, and other political organizations, including the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The broad list of speakers and entertainers for the rally includes: Puerto Rican Socialist Party General Secretary Juan Mari Bras; antideportation leader Bert Corona; actor Ossie Davis; Corky Gonzales of the Crusade for Justice; and Wounded Knee defendant Russell Means.

Also, antiwar activist Jane Fonda; Communist Party spokeswoman Angela Davis; *Guardian* writer Irwin Silber; news commentator Geraldo Rivera; Black activist Owusu Sadaukai; musician Ray Barretto; and El Grupo.

# AIM leaders speak at Minn. forum

By LEE GEARHART

MINNEAPOLIS—Dennis Banks and Vernon Bellecourt told a standing-room-only crowd at the Twin Cities Militant Forum Oct. 11 that mass support played a role in the victory of the Wounded Knee defendants in St. Paul last month.

The two American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders were warmly applauded by some 175 persons who turned out for the special forum to celebrate the recent trial victory.

Banks and Bellecourt urged continued support for the more than 100 remaining defendants in the Wounded Knee and Custer, S.D., cases.

Charges against Banks and Russell Means were dismissed in St. Paul Sept. 16, ending the eight-and-a-half-month Wounded Knee trial.

A total of \$125 was raised at the forum for the newly formed committee called Jurors and Others for Reconciliation. It is comprised of 11 jurors and alternates who have vowed to continue the fight to get the charges dropped against all the Wounded Knee defendants.

Vernon Bellecourt, director of international affairs for AIM, observed, "It was about a year ago that both my brother Clyde Bellecourt and myself had the occasion to share this podium at the Militant Forum. We're certainly happy that you've asked us back a second time.

"Certainly a lot has happened in the last year," he continued, "and I think we should take the opportunity on behalf of the American Indian Movement and the Indian struggle to thank every one of you who have shown your continued support during the long trial—I should say the trial of the United States government."

After detailing the crimes of the government and FBI in the trial, Banks said he observed "a growing movement, not only among the Indian people, but a tremendous growing movement from non-Indians about the judi-

cial system in this country. And the vanguard of this attack are people sitting in this room, people on the reservations, people in jail, people who are tired of oppression, people who are tired of being railroaded to prison, students who feel this government hasn't spoken for them."

"Every place I went," he continued, "I've seen *The Militant*, telling the truth, the true stories of what's going on behind closed doors, telling the story of what's going on in prison, telling the true story of what's going on on the reservations. And AIM needs to help those kind of people, and we need their help."

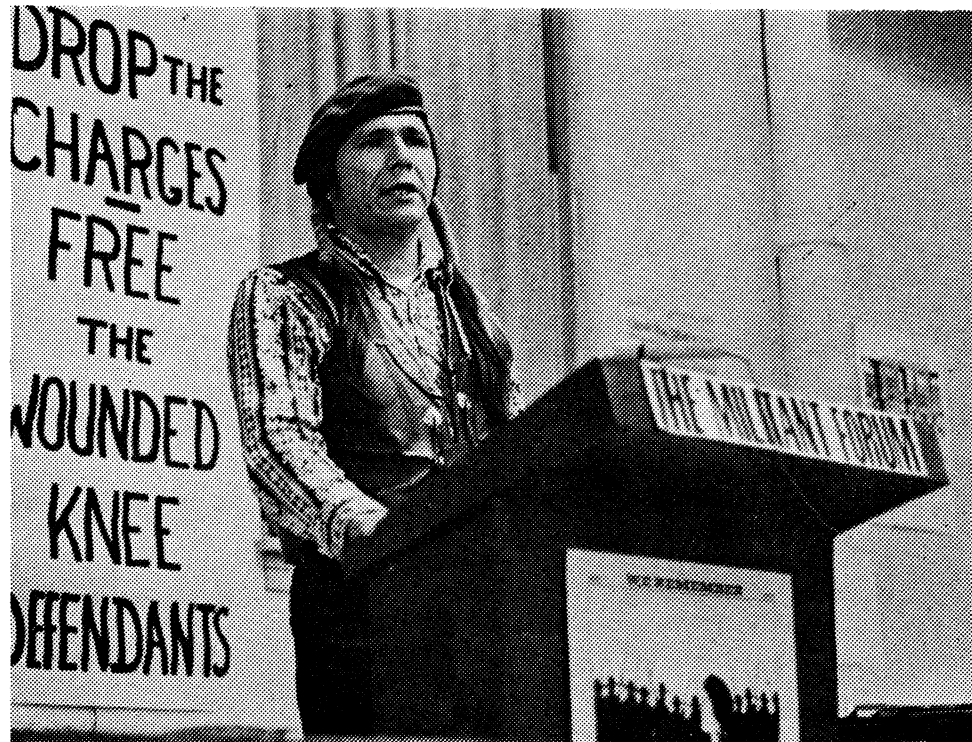
Banks said he still faced the possibility of a life sentence on riot charges in Custer, S.D.

John Linder of the Young Socialist Alliance chaired the forum and urged the audience to sign the petitions that are being circulated demanding free-

dom for Sarah Bad Heart Bull, Kenneth Dahl, and Bob High Eagle, the Custer frame-up victims who are now in prison.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull's son Wesley was killed by a white man who was later acquitted of second-degree manslaughter. The three were arrested when they joined a protest over the acquittal in Custer last year, and were convicted in July 1974. A total of 19 others were indicted on various charges stemming from the same action.

Petitions and any other assistance can be sent to the Free Sarah Committee/National AIM Office, P.O. Box 3677, St. Paul, Minn. 55101. The petitions will be taken to Pierre, S.D., for a demonstration in front of the state capitol Nov. 1 at noon. Marlon Brando and Harry Belafonte are scheduled to speak. For more information call AIM at (612) 227-0651.



BANKS: Believes mass support was crucial to victory in Wounded Knee trial

# Kootenai Indians fight for stolen land

By STACEY SEIGLE

PORTLAND, Ore.—The Kootenai Indian Tribe of Bonners Ferry, Idaho, is waging a struggle to win back stolen tribal lands. The Kootenais have begun treaty negotiations with the U.S. government and are demanding 128,000 acres of Forest Service land, along with hunting, fishing, and mineral rights.

Although they have never signed a treaty with the U.S. government, the Kootenais' land has been sold off during the past 100 years against their will. At present, the tribe has been "granted" six-and-one-half acres of land on which their church stands.

The government claims the Indians have no rights, because in 1962 a settlement was made in which they were "paid" for their land—at the rate of 36 cents an acre!

The Kootenais have never given up their claim of the right to hunt, fish, and trap on their aboriginal land. Members of the tribe have been arrested, tried, and convicted for trying to exercise these rights.

A bill now pending in Congress—the only government body with which the Indians can negotiate a treaty—would give the Kootenais 12 acres of land near Bonners Ferry. Tribal Chief Douglas Wheaton has called this offer "totally unacceptable."

A statement issued by the tribe declares, "The pride has once again motivated our people, and their might is in their being right. Ours is a fight for survival."

Glenna Page, chairwoman of the Oregon chapter of the American Indian Movement (AIM), recently visited the Kootenai tribe. Living conditions of the tribe are extremely poor, she says. Over the years the tribe has been reduced to 67 members.

The victory in the Wounded Knee trial in Minnesota has had an impact on the struggle of the Kootenais. National AIM leaders, including Dennis Banks, have helped build support for their fight. Indians from Montana, British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon have gathered in Bonners Ferry to aid the Kootenais. On Sept. 24, 100 activists demonstrated in support of the Kootenais' demands at the federal courthouse here in Portland.

To publicize their case, the Indians have set up information centers along the roads around Bonners Ferry, and have been collecting voluntary tolls from motorists passing through. They have also won support for their demands from the Bonners Ferry city council and the Boundary County Commission.

Glenna Page reports that motorists have responded favorably to the Indians' struggle.

The Idaho state police, however, have sent 50 extra men into Bonners Ferry, supposedly "to avoid bloodshed." According to Page, the invasion of the cops was resented by passing motorists.

"One day there were 30 cop cars and five Indians out where we were collecting tolls. That day everybody stopped because they were angry that the police were forcing people to move along, not letting them slow down to pay the toll."

# Chi. Blacks, Latinos demand jobs

By TOM O'BRIEN

CHICAGO—Angered by rising unemployment, jobless Black and Latino workers have held a series of demonstrations here to demand that the city and federal government provide more jobs.

On Oct. 7, more than 500 people, led by Operation PUSH, the Spanish Action Committee, and the Puerto Rican United Front, picketed the Labor Department and registered for jobs with the Chicago Civil Service Commission.

Chicago has received a \$6-million grant under the federal Concentrated Employment and Training Act (CETA) to create civil-service jobs. The demonstrators were demanding that PUSH and other community groups be allowed to set up neighborhood hiring halls for the CETA jobs.

But Samuel Bernstein, director of the city's Manpower program, told leaders of the protest that the hiring halls will be run only by the Urban Progress Centers of the Model Cities program. The demonstrators charge that these centers are part of the patronage system of Mayor Richard Daley.

Bernstein claimed that the city has not yet received the \$6-million in federal funds. The next day, however, Mayor Daley diverted \$1.2-million of the \$6-million to rescue the public school system.

In the meantime, a study was published in the *Chicago Reporter* confirming that Blacks, Latinos, and women are the last hired and first

fired in city jobs. The study ranked Chicago at the bottom of six major cities in the proportion of minority and women workers holding city jobs.

Although more than 32 percent of Chicago is Black, only 23 percent of its city workers are Black. Less than 2 percent of city workers are Latino, while the population is 7.4 percent Latino. Women make up only 16 percent of the municipal work force.

In a second demonstration, held Oct. 9, more than 200 people marched to the Labor Department offices in the Federal Building. PUSH leader Jesse Jackson called on protesters to "fight to expand the job market." President Ford, he said, is "asking six million [unemployed] to fight for 300,000 jobs."

As demonstrators sat down in the lobby of the Labor Department, march leaders demanded that the predominantly Black West Side—where unemployment is reported to be 68 percent—be declared a disaster area. They also demanded that the Labor Department's regional director, Alexander White, tour the area.

White responded that he had already toured the West Side and that conditions were indeed bad. However, he said, Congress had given Chicago money to use as the city government saw fit, and there was nothing much he could do.

On Oct. 11, 200 demonstrators picketed the office of Erwin France, the mayor's administrative assistant in charge of the Model Cities program. France said he didn't oppose the idea of neighborhood hiring halls, but said

he had no power over CETA funds. "Every dime that comes into Chicago . . .," he said, "goes through Bernstein's office."

Jesse Jackson has announced that "more and bigger demonstrations" for jobs will take place in Chicago and that PUSH plans to expand "our soup lines and feeding programs." (PUSH has opened soup lines on the South Side to dramatize the plight of the unemployed.)

Jackson also predicted that marches for jobs will spread across the country. President Ford, he charged, "seems to be more inclined to 'WIN' for the rich, big business, and the military than to 'WIN' for the vast majority of the American people. . . ."

"We are in the streets today because we were ignored and left out of the plan, and we're not going to take it any more."



PUSH demonstration Oct. 11



## 'Raza si! Kennedy no!'

# Denver protesters hit 'illegal alien' bills

By PETER SEIDMAN

DENVER—One hundred fifty people picketed the Federal Building here Oct. 2 to protest two bills now before Congress that would further attack the rights of undocumented workers in the United States.

Chanting "Raza Si! Kennedy No!" and "Raza Si! Rodino No!" the protesters blasted laws sponsored by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Congressman Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) that, while claiming to protect "American" jobs by making it illegal for employers to "knowingly" hire "illegal aliens," would simply make it easier for the bosses to exploit these workers.

A broad coalition of organizations

sponsored the demonstration, including: Crusade for Justice, La Raza Unida Party, Chicano Welfare Rights Organization, MI-CASA, Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, Apostles for Justice, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, National Lawyers Guild, UMAS at Colorado University in Boulder, MECHA at Metropolitan State College in Denver, Chicano Nurses, La Raza Park Committee, the North Denver Alliance, Revolutionary Union, and North Denver Aid.

Corky Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, a Chicano community organization, spoke at a rally held after the picket line. Gonzales blasted the hypocrisy of the Rodino

and Kennedy bills. He explained that these laws are written "to prevent people of color from entering this country. The laws place no meaningful limits on the number of Irish or western Europeans who can come in." This is because immigration quotas are set higher for countries in Europe with predominantly white populations and much lower for countries in South America.

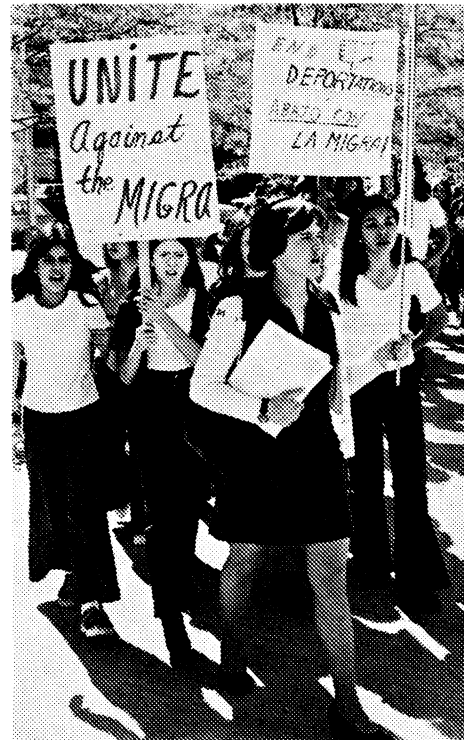
Gonzales explained that workers from Mexico and other Latin American countries are forced to seek work in the United States by the high unemployment and low wages imposed on the economies of these countries by U.S. corporations. "For me to say that a Mexican should not cross the border line despite these facts is to say that my father should not have come here," Gonzales said.

"Rather than protest against undocumented workers we should protest the fact that the U.S. government took over this land from Mexico," he said.

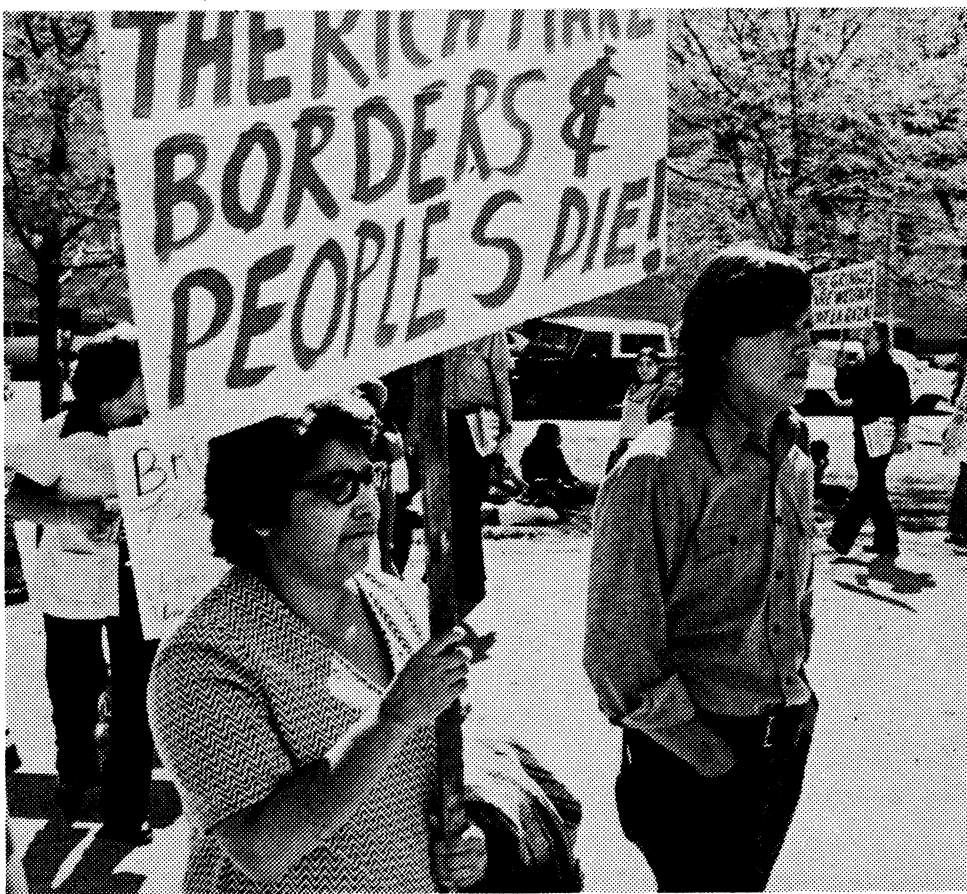
Gonzales also explained the need for continued support to the farm workers despite the recent decision by the United Farm Workers union to cooperate with the Immigration Service in deporting undocumented workers.

"It is unfortunate we don't have a representative of the United Farm Workers union here today," he said. "But we must understand that we are all representatives of the United Farm Workers in their struggle for justice."

Gonzales explained that it was the growers, in alliance with the Immigration Service and the government, that use laws like the Rodino-Kennedy bill to attack the farm workers. "We are in support of unions and the fight to win collective bargaining for the farm workers," Gonzales said. "But the union's fight for survival is hurt most by the growers who can use the border and the difficult conditions



Militant/Frank Lord



Oct. 2 picket at Federal Building was organized by broad coalition

Militant/Frank Lord

faced by undocumented workers against the union."

Gonzales said that rather than supporting the harassment of undocumented workers, those who want to build the farm workers union must go to the root of the problem and try to change the system responsible for the terrible conditions facing the farm workers and all working people.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Jack Marsh for U.S. Senate and Nora Danielson for governor, distributed a statement at the demonstration protesting the Rodino and Kennedy bills and calling for full rights for undocumented workers.

The socialists said that all persons who want to live or work in the U.S. should have the full rights of citizens. They called for full civil rights and the right to a job at union wages for everyone, regardless of citizenship.

## 'No school funds to lynchers!'

# Minn. students picket speech by Klansman

By JOHN LINDER

ST. CLOUD, Minn.—Shouting "Hey, hey, KKK, how many people did you lynch today?" several hundred people demonstrated Sept. 18 at St. Cloud State College.

The demonstrators, including students, faculty, and community members, were protesting the on-campus appearance of David Duke, national director of the Ku Klux Klan. Duke had been invited to speak by the Major Events Committee (an unelected student organization) for an honorarium of \$1,050 in student fees. Billed as a "charming and articulate speaker," the Grand Dragon was hired "to dispel the image of the Klansman as an ignorant red-neck."

This "charming" man was recently in Boston helping to spur on the racist violence against the Black community there. Racist whites in Boston are trying to prevent the implementation of a court-ordered desegregation plan.

News of the Klan's scheduled appearance in St. Cloud brought an immediate response. On one day's notice a meeting initiated by the St. Cloud Young Socialist Alliance drew more than 175 people. Attending the meeting were representatives of the St. Cloud Trades and Labor Assembly, the Black Student Union (BSU), the American Federation of Teachers, and

the Young Workers Liberation League.

The meeting called for a boycott of the Klan's meeting and a picket and rally outside of it.

The demonstration and boycott were built around the demands "KKK off campus," "No funds to support racist violence," and "Student control of student fees." Brad Smith, chairman of the St. Cloud YSA and the central organizer of the demonstration, told *The Militant*:

"The Klan is an openly racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and antilabor organization. It has been responsible for the documented lynchings of more than 4,730 people during the 100 years of its existence. Duke's only purpose in speaking here is to justify and build support for the Klan's actions and ideology. This is why we are demanding that he has no right to our campus and our money."

While Duke delivered a typically disgusting piece of demagoguery, the demonstrators rallied outside and listened to speakers from the BSU, the faculty, and other students and St. Cloud residents.

Jane Van Deusen, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota, marched on the picket line.

Since the demonstration, discussion has continued here about the action.

The campus newspaper, the *Chronicle*, has accused the anti-Klan demonstrators of violating the principle of free speech. On the other hand, a small number of students have raised the argument that rather than boycott, the demonstrators should have entered the meeting hall to disrupt Duke's speech.

Wynn Summers, a demonstration organizer and YSA member, explained the YSA's position:

"We began from the premise that the Klan had no place on campus and that it was our job to explain our opposition to the Klan and its presence here to as many students as possible. We felt that entering the auditorium in order to listen to and debate with Duke, as was suggested by some, would have legitimized Duke's presence on campus. We have nothing to debate with lynchers."

"On the other hand, the YSA understands that entering the auditorium and shouting down Duke would have shifted the discussion from debate over Duke's right to speak on campus to a debate over the students' right to heckle him. In fact, this has happened. The *Chronicle* followed Duke's talk with an editorial, not protesting the Klan's racist lies, but protesting instead the heckling of Duke."

"A boycott and demonstration was the most clear-cut way to pose the

question of Duke's presence and funding on campus, placing the onus for any disruption on the Klan. Many St. Cloud State students still have a lot to learn about racist oppression and how to fight it. Our actions have begun this education."

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—On Oct. 3 David Duke spoke at Vanderbilt University at the invitation of the Student Association Speakers Committee.

The Vanderbilt Young Socialist Alliance released a statement protesting the use of university facilities by racists and the fact that student activities money would help Duke fly around the country spreading racism and organizing white hoodlums.

Copies of the statement were distributed at the speech. Most of the audience was incredulous at Duke's vicious and frenzied attacks on Blacks, Jews, and communists. Duke said that the YSA is typical of left-wing groups that try to stop him from speaking because they are "afraid" to hear the Klan message.

Sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* were slow before the speech, but as students left the hall many eagerly bought the papers and several signed up to come to the next class being held by the YSA.

## 'Art had to be bold as the workers' power'

*Cinema in Revolution. Edited by Luda and Jean Schnitzer and Marcel Martin. Translated and with additional material by David Robinson. Hill and Wang. New York, 1973. Paper, \$3.95.*

*Cinema in Revolution* consists of a series of short reminiscences by Soviet film-makers based primarily on a series of recorded interviews made in 1965. The interviews concentrate on the period immediately following the revolution of 1917. While much of the material included is oriented to film historians and theoreticians, several contain vivid first-hand descriptions of the artists of October, those youth who threw themselves wholeheartedly into trying to create an art that captured the vigor and optimism of the first proletarian revolution.

"Life seemed marvelously interesting," Kozinstev remembers, "and there was no doubt at all that this moment

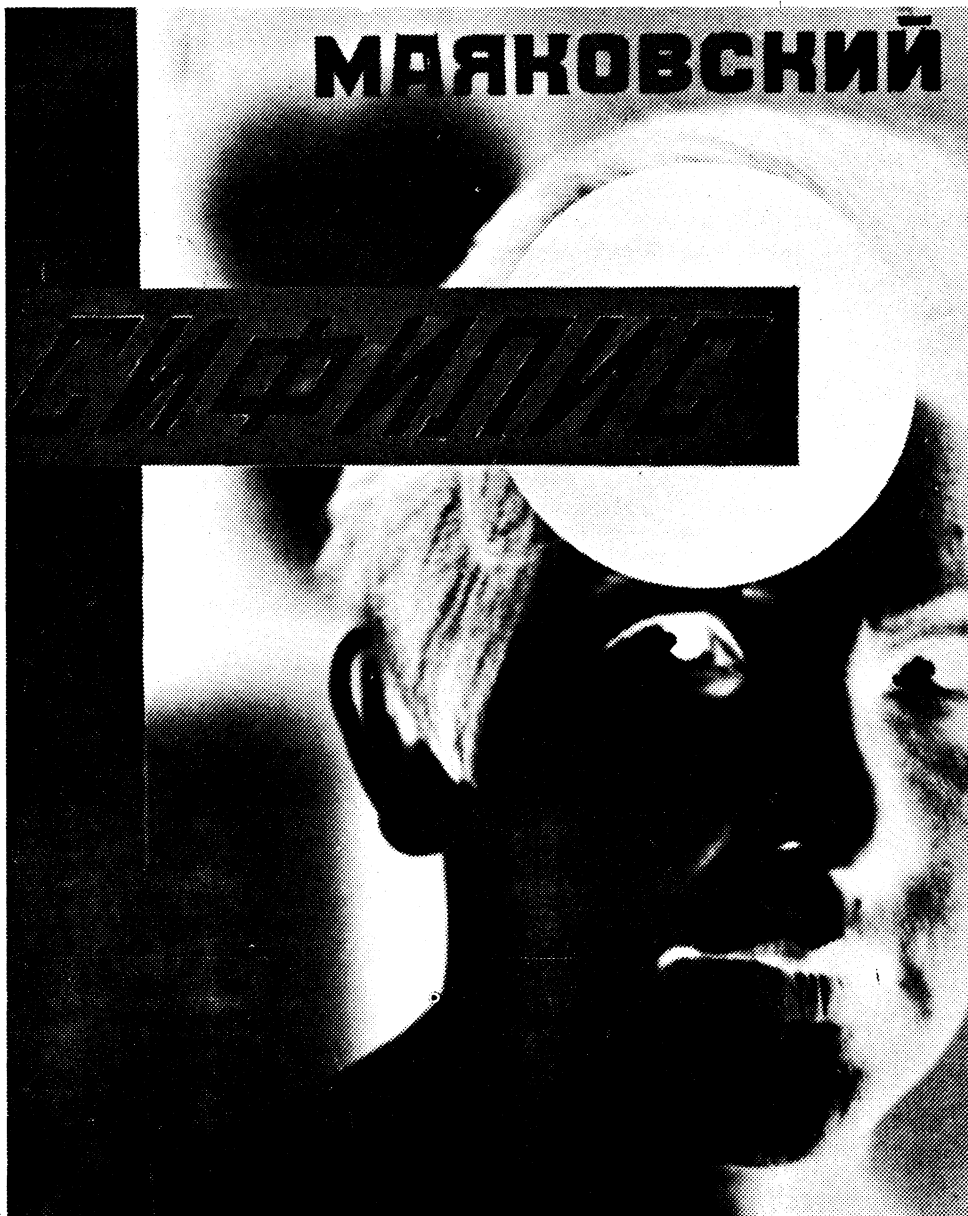
### Books

marked the coming of a new era, the era of art. This art had to be as bold as the workers' power itself, as pitiless towards the past as the Revolution."

These artists were the avant-garde, striving for new forms corresponding to the new society; their heroes were the poet Mayakovsky and the theatrical director Meyerhold. Many associated themselves with the organization of artists known as Proletcult, which attempted to deny the relevance of all previous art and art forms.

The seven or eight years following the Russian revolution saw an explosion of creative energy combined with hot debate. "There had never been so many theatres . . . never had so many books—particularly volumes of poetry—appeared. Never had there been so much experiment in the theatre and in painting," says the director Yutkevitch.

Mayakovsky ordered the artists to: Sweep the rubbish out of your heads! The streets are our paint brushes,



Alexander Rodchenko's 1926 cover design for Mayakovsky's poem 'Syphilis'

The squares are our palettes!

The young artists took Mayakovsky literally. Yutkevitch recalls that "Leningrad produced an entirely unique kind of spectacle—the mass street performances. *The Taking of the Winter Palace* was a haunting reconstruction of real-life events in the actual historical locations; a sort of mystery plan performed in the Palace square and on the steps of the Bourse, with the participation of real warships, marine detachments, and with classical choirs . . . and maps representing capitalists and proletarians."

The emphasis was on creating a popular theater; the circus, the music hall, but especially the cinema were used. In an article written in 1946, Sergei Eisenstein describes a play produced by the Proletcult theater in which an actor is filmed "in a black mask, cloak and top hat, clambering up roofs and leaping from an 'aeroplane' into a car traveling at full speed. The car arrived at the entrance of the Proletkult Theatre at the very moment that the film ended on the screen; and [the actor], yelling, burst into the hall holding the reel of film in his

hand."

Overwhelmingly apparent is the absolute freedom accorded artists in the early years of the revolution. "There was no pressure on us. That was the atmosphere. The best that can exist for artists. Nobody said *how* we must do things," says the artist Golovnya.

The leaders of the Russian revolution, especially Leon Trotsky, took an active part in the debates that raged among the young enthusiasts. *Cinema and Revolution* provides a graphic backdrop to Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution*, written in 1924, in which Trotsky explains the error of trying to create a "proletarian art."

"In its essence," Trotsky wrote, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an organization for the production of the culture of a new society, but a revolutionary and military system struggling for it."

Trotsky stressed the importance of a flexible atmosphere of sympathy without which art cannot live and develop. He argued that before "fresh forms for the solution of new artistic tasks" can take root there must precede "an accumulation of material culture, a growth of prosperity and a development of technique. There is no other road."

What is lacking in *Cinema and Revolution* is any consideration of why the tremendous outburst of creative energy that followed the October Revolution dissipated. It was inevitable, as the revolutionary gains of the revolution were crushed under the conservatizing weight of Stalinism, that artistic freedom and experimentation gave way to the false and rigid theories of "socialist realism."

The recent attempt by the bureaucrats in Moscow to prevent an exhibition of "unofficial" paintings would have been an inconceivable outrage in the Moscow of Lenin and Trotsky. The use of clubs and bulldozers as the weapons of "artistic criticism" speaks volumes about the mentality of the Stalinists.

But the determination of the artists to fight for the right to display their work speaks equally strongly of the intellectual and artistic ferment in the Soviet Union today.

— STACEY SEIGLE

## Rebellion in Jamaica's Kingston ghetto

*The Harder They Come. Directed by Percy Henzell. Screenplay by Percy Henzell and Trevor Rhone. Produced by Percy Henzell. Starring Jimmy Cliff.*

"Release this record, but don't push it," sneers the head of a leading record company in Jamaica.

They know the song is great, but the singer, Ivan, is a "troublemaker." As a country youth, newly arrived in Kingston, he thought his music could lift him above the terrible poverty of the Jamaican countryside.

After a series of humiliations, he's forced to sell his record for only \$20. With no prospect for work, he becomes a dope runner, rebels against the underworld hierarchy, and wages a spectacular, single-handed war against his oppressors.

Ivan becomes a hero to the Kingston slum-dwellers because he acts out the rage that all of them feel. The song he sold for \$20 soars to the top of

the charts, resulting in a giant and unexpected profit for the industry, though not for Ivan.

This song, from which the title of the movie is derived, expresses the anger and determination of someone born on the bottom, always looking up. In the sounds of his hard-driving reggae (a syncopated form of rock popular in Jamaica and now Great Britain), real-life recording star Jimmy Cliff, who plays Ivan, projects a smol-

### Film

dering desire to rise above all forms of indignity and harassment.

Just listening to the first few lines of the movie's theme song gives you a feeling for the fighting spirit the film projects:

*Well they tell me of a pie up in the sky*

*Waiting for me when I die*

*But between the day you're born*

*and when you die*

*They never seem to hear even your cry*

*So as sure as the sun will shine I'm gonna get my share now, what's mine*

*And then the harder they come The harder they fall one and all*

This movie is not explicitly about Black power, an urgent political issue for Jamaicans, one that has triggered popular upsurges in several Caribbean countries. But it's honest enough to capture this sentiment in the glimpses we get of Jamaican life, as well as in the live-wire performance of Jimmy Cliff.

The film was shot on location, using local talent. Reportedly, director Percy Henzell had to secure permission from the chief racketeers before starting to work. Considering the way he exposes the cop-corruption connection, Henzell must have had some rough moments in his negotiations with the local police as well as with the outlaw-parasites they defend.

So far, *The Harder They Come* has suffered the same initial fate its title song suffers in the movie. It's been released, but not pushed by the big film bosses. In the United States its success has been limited to a few marginal, off-the-track movie houses.

Because it has high commercial value (violence and sex) as well as genuine entertainment value (suspense, color, and a dynamic soundtrack), *The Harder They Come* may still catch on enough to attract some big promoter's eye. (A good sign is that the film, which was originally released a year and a half ago, has met with a better reception the second time around.)

During a period when there's no overabundance of good films in the first place, *The Harder They Come* shouldn't have to sit on the shelf. Its lack of promotion is more than just an indictment of the celluloid-pushers in Hollywood (or Rome or Kingston or wherever else they hang out)—it's a crime.

— DAVID SALNER



## Militant circulation drive

# Sales goal topped again; 3 cities raise sights

By ROSE OGDEN

Supporters in San Francisco, San Diego, St. Louis, Portland, Central-East Los Angeles, Detroit, and Denver deserve special credit for their sales record thus far this fall. Five times out of the first five weeks of *The Militant's* sales campaign, these areas have sold 100 percent or better of their sales goals.

Supporters in 27 cities met their goals with sales of the Oct. 11 issue (main headline: "Ford threatens war on oil nations"), representing 77 percent of the 35 areas reporting.

Members of the Young Socialist teams report selling 1,821 copies, bringing the national total to 12,162.

A new city on the scoreboard this week is Milwaukee. However, our sup-

from the Socialist Workers campaign storefront in the Lower East Side, sold 200 copies of the Oct. 11 issue. They also made a special effort to sell *Militant* subscriptions and single copies to the District 1 parents and community activists who sat in at Public School 188 during the week.

Chicago supporters sold 19 at a steelworkers' meeting and 83 at a demonstration for jobs organized by Operation PUSH. Unfortunately, for the second time this fall, the post office has lost some of Chicago's *Militants*, so they did not have enough papers on hand to meet their goal.

In Seattle, about 25 *Militants* are being sold each week at the longshoremen's union hiring hall. Philadelphia supporters have also begun sales at

*Militant* subscription sales are now up to 3,597, which is 30 percent of our national goal of 12,000 introductory subscriptions by Nov. 24. In conjunction with *The Militant*, the *International Socialist Review* is conducting a drive for 2,300 new subscribers. A total of 640 *ISR* subscriptions, 28 percent of the goal, have been sent in.

By the end of October, we should have sold 66 percent of the subscriptions. We need to make a big push to catch up.

This can best be done by making subscription sales a part of all *Militant* circulation drive activities.

In Pittsburgh, for example, 458 copies of the Oct. 11 *Militant* were sold—the highest sales so far this fall there—and more than 100 of these were sold while supporters were on a subscription drive in campus dormitories.

Regular weekly *Militant* sales are also helping to build the paper's subscription base.

Some of the people who buy *The Militant* at steel mills in St. Louis for instance, have decided to become regular subscribers. In San Diego, subscription sales on the University of California campus are easier now than before. Many students are already familiar with the paper through our regular weekly sales.

The high level of sales we have maintained during the first five weeks of the campaign establishes a solid jumping-off point for wide distribution of the Nov. 1 issue of *The Militant*.

This will be the target issue for sales, when supporters in each city will mobilize in a special effort to sell as many copies as possible in conjunction with windup socialist election campaign activities.

Detroit supporters have announced that they plan to sell 2,800 copies of the Nov. 1 issue. That figure is 467 percent higher than their normal goal of 600. They are challenging other cities to meet or beat that ambitious projection.

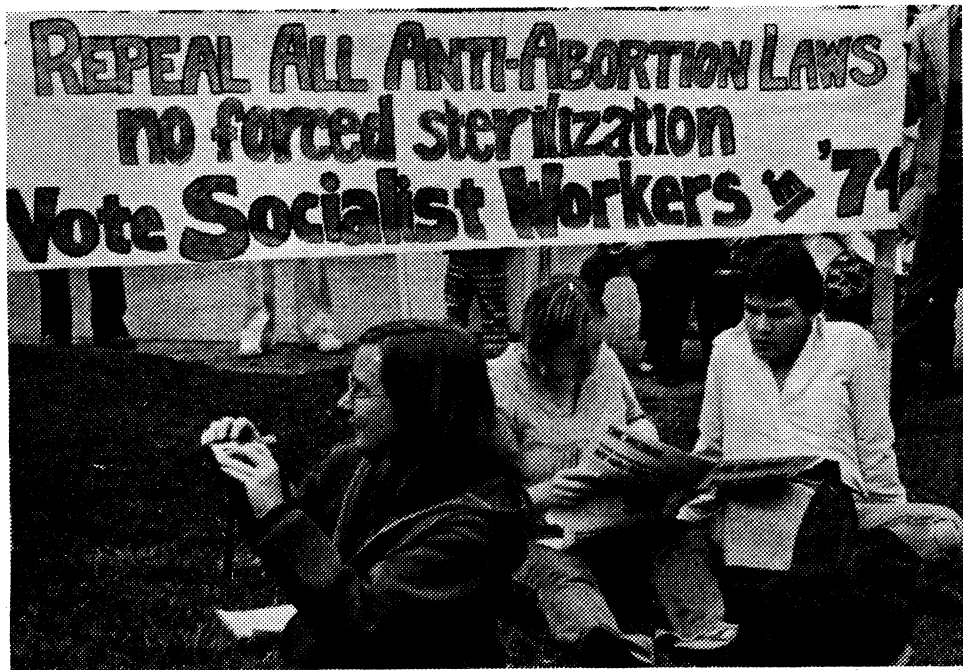
Socialist campaign activity and *Militant* sales go hand in hand. This was shown at a recent rally for Dan Styron, California Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, held at the University of California in Santa Barbara. West Side L. A. supporters sold 135 *Militants* to the crowd that came to hear Styron.

## Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Highland Park, NJ	20	33	165
Glendale, Calif.	7	11	157
Twin Cities	400	587	147
San Francisco	375	500	133
Milwaukee	75	100	133
Portland, Ore.	300	372	124
Pittsburgh	375	458	122
St. Louis	400	468	117
Logan, Utah	40	45	113
Nashville	27	30	111
LA (West Side)	400	437	109
LA (Central-East)	400	433	108
San Diego	275	298	108
Cleveland	250	268	107
Upper West Side NY	425	452	106
Philadelphia	400	407	102
Denver	325	333	102
Lower Manhattan	450	455	101
Seattle	350	355	101
Detroit	600	602	100
Atlanta	475	476	100
Brooklyn	400	400	100
Cincinnati	50	50	100
Lawrence, Kans.	43	43	100
Louisville	35	35	100
St. Cloud	15	15	100
Amarillo	5	5	100
Urbana, Ill.	5	5	100
Oakland/Berkeley	700	680	97
Houston	500	478	96
Washington, DC	400	385	96
Chicago	675	568	84
Boston	600	485	83
Edinboro, Pa.	50	37	74
East Lansing	50	35	70
TOTAL	9,400	10,341	110

### YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS

Mid-Atlantic	100	216	216
Michigan	100	191	191
Ohio/Kentucky	100	168	168
St. Louis	100	164	164
Minnesota	100	130	130
Pennsylvania	100	129	129
New England	100	124	124
New York	100	124	124
Southeast	100	123	123
Chicago	100	109	109
Seattle/Portland	100	108	108
Denver	65	69	106
Northern Calif.	100	83	83
Texas	100	45	45
Southern Calif.	100	38	38



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Participants in recent abortion rights action in Pittsburgh read *The Militant*

porters there are not new to *Militant* sales. During the first weeks of the campaign they successfully sold their goal of 75, so they decided to raise it to 100. After selling 100 copies two weeks in a row, they have decided to up the goal again to 150.

Supporters in two other areas have also raised their goals: San Francisco and Central-East L. A. each plan to sell 450 a week from now on.

Lower Manhattan supporters have launched a campaign to increase regular sales in New York's Lower East Side. *Militant* sales teams, dispatched

the longshoremen's hiring hall, and sold 10 the first time.

In both San Francisco and New York's Upper West Side, salespeople have instituted a weeknight wrap-up sale. Supporters meet in the Socialist Workers Party headquarters and go out in teams to sell whatever *Militants* are left from the weekly bundle.

Mike Lux, Upper West Side sales director, says that their best weeknight sales are at train and bus stations, where commuters are often looking for something to read on the way home.

## 'Vice squad' arrests Militant sellers in Calif.

By MIKE MALONEY

STOCKTON, Calif.—Two members of a traveling team of Young Socialists building support for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in California were arrested Oct. 10 for selling the campaign newsweekly, *The Militant*, in the downtown area here.

The two, Gaile Wixson and Bill Hutton, were charged with soliciting without a business license. The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to handle the case, and a hearing has been set for Oct. 17 at the San Joaquin County courthouse in Stockton.

When arrested, Hutton and Wixson were subject to interrogation by members of the "vice squad." The questioning revealed that socialists are under constant surveillance in Stock-

ton.

The cops made it clear they knew which campuses the team had visited and for how long. They knew where team members had stayed each night.

The Stockton police are especially touchy about political activity these days. It seems they are afraid it will draw attention to the frame-up trial now going on of two Black prisoners, Eugene Allen and Ernest Graham, who are charged with assault and the killing of a prison guard. If convicted, they face the death penalty.

Hutton was repeatedly questioned about his knowledge of this trial and whether *The Militant* was connected with the trial.

In addition, three United Farm Workers activists are now facing

frame-up charges for possession of fire bombs.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign in Stockton plan to fight this violation of their rights. The Young Socialists for Rodriguez, supporters of the SWP gubernatorial candidate, Olga Rodriguez, plan to challenge the constitutionality of the city ordinance.

In order to get out the socialists' side of the case, a news conference and protest meeting have been called for Oct. 16 in Stockton. Among the speakers will be Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate.

A petition campaign addressed to city hall has been launched in support of the right to distribute *The Militant* without harassment.



Militant/George Cox

Young Socialist teams are building support for SWP candidates throughout the country.

# Calendar

**ATLANTA**  
**BOSTON LYNCH MOBS—AN EYEWITNESS AC-COUNT.** Speaker: Vince Eagan, SWP candidate for governor of Georgia. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

**CLEVELAND**  
**WHY THE SYSTEM WON'T WORK.** Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

**DENVER**  
**COLORADO SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET.** Speakers: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Nora Danielson, SWP candidate for governor. Sat., Oct. 26, 6 p.m., refreshments; 6:30, dinner; 8 p.m., program. 1203 California St. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Colorado Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (303) 534-7354.

**DETROIT**  
**CAMPAIGN FINANCIAL REFORM.** Speakers from Common Cause and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

**LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE**  
**THE FAILURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 25, 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**  
**MACMILLAN STRIKES: PUBLISHING WORKERS ORGANIZE.** Speakers: panel of Macmillan workers. Fri., Oct. 25, 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**  
**THE STRUGGLE FOR MINORITY JOBS IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY: LESSONS OF THE FIGHT AT THE CCNY JOB SITE.** Speakers: Cecil Lamplin, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 19th C.D.; representative from Fight Back; others. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway, Third Floor (near 104th). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

**OAKLAND/BERKELEY**  
**LITTLE ROCK 1954—BOSTON 1974, A PUBLIC PROTEST MEETING AGAINST THE RACIST VIOLENCE IN BOSTON.** Speakers: Yvonne Golden, San Francisco Black Caucus, American Federation of Teachers; Bill Walker, Berkeley police review board commissioner; Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.; others. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

**PHILADELPHIA**  
**EYEWITNESS BOSTON: THE BLACK COMMUNITY FIGHTS BACK.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

**ST. LOUIS**  
**THE CASE FOR FULL AMNESTY.** Speakers: Bill Gish, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Tobin Hollander, lawyer for Military Law Project; Gary Sage, SWP;

Barbara Wilkerson, Americans for Amnesty. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Rm. 17 (at Euclid). Donations: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

**SAN DIEGO**  
**ATTICA: A FILM.** Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. San Diego State University, Library East, Room 502. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**WHY NOTHING WORKS ANYMORE: A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT.** Speaker: Dan Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Fri., Oct. 25, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## ...Boston

*Continued from page 3*

setts AFL-CIO State Labor Council. Members and officials of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers, District 65 of the Distributive Workers of America, United Electrical Workers, and others helped prepare the statement.

A protest meeting of 150 at the University of Massachusetts at Boston, Columbia Point campus, on Oct. 11, decided to set up an Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights. They plan to hold a teach-in Oct. 17 to rally support for the rights of Black students.

A protest meeting has also been called at Boston State College for Oct. 17. Other meetings have been called at Northeastern University, Boston University, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to discuss possible actions on those campuses.

Actions by antiracist forces in defense of the Black community are particularly important now in the face of the continued mobilization of the white racists and the capitulation of the leading Democratic and Republican politicians.

What is needed to defend the Black community in the face of such capitulation is a mobilization of all defenders of the rights of Black students. Donald Gurewitz and Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, commented in a recent news release:

"The demonstration sponsored by the Black Caucus Oct. 13 was a good beginning. More such mobilizations on a larger and broader scale are necessary. Racist resistance to school desegregation is no stronger in Boston today than in the South during the 1960s. The racists were turned back then by a massive national movement that compelled the federal government

to intervene in defense of Black rights, by showing that there was a powerful independent mass movement that would not tolerate racist resistance and attacks on the rights of Blacks. Such a movement is needed again today."

## ...Maoists

*Continued from page 6*

in Maoist ranks. The Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the RU's youth group, at Boston University and Boston State College voted against endorsing the RU demonstration, called in the name of "People for a Decent Education." To their discredit, however, RSB members participated in this stop-busing demonstration of 50 people.

The Maoist position of calling for "Black-white unity" in the *abstract* has led them to oppose the demands of the Black community against white privilege. Thus the RU comes out on the wrong side in the *concrete* struggle now going on in Boston.

The refusal of the RU and the RSB to stand hard against racist hysteria and to unconditionally defend the Black community against attack has put them—despite all their radical rhetoric—on the other side of the barricades. They are against busing, the same as the racists.

But the Black community and its allies are demanding that those buses not be stopped! That is the only way to defend the gains of 20 years of the civil rights struggle that Boston's racist antibusing mobilizations have put in peril.

## ...jobs

*Continued from page 8*

New York City. He is adamantly opposed to quotas or any other measure that would actually alter the white job-trust setup of the unions. He was an original signer of the New York Plan.

Brennan tried to scuttle the proposed Executive Order 71 in July 1973 by issuing a memorandum denying federal funds to any city that implemented its own plan, when what he termed a "viable and effective constructive-industry plan" was already in effect.

For a short while, Executive Order 71 went into effect after the New York Plan expired in June of this year.

But it was soon placed in peril by legal action.

Even though a federal district court upheld the legality of the order in July and barred the withholding of federal funds, in August the order was struck down.

Ruling on a suit brought by the contractors and the union leadership, the state Supreme Court ordered Executive Order 71 nullified. The city announced that it would appeal.

Meanwhile, the struggle goes on at job sites across the city, as Black and Puerto Rican workers become more convinced every day that it is only through their own actions and their own strength that jobs can be won.

## ...RUP

*Continued from page 17*

that made some projections for the general direction of the party.

Gutiérrez said that he had been successful in soliciting a public statement from Mexican President Luis Echeverría proclaiming that Mexico recognizes that "Chicanos are a colony within the United States and part of the Third World."

"This dialogue with Mexico is based on the premise that we as *Mexicanos* and Chicanos should not look toward Wall Street or Washington, D.C., for our destiny," Gutiérrez said. "Our destiny is to the south with people like us."

Gutiérrez called for support to the rally for Puerto Rican independence that is scheduled to be held in Madison Square Garden in New York City on Oct. 27. "We are saying by this gesture that we are committed to the principle that we support peoples throughout the world," Gutiérrez said.

In the past Gutiérrez has been quoted as cautioning Chicanos against involvement with the problems of people other than Chicanos in the United States.

"Between the years 1990 and 2000 Chicanos are going to be the majority population in all the states of the Southwest and select areas of the Midwest," Gutiérrez stated. "The task of taking over at that time must begin now. We have got to begin building our bases, capturing control in those areas where we are a majority."

Convention subcommittees brought back recommendations on the party platform. Since the convention did not have time to take up the numerous proposals, they were referred to district meetings for consideration.

# Socialist Directory

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**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.

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San Jose: YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

**CONNECTICUT:** Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

**FLORIDA:** Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 877-5787.

**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.

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**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, 709 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 383-8128.

**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.

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Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Buffalo: YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

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Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

**TENNESSEE:** Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

**TEXAS:** Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

**WASHINGTON:** Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

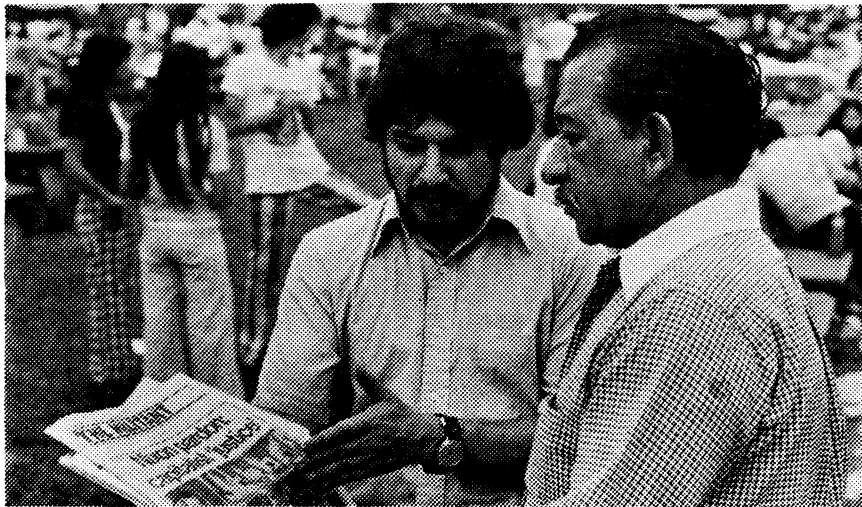
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Milwaukee: YSA, UW-Milwaukee Union Box 139, Rm. E-382, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: (414) 963-5551.



# Help sell The Militant



Join *The Militant's* sales campaign by taking a regular bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

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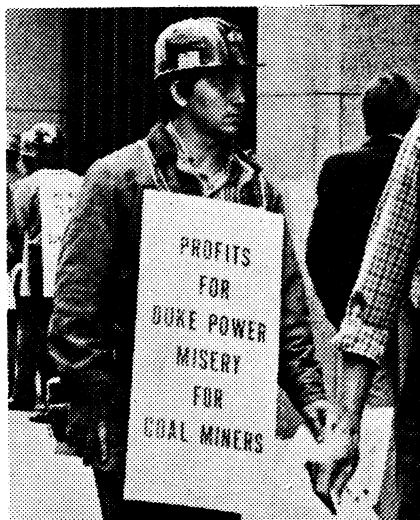
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# A fighting program for labor



**SOCIALIST PROGRAM TO FIGHT INFLATION.** Published by Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee. 25 cents.

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Order from:  
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DENVER

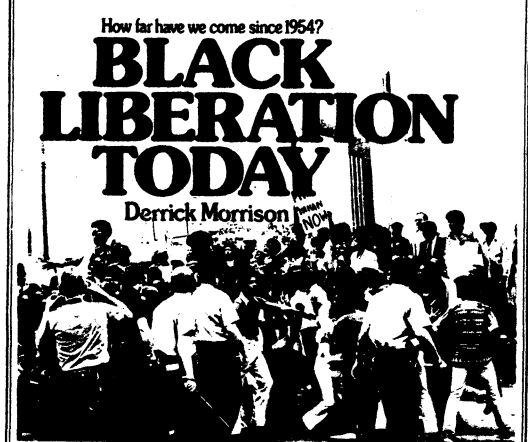
## Colorado Socialist Campaign Banquet

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 26. Colorado Socialist Workers campaign banquet and rally. Speakers: PETER CAMEJO, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; NORA DANIELSON, SWP candidate for governor. 6 p.m., refreshments; 6:30 p.m., dinner; 8 p.m., rally. 1203 CALIFORNIA STREET, DENVER. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Colorado Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (303) 534-7354.

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NEW YORK CITY

## A conference on prospects for socialism

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. Keynote speaker: JACK BARNES, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. 7:30 p.m., MEYER BLDG. (Broadway & Washington Place), ROOM 121. Donation: \$1.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2. Four two-part classes: WHAT IS SOCIALISM?; MARXIST ECONOMICS; MARXISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM; and THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA: A MARXIST ANALYSIS. Teachers: CLAIRE MORIARTY, DICK ROBERTS, TONY THOMAS, and LES EVANS. 11 a.m. LOEB STUDENT CENTER (Washington Sq. S. & LaGuardia Place). Donation: \$.50 per class

## Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY: SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: DERRICK MORRISON, SWP candidate for governor; REBECCA FINCH, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. 7:30 p.m., LOEB STUDENT CENTER. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

# Essential reading

## Dynamics of World Revolution Today

Anthology, edited by Will Reissner.

The four documents in this book deal with questions of vital importance to revolutionary socialists. Written for the world Trotskyist movement, they analyze the three sectors of the world revolution and their interaction—the proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the colonial revolution in the "third world," and the political revolution in the Soviet Union and other workers' states.

Against this background, recent developments, such as the *détente*, the war in Vietnam, growing working-class militancy, the struggles of women, students, and oppressed nationalities are assessed.

Finally, the documents discuss the incapacity of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to provide revolutionary leadership and assess the progress being made by the Fourth International in the necessary work of building revolutionary parties. 192 pp., \$8.00, paper \$2.25

## Black Liberation & Socialism

Anthology, edited by Tony Thomas.

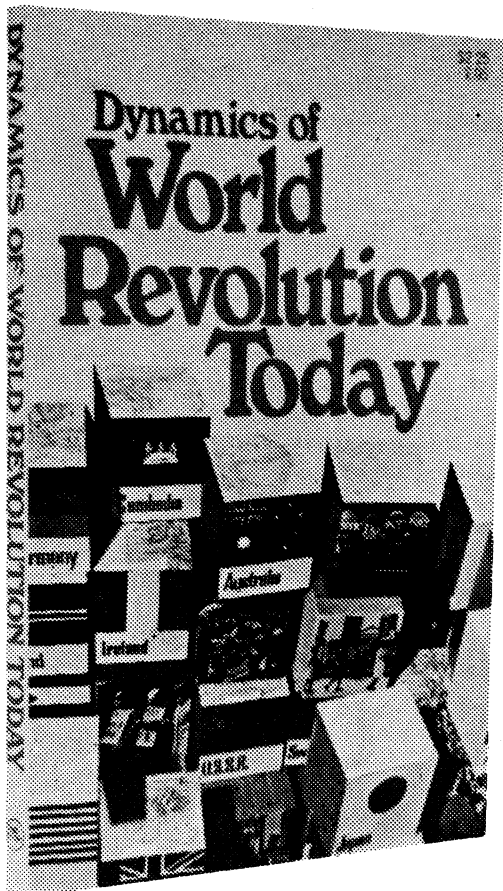
"These young, militant Black Marxists provide a practical program for combating racism in the United States."—*Black Times*

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- call for a political break with the Democratic and Republican parties and advocate the formation of an independent Black political party,
- prove racism is intrinsic to capitalism and that a socialist revolution is needed to sweep away all institutions of racist oppression and economic exploitation.

208 pp., \$9.00, paper \$2.45

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page or by mail from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a complete catalog.



# THE MILITANT

## Follows up on pardon

# Ford tries to bail out Nixon on W'gate suits

By DOUG JENNESS

Far from ending the "long nightmare" of Watergate, President Ford is planning to perpetuate it. His administration intends to carry out the same crimes of political harassment and intimidation exposed by the Watergate events, the very practices that became notorious during Nixon's regime.

This is the meaning of Ford's recently disclosed offer to provide legal defense to Nixon in his fight against five civil suits filed by victims of political harassment, including the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

This legal assistance, to be provided by the Justice Department, has also been accepted by former attorney general John Mitchell and former presidential advisers H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. The offer was made at the end of September in letters from Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen to lawyers for the four men.

Mitchell, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman are now on trial for covering up the Watergate break-in. Ford's pardon of Nixon has exempted Nixon from these criminal charges, but it does not cover civil suits. Justice Department assistance is Ford's way of trying to do what the pardon couldn't: protect Nixon from these civil challenges. As the *New York Post* editors aptly stated, "There is seemingly no limit to the services the Ford Administration is prepared to render former President Nixon and his entourage."

According to an Oct. 11 *Associated Press* dispatch, Deputy Assistant Attorney General Kevin Maroney acknowledged that the Justice Department is not required to defend Nixon and his cronies. However, he said, "the theory is that the interest of the government is not so much to represent that particular man but the continuing functions of the government."

The meaning of Maroney's statement is clear. Ford wants to defeat these five suits in order to continue "functions of the government." But the only "functions of the government" that

these suits seek to stop are unconstitutional political harassment, frame-ups, break-ins, bugging, and other Watergate-style crimes.

The five cases that our tax dollars will be used to fight challenge a broad spectrum of these criminal activities. The cases are:

- A suit by actress Jane Fonda charging that her constitutional rights were violated by government harassment for her antiwar activities.

- A suit seeking damages for illegal wiretapping filed by John Sinclair of the White Panther Party.

- A suit by William Anthony Lake, a former aide to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and one of 13 administration officials whose telephones were tapped by White House plumbers.

- A suit filed by Elmer Davis, a Black man framed up on the charge of breaking into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist even though it has already been proven in court that the break-in and burglary were carried out by Nixon's gang of plumbers. Davis is asking for damages.

- A suit filed by the SWP and YSA in July 1973, charging Nixon and other top officials with violating their constitutional rights to engage in political activity. Violations cited include electronic surveillance, mail tampering, physical intimidation, and other harassing measures. As the new president, Gerald Ford is automatically a defendant in this suit.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support and raising funds for the SWP and YSA suit.

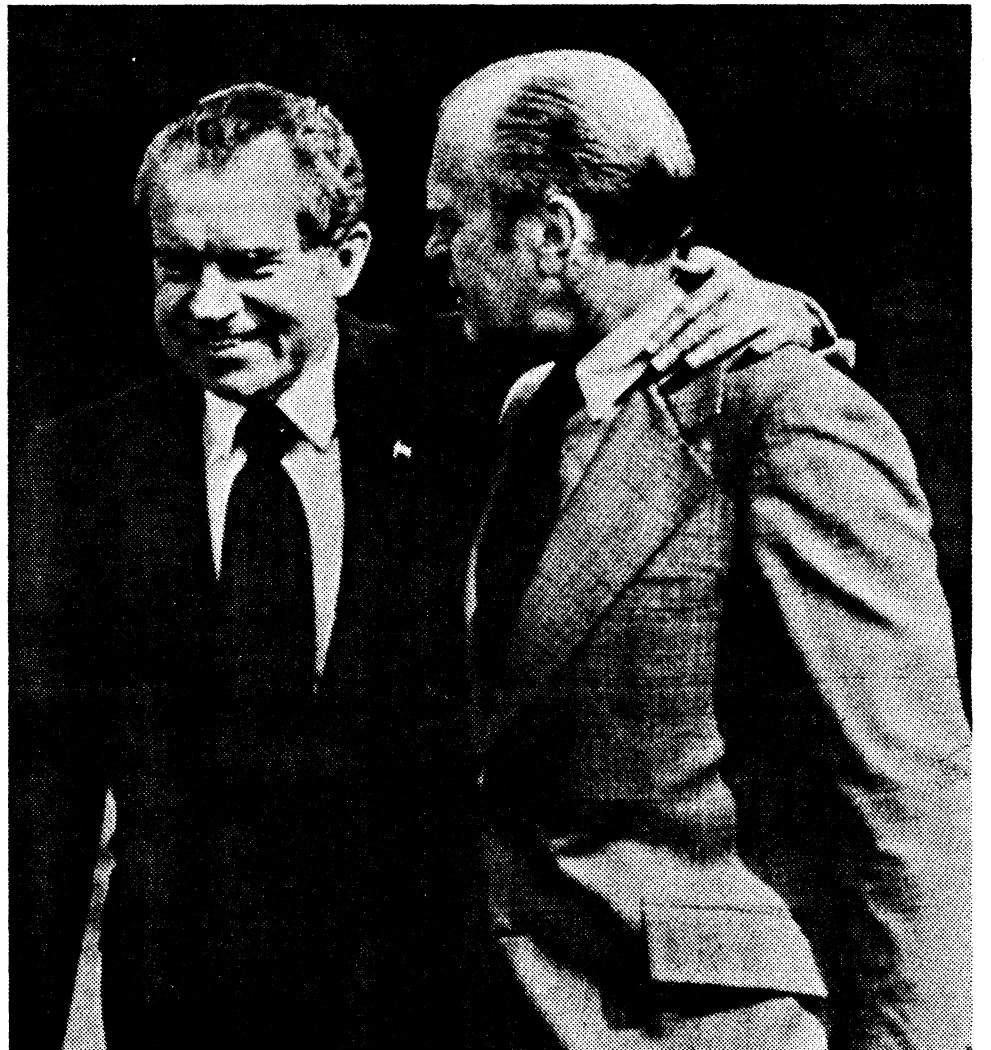
### Letters from Kelley

Further new proof that the Ford administration plans to continue Nixon's wholesale violations of democratic rights by repressing political organizations solely for their views is contained in two astonishingly frank letters from FBI Director Clarence Kelley.

Kelley's letters are part of an exchange of correspondence with former U. S. senator Charles Goodell, who is a member of a group called the Committee for Public Justice (CPJ). The correspondence and an accompanying article were published in the Oct. 17 *New York Review of Books*.

Goodell, along with a delegation from CPJ, met with Kelley on May 21, 1974. Following the meeting several letters were exchanged between them dealing with questions raised at the meeting.

In a June 18 letter, Goodell indicated that one of the things discussed at the meeting was "that the FBI had been investigating and gathering intelligence on what appeared to be purely political groups such as the Socialist Workers Party, despite the fact that the organization had committed no federal crime and was on the ballot in many states. It has been admitted that



Ford is providing lawyers at taxpayers' expense to defend Nixon against civil suits growing out of illegal government spying and harassment of dissenters.

a mail cover had been placed on this group. At our meeting with you, one of your associates defended this investigation on the ground that the Socialist Workers Party was 'part of the world-wide communist conspiracy.'"

CPJ notes from the meeting also list the following as policies acknowledged by the FBI officials:

- "The FBI has a duty to gather intelligence before crimes are committed in order to prevent later violent actions. . . ."

- "If a citizen reports that a neighbor is engaged in revolutionary talk, the FBI has a duty to investigate. . . ."

- The FBI "cannot wait for an overt act; communist infiltration must be stopped."

Kelley responded on July 3 to Goodell's remarks on the SWP by boasting, "For the record, the FBI has never made a secret of its investigation of this particular group. As a matter of fact, our investigation of the organization has been well publicized for many years."

He added, "My personal feeling is that when political activities get into the realm of sedition, seditious conspiracy, treason, and advocacy of unlawful acts which threaten the existence of our Government, investigation by the FBI is called for. Political groups should not feel that they can negotiate from an attitude of violence."

But the fact is, as Goodell has stated, that the SWP is not engaged in illegal or criminal activity and is not part of a "world-wide communist conspiracy." The truth is that the FBI harasses the SWP simply for the political ideas it holds and advocates.

### 'Cold war ideology'

As Leon Friedman and Stephen Gillers, two members of the CPJ who were present at the meeting with Kelley, put it, "The FBI's leading officials appear to be zealous advocates of the cold war ideology of the 1950s."

They add, "Bureau officials have completely ignored, in FBI intelligence activities, the constitutional decisions made by the Supreme Court in the past decades. . . ."

"Thus, FBI surveillance of political groups, in the absence of substantial evidence of imminent criminal activity, is not only beyond its statutory and jurisdictional authority, but itself may be a violation of the Constitution. But leading FBI officials speak — and some FBI agents have behaved — as if the law decided by these cases simply does not exist."

So while President Ford offers aid and comfort to criminals like Nixon, his administration continues to restrict, harass, and intimidate the functioning of those who, like the SWP, are fighting for social change.



Jane Fonda, whose name was on White House enemies list, is suing Nixon for violating her constitutional rights.