

Black and white, unite and fight for a

# WORKERS WORLD

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## Only mass action will end repression!

The reactionary Nixon Administration is making a two-pronged attack on the rights of the people. Slashing at the great anti-war movement, it staged the ugly farce trial in Chicago. And attempting to crush the rising strength of Black America it has launched a murderous, genocidal attack on the Black Panther Party — an attack now being focused in the show-trial of the Panther 21 in New York.

If Bobby Seale can get four years in prison for calling a racist judge a racist, no Black man in the United States is safe. If Dave Dellinger can be thrown in jail for saying "horse shit" to a lying witness, no white progressive can sleep with the door unbolted.

If there was ever a moment to seize the time for action in self-defense, that moment is NOW. Resolutions and good wishes are obviously not enough to stop these attacks on our brothers and sisters and ourselves. Harmless assemblages of well-intentioned but passive people are not enough, necessary as it may be to bring large numbers of people together. Even the courageous conduct of the framed-up defendants in the court and the brilliant aid of the

most excellent attorneys can not alone stop the onslaught, even though the brave defendants have already alerted millions to their plight by puncturing the phony "impartiality" of the rulers' courts.

But the united action of the tens of thousands, the hundreds of thousands, the millions who genuinely oppose the crying injustice of these times, such action can stop the repression. Powerful mass action and only powerful mass action can deter the racist ruling class, whose "moderate" wing is about as reliable a buffer against repression as an Alabama cop "protecting" a Black man from the lynchers.

This is no time to lull the great masses with promises that the Vietnam war will stop if they only stand in one place and raise their hands, or that the war against Black America will cease because a majority of whites are well-intentioned and would not join in the fascist onslaught.

This is a time to sound the alarm bells, a time for urgent, intensive action, a time to organize the people who are crying out to be organized, who are ready to struggle, or who are so nearly ready that

they only need the reassurance that there is a substantial leading group who will not let the struggle down.

Academic purists and hair-splitters can debate about the precise degree of fascism contained in the clubs of Nixon's cops. But genuine fighters for social justice and Black freedom had better start preparing mass struggles right away.

The temper of the youth is already prepared for action rather than mere talk, and is easily disgusted with actions that are half-hearted. Tens of thousands of youth are far in advance of those "radicals" who are content with ceremonial parades.

If some actions in the past have been ill-advised or ill-prepared, future actions can be thought out better. The objectives can be reviewed, new alliances can be forged for larger struggles. Broader masses can be called upon. It is not necessary to be more "respectable" and moderate to do this, but only to understand the masses better. Along this road the repression can surely be stopped and in the very process of stopping it, new victories for freedom and equality will be attained.

WW Photo/Ed Collins



Families of the New York Panther 21 lead the massive demonstration that circled the Courthouse.

In the last issue of WW we ran a letter from Martin Sostre, a Black political prisoner serving 41 years in a New York State jail, to the Young Lords. Sostre sent the YLO \$15 (his food package for the month) and a message of solidarity with their takeover of the First Spanish Methodist Church in the Barrio—an act which transformed that bastion of reaction (run by Cuban gusanos) into a community center providing free breakfasts, health care and classes in Puerto Rican history to the neighborhood.

Sostre recalled that he grew up four blocks from the church, and urged that, "The entire Barrio and all revolutionary allies must rally around the Young Lords and support them in this important battle."

## Workers World

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# Young Lords honor Martin Sostre

Young Lords Organization  
New York State Chapter  
1678 Madison Avenue  
New York City

Martin Gonzales Sostre  
Wallkill Prison  
Wallkill, N.Y.

Companero,

It is hard to put on paper the intensity of the feelings we experienced the day we received your letter. At times, we must admit, we wonder at the seeming purposelessness of this struggle. Your words serve to dispel all such doubts from our minds and implanted a greater fervor in our hearts. The check that was enclosed for our free breakfast program meant that you did without your food package last month, and those of us who have spent time in jail know what a welcome sight those packages are. We are happy to report the money is being put to good use, and we have told 'our' children about you. They have found a new hero, one who was raised on their block.

We have never met. Yet we salute you—and more, we love you. As you well know, Che once said, "The true revolutionary is guided by great feelings of love." That love guides us to thank you in the only way we know: We are opening a new free breakfast program February 23 in your name; February 14 we are having a free clothing drive and every Saturday we are out on the streets of El Barrio and the Lower East Side testing for lead poisoning.

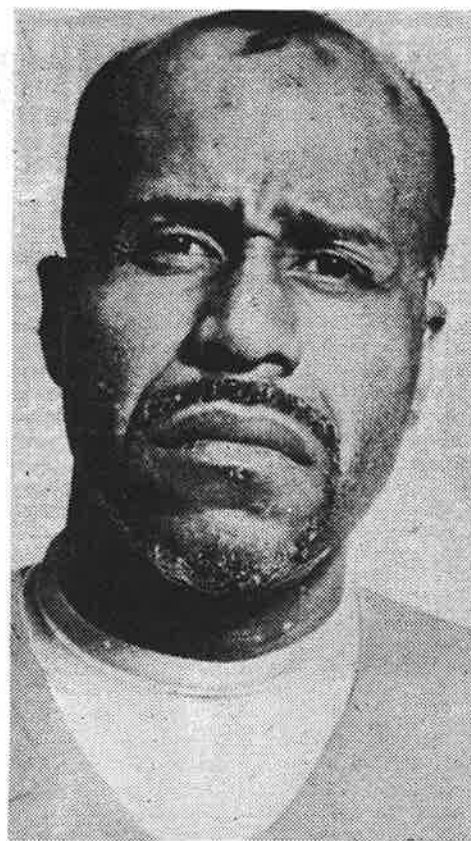
As for the Worm, he vainly attempts to drive us off the face of the earth. But, Carrazana and his kind are beginning to see that there are too many of us, too many Castros, too many Newtons, too many Sostres. Fear has gripped the infidel's heart, and in their panic, they strike out wildly at the leading servants of the people. It is too late, however, for this attempt at genocide.

Borinquenos are awakening, Blacks are uniting, Yellow and Red people are all rising up, and the puny 'monster' is breathing his last.

Rest a bit easier, Martin: Babylon is falling down, and when it finally comes down, we will be standing strong.

Liberate Puerto Rico  
All Power to Oppressed People

Felipe Luciano, Pablo "Yoruba" Guzman, Juan "Fi" Ortiz, David Perez, Juan D. Gonzalez—Central Committee, Young Lords Organization, East Coast Region.



Martin Gonzales Sostre

## EDITORIAL

### CREEPING FASCISM

## The Agnew attack and the capitulation of the capitalist media

It would be a grave error to assume that the attack launched by Vice President Agnew against the press and the TV networks was a mere episodic event which has come and gone. Its effects are first beginning to be felt, although slowly and gradually, to be sure.

While the initial response of the capitalist media to the attack against them seemed militant and even aggressive, the fact of the matter is that they have, in effect, retreated all along the line from the initial counter-attack against Agnew's attempt to muzzle them. This retreat has been evident in the treatment by the networks of Agnew's recent speeches, particularly during his trip to Asia, and by their treatment of his attacks since his return to the U.S. Agnew has not let up but the networks are slowly accommodating themselves to him. This is an undeniable fact to those who have carefully watched the development of the struggle.

To some observers the vicious attack launched by Agnew seemed to be the traditional method by which a Vice President is supposed to defend the policies of the President. And some newspaper columnists dismissed the controversy as nothing more than a reflection of the classical feud between a Republican administration and its Democratic opposition in which the press happened to side with the Democrats solely out of consideration for the anti-war feeling among the masses.

This argument is fallacious and not in accord with the facts. It leaves out of consideration the fact that this is the first time in recent American history that the capitalist media has accommodated itself, although not altogether, to the administration in Washington rather than vice versa. The singular importance of this phenomenon cannot be overestimated.

### Historical reversal of roles

The capitalist media is the most important ideological instrument of the bourgeoisie and in a large measure speaks most decisively for the bourgeoisie, much more so than does any particular government administration. The capitalist media has always prided itself, in fact has continually boasted, that one of the blessings of capitalist democracy lies in the power of the press, as the chief ideological organ of the ruling class, to always rein in a recalcitrant chief executive whenever he goes beyond the limits of the general interests of the capitalist class. A free press, as

they have consistently understood it, not only means freedom to lie and deceive the broad masses of workers and the oppressed generally, but also freedom to put their own chosen leaders in line. To be sure, they have not always been successful in this, but that they have persistently pursued this line in the past is absolutely valid.

The enormous significance of the Agnew affair is that the capitalist media, particularly the networks, capitulated to the Administration, not fully, not altogether, but enough to make it a historical reversal of the relationship between the capitalist press and the capitalist government. This retreat was made most obvious when subpoenas issued to various newspapers, magazines and TV networks were either docilely accepted or resisted with mere token opposition.

It was not so much that the networks and the press of the ruling class are opposed to giving information or acting as stool pigeons and spies for the government. That goes on all the time. That is not the point. The critical issue involved, the issue that is really obscured by bourgeois semantics, is that the capitalist press was ordered to do it in a way that would indicate subordination of the capitalist media to the command of those whom the bourgeois editors regard as mere officials, subject to being ordered about. It is this phenomenon which is new in the present crisis in U.S. capitalist relations at the present time.

### Fascism from within — a new form

Of course, on a world scale, the capitalist press has been subjected to government censorship innumerable times and has been ordered to print government statements. This happened, for example, in 1968 during the revolutionary upheaval in France when De Gaulle ordered the press to print his decrees. In France the action by De Gaulle was in the nature of an emergency measure carried out by a police dictatorship intent on crushing an incipient revolutionary revolt which threatened at any moment to break out into a full scale revolution.

The situation in the United States today is one where the ruling class is facing a general crisis arising out of the two-fold character of the war that finance capital is waging abroad and at home. The Nixon-Agnew Administration has no policy to deal with the situation that differs in any fundamental respect from that of the previous Johnson Administration except in its determination to use

more force, more violence and more repression at home.

Without in any way opposing the fundamental objectives of the Nixon Administration, the bourgeois press and the networks have shown open skepticism if not derision of the Nixon Administration's fumbling efforts to damn the tide of rising mass discontent. In the eyes of the Administration, taking such a position in the face of the present crisis adds to the problem rather than helps with the solution. It is from this vantage point that we must view this inner ruling class struggle.

It is not, however, a mere inner ruling class vendetta from the point of view of its objective effects on the country as a whole. It indicates a tendency towards creeping fascism from within. It poses the danger of a fascist dictatorship which is evolving in a different pattern from that established by Hitler and Mussolini.

Capitalist democracy as a form of state for the rule of the bourgeoisie has been ideally suited for the rule of finance capital so long as that form of state can best guarantee the highest rate of profit and super-profit and can maintain social peace between the oppressor and oppressed and between exploiter and exploited at home. The failure of capitalist democracy to maintain stable conditions for exploitation on the home front invariably invites either a naked police or military dictatorship or an outright fascist one.

It is a dogmatic view to believe that a fascist dictatorship can come to the U.S. only on the European model. The assassination of President Kennedy showed how the ruling class purges its state apparatus by other than "democratic" means. The Agnew attack on the press, small and insignificant as it may seem if viewed as an isolated phenomenon, is nevertheless deeply significant if viewed in the light of the intensified crisis the ruling class faces and the insoluble problems and contradictions which rend it apart.

The lesson of all this for the progressive and revolutionary movement is not to rush to the defense of the capitalist press as the champion of free speech, but to explain the relationship between the ideological arm of the bourgeoisie and the chief executive currently in charge of managing the affairs of the ruling class. Their inner struggle concerns itself with how best to overcome their crisis, i.e., how to subjugate the masses and stabilize exploitation. The strategy of the revolutionary proletariat is how best to utilize this crisis for purposes of overthrowing the entire imperialist establishment.



## Anti-war demo is "union business"

# GI conducts own court-martial

For the first time in the memory of the brass at Fort Jackson, S.C., a private threw a lieutenant colonel off a court-martial board. There were a lot of red faces among the officers when Pvt. Mitchell Smith, a militant antiwar GI and organizer for the American Servicemen's Union, used his peremptory challenge to get rid of the highest-ranking officer on the panel that would judge him. In a precedent-setting court-martial January 30, Pvt. Smith defended himself against the brass during his trial on charges of AWOL.

Pvt. Smith took this action to make the political character of his case clear. During the trial Smith contended that he had left the base on November 7, on official union business. Calling himself as a witness, he told the court that he had left on union business to attend an antiwar GI conference in Washington and to march with other soldiers in the massive November 15, antiwar demonstration there.

Smith's defense was well-prepared, exceedingly expert and highly political. In spite of the fact that he was convicted and sentenced to two months at hard labor (he faced a possible six months), \$80 fine for four months and reduction in rank to Pvt. E-1, Smith had shown how effective a political defense by a rank-and-file GI could be.

### GI challenges officers on panel

During the choosing of the panel, Pvt. Smith asked the board the following questions to expose their contempt for GIs:

"Would you be prejudiced against an enlisted

man who believed that he shouldn't sir and salute officers? Would you be prejudiced against a soldier who believed that the war in Vietnam was an illegal, imperialist war and who intended to refuse to fight in it?—who believed that troops should refuse to enter the Black and Spanish-speaking communities, should refuse to suppress striking workers?"

The lieutenant colonel was removed from the trial board when Pvt. Smith demanded, "Get the lieutenant colonel off!" (The defendant is allowed one peremptory challenge in a U.S. court martial.) Smith threw out the highest-ranking officer to make the point that he was not a private's peer and that no officer should be allowed to sit in judgment over the GIs. (This is one of the ASU demands.)

In the course of the proceedings, Smith's Company Commander, Lt. Few, admitted that he had purposely denied the defendant leave because he knew that Smith planned to go to Washington.

Pvt. Smith asked Lt. Few, "Did it cross your mind that I would request leave to go (to Washington)?" Lt. Few replied, "Yes." Smith went on, "Did that enter as a factor in your decision to deny me a leave?" Lt. Few: "Yes." The officers of the court were literally stunned at this blundering admission of deliberate entrapment by Smith's CO.

Earlier, when Pvt. Smith called Lt. Few to the stand; the defendant requested that Few be declared a hostile witness since he had preferred the charges. Major Eaton, presiding over the court-martial, was forced to grant this motion.

### Out on union business

On cross-examination, Smith testified that he had left Fort Jackson. Asked whether he had been given permission, he replied, "Yes—from the officers of the American Servicemen's Union."

Assisting Pvt. Smith in his defense was Maryann Weissman, Legal Director of the ASU. Also present were the ASU's Executive Director, Bob Lemay and six EMs from the base who came to support Smith along with a dozen civilians from Columbia, S.C. Fourteen GIs had asked permission to attend the court-martial, but the brass only allowed six to go. To further harass Smith's supporters, the Army sent a dozen officers to pack the courtroom during the trial.

After sentencing, in the time apportioned to plead for "mitigation," Pvt. Smith refused to beg for mercy and made it clear that he expected no justice from the jury of officers. He told the court, "Ordinarily it is brought up as a positive fact that the person returned (from AWOL). I'd be less than honest if I said I returned to military control and discipline. What I returned to was to continue my work as an ASU organizer which I had been conducting off base, that is, to build that kind of organization which can stop the illegal war in Vietnam, the war that every enlisted man I know is opposed to, and

to fight the racism which is so prevalent in the Army."

### Trial increases solidarity

Courtroom supporters flocked around Smith, shaking his hand and congratulating him on his militant defense at the end of the trial. When he went to pick up his gear in the barracks on the way to the stockade, the GIs there expressed their solidarity with his struggle. As Bob Lemay of the ASU told this newspaper, "The trial showed that a rank-and-file GI can defend himself against the brass. It showed the guys that it is possible to fight the lifers and put the Army on trial."

Lemay went on, "Union organizers have a right to conduct union business without being put in the stockade for it. The ASU demands the right of its organizers to carry out union activities on so-called Army time or at any time."

He added that the ASU is planning to put out a pamphlet for GIs on self-defense in the courtroom. In this way, GIs who cannot or prefer not to have civilian lawyers, would be able to prepare themselves to fight and would not be left to the mercy of some court-appointed officer for their defense. Pvt. Smith's example will be used as a valuable lesson for GI resisters.



Pvt. Mitch Smith

# Seattle mayor reveals U.S. gov't behind nationwide crackdown on Black Panthers

SEATTLE, Feb. 8 — Mayor Wesley Uhlman revealed that a Federal agency had tried to organize a raid on the Seattle Black Panther Party headquarters last month. The raid was to have been carried out with the participation of the city police.

It was turned down, said Uhlman, because "a great many people are having second thoughts about midnight Gestapo-type raids." Although he refused to identify which agency approached the city, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer said that it was the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Tax Unit of the Treasury Department.

Uhlman did not refuse the Government out of any sympathy for the Panthers. In fact he partially explained his refusal on grounds that such raids might help the Panthers by popularizing their cause.

In this respect he reflects the fear of a growing number of capitalist politicians that the raids have crystallized the Black community and white progressives firmly on the side of the Panthers, while exposing the fascist tactics of the Government.

Of course, Uhlman did not reveal the ugly details of the proposed raid. Not only did he decline to identify the ringleaders of this Government conspiracy, but he did not discuss such information as how many cops were to be in on the attack, what type of firearms were to be used, how much shooting there was supposed to be, which leaders the Government was particularly anxious to get, was the building to be destroyed

or just ransacked, how many arrests were to be made, what frameup charges were to be used to justify the raid, etc., etc., etc.

### Raids planned like Vietnam

But even the limited disclosure of the attempt by the Treasury Department to instigate the raid gives the final concrete proof that the Nixon Administration, the executive committee of the ruling class, is the real instigator of the nationwide raids, murders, arrests and frameups of the Panthers and that the Government is lying through its teeth when it denies that it is engaged in a conspiracy to destroy the Black Panther Party.

The capitalist news media is fond of talking about the war between the police and the Panthers. They continually harp on how much the cops hate the Panthers and how much the Panthers hate the cops. Of course, that is quite true. The racist pigs hate Black revolutionaries who teach the Black people how to resist capitalist oppression and its main enforcer, the police. And it is true that the Panthers practice self-defense against the brutalizing Klansmen-in-uniform.

But the Uhlman statement proves beyond a shadow of a doubt that the war between the cops and the Panthers is only the external form of the real war which is by the ruling class against the Panther Party — a war which is run by the chief executive of the bourgeoisie from Washington where the attacks in the cities are planned, coordinated and instigated just

the way the U.S. high command plans its attacks in Vietnam.

### Liberal Lindsay

#### made first raid

To be sure, Mayor Yorty of Los Angeles and Mayor Daley in Chicago and all the racist cops under their command do not need to be encouraged to kill Black people and especially Panthers. They hated the Panthers just as much before the Nixon-Mitchell Administration got in as they did afterwards. But they waited for orders to go ahead.

Incidentally, it should not be for-

gotten, in light of the deal which the Government tried to work out in Seattle, that New York's Mayor Lindsay, who constantly tries to disassociate himself from the Nixon Administration and who seems to be adorning himself each day with a new layer of liberal veneer, was the one to administer Nixon's inaugural raid on the Panthers, which was carried out in New York City with New York City cops with the full knowledge and collaboration of the Mayor's office.

### Government a liar

It should be stressed that the capitalist government, which speaks only in the name of freedom, peace, democracy, etc., ad nauseum, has once again been shown to be a double dealing conspirator which lies to the people at will. (A Justice Department official was quoted in the December 14 edition of the New York Times as having said categorically that there has never been a "policy of concerted activity with the local police to harass any members of the Black Panther Party.")

The real intentions of the Government and the ruling class toward the Panthers were summed up in a remark made privately to the Director of the Illinois division of the American Civil Liberties Union last December by Jerris Leonard, the head of the Civil Rights (!) Division of the Justice Department. He said that the "Panthers are nothing but a bunch of hoodlums and we've got to get rid of them."

## ALBIZU CAMPOS and the PONCE MASSACRE

By Juan Antonio Corretjer,

A chapter in the history of the Puerto Rican liberation struggle by the comrade-in-arms of Albizu Campos.

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# Martin Sostre Day \* notes on GI revolt \* one racist movie you won't see \* and other short items of interest

## HS students for Sostre

by JOE GRAZULIS

CHICAGO, Jan. 23—The word about the struggle of Martin Sostre came to Bremen Community High School today as students here honored him by holding a "Martin Sostre Day." Sostre is a Black liberation fighter who was sentenced to 41 years in prison in 1968 on trumped-up narcotics charges for his role as a leader in the liberation struggle in Buffalo, New York.

As part of Martin Sostre Day, members of the newly formed Young Afro-Americans Organization sold and gave away Sostre buttons as well as copies of STRUGGLE, a high school paper put out by Milwaukee Youth Against War and Fascism, which described the Sostre case.

The positive results of this campaign could be seen by simply walking down the hall and noticing here and there buttons saying "Martin Sostre Was Framed" pinned to student's collars or by overhearing conversations which usually began with the question, "Who is Martin Sostre?" This would open up the opportunity to explain to an interested listener the facts of the frame-up and the heroism of Martin's battle against racism in Buffalo, the fascist courts and the concentration camp prison system.

All in all, the day went very well and revealed excellent possibilities for future actions around Sostre's case. Of course, the action was relatively limited, but it was a good start and it is significant to note that the story of Martin's struggle is reaching farther every day, even to the ears and hearts of the people of Bremen Township, Midlothian, Illinois.

(Note: Joe Grazulis is a high school student who has been active at Bremen High School in organizing against the Vietnam war, racism and the draft. Earlier this year he was arrested for passing out leaflets and expelled from school. He fought the case and is now back in school and back in the struggle.)

## Lynch justice in Calif.

LOS ANGELES, — Three Black students were sentenced to 1 to 25 years in prison for the takeover of one floor of the administration building at San Fernando Valley State College in November, 1968. Archi Chatman, 22, the leader of the Black Students Union at Valley State, Robert Lewis, 22, and Eddie Lee Dancer, 21 were railroaded on charges of kidnapping, conspiracy and false imprisonment.

The students were charged and convicted when acting college president, Dr. Paul Blomgren, went back on his word, given during the protest, in which he promised to meet student demands against racism. He later repudiated his pledge and said that he was threatened. Sixteen other students, all but two of whom are Black, were given lesser

punishment.

Before sentencing, Superior Court Judge Mark Brandler played tapes of recent speeches made by the defendants in order to justify his ruling. The speeches, which attacked the fascist court and called for Black liberation, were made long after the protest for which they were on trial and had nothing to do with the case. The sentences were so outrageously fascist and so clearly part of the Reagan campaign of repression against Black liberation that even the head of the Probation Officers Union, Jerry Lennon, denounced the decision as "harsh, politically motivated and a manifestation of racism in our society."

## Lynch mob in Illinois

by KEN SERTIC

CHICAGO, Feb. 1 — The Black United Front of Cairo, Illinois today declared part of the Black community off limits to whites. Charles Koen, director of the Front, felt it necessary to impose the curfew because, in his words, "it is the only way we have to protect ourselves."

Cairo has been the scene of violent, uncontrolled, racist vigilante attacks upon the Black community in the past year. The White Hats, an urban version of the Ku Klux Klan, has made numerous armed invasions of the Black community during this period. This lynch mob was unleashed upon the people by the local ruling class, with the consent of the state authorities, after demonstrations demanding decent jobs and housing for Afro-Americans in Cairo.

The police chief and fire chief, rather than protect Black people from the fascist terror, both resigned their posts, giving a free hand to the vigilantes. Although the White Hats were formally disbanded earlier this year, their armed attacks upon a Black housing project have now increased, occurring almost nightly.

Two Black students from Malcolm X College in Chicago were arrested last weekend while visiting friends in Cairo. They were charged with unlawful use of weapons after a state police car was allegedly fired upon while patrolling the housing project. These Black students were quickly snatched up by the police, but the racists who shoot at the housing project are never found.

Under these conditions the Black community of Cairo has found it necessary to arm itself for struggle and to impose a curfew to keep out armed white racists. Funds are urgently needed for legal defense, clothing, etc. Contributions should be sent to:

United Front  
c/o Edna Williams  
152 E. 53rd St.  
Chicago, Ill. 60615

## Bob Hope go home

The military brass is uptight and getting uptight about the mushrooming dissent in the Armed Forces. More and more GIs are fed up. The American Servicemen's Union is growing by squads and companies. Go-Home signs and V-for-peace gestures are appearing en masse in Vietnam itself. A lieutenant colonel in Vietnam was quoted by Newsweek recently as saying, "There is no doubt about it, the 'Movement' is here at last—and it could become contagious."

Actually, the Movement was there quite a while ago. It was there when Company A of the 196th Light Infantry refused to fight last summer and when Black Panther branches appeared in combat divisions this winter. Another eloquent proof of its presence: Last fall an audience of 10,000 weary GIs gave multi-millionaire military morale booster, Bob Hope, the bird.

## Dictators in black robes

Judges in this "democratic" country have dictatorial power over oppositionists as Black Panthers, constantly hit with impossible-to-raise \$100,000 bails and the like, can testify.

But judges have equal or greater power in keeping workers' wages down and forcing them to work—thus creating the "involuntary servitude" the Civil War and the 14th Amendment were supposed to have outlawed.

On January 31, Federal District Judge John J. Sirca simply ordered hundreds of thousands of workers in railway and shop unions to go back to work after having gone out on strike a few hours earlier. He did this by granting an injunction to make the strike illegal, thus making his own law, as judges do.

The union had previously gone through 60 days of company stalling and strike delay as required by the anti-labor Railway Labor Act. Sirca, like all federal judges, is not even an elected official. He is a Presidential appointee.

## Colorado racist attack

DENVER — The wife of a Colorado legislator suffered 100 knife wounds on January 29 when someone knocked her unconscious with a stick and tried to carve the word "nigger" in her leg. Mrs. Kathleen Farley, a lawyer, is also the wife of Representative Thomas Farley who publicly called for the suspension of the provisional director of the Colorado Bureau of Investigation because he approved the use of the word "nigger" in confidential police reports. The CBI head, James F. Shumate, also used the racist insult at a conference of law enforcement pigs.

Only after two days of demonstrations at the state capital by Black people did Governor John Love take any action against Shumate. The sum total of that action, to dare, has been to put the racist back in his old job of deputy director!

After Farley's public request for Shumate's suspension, he and his wife were besieged with daily telephone threats and had to request police protection. Not only did the cops not stop the attack on Mrs. Farley, who was assaulted right outside her home in Pueblo, but the Pueblo police claim that they can't find the racist, mad-dog attacker and they say that the investigation is "stalled at this point."

## Agnew's little joke

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1—Vice President Agnew said today that the President would soon establish a Cabinet-level committee to guide Southern school districts into court-ordered integration "in the least disruptive way." (news item)

But the Supreme Court ended school segregation in the spring of 1954, nearly sixteen years ago, didn't it? How disruptive can you get?

## Better than the book

In 1966 William Styron wrote a book he called "Confessions of Nat Turner." Actually a racist attempt to put down a great revolutionary hero, the book was ballooned up into a best-seller and mysteriously won a Pulitzer Prize. It's impossible to sum up how bad it was. But suffice it to say that according to Styron, Turner led his heroic band against monumental odds, all because Prophet Nat was frustrated in his passion for a white woman.

Accordingly, Styron turns the historically married Nat into a fictionally sex-starved celibate. The white Southern author can't really believe that the slaves loved all the good "massas" just to distraction, but he sure wants the reader to believe it.

Now Twentieth Century Fox is about to make a movie after paying Styron a cool \$60,000 for his gilded crap. But on January 26, they began to hint that they'd have to change the script a great deal because of the pressure of the unreasonable, but now more powerful, "black militants." There is even a possibility the movie won't be produced at all. In the latter case, this is one picture that really would be "better than the book."



Peace symbol and  
boos greet Hope



Not clowns at all

# True dispensers of capitalist justice

by ELLEN PIERCE

Judges Julius J. Hoffman and John M. Murtagh are the chosen representatives of the ruling class at two of the most important political trials since the Rosenberg-Sobell frame-ups. Hoffman presides over the Conspiracy 8 trial in Chicago and Murtagh's claim to notoriety is as the judge in the New York Panther 21 case.

The Chicago trial, now over four months long, has made Hoffman (the judge) well known. His looks and mannerisms have earned him the name of Magoo, after the near-sighted cartoon figure. But he is not just a crotchety old man, he is the Administration's chosen warrior against the anti-war movement and the Black people. He is the man who sentenced Panther chairman Bobby Seale to four years in jail for contempt of court when chains and gags could not stop Seale from exposing the injustice he saw every minute in court.

## Open prejudice

Hoffman's actions and words have betrayed his racism and prejudice many times. Once, during the questioning of prospective jurors, a Black man was asked if he knew any of the defendants, lawyers, and so forth. When he said that his wife had worked for one of the prosecution attorneys, Hoffman immediately asked, "As a domestic?", while spectators and even some of the press gasped at this naked display of racism.

This record goes on and on. The jailing of defense lawyers, constant denial of defense motions and objections while upholding all those of the prosecution, barring witnesses for the defense (even the former Attorney General), revocation of Dellinger's bail for telling a cop in no uncertain terms that he was lying, all on top of jailing Seale, leave not a shred of doubt as to the railroading of the Conspiracy 8 on laws that are unconstitutional to begin with.

This fervor against the oppressed and rebellious is the essence of Judge Hoffman; his personal foibles, legitimate targets for ridicule, are secondary to his role of judge and executioner for the ruling class.

## Attacks their supporters

Although the New York Panther 21 case is still only a week into pre-trial hearings as of this writing, Judge Murtagh has given an idea of what he has in store. His line of attack at this point has been against the supporters and lawyers of the Panthers.

By the fourth day of the trial he had jailed one supporter of the defendants for 30 days (see story on p.8) and threatened defense attorneys with the same treatment for contempt. Murtagh allowed police to beat the defendants with blackjacks right in the courtroom and other beatings were reported in the prisoners' cells directly behind the judge's bench.

Murtagh has repeatedly refused to disqualify himself in the case and is so anxious to act as hatchet man against the Panthers that he once ordered another judge, who was



Racist hangmen for ruling class: Above, J. Hoffman (Conspiracy 8), Left, Murtagh (N.Y. Panther 21).

presiding over some motions before the current hearing began, to get off the bench so he (Murtagh) could take over.

He said the other judge had mistakenly been assigned to that courtroom, but a check of the court schedule later showed that the other judge was supposed to be there, despite Murtagh's claim.

## Hell-bent to serve

During the hearings, he again refused to disqualify himself after admitting "for the record" that the wife of a detective who is a leading prosecution witness is Murtagh's personal secretary.

A New York Times profile of Murtagh describes him as completely unapproachable where favors are concerned, and a man who won't let himself be "pushed around" by anybody. But this doesn't mean that he won't be the most willing executor of the ruling class' will to destroy the Black Panther Party. Murtagh doesn't have to be "pushed" into racism and collaboration with the police; he's already there.

He was once even arrested for failing to report graft and corruption in the Police Dept. when he was Commissioner of Investigation! The charges were later dropped.

## They're all lynchers

In the long run, all U.S. judges perform the role of a Hoffman or Murtagh. A man, or occasionally a woman, gets to be a judge by loyal service to either the ruling class political machine (whether it bears a Democratic or Republican label) or to a particular corporation or industry.

A judge can yell or be soft-spoken, act fair or be arbitrary. But his job is the same no matter what style he uses. That job is to uphold capitalist property relations and all the personal relations and mores that flow from them. Hoffman and Murtagh appear to be caricatures. They are actually true and representative stereotypes of their kind.

Essence of the state

# Prisons are for the poor

Exposure of police brutality, openly prejudiced judges (who may even be appointed to a particular case by the D.A.), lily white juries, and concentration camp conditions in the prisons often make the headlines in the ruling class press, but they are said to be the exception -- not the rule.

Every day, however, legal decisions are made which drastically affect the lives of thousands of poor and oppressed Americans -- decisions that prove that injustice is the rule for the poor, particularly for Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans.

At the beginning of last week alone, for example, three such decisions were made.

In the first case, James L. Bruton, former superintendent of the Tucker State Prison in Arkansas, was convicted of administering "cruel and unusual punishment" to two inmates in 1964, by "torturing them with an old crank phone that was used to send electrical shocks through their genitals."

We can be sure, however, that Bruton is guilty of more than just these two crimes. (It was two years ago that the whole Arkansas prison system was exposed as a medieval torture chamber where the murder of inmates was commonplace.)

Yet the judge fined this criminal only \$1,000 and gave him a suspended one year sentence, explaining, "the court thinks that if it sentenced you to a year in prison and requested that you serve the time, the chances of your surviving that year would not be good... The court does not want to give you a death sentence."

**Ruling class encourages brutality**

To be sure, the judge does not want

to see this torturer and murderer, this faithful lackey of the rich ruling class, get the justice he deserves -- punishment at the hands of the prisoners. After all, Bruton's real crime in the eyes of the courts was that his brutality, when exposed, embarrassed the ruling class.

This same judge, on the other hand, would never give a Black man such a suspended sentence, although he knows full well that the Black prisoner's "chances of surviving" the gestapo rule of the Arkansas prison authorities "would not be good."

## Racist juries

### held constitutional

In another case, the Supreme Court refused to rule unconstitutional a jury selection law, although the court had found "overwhelming proof" that the law had been abused in order to keep Blacks off the juries! These laws were contested only in Alabama and Georgia although they are legal in 21 other states (including New York).

It is clear to anyone who knows of the predominantly all-white, middle-class juries chosen to judge the oppressed, that these discriminatory laws are practiced not only in the South.

## American as apple pie

In a third case the Illinois State Court rejected the argument that it is discriminatory against the poor to make a man or woman who cannot pay a fine and court expenses in dollars, pay for them with added time in jail -- usually at the rate of a dollar a day. This law can keep a man or woman who is sentenced to a year in prison and a \$500 fine, in jail for over two and a half years

if he cannot raise the \$500.

Studies by the Census Bureau and other groups have proven that as many as half of the prisoners in many jails are there because they cannot pay their fines.

Thus, the poor are subjected to

every turn of the screw: by the racist cops, by the court-appointed lawyers whom they must accept because they haven't the money to hire one of their own choosing, by a prejudiced jury, by a judge who first sets an unconstitutional and prohibitively high bail and then a fine that the poor defendant can't pay, and lastly by the sadistic prison authorities whose brutality is sanctioned by the state.

# Martin Sostre in Court

Edited by Bob McCubbin

50¢

This pamphlet contains Martin Sostre's testimony at his trial as well as his comments to the courtroom spectators. Sostre's highly political exposure of his frame-up is available, along with his Letters from Prison, from the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 382, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205

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# Israel has launched full-scale war against the Arabs

by P. MEISNER

"Visitors to the Middle East seem to have stopped asking if there will be war, and if so, when? The war is already under way....To any casual observer, the Middle East is at war."

These are not the words of a "casual observer," but of the Jerusalem correspondent of the New York Times, James Feron. And these quotes have even more significance in light of the presence of New York Times Vice President James Reston in Jerusalem, nominally there for a special interview with Golda Meir, but really to reassure the Israeli puppet leader from Milwaukee that the U.S. is fully backing the Israeli war on the Arab people.

In the above-quoted February 7 dispatch, Feron deliberately left out the fact that the Israeli aggressors have turned a four-month offensive in 1969 into a full-scale war in 1970. The Israelis are now bombing the suburbs of Cairo regularly and for the first time met aerial resistance from UAR planes on February 8.

The Israeli war-hawks are not only out to show with their brutal aggression against the Arab masses that they intend to keep the occupied territories, but that they can go in deeper into Arab countries and paralyze all Arab resistance. This, of course, is wishful thinking on the part of Washington and its puppets in Tel Aviv, since Al Fatah operations on the borders and inside Israel have been on the increase.

In fact, the Israelis have even admitted that Egyptian commandos have carried out successful raids against Israeli troops. The most dramatic such commando action was the destruction of a 500-ton Israeli navy supply vessel by UAR frogmen in the Elath harbor. However, Israeli fighter bombers, almost entirely unchallenged in the air, destroyed a 700-ton Egyptian ship 65 miles southwest of Sharm el Sheikh.

And in light of this dramatic example, it appears that the most significant military aspect of the war, air power, is now being carefully reevaluated by the Arab nations, and in particular, the UAR. During the emergency Cairo meeting this past week of Arab



Arab women train to fight for their homeland. — LNS photo

heads of state, Nasser told reporters that the Israelis do have air superiority and that,

"The problem is not the airplanes, really. The problem which we feel here in the Arab countries — not only here in Egypt — is the problem of pilots. We have more planes than pilots; the Israelis have two pilots for every airplane; so the Israelis have air security and air supremacy."

It should also be pointed out that Nasser and other Arab leaders are anxious to obtain both planes and trained pilots from the Soviet Union which would be a match for the Israeli Phantom and

Skyhawk jets. Most jets flown by UAR pilots are still the outdated MIG-19's and MIG-21's.

In an analysis of the Israeli-Arab wars, reporter Osvaldo Ortega of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency, noted that while Israel is at the moment trying to bolster up its much inferior navy (e.g., with the five gunboats "stolen" from France), the 1967 June War proved that air superiority was the decisive factor in a desert and naval type of war.

In an article entitled, "Wars Are Not Always Won on Land," written in

(Continued on page 12)

## French Mideast policy

# Why the snub for Pompidou in NYC?

When Nixon says that the U.S. is neither pro-Israel nor pro-Arab, this is obviously a lie. But when the French imperialists are labeled as pro-Arab, this is sheer nonsense.

Yet, after 100 years of brutalizing the Algerian people and invading the Suez together with Israel in 1956, French imperialism is now considered pro-Arab by almost every bourgeois publication in the U.S.

The U.S. press is always quick to point to the evil designs of the French to get Arab oil as the real motive for France's "pro-Arab" position. The latter is no doubt true. But these big business newspapers never mention that U.S. monopolies own or control most of the oil in the Mideast. Nor do they say that Israel is the Western outpost for U.S. imperialism's hold over the Arab nations and that the French imperialists wish they had the control the U.S. has over Israel.

## No U.S. welcome mat for Pompidou

Therefore, the recent French-Lybian arms deal mostly embarrassed Washington because it exposed the true nature of Israel as a heavily dependent puppet of the U.S. American military which has already armed Israel to the teeth. It has already been announced that the Nixon Administration will in-

crease its military aid to Tel Aviv in light of the French-Lybian arms deal.

France has been unable to gain a substantial foothold in Arab oil with Israel as the military instrument (as the U.S. has so successfully done) and therefore has chosen to maneuver directly with Arab countries through the use of military and economic deals. Consequently, the current French Mideast policy is upsetting U.S. plans of maintaining dominance over the Mideast, and it is obviously high up on the agenda of the upcoming meeting between Pompidou and Nixon later this month. It is no accident that the U.S. State Department has declined to give Pompidou an official welcome and that New York City Mayor Lindsay has refused to dine with the French President.

The vulgar explanation of this rebuff is that Lindsay is merely catering to the large number of Jewish voters in New York City. But the fact is that Pompidou is a well-known ex-director of the Rothschilds bank, one of the most powerful imperialist backers of Israel.

Moreover, a significant section of the French ruling class is still in favor of an open pro-Israel policy, as is the case with much of the liberal bourgeoisie and even the ultra-right in the U.S. Despite all the lies in

the U.S. press, the gunboats given to Israel "by mistake," recently were not just the work of one or two pro-Israeli French generals.

## French gunboats not "stolen"

A powerful wing of the French bourgeoisie organized the delivery of the gunboats, not officially endorsed by the Paris government, so as to leave the impression that the Gaullist government leadership is still neutral or even "pro-Arab." Although the whole gunboat "caper" broke into the imperialist headlines in only the last week of December, when Israel got the gunboats, the French navy had already leaked the news that Israel would receive them in a French naval publication printed in October and reported by UPI on November 16. Besides, the French ruling class just would not accidentally let \$2 million gunboats be "stolen." The boats are equipped with sea-to-sea missiles, which have a range of 12 miles, and are as agile as most smaller torpedo boats.

When Pompidou meets with Nixon this month in Washington, the discussion will surely not center on who is pro-Arab or who is pro-Israel, but on how the U.S. and France can best divide the oil riches and exploit the peoples of the Middle East.



Arab guerrillas in an Israeli prison.

WEEK AGAINST REPRESSION!

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FEBRUARY 14, 1970

**"Vietnamization" equals Koreanization**

# The plot to perpetuate Vietnam war in name of "peace"

by FRED GOLDSTEIN

Is the "new" Nixon plan for Vietnam just a carbon copy of the old Eisenhower plan for South Korea? Is the program of "Vietnamization" of U.S. aggression merely an attempt at a rerun of the "Koreanization" of the imperialist forces in South Korea carried out by Nixon's former boss seventeen years ago?

The answer to this question is that there are new indications that Nixon is indeed trying to fall back on a scheme for victory which he observed at first hand during his term as vice president.

Senator Hugh Scott, the Republican leader in the Senate and a close confidant of Nixon, was the first high-ranking representative of the ruling class to make the analogy between the two programs. He did so in his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 4.

Scott was being questioned on the "Vietnamization" program by Senator Fulbright, and he declared that the policy of creating a puppet army to do what U.S. forces have been unable to do was "irreversible." He later amended his statement. "Saying that the American people have accepted the continuing presence of 50,000 United States troops in South Korea," reported the New York Times of February 5, "Senator Scott declared that if American troops were necessary to keep the peace in Vietnam, the good judgement of the American people would be able to 'surmount the hysteria of a limited number of critics.'"

When pressed on the timetable for "Vietnamization," Scott elaborated on the analogy with the occupation of South Korea, saying that it took time and patience to work things out but that in the long run they arrived at an acceptable arrangement.

## "Korean testimony" planned

It was an unusual step for the Senate minority leader himself to testify for the Nixon policy on Vietnam before the Fulbright committee. The decision to throw his weight behind the government by leading off the defense was worked out with the White House in advance. But so was the political strategy worked out at the highest levels of the Adminis-

tration including the Pentagon.

The reference to South Korea was carefully calculated and has very specific military and political significance. The Vietnamese certainly could not have missed the fact that Washington is thinking of South Vietnam's future in terms of South Korea—that is, in terms of total victory for U.S. imperialism in the South.

South Korea has a puppet army of 600,000 troops, highly mechanized, with the most up-to-date means of aggression that the Pentagon has in its arsenal. The 50,000 U.S. troops are top heavy with officers so that the present force can be quickly expanded into a much larger U.S. attack force.

## Nixon remembers Korea

The present quisling government rules by fascist methods behind the smokescreen of a parliament which is just as much a meaningless adornment as the one in Saigon. The government in Seoul is just as much a creation of

Washington as is the Thieu regime; so much so that it is the only government in Asia which has any substantial number of combat forces in Vietnam.

It was the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration which concocted this, and no doubt Nixon has ambitions of imposing a similar imperialist peace in Vietnam. Let the Vietnamese people have the North just as the Korean people do, and let the U.S. imperialists put the South Vietnamese in chains just as the South Koreans are!

## The other edge of the sword

Just as Washington left 50,000 troops in South Korea to keep a tight grip on those chains, the Nixon Administration admits to being prepared to leave four times that many "non-combat" troops, such as the air and naval forces, plus support troops and all the major military installations in South Vietnam. The plan to create a massive puppet army fully equipped with U.S. weapons is well known.

The other edge of the imperialist sword consists of the steady threat to launch a major attack on North Vietnam—a threat which Nixon regularly includes in every Vietnam speech and every press conference. In fact, at his last press conference on January 31, Nixon quietly but pointedly escalated the threat when he declared that if the Vietnamese do not voluntarily permit the U.S. to proceed with its plan to "Vietnamize" the Pentagon's armed forces in their country "then we have the means—and I will be prepared to use those means strongly—to deal with that situation more strongly than we have ever dealt with it in the past."

In other words, the Nixon Administration is lusting after a bloody victory in South Vietnam along the lines of establishing the same kind of iron control as it has over South Korea. But what is more, Nixon is prepared to outdo Johnson in the scale of U.S. aggression against the North if Wall Street cannot get its way in the South.



Vietnamese puppets training to "take over" the war from the U.S. Will they fight at all if the U.S. really leaves the Vietnamese to themselves?

## See permanent Viet force of 250,000 GIs Doves alarmed at Nixon plan

Early last year Richard Nixon stated "I will not be the first president to preside over an American defeat." In plain talk that meant that he was going to try to win the war in Vietnam. But the imperialist doves, in their characteristic cowardly and vacillating fashion preferred not to understand the English language. So they gave Nixon a long "honeymoon" of support. Then they gave him extra time "to grapple with the problem." Then, after sponsoring two loyal opposition type anti-war mobilizations, they gave him three more months of support—through silence—for his "Vietnamization" policy.

Now the doves are beginning to get nervous again because it is becoming crystal clear that Nixon is doing exactly what he told the doves he was going to do—and, of course, they don't think he can get away with it so they are beginning to sweat.

Frank Manciewicz and Tom Braden, two liberal Washington columnists, revealed recently that "President Nixon told a Republican Governor at the White House within the past week that his plan for Vietnam will require several more years of war. A more or less permanent American force of approximately 250,000 men is what the President sees as necessary."

"A policy of concealment is under way," continued the two former Kennedy aides writing in the February 7 edition of the New York Post. "The President's new budget is an example. Those 30 - odd billions of dollars (annual cost of Vietnam war) are no longer separated out" (as a separate item in the budget).

The Nixon policy is simple. "The President has made up his mind that, unpopular as it is, the war is right—and that the way to keep it going is to make it less noticeable."

NLF fighters are confident of victory



— LNS photo

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# "We'll be disorderly till there's a new order in Babylon"

The Panther 21 trial is the most important political trial in America. The 21 members of the Black Panther Party on trial are, as the Panthers themselves frequently put it, the cream of the crop—the most genuine and energetic revolutionaries who founded and built the New York Black Panther Party.

The thirteen now on trial broke the ice of the stark judicial chamber in a New York court as they entered with shouts of "Power to the people." A chorus of "Right on" and "Power to the people" resounded back from the supporters who packed into the courtroom. Among the most militant were the families and relatives of the 21. They had also led the demonstration outside. Many Black youth, young Panthers and nationalist youth, Yoruba and Muslim youth, came from Black communities around the city to join in the "Right ons."

While there were a number of white supporters in the room, the CP and SWP were represented by their single reporters seated in the press section.

The defendants conducted themselves much as Martin Sostre did in Buffalo, pointing out the racist rigged nature of the court and the lies of the pigs in a loud voice for all the spectators to hear. When admonished by Judge Murtagh, Dahruha (Richard Moore) replied, "We'll turn this pigpen inside out every day!" When the DA spoke of a Panther conspiracy, Dahruha said, yes, there is a conspiracy. "Black people have been conspiring for their freedom for 400 years."

## Panthers fight back

When Murtagh told him he was out of order, he replied, "That's right Judge. Black people are out of order too. We'll be disorderly until there is a new order in Babylon."

Tuesday morning was very tense in court. Contradictions in a pig's testimony led to a renewed request for the daily transcript by the Panther's attorneys.

"I told you I would rule on those motions at 2 p.m.," Murtagh replied.

"The defense has a grave need for the transcript," attorney Lefcourt interjected.

"You made a formal motion this morning which you could have made ten months ago," said Murtagh.

"Did the DA make a formal motion or does he

have to?" Dahruha shouted out.

"No," (Murtagh)

"Are you denying us our constitutional right to defend ourselves, Mr. Murtagh, yes or no?" Dahruha went on.

"The record will reflect that the attorney refuses to go on and gives his client the opportunity to be disorderly," Murtagh directed Attorney Crain to proceed. The rest of the defendants began shouting that their constitutional rights were being violated and calling the judge a fascist pig. Dahruha's deep voice could be heard above the others.

"This is nothing but an electric circus!"

"The record will reflect that Mr. Crain's failure to conduct this examination is making it possible for this disturbance to take place. He cannot but be aiding and abetting it," intoned the judge.

"Your honor seems to be building a basis for contempt proceedings against counsel."

"The record will be judged for itself," Murtagh replied in a pious voice.

The courtroom broke into turmoil—shouts of "racist pig" and "right on" filled the room. Dahruha got up and pointed at Murtagh, "You're the criminal!"

## "Who will judge you?"

"Who will judge you?" interjected Maryann Weissman, National Coordinator for Youth Against War & Fascism, who was in the spectators' section. Answering her own question, she went on, "The people will judge you!"

"Right on!" the defendants and the supporters replied. "The people will judge you. The People!"

"Who said that?" Murtagh shouted out, as his cool disintegrated.

"I did—said Maryann—and I have as much right as anyone to speak out when I see injustice done. You should have been held in contempt long ago!"

"Remove her from the courtroom!" Murtagh shouted.

The defendants jumped up, one saying, "If she goes out, we go out!" They were pounced on by a horde of courthouse pigs and were beaten with blackjacks. One of the attorneys was also the target for the police blackjacking. After it was over, Dahruha's left eye was swollen shut.

"I must be Superman if I'm guilty of assault after being beaten to the floor." He explained to the spectators how he had been blackjacked and "had my head dribbled on the floor like a basketball."

In the spectator's section court pigs converged on Maryann, pulling her in both directions from the middle of the third row. Lonnie Epps, one of the original 21 who has been out on \$10,000 bail and whose case was separated from the rest because he is only 17, was sitting next to her.

"She can't go in both directions at once," he said.

The guards on one side let go of Maryann and attacked him, beating him and taking him into custody. That night they charged him with two felonious assaults and contempt, and denied bail because of the DA's tall tales of serious injuries.

The mothers and other relatives of the defendants came to Maryann's defense, pushing the court pigs away and protecting her. After they finally pulled her out, one of the mothers came out and invited her in again. The courtroom pigs began to stop her but then decided to avoid another battle and let her pass. She sat through the rest of the morning's proceedings.

Wednesday morning the court opened with a statement by pig attorney Phillips: "Your honor, we have some information on the woman you ejected from the courtroom yesterday. She is Maryann Weissman.... She has a long criminal record"—he ran down a few arrests—"has spent six months in prison and is personally know to Mr. Lefcourt."

After a flurry of objections, attorney Lefcourt said:



Demonstration outside of Women's House of Detention for Maryann Weissman and Joan Bird, one of the Panther prisoners.

--WW Photo/Ed Collins

## Maryann Weissman uses court to call for mass action

NEW YORK, Feb. 5 — Maryann Weissman, National Coordinator of Youth Against War & Fascism, was sentenced to 30 days in jail today by Supreme Court Justice Murtagh, who presides over the frame-up trial of the New York Panther 21. The charge of contempt arose from an incident in the courtroom on Tuesday, February 3. Mrs. Weissman was released at the time. The following day, however, D.A. Phillips introduced into the court proceedings a statement on her previous arrests and requested that action be taken against her.

Mrs. Weissman appeared at the court at 3:00 PM today. When brought before Justice Murtagh at the end of the day's proceedings against the 13 Panther Party members now on trial, she made the following statement to a packed and militant courtroom:

"I came to the hearing before Judge Murtagh on Tuesday to express the heartfelt solidarity with the Black Panther Party of my organization, Youth Against War & Fascism. I also express the solidarity of thousands of young white people in New York City who feel the same way and support the Black Panther Party in its heroic defense of its people.

"I came to protest this monstrous, totally incredible frame-up of the young Panther Party defendants, who have been held in detention for more than 9 months, without bail, without any of their rights as citizens.

"This trial conducted by Judge Murtagh is not a judicial proceeding against the Panther Party — it is a farce and a fraud, calculated to deceive the public. The real aim of the so-called trial is to eliminate the Black Panther Party and destroy it as an effective force in the struggle of the Black people. The conduct of the trial differs in no fundamental way from the way totalitarian and fascist regimes treat political prisoners.

"I cried out against the injustice that I saw with my own eyes. And I have a right to do this, as part of my constitutional right of dissent against this fraudulent judicial process.

"I have the right to speak out against judicial frame-ups, no less than against any other kind of frame-up. The judges have no more immunity from expression of dissent than any other racist and reactionary politician.

"I call upon the young people of New York to demonstrate against this frame-up and to stop this trial by mass action — which in the long run is the only thing to which the imperialist stooges in the courts will pay attention.

"Long Live the Black Panther Party!

Long Live the United Struggle of Black and White Against Imperialist Injustice!

Free the New York Panther 21!

Free All Political Prisoners!

Power to the People!"

"She has been personally known to me, my counsel and defendants for a number of years. She is committed to the freedom of Black people and poor people. Her arrests are like those of many thousands of young people across the country and reflect her and her organization's continuing commitment to justice and civil rights and their objection to the growing fascism in this country."

The judge issued an order that she appear before the court to "show cause" why she should not be held in contempt.

Thursday afternoon, February 5, Pig Murtagh recessed the trial when he heard that Maryann had arrived. The Panther defendants were removed from the room but had a chance to exchange greetings with her from the detention pen as she was being brought in.

When denied a postponement to Monday because her lawyer was out of town, Maryann defended herself, reading the accompanying statement.

Maryann's statement was applauded and cheered by the spectators. When asked by the judge if she indeed was the person who got up in "his" courtroom Tuesday, she replied that it didn't matter. "You have your decision already written out." Pig Murtagh kept asking her if she was the one and Maryann threw it back at him every time, reinforcing her solidarity with the defendants.

Maryann's final rejoinder to Murtagh was, "If protest against injustice is contempt, then so be it."

"Thirty days."

She was led from the courtroom with her clenched fist raised amid a tumult of support.

To our National Coordinator, we say, "RIGHT ON!"

Key Martin, Chairman, YAWF



## New York Panther 21

# "What prisons were you in?" — "America"



--LNS Photo/Sid Sattler

New York District Attorney Joseph Phillips to 23-year-old Michael Tabor of the Black Panther Party.

Q. How long were you in prison?

A. Twenty-three years. America is a prison....

Q. What prisons were you in?

A. America is a prison with its oppression, exploitation, poverty....

Q. What state prisons were you in?

A. America is a state prison... a concentration camp for Black people....

And so it went. The infamous trial of the New York Black Panther Party leaders had not yet even formally begun. Michael Tabor was only on the stand for pre-trial hearings. Yet the Panthers have already turned the proceedings into a moral victory for the oppressed.

The defendants have already told Judge Murtagh that "you are the criminal." They have already told him that he should change his black robes for "the white robes of the Ku Klux Klan." They have denounced the trial as a "circus." They have forced the racist prosecutor to "lower your tone" or else. They have told the court that "the people will put you on trial."

They have done all this despite warning after warning from the racist tyrant of a judge who is so blinded by his devotion to the master class that he thinks that a venal pig like himself is morally fit to judge Black revolutionaries. Defendants have

been beaten with blackjacks in the halls of the court and repeatedly threatened with summary contempt. Yet Murtagh has not intimidated the Panthers.

If their supporters in the courtroom have shown militant solidarity with the defendants, it is the defendants themselves who have set the example. "Power to the People" is the mood of the courtroom because of the chants of the prisoners. When their supporters hesitate the Panthers tell them, "Don't be intimidated by him (Murtagh)."

Judges are omnipotent dictators in the capitalist courts. In normal trials their authority is unquestioned and pervades every corner of the courtroom, casting a pall over the mood, the tone and the behavior of all present—in ordinary trials, that is.

Murtagh, Phillips, the cops and the entire cap-

*No power on earth*

*can force the Panthers*

*or the Black people*

*to bow down.*



WW Photo/Ed Collins

italist establishment are frightened. They are frightened because, whatever happens from now on, they have indisputably lost control over the morale of the courtroom. They have been held up to the moral and political ridicule and hostility which they deserve as the representatives of capitalist slavery and racism.

The defendants have been in solitary confinement for 11 months. They have been brutalized and tortured and cut off from their comrades, their families and their people. Murtagh has the whole power of the capitalist state behind him. Yet he can get nothing from the defendants except contempt. No power on earth can force the Panthers or for that matter the Black people, to show respect or to bow down.

A system is crumbling.

## Mass support rally for Panthers in spite of winter rain



--WW Photos/Ed Collins



(Left) Afeni Shakur, one of the Panther 21, tells weary demonstrators, "You're supposed to be tired, dammit, this is a struggle!" She was recently released on \$100,000 bail. (Center) Field Marshal Don Cox addresses

rally in Foley Square on tasks for the coming period, announcing new demonstrations, etc. (Right) Key Martin of YAWF tells crowd about the conditions Panthers have had to endure in city jail.



## Marxist view of the housing crisis

# Engels on slumlords

by DEIRDRE GRISWOLD

After seeing Bedford-Stuyvesant, the Lower East Side, or the slums of Chicago, Philadelphia or Detroit, could any honest person doubt that the housing crisis is "a necessary product of the bourgeois social order"? These are the words of Frederick Engels, written in 1872, almost a century ago.

Engels wrote of the housing shortage in the rapidly growing industrial cities of Europe; of the sections of London where disease and madness were generated in stagnant alleys and filthy courtyards; and of the soaring rents for workers' dwellings as their homes were pulled down and replaced by shops, warehouses and factories.

A century of titanic industrial development has followed. The leap in technology that has accompanied the great progress in natural science has made possible man's oldest dreams — flight, speed, communication with other continents and seemingly limitless sources of power.

But if Engels were to walk today through the slums of America's big cities, he would find conditions little changed from the sordid breeding places of disease that he described a hundred years ago.

"This is... how the bourgeoisie settles the housing question in practice. The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere!"

### "Urban renewal" in Engels' time

"Urban renewal" is the modern name for this process. A slum area is torn down, "middle income" housing is put up, and the poor people who have been displaced just move to another aging part of the city which eventually becomes another slum. Most people are on to this fraud by now.

But only a few realize that this process has been going on for generations! The only difference is that now the state—the collective ruling class—presides over this shift instead of individual capitalist landlords.

In Engels' day, the press was full of articles on the "housing crisis." It was made particularly acute by the mass migration from the countryside into the mushrooming industrial centers. As Marx's collaborator pointed out, the concern wasn't over the fact that

"...the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. This shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat.... On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered rather uniformly from it.... What is meant today by housing shortage is the peculiar intensification of the bad housing conditions of the workers as a result of the sudden rush of population to the big cities; a colossal increase in rents, still greater congestion in the separate houses, and, for some, the impossibility of finding a place to live in at all. And this housing shortage gets talked of so much only because it is not confined to the working class but has affected the petty bourgeoisie as well."

The present situation could not be more aptly described—proof that the housing crisis of a hun-

dred years ago is still raging unabated today.

### Crisis in agriculture creates slums

And while in Engels' day the mass migration to European cities came as a result of dynamic, if cyclical, industrial growth, in America the movement of Black families to the inner cities since World War II has been the result of the mechanization of agriculture. Millions have been uprooted from the land, but there has been no corresponding increase in urban employment. Housing conditions in the big city slums reflect this growing "surplus" of labor.

The ruling class becomes periodically concerned with housing, not out of altruism but because its own interests are threatened. Engels wrote of the bourgeoisie's fear of epidemics which originated in the overcrowded, unsanitary tenements, but soon crossed class lines.

"Modern natural science has proved that the so-called 'poor districts,' in which the workers are crowded together, are the breeding places of all those epidemics which from time to time afflict our towns. Cholera, typhus, typhoid fever, smallpox and other ravaging diseases spread their germs in the pestilential air and the poisoned water of these working-class quarters.

"Here the germs hardly ever die out completely, and as soon as circumstances permit they develop into epidemics and then spread beyond their breeding places into the more airy and healthy parts of the town inhabited by the capitalists.... As soon as this fact had been scientifically established the philanthropic bourgeois became inflamed with a noble spirit of competition in their solicitude for the health of their workers."

But today the discovery of inoculation against disease has reduced the danger of epidemics. So the living quarters of the poor can now be more "safely" allowed to fall into decay and ruin!

### Landlords create health hazards for profit

As a matter of fact, landlords deliberately harass tenants by creating unhealthy conditions to make them move. Since 1966, New York City has received "serious complaints" from tenants in 1,000 buildings that landlords were trying to force them to move by, among other things, cutting the heat and breaking the plumbing.

This often happens in middle class areas where the landlords want to renovate the buildings (and escape rent controls) or tear them down completely and put up office buildings.

What is the solution to the housing shortage? The bourgeois answer, of course, is "Own your own home." In a predominantly urban apartment-dwelling society, this is no answer at all. But even for those workers who can move to the suburbs and buy houses, is the problem solved?

The New York Times on February 1 told what happened to one such worker, Mr. John Moss. Moss

wanted to buy a house in Chicago. The article said, "But Mr. and Mrs. Moss are black and no bank would extend them credit for a mortgage loan."

So the Mosses bought a house on "contract." Says the Times, "Contract buying is a system under which a builder or real estate operator buys a home on a standard mortgage, then resells it on a contract of monthly payments. If the buyer misses one of the monthly payments, he can be immediately evicted from the home without benefit of foreclosure proceedings—and he loses all the money he has invested."

### "Contract buying" more than doubles price of homes!

The Mosses belong to a group called the "Contract Buyers League." "The Contract Buyers League says that Universal Builders took out a \$20,000 mortgage to erect the house and that, using the accepted mark-up formula, the fair price of the home would have been about \$25,000." The Mosses are buying the house for \$31,950. However, "the interest on the \$6,950 difference, the League says, means that over the life on the contract, Mr. Moss will pay \$44,715 more than if the house had been sold at the 'fair price.'"

The bourgeois reformers want to do away with the worst evils of capitalism but preserve the system. They would abolish high rent, interest and unsanitary conditions, but preserve private property. But it is the institution of private property that is responsible for the housing crisis in the first place.

Engels wrote, "It is the essence of bourgeois socialism to want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at the same time to want to abolish the evils themselves."

"In (capitalist) society the housing shortage is so accident; it is a necessary institution and can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole social order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

To change the social order, it is necessary to expropriate the property of the ruling class. As soon as the oppressed begin to struggle, they are faced with this task—and prerevolutionary struggle often takes the form of individual expropriations.

### Black workers unite against evictions

Mr. and Mrs. Moss could not make a payment on their house, so 150 helmeted sheriff's deputies armed with riot clubs came to take out their furniture. But about 100 members of the Contract Buyers League gathered around the house.

"After the furniture was moved out, the deputies boarded the buses and left, leaving the house in the hands of 25 private security guards, who were supposed to board it up. The crowd surged forward, some throwing rocks. Two shots were fired by the frightened guards, who then agreed to come out under a pledge of safe conduct. A few minutes later, all of the furniture was moved back in."

The workers in America are beginning to solve the housing problem.



Abandoned buildings cost New York City 30,000 apartments a year. These boarded-up houses are in East New York off Blake Avenue.



# The price of pollution

## Death for the workers;

## \$750 fine for the corporations

by EMILY TARASOV

"After Me, the Flood" is the motto of the capitalists, according to Karl Marx. Because of the capitalists' insatiable drive for profits, they are willing to bring any hardship to the people — even world destruction.

"After Me, the Ice Age" should be the motto for today's capitalist. According to a Wall Street Journal report of December 31, 1969, air pollution could cause just such a cataclysmic change in the climate. Another ice age may actually be brought on by the 200 million tons of poisonous waste industry spews into the air yearly, not to mention the millions of tons vomited daily into the rivers, changing them into brown, oily, putrid, and at times even burning, sludge!

In this article, Reid A. Bryson, a University of Wisconsin meteorology professor, says, "There's little argument that the average annual temperature of the world has dropped by one-third to one-half a degree since 1940 — this doesn't seem like much until you consider that the latest ice age was brought about by a temperature drop of only four or five degrees."

Not all scientists agree with Professor Bryson's theory, but most agree when he says that we cannot predict exactly what will be the effect of all this pollution. "Looking at the climate in the past, it is clear that small changes in the past 10,000 years had very large ecological effects and they can happen bloody fast. The end of the ice age took less than a century — kapow! It's fast, and that worries me because we don't know but what in a few years we could have a significant change that would disrupt the entire climate."

### Gary, Indiana: cesspool of pollution

There is nothing new about pollution, despite all the talk about it in every magazine and newspaper from Life and Look to the Wall Street Journal. For example, Gary, Indiana, the home of U.S. Steel's largest complex, is situated within a 15-mile arc along the southern shore of Lake Michigan that is regarded as the "most concentrated pollution factory in the world."

For the workers there is no escape from the poison of the factory. Its foul-smelling waste settles like the touch of death on everything, causing bronchitis, lung cancer, emphysema and black lung (generally thought to be a disease affecting

only miners).

These diseases are on the rise all over the country; in fact, emphysema is now the fastest growing cause of death. Even the workers' homes, cars and clothes are corroded by the pollution. All the recreation areas have been ruined.

### Bosses live high on pollution profits

Where are the bosses who make the profits while the workers are living and dying in these cities of industrial excrement? The boss and his family are off in some air-conditioned, purified apartment or riding in an air-conditioned car to a country home, far away from the pollution from which he profits.

The response of the ruling class to the problem of pollution, which threatens at this point even the capitalists themselves, is predictably deceptive. In order to soothe the public wrath, Nixon in his State of the Union address spoke of firm measures and far-reaching programs to attack pollution. The



government threatened to penalize the industries that do not employ pollution control methods. The industries promise to make amends.

Nixon's big promises to end pollution were spread all over the front pages of the newspapers last month. But on January 31, the New York Times printed a small article conveniently lost on page 25, which threw some light on the real polluters and showed just how relentless the government is going to be against them.

### Gov't fines — a slap on the hand of big business

The article described how two large industrial firms were fined for water pollution — fined \$750!

\$750! This is like fining a drug pusher \$5. The courts no more expect the drug pusher to stop polluting the bodies of ghetto dwellers because of that \$5 fine than they expect the corporations to stop polluting the air and water because of a \$750 fine.



The New Yorker at left isn't kidding. Emphysema, the fastest growing cause of death, is caused by choking air pollution like that in St. Louis (above).

### Hospital attacks health!

## FIRES SIX SEEKING COMMUNITY CONTROL

For the past year, a group of health workers and patients have been organizing for better health care in the Lower East Side at Gouverneur Clinic. This clinic is a former municipal clinic but it is now run by Beth Israel Medical Center under a so-called "affiliation contract." As this group organized, it met a lot of harassment from Dr. Ray Trussell, the Director of Beth Israel. The group also saw a need to have a broad statement of the solutions to the health problems of the Lower East Side and a structure to fight for them. This was the basis for the Ten Point Program of the Health Revolutionary Unity Movement.

The Ten Point Program calls for changes in the policies and structure of health services to make them work in the sole interest of the people's health and NOT in the interest of the Hospital Corporations, the Drug Companies, and all the other Health Profiteers. HRUM saw that the only way to achieve these changes was through workers and community control of health.

For several months, HRUM was able to organize and plan health programs. However, Ray Trussell was planning an attack on HRUM. He started by banning all meetings at Gouverneur. Later he banned leaflets and posters; also, workers there found it hard to talk freely with each other. When HRUM called a meeting to plan a Free Breakfast Program for children, Trussell had 20 policemen there to keep the meeting from being held.

On January 5, Dr. Harvey Karkus, a leader of one of the Gouverneur Units, was fired for writing a letter condemning the actions of Trussell. He appealed the firing through the normal channels but soon discovered that Trussell could tolerate no dissent and he would not get reinstated. HRUM brought the issue to the people.

On Monday, January 19, a delegation of workers and patients tried to meet with Trussell to resolve the matter. They were met at the door of Beth Israel by a wall of guards and City police. Eventually, the group was let into the lobby but it was only so that four persons whom Trussell had picked as the leaders, could be arrested. After the arrests, the group returned to Gouverneur to meet with Dr. Ferrer (Trussell's director at Gouverneur). This meeting brought no results so the group spoke to workers and patients to tell them what had happened. That same day, nine workers were suspended from their jobs for demonstrating their support for Dr. Karkus.

The suspended workers felt that the suspensions were only one more of Trussell's actions to stifle dissent and continued to work. The next day, as the workers returned to their jobs, five of them were fired and the whole group was threatened with arrests if they did not leave the building. That Friday, Trussell got an injunction against HRUM banning them from Gouverneur. HRUM is fighting it in court.

On Tuesday (January 27) a patient was arrested when he tried to see his doctor in the clinic. The police thought he was a member of HRUM. Later that day, Trussell announced that he would close Gouverneur because "some groups are threatening to take it over." When HRUM heard this, it sent its lawyers to court to get an order to keep it open and also called people to pressure Lindsay to intercede. After the clinic was ordered closed and appointments cancelled, Trussell announced that Gouverneur would remain open, but under police guard.

On the next day, HRUM held a rally of workers and patients outside Gouverneur. The Special Events Squad of Police charged the group of people and did not let them use a loudspeaker to talk to the rally. The rally then was taken to the site of the New Gouverneur, which this community has been fighting for for thirty years and is still a shell of bricks. Point #3 of the Ten Point Program calls for the completion of the New Gouverneur within one year.

Most of the suspended and fired workers are members of Local 1199 and expected their Union to support them. However, due to the state of panic and fear created by Trussell at Gouverneur, the rest of the workers can not support HRUM. The union leaders have voted not to support the workers because they fear worker and community control. It seems that the leaders of Local 1199 have forgotten it's a fighting civil rights union.

HRUM feels that 1199 and any union has an obligation to defend and support all of its members, especially those whose basic rights of freedom of speech, assembly and due process have been violated. Local 1199 must take this fight up because the existence of every worker and every union is at stake here.... If a man like Trussell can do this to HRUM, Nixon can do it to 1199.

Throughout all this, HRUM was very busy at nights and each weekend giving lead poisoning tests to children on Eldridge Street and helping I WOR KUEN give T.B. tests in Chinatown. HRUM knows that the only force that can regain their jobs and make the Ten Point Program a reality is the unity of workers and community residents on a citywide basis. The only way that HRUM can get this support is to put its programs into action and build a movement of people that are able and willing to control their own health.

A statement of

health workers

at Gouverneur Clinic

## The Mafia and the capitalist class

# Rotten offspring of a decadent system

by NAOMI GOLDSTEIN

The story goes that Richie the Boot and his son Tony Boy Boiardo, chieftains of New Jersey's Mafia gang, have an incinerator for human bodies in back of their elegant estate in Livingston, N.J. It is said that the Boiardos not only dispose of the bodies of their own victims, but also dispose of bodies passed on by other mob leaders as a service.

The grotesque story is only a tiny glimpse of the grim revelations which have been splashed across the front pages of newspapers in New Jersey and New York recently as a result of a government investigation into the Mafia in New Jersey. The state's open secret of the last 50 years is now being talked about—how New Jersey, its politicians, its cops, its judges, its businessmen, have been taken over by the mob.

### Mafia: reflection of rulers

If the tales of ovens for humans, murder and torture, extortion and bribery are shocking, they are, nevertheless, only a pale reflection of the national and international murder, extortion and bribery that is carried on every day by the U.S. capitalist class. In all the investigations of the Mafia, in all the phony philosophizing on the "inevitability" of human corruption, it has never been pointed out that the gangsters are a parasitic outgrowth of the decaying capitalist system.

Gangsterism, with its terror tactics, with its control over gambling, prostitution and drugs, helps to degrade and demoralize the working class and oppressed people, its prime victims. The underworld, in its gross criminality, is the "illegal" side of a system built on the robbery of the workers' labor power, on the oppression of the Black nation at home and on the cruel domination of colonial people abroad.

The politicians and their Mafia connections are only the logical development of a system that sends drugs into the Black community to poison the people and then arrests a few insignificant figures as pushers; a system that promotes prostitution, exploits women and then persecutes them as "immoral," leaving the pimps to collect their money; and, of course, a system that has carried out the most heinous crimes against the Black people here and against the people of Vietnam, Indonesia, Korea, wherever the oppressed fight back.

Richie the Boot, with his infamous diamond belt buckle and the string of hoods, cops and judges on his payroll, is just a two-bit crook next to the suave billionaire criminals on Wall Street.

The goings on of the Mafia in New Jersey have been known to the government for a long time. In fact, gangland operations all over the country are no secret. Everyone knows that the cops are on the take, that they often run the numbers rackets, bookies, dope pushers and other parasites on the oppressed communities throughout the U.S. Capitalist investigators flatly admit that the Mafia could not exist if the police were honest!

In 1950 it was well known that Newark's Mayor Ralph Villani, along with Hugh Addonizio, the mayor now under indictment, and Representative Peter Rodino, still in the state legislature, showed up with 2,000 other "distinguished" guests at Tony Boiardo's wedding that year. Way back in 1939, in fact, several high police officials, including Newark's head of the morals squad, testified that the elder Boiardo, one of the top bosses of the Mafia there, was just a nice guy trying to earn an honest living!

### Mob got out of hand

Why, then, the scandal in New Jersey? When Addonizio and his crooked cops shot down 26 Black men, women and children in 1967, there was no scandal. Addonizio was not indicted then because the government fully approved of his racist tactics. But now, it appears, the mob has gone too far. It has threatened "legitimate" business too much. The cancerous growth of the underworld in New Jersey was threatening to eat away the system of bourgeois democracy altogether. After all, the capitalists want to rule in their own way and not have to pay out all their profits in protection money.

Remember, too, that a Republican Administration is conveniently breaking up the Democratic Party machine in New Jersey under the guise of fighting the mob. The Republican Party, the party of big business, also regards the runoff of \$50 billion into the crime syndicate as \$50 billion lost to the capitalist class.

### Capitalists and Mafia vs. workers

The biggest fraud of all is the government attempt to destroy and discredit workers' organizations under the pretext of crushing the Mafia. The truth is that the government delivered the unions over to the gangsters years ago when it witchhunted out every last militant and radical unionist during the 1950's. That's how the government and capitalist class want it.

The cops, the judges, the petty officials, they all have a price the Mafia can pay—and it's not because mankind is inherently corrupt as U.S. Attorney Lacey (in charge of the New Jersey investigations) would have us believe. It's because the system is corrupt to the roots! These petty officials (the higher-ups are on the bankers' payrolls) have been put in office to oppress the people, to oversee capitalist exploitation and robbery. They have no objection to corruption as such. It's only when the parasitic Mafia begin to squeeze the "legitimate" crooks that the crackdown comes.

The Nixon Administration, with all its "law and order" cries, will never get rid of the Mafia. Only the workers and oppressed, the real victims of both the mob and their respectable counterparts on Wall Street, can wage a knock-down, drag-out fight against the crooks of the world, big and little.



When Newark Mayor Addonizio (left), now under indictment for his relations with Mafia heads DeCavalcante (top right) and Boiardo (lower right), had his cops kill 26 Black people in 1967, there was no scandal. But when he took too much graft, the lid blew off City Hall.

## Billy Graham and the opium trade

# "Getting high on Jesus"

by ELIZABETH ROSS

"You can get high on Jesus," said the Rev. Billy Graham last month to an audience of pot-smoking teenagers at a rock-and-roll session in Hollywood, Florida.

Billy Graham is a smart man. He expressed in modern jargon the same thought formulated by the greatest thinker of the nineteenth century. Karl Marx said, "Religion is the opium of the people."

If smartness is measured by wealth, glamour, and enjoyment of the good things of life now, instead of in the hereafter, Billy Graham is way ahead of Karl Marx, who lived and died in the working class district of London and was a poor man all his life.

Billy got to be so successful because he shrewdly chose the kind of dope to peddle. The pushers of pot, snow and speed lead a hard life compared to Billy's. They have to sneak around school playgrounds and down dark alleys, and at the end of the day they have to share with the cops.

But Billy pushes his dope right out where the lights are brightest—in palatial structures, filled with high domes and marble pillars—and the

cops never muscle in on his take.

Billy and his ilk do use some of the same techniques as the other kind of dope peddlers, though. They one and all know the necessity of approaching their victims at an early age. A couple of centuries ago, an opium dealer who sold the same product Billy sells today (but in a more elegant package) said, "Give me the child until he is eight years old and you can do what you want with him afterwards—his soul will always be mine. As the twig is bent so will the tree grow."

The old Jesuit who made that famous statement meant that after eight years the kid would be so thoroughly hooked no one could break him of the habit. Well, maybe Billy doesn't go after the toddlers; maybe he leaves them to his able assistants. The teenagers are good enough for him. They're impressionable enough and easily hooked.

And there's one more thing Billy shares with his brethren of the dark corners and back alleys—the kind of company he keeps. Ordinary dope pushers consort with crooks, racketeers and scoundrels. Billy's two best pals are Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon.

and will inevitably do so, with or without Nasser.

The rising consciousness of the Arab masses has already advanced the Arab revolution politically and will soon propel it militarily. The myth of Israel as the "underdog" in the Middle East has once again been exposed. The

Nazi persecution of the Jews can no longer be an alibi for the oppression of the Arab peoples. (It never has been one at all as far as the Arabs themselves are concerned.) The complete liberation of both Jews and Arabs lies in Al Fatah's program for a revolutionary socialist Palestine.

## —Israel has launched war

(Continued from page 6)  
early November, Ortega said:

"This evident superiority of the Egyptian navy did not prevent the lightning June defeat. Israel, which on land destroyed the bulk of Egyptian aviation and blockaded the Suez Canal by sinking cargo ships at strategic points of the maritime route, neutralized the UAR naval participation by leaving over 30 per cent of its forces bottled up in the Red Sea."

Ortega concluded his analysis by stating that,

"If there is another war between the Arab states and Israel, it will be de-

cided, like the previous ones, in the air. But it seems that the navy would have a much more active role."

But the aerial supremacy of the Israelis will prove no more decisive than that of the U.S. over Vietnam or over Korea in 1950-53. (And this supremacy may not last, anyway!) The colonial and world revolution is far more powerful than a few hundred U.S. airplanes.

Nasser in "admitting" the strength of Israeli air power is only voicing the frustration and perhaps even some defeatism of the Arab bourgeoisie. The Arab masses must fight to live,



## Irish freedom struggle

# A Prime Minister is picketed; labor leader gets message

British Prime Minister Harold Wilson stepped out of his brown-gold Rolls Royce to enter the prestigious automation club on East 69th Street. The British exploiter, in the United States for talks with Richard Nixon, was the guest of honor at a dinner attended by some of New York's most influential citizens.

As he stepped onto the sidewalk, shouts of "Fascist," "murderer," "Go Home, Wilson," and other slogans belated across the street from a group of angry and determined supporters of the Northern Ireland struggle for civil rights and self-determination. Organized by the National Association for Irish Justice, the anti-Wilson demonstration, demanding cessation of all U.S. relations with Britain until Irish

civil rights demands are met was both large and enthusiastic. Commencing at 4 p.m. the demonstration continued until 7 p.m. At 7:30, the demonstrators regrouped at the nearby Union Club to greet Wilson again.

Members of New York's Tory society were heckled and defamed as they entered the ultra-rich Union Club to pay homage to a man and an ideal most Americans thought they destroyed in 1776.

Harry Van Arsdale, head of the New York Central Labor Council, refused to enter the Union Club after the Irish demonstrators, shouting "don't go in Harry... Don't scab on the Irish" forced the bewildered man to seek other means of entertainment for the night. Wilson, entering the Club from the street, was once again

met with jeers and shouts.

When Wilson left the Club, Irish demonstrators attempted to chase after his Rolls Royce. The demonstrators, mostly middle aged men and women, were treated roughly by the police. A complaint was communicated to the proper authorities.

The next day demonstrations were held outside the British Consulate at 51st Street and 3rd Avenue while Nixon met with Wilson to discuss trade agreements. Brian Heron, National Coordinator of the National Association for Irish Justice, was arrested after attempting to discuss the situation. Apparently the officer felt that demonstrating Irish men and women were some kind of joke. Mr. Heron was released on a summons. A complaint was lodged with the Commissioner of the Police Department and with Mayor Lindsay's office.

On Wednesday the demonstrations continued. For the first time the Irish in New York have shown their true strength. The British image in New York was not only tarnished but took on the semblance of the broken effigy of Harold Wilson carried by the demonstrators. The wrath of the Irish—the wrath fired by all the crimes of 1916,

1940, and 1969 reached the Prime Minister himself. It is hoped that Harold will think twice before he comes to New York again—think twice about his government's imperialist policies in Ireland.

—From "The Irish Activist"  
210 East 23rd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10010

## Expanding Empire

by Vincent Copeland

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## How they love the dead!

(and hate the  
striking  
gravediggers)

NEW YORK—It seems there is no limit to the lengths the bourgeoisie and its kept press will go to to break a workers' strike. Bourgeois politicians and newspapers, no matter how "liberal" on issues like the war, are 100 percent hawks when it comes to the struggle and rights of the working class.

Take this quote from a New York Times editorial of February 3:

"The strike of gravediggers is now in its fourth grisly week. Several thousand unburied bodies lie in vaults, garages, tents and other storage places at cemeteries in the metropolitan area. For anguished families the pain of this humiliation to the dead grows daily more insupportable."

Respect the dead;

disregard the living

This sudden respect for the rights of the dead may seem puzzling coming from an organ that has, in the past, readily sanctioned the murder of Black people, the people of Vietnam, Indonesia, etc.

A spokesman for the striking union, Local 365 of the Cemetery Workers and Greens Attendants Union, explained the dispute in very different terms, saying that the workers were determined to carry on the strike because "the cemeteries refused to pay a living wage." It now comes out that the workers are getting no strike benefits and some have had to obtain

surplus food under a supplementary welfare program to feed their families. For this, the Times has no tears.

As in all strike struggles, the capitalist class pretends in its propaganda that the so-called public is the victim of the strikes. This hypocrisy is only intended to hide the class struggle between the bosses (who in this case include the Catholic and Jewish cemeteries) and the workers.

More than 1,700 gravediggers in the metropolitan area struck January 12, not out of disrespect for the dead, but because they need a raise to live. The workers are now getting \$126.50 for a five-day, 40-hour week. Local 365 is demanding a pay increase of \$30 in each year of a two-year contract, a reduction of the work week to 35 hours, additional holidays, longer vacations and other fringe benefits. The cemetery owners have come back with the outrageous offer of \$16 a week spread over three years! With inflation increasing as it is now, the workers would be losing money if they accepted such a rotten contract.

### 13 workers arrested

Needless to say, the two sides are still far apart in negotiations after almost a month out. During this time the striking workers have shown a good deal of militancy, picketing Cardinal Cooke's plush home on Madison Avenue and 50th Street and also demonstrating in front of St. Patrick's Ca-

thedral.

On January 19, 13 strikers were arrested when they tried to prevent scab hearses from entering the Roman Catholic Calvary Cemetery in Long Island City. The workers lay down in the driveway to stop the scabs from crossing their line. As usual, the cops came in to break up the workers' demonstration and dragged off the 13 on charges of "disorderly conduct" and "resisting officers."

Of course, the Times editorial labeled the workers' demands as "staggering, even by the inflationary standards of a year in which no one considers it strange for tugboat workers to strike for increases that would double their pay by 1972." In one stroke this capitalist sheet blames the workers for inflation and the "suffering" of the dead, too!

But let's remember one thing. Even if the gravediggers did ask for double pay by 1972, they wouldn't be getting half as much as the paid pens of the ruling class who put out Times editorials.

Anyway, with inflation the way it is (because of the greed of the capitalist bosses), the pay raises gained by over 40 million workers over the past few years have been completely obliterated. The pay check may look bigger, but they are not kidding anyone—it's worth less and less each year.

## Phone workers win a grievance by direct action

by a telephone worker

About 700 telephone workers walked off their jobs here last week and showed that direct action is the fastest way to settle a grievance.

The walkout occurred on the morning of January 28 in Manhattan's important East 56th Street district. On that morning, a shop steward in the District Central Office was suspended for allegedly refusing "compulsory" overtime.

As word of the steward's suspension spread throughout the central office, workers walked out and began to picket the building. Union representatives (from Local 1101 of the Communication Workers of America, AFL-CIO) began negotiating with the company for the immediate reinstatement of the suspended shop steward.

The workers carried news of the walkout around the district to the field forces, who were told to meet at the central office at noon. As the workers began to gather at the building for the meeting, someone pointed out that this

was the fifteenth suspension that the company had initiated recently in its policy of harassment.

Already the cops had been called. The company remembered the broken windows from the last walkout. The cops protected the scabs and kept most of the workers across the street from the building. And there were management flunkies posted at the windows watching, some with cameras poised, in a hopeless effort to intimidate the men.

The company refused to reinstate the steward immediately, hoping to stall the issue through a long process of negotiation. The telephone workers, tired of being dumped on by the giant AT&T monopoly, were ready to show the bosses that they meant to defend themselves. It was decided that the entire district would close down until the steward was reinstated. Also, each day that the steward was not reinstated, another district in the city would close down.

That night the company capitulated. The steward was reinstated with no



Telephone workers during November strike.

time lost. The workers rightly felt this was a real victory and were proud of having achieved it.

The union leadership itself has been so discredited for conciliating with the company that it lost a whole series of Labor Board elections in the recent past. Playing a better role in the re-

instatement of the steward than in any of their other undertakings in the last year or two, the officials regained some of their lost prestige with the workers.

But as always, it was the power of the ranks themselves that pushed the company to the wall. This was the real lesson of the whole walkout.

## Cincinnati strikers to judge:

# "We defy your injunction"

CINCINNATI, Feb. 5 — The 31-day strike of non-uniformed municipal employees here ended today with an agreement by the City Council to pay a seven per cent across-the-board raise in a one-year contract. This was six times the original offer made to the Cincinnati local of the State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO by the city.

The workers, 70 per cent of whom are Black, had conducted two big marches on City Hall, twice invaded the City Council chamber and launched a mass sit-in at swanky Stouffers Inn, where they occupied all the tables in their work clothes, defying vicious anti-labor injunctions to do all these things.

First, City Judge William J. Morrissey arbitrarily prohibited all labor demonstrations which "disrupt business in Cincinnati." The workers openly voted to override the injunction and marched on City Hall.

Later the same judge, without even being asked (publicly), slapped another injunction on the union specifically prohibiting the workers from sitting in at the big restaurants. And the workers

did it anyway.

(Morrissey is actually a creature of the Taft family who own a large part of the city along with most of the state and control it with a political machine of many years standing.)

At one point the leaders of the local union and the representative of the international were thrown into prison.

Al Van Hagen, staff director for the union, reflected the tempestuous spirit of the rank and file when he publicly told the judge:

"We defy your injunction. We will picket tomorrow morning. You can arrest our leaders. But more will come and take their place."

The strike could have turned into a confrontation even more basic than the sanitation workers' strike in Memphis early in 1968. For example, the great proportion of Black workers among the strikers was actually emphasized by news reports and photos in the press in a fairly open campaign to whip up the white population against the strike. (This was not really successful in spite of the racist atmosphere in the town.)



Cincinnati street during strike. The capitalists can't collect garbage without the workers.

Earlier, the police and firemen had gotten sizeable raises without a strike. Of the 930 police, only 50 are Black. And of the 926 firemen, just three are Black. Of the 1450 civilian employees, all of whom had to strike hard for their raise, only 300 are white. It was clear to everybody that race discrimination was the biggest single factor in the city's uncompromising class position.

The racial aspects of the strike were explosive in more ways than one, however. The city came very close to having an all-out general strike in favor of the non-uniformed city workers, because

the whole labor movement was electrified by the high-handed anti-labor rulings handed down by the capitalists' court.

Even the most prejudiced white workers slowly tended to identify with the strikers rather than with the white owners of the city during the crisis. A general strike would have created an unusually strong bond of unity.

Such a unity in racist Cincinnati would have cost the Taft family and other owners of the city far more than the price of a wage increase for a few workers.

## La Gente fights Chicago landlords

by JIM COATSWORTH

CHICAGO -- Winter here in this windy city is one of the most severe in the country. Temperatures drop as low as 15 and 20 below zero and with the chill lake wind the actual discomfort is sometimes equivalent to 50 and 60 below. For the working people of this city (particularly the super-oppressed Black and Latin communities), it is a time of unending misery.

Stories appear rarely in the bourgeois press regarding the cruelty of the landlords, the complicity of the capitalist system, or the struggles of those victimized. Struggles nevertheless do break out on a wider and wider scale each year.

One such struggle has erupted in the community of Lakeview where a large portion of the Latin population here lives.

Tenants in 3651-53 N. Pine Grove had their heat turned off in the beginning of December and it was not restored until the middle of January after a long and hard-fought battle between the community and the Lakeview Management Corp.

Lakeview Management had the heat turned off as part of a general campaign to evict the working people of the area and build high-rise apartments for the rich. The residents of the com-

munity have decided to fight back and are being led by La Gente (The People), a community organization whose 10-point program is fashioned after that of the Black Panther Party.

The heat in the apartments was turned off at a time when there were 19 children inside. As the days and weeks of no heat wore on, a three-month old baby became ill and had to be hospitalized. Because of the adamant stand of the tenants in refusing to move (where were they, and hundreds like them, to go?), agents for Lakeview Management were sent out to burn the building down.

On New Year's Eve one such agent was caught red-handed with a can of gasoline and had the fist of people's justice meted out to him.

Finally a demonstration took place outside the American National Bank (where Lakeview Management has its money), and, because of the solidarity of the people and the press coverage it received, the heat was finally turned back on.

The struggle is continuing and holds promise of reaching a higher level as more and more people are realizing that the homes some of them have lived in for years are threatened by the profit-gouging of Lakeview Management and other corporate landlords in the city.

## Landlord Murderer!

FEB. 7—The owner of a Bronx apartment building and one of his tenants have been arrested in the horrible death by fire of thirteen-year-old boys. George Crespo, 14, Carlos Rivera, 15, and Esteban Torres, 17, all died in a fire last August at 1132 Kelly Street in the Bronx. The story of how they died is a tale of unimaginable horror and greed.

The landlord of the building, Albert Epstein, hired one of his tenants, Benjamin Warren, to set a fire in the building for the insurance. Warren got the boys to help him splash gasoline around his apartment.

Then Warren threw gasoline over the oldest boy, lit a match and flung it at him. As the boy burst into flames, Warren ran out and locked the three kids in the blazing room.

After the fire, all 14 remaining tenants, afraid for their lives, moved out. The landlord collected \$5,815 in fire insurance and raised the rents 15 per cent when new tenants moved in.

## Imperialist war aims of U.S. and FDR exposed in Soviet play — 25 yrs. too late!

A new Soviet play exposes Franklin D. Roosevelt as an imperialist politician who plotted to take over the world and who actually knew that the Japanese were going to bomb Pearl Harbor.

This is the first time, so far as is known in the West, that such a true picture has been drawn of the U.S. wartime president in Moscow. In fact, Soviet leaders have often said they thought the U.S. administrations should "return" to the foreign policy line of FDR.

The play, "Man and the Globe," by Victor Lavrentyev, is described in the February 3 New York Times as being mainly about "the work of Soviet nuclear scientists in creating nuclear weapons." It shows Roosevelt ordering the construction of the A-bomb in order to dominate "the entire globe."

Still more striking is the fact that

it depicts FDR as "knowing in advance that the Japanese would attack Pearl Harbor." He did indeed know it in advance, as was thoroughly documented by the historian, Charles A. Beard in his now almost-suppressed "President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War." But the CP in the United States has never given much of a hint that they even read the book.

The CP in the United States not only supported Roosevelt's foreign policy (on the false grounds that it coincided with Soviet interests), they also supported his domestic policy, as they did that of every Democratic president up to Kennedy, continuing into the early part of Johnson's administration.

Because the U.S. was allied to the Soviet Union during the Second World

War, it appeared to many people that the U.S. war aims must be progressive ones. But it did not follow merely because the Soviet Union was fighting a generally anti-fascist war, that therefore the imperialist U.S. was doing the same.

On the contrary, the U.S. was fighting an imperialist war with the aim of opening more areas of the world to U.S. investment and control.

As soon as the war was over, the new president, Harry S. Truman, turned openly against the Soviet Union in keeping with the inevitable imperialist drive for world domination. Had Roosevelt lived, he would also have turned against the Soviet Union, but many people, including many in the USSR, failed to understand this.

In the United States, the right-wing

capitalists and their henchmen also believe that Roosevelt was genuine in his affection for Stalin and that he gave too much away at Yalta.

But fascists always believe that liberal capitalists are secret communists.

The liberal Roosevelt helped save the capitalist system in the United States when he legalized labor unions and brought them under government control. But since he at the same time gave the workers a few crumbs, the bosses howled that he was practically a "communist." A similar process took place on the international arena.

The objective political significance of "Man and the Globe" is not yet wholly clear at this distance. But at the very least it shows that there is a powerful anti-imperialist potential in the Soviet Union. And the play sure is a welcome relief from Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago," Yevtushenko's praises of the USA and Solzhenitsen's denunciation of the idea that there is such a thing as a class struggle!



## Nixon visits Chicago; gets proper welcome

CHICAGO, Feb. 6—Racist Richard Nixon was met by anti-war demonstrators here yesterday and today as Youth Against War & Fascism and other organizations assembled to show their hatred for the war against Vietnam and the war against Black America. The largest demonstration was last night, when Nixon was receiving members of Chicago's ruling elite inside the Sheraton-Blackstone hotel. Outside, 500 people marched, protesting against "Nixon, the U.S. War Criminal."

Militant chants could be heard such as, "Nixon—Tool of Billionaire Rule," and "Big Firms Get Rich—GIs Die!" Highly visible in the line of march were two YAWF banners reading, "Avenge Fred Hampton," and "Stop the War Against Black America."

Nixon was visiting the midwest in order to attend a so-called "Pollution Conference," but this is also the scene of a vicious ruling class murder—the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Security precautions were such that Nixon traveled over the city by helicopter. Very evident were thousands of Chicago pig police to guard Nixon from the wrath of the masses.

At a demonstration this morning hundreds of police guarded Nixon from a small group of protesters. The marchers were forced from in front of the Museum of Natural History by Chicago pigs, because of "security precautions," and threatened with mass arrest.

Militant chants were taken up until Nixon came, and on his arrival people loudly chanted, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is going to win!" As the demonstration broke up, the participants vowed to meet again next week to demonstrate against another agent of the ruling class—Spiro Agnew.

## City-wide rent strike looms in Berkeley

BERKELEY—Following the pattern of similar struggles in Harlem, Ann Arbor, Chicago and other cities, the Berkeley Tenants Union has called a city-wide rent strike to counteract rising rents and landlord abuse of tenants in this university town. The exploitation of the student and Black communities has long been an issue and many rent strikes in both communities have been carried out in the past.

As of February 1, the starting day of the strike, almost 1,000 tenants had signed pledges refusing to pay rent until landlords recognize the BTU as their bargaining agent. It is expected that the great number of tenants on strike will tie up the court proceedings and hold up evictions for several months. The BTU has vowed to resist evictions "by any means necessary." In the meantime BTU organizers expect to involve many more tenants who have not yet joined in.

The new militancy in this struggle is the result of at least two main factors. First, the Peoples Park battle which united the whole community on an issue which not only raised the question of university control but also of community control. The second factor which has contributed to the peoples' readiness to struggle is the housing shortage which has slowed down construction at the expense of the working people and the poor across the country.

Landlords also complain of the rising property taxes which they pass along to the tenants. But the tenants are being educated to the fact that these taxes are rising because of the Vietnam war and they are not going to be saddled with the double burden of supporting the landlord and

# 500 protest frameup of Black Berets and storm ROTC at Ann Arbor

by LARRY NICODEMUS

ANN ARBOR, Jan 31—The imperialist war machine and its officer caste were dealt a blow today when 500 students and young activists marched on the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) headquarters at the University of Michigan and smashed it.

The student militants at the university, mostly members of SDS who earlier in the evening took part in a conference on repression and political prisoners, felt that to augment the conference the talk needed to be turned to action, and so they called for a midnight demonstration to protest the frame-up of the Ann Arbor Six, who are members of the militant Black Berets, and to abolish ROTC at the university.

The demonstrators marched from the campus through the streets of Ann Arbor to the courthouse where the Ann Arbor Six will be tried. In a short rally held on the steps, the main speaker,

Andy Stapp, Chairman of the American Servicemen's Union, explained that as the government intensifies the repression it will be forced to use the Army more and more against the people.

"But," he declared, "it is the purpose of the ASU to organize the rank-and-file GIs to refuse to be used by the oppressor against the oppressed; be they Vietnamese, striking workers, or the people of the Black communities in the U.S."

As Andy completed his talk an NLF flag was raised over the courthouse and the demonstrators poured back into the streets chanting, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is gonna win!"

For the next forty-five minutes the demonstration wound its way through the downtown streets of Ann Arbor chanting, "Free the Ann Arbor Six!" and "Big firms get rich, GIs die!"

On re-entering the campus the demonstrators stopped briefly in the student-named Peoples Plaza. An SDS

spokesman declared that it was the students' responsibility to deal with the war-oriented, racist administration of the university and its policies.

The demonstrators needed no convincing as to what to do and what the target should be. Turning, the militant demonstrators marched to the far side of the sprawling campus, there to confront the military's officer factory—a large old house converted into the ROTC headquarters of the University of Michigan.

As the spirited demonstrators gathered in front of the building the sound of their chants was suddenly punctuated by the sound of shattering glass. For fifteen minutes the din of militant chants and bricks crashing through windows and bouncing off walls continued until not a window was left intact and the trophy cases and other fixtures inside were demolished. It was only then that the demonstrators finally dispersed.



Cops arresting student just before the battle at Northeastern.

## Racist Hayakawa booed by thousands; gestapo cops fail to quench spirit of Northeastern students

BOSTON, Feb. 3—The appearance here last night of S.I. Hayakawa on the campus of Northeastern University triggered one of the largest and most militant demonstrations in the Boston area since the November actions against imperialist research at M.I.T.

Close to 2,000 students gathered in the NU quadrangle to show their hatred of this racist and war criminal in the war against Black America.

While hundreds inside Alumni Hall heckled and booed the fascist "semanticist", who was ironically speaking on "Can American Colleges Survive the Twentieth Century?", those outside

chanted "Pigs Out, People In!" This was in response to the refusal of the authorities to permit entry to many opposition students even though they had tickets.

Those left outside were particularly angry at being denied the opportunity to confront the man who had so brutally repressed Third World students at San Francisco State. And as they moved to exercise their right to get in, a large contingent of Tactical (i.e., gestapo) Police attacked the demonstrators in a classical example of a pig provocation. In addition to arresting 30 people, roving bands of cops made indiscriminate attacks on students coming out of the auditorium and other university buildings, beating them with nightsticks and blackjacks.

The demonstration at NU (which is itself an accomplice of the U.S. ruling class by training Army officers through ROTC and cops and related functionaries in the schools of Criminal Justice and Law Enforcement) marked the climax of January Action Week called by the Northeastern Conspiracy. It was preceded by actions against

GE recruiting on campus. The actions were to protest GE's role in the imperialist war in Vietnam and scored the company's treatment of workers and its role as an oppressor of women.

All the actions were victoriously carried out despite a court injunction which had been issued to prohibit free speech and free assembly. This more than proves the determination here to build an anti-imperialist movement which cannot be destroyed or intimidated by repression.

An account of the attempt to restore capitalism under cover of "liberal reform."

## Counter-Revolution In Czechoslovakia

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NACLA puts spotlight on the empire

# Hanna Industries over Brazil

A review of the  
NACLA research  
paper "The Hanna  
Industrial  
Complex"

The Hanna industrial complex stretches from Mannington, West Virginia, where 78 coal miners died in the November 1968 mine disaster, to the high-grade iron ore deposits of Minas Gerais, Brazil. The details of how this empire was formed by men who wheeled and dealt in both the financial and political worlds to build up their fortunes are told in a carefully researched pamphlet prepared by Edie Black and Fred Goff of the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

The pamphlet's scope is summarized by its authors as follows: "The story of how four midwest family dynasties built an industrial and financial empire comprising Hanna Mining Co., National Steel, Consolidation Coal, and Chrysler Corporation... how members of these four families—the Hannas, Weirs, Humphreys and Loves—were major financial backers of the Taft and Goldwater campaigns... and how their major company, Hanna Mining, secured a concession to mine Brazil's richest iron ore deposit as a result of the 1964 coup."

## Brazil's iron ore surrendered

The section on "Operations in Brazil" is an exposure of an almost classical case of subversion by the U.S. Government to secure more profits for American corporations. It shows that since the right-wing military coup in 1964 which overthrew the left nationalist government of Joao Goulart, foreign investors have gained control of 50 percent of Brazilian industry, U.S. corporations, and Hanna Mining in particular, have also taken over the yet undeveloped mineral wealth of Brazil. This was made possible by a new law known as the "mineral code" which was one of the major decrees promulgated by the Castelo Branco administration. Fortune Magazine described how welcome the takeover by the Branco group was to Hanna, the third largest U.S. iron-ore producer: "For Hanna, the revolt that over-

threw Goulart last spring arrived like a last minute rescue by the First Cavalry."

Hanna had been in danger of losing out what mineral rights it had in Brazil to a government mineral monopoly promoted by the Goulart regime. It found allies, however, in those right-wing businessmen and their counterparts in the military who were tied in with foreign corporations. "One of the more wealthy Brazilian businessmen," the NACLA paper explains, "Augusto Tranchão de Azevedo Antunes (worth \$100 million), has amalgamated his iron ore holdings with those of Hanna Mining to form a joint venture, Mineracões Brasileiras Reunidas (MBR), of which he owns 51%." Antunes, however, has yielded control by signing a management contract with Hanna.

## The "Humphrey Establishment"

Who are the men who run the Hanna Mining Company? There are four family dynasties that form the crux of what the business press calls the "Humphrey Establishment"—the Hannas, Humphreys, Weirs, and Loves. George Humphrey, a president and board chairman of Hanna Mining, was Secretary of the Treasury under Eisenhower. He was board chairman of National Steel after his retirement, a company formed by consolidating several Hanna iron ore properties with Weirton Steel and Great Lakes Steel.

Through interlocking directorates and partial ownership, Hanna Mining and National Steel have controlling interests in Chrysler Corporation, Consolidation Coal, two Brazilian mining companies and mines in Colombia, Guatemala, Australia, and Canada. They are also tied in with the National City Bank of Cleveland.

This firm industrial and financial base has given the "Humphrey Establishment" a great deal of political influence in the Republican party. Their power began in the last century, when the founder of the dynasty, M. A. Hanna,

managed the successful Presidential campaign of William McKinley. After George Humphrey became chief executive of the Hanna Company, he was elevated to a leading financier of the Republican party and in particular championed the campaigns of Robert Taft and Barry Goldwater.

## Hanna man was Secy of Treasury

During the period he served as Secretary of the Treasury, Humphrey was also taking good care of the Hanna interests. At one point, he sent the son of John Foster Dulles, his fellow Cabinet member, to Brazil to organize the company's operations there. Humphrey also worked closely with Herbert Hoover, Jr., who was an oil expert and became a board member of Hanna in 1960. Hoover worked out the deal which got the U.S. control of Iranian oil after the overthrow of Mossadegh in 1954, and later he was Under Secretary of State.

But probably most important was the help Hanna got from John J. McCloy, as associate of the Rockefellers and former board chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank. McCloy's name seems to turn up in almost every behind-the-scenes international intrigue of U.S. big business. In this case, it was McCloy who personally escorted the U.S. ambassador to Castelo Branco's office after the coup, where it was agreed that U.S. "aid" would be given in exchange for the concession on mineral rights. McCloy had been retained as Hanna's counsel for the occasion.

The NACLA pamphlet contains a wealth of fascinating detail on the machinations of the Hanna complex, which, although one of the smaller concentrations of U.S. capital, is generally lined up with the Rockefellers, and as has been seen, plays a strategic role in Latin America. Those who wish to read more on this subject can order "The Hanna Industrial Complex" for 35 cents from NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, NYC 10025.

