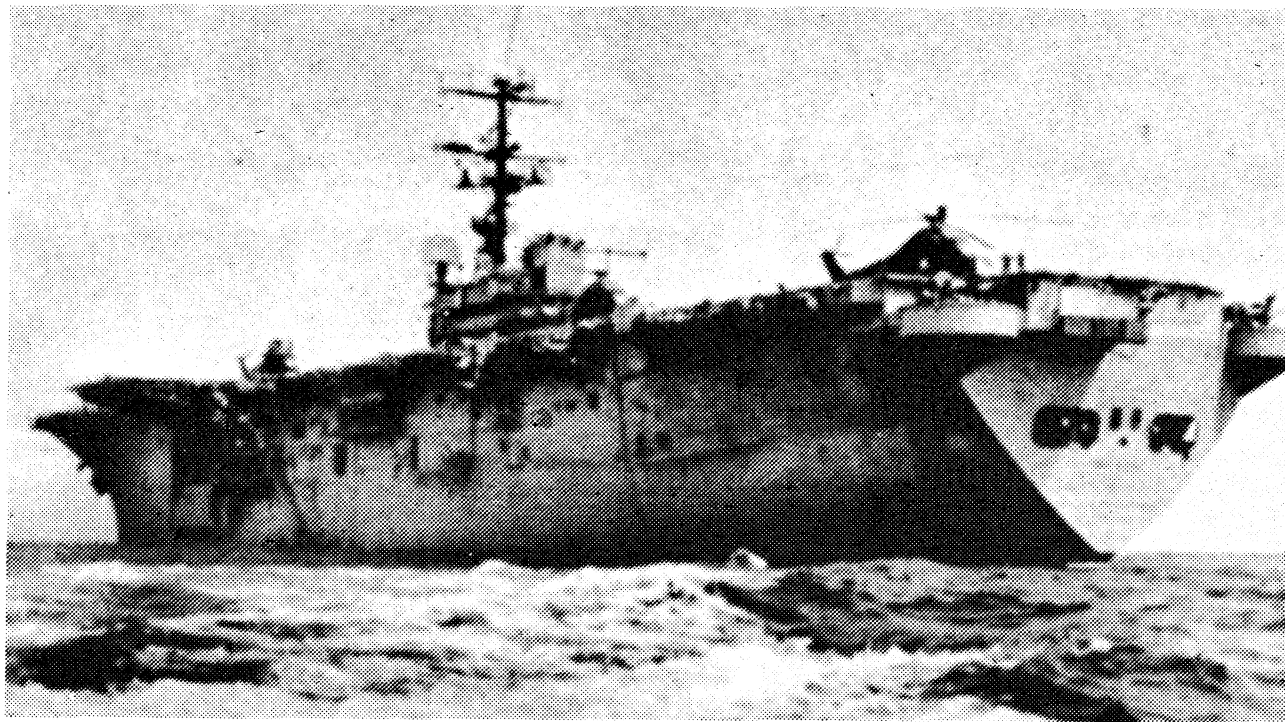


THE MILITANT

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

No GIs to Vietnam

Act now to halt U.S. war moves!



U.S. helicopter carrier off Indochina coast. 'Evacuation' plans are cover for threatened new U.S. invasion. See page 4.

The following statement was issued April 16 by the Political Bureau of the Socialist Workers party.

Immediate action by antiwar forces is urgently needed to block moves now under way to send U.S. troops back into Vietnam. There must be no illusions about Washington's intentions: all the talk of "evacuating Americans" is only a cynical cover for preparing renewed direct U.S. military intervention.

The rulers of this country will go as far as they think they can get away

with to "save Vietnam" for imperialism. They are probing, step by step, to see what resistance they will meet from the American people.

Ford's hand can be stayed by an immediate response from the antiwar movement—through meetings, teach-ins, rallies, and other actions—that will let him know that renewed aggression will be met by a massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment. But in the absence of such a response, Ford will be emboldened to press his plans to send American GIs back into Vietnam and to step up the flow of bombs,

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--MARCH FOR JOBS**

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DISCLOSURE VICTORY: The Berkeley Fair Campaign Practices Commission voted on March 26 to exempt the Socialist Workers campaign committee from compliance with the city's campaign-financing disclosure law until the outcome of a court challenge to that law. The commissioners were impressed by the record of harassment contained in the secret files the FBI was recently forced to make public. This was strong support for the argument that disclosure of contributors' names would open them up to government harassment.

Two Black Socialist Workers party members who were key FBI targets now reside in Berkeley. They are Clifton DeBerry, the 1964 presidential candidate of the SWP and currently a candidate for city council, and Paul Boutelle, the SWP's candidate for vice-president in 1968.

Earlier that same day a judge had denied a motion for a preliminary injunction against application of the disclosure provisions.

Berkeley City Attorney Donald McCullom argued against exempting the socialist campaign, but the commission was swayed by the overwhelming evidence of decades of harassment against socialists.

CAMERA NEEDED: *The Militant's new Washington Bureau needs a good 35 mm camera. If any of our readers can donate one, please get in touch with the Washington Bureau, 1345 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004, or our editorial office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.*

STEEL LOCAL ENDORSES SOCIALIST CANDIDATE: United Steelworkers of America Local 1557, which includes some 4,000 steelworkers in the Pittsburgh area, voted April 14 to endorse all local members running for public office—including Neil Berns, Socialist Workers party candidate for Allegheny County commissioner.

Berns, who works at U.S. Steel's Clairton Coke Works, has been campaigning for the giant steel profiteer to clean up its steelmaking operations, stop polluting the air and water, and provide safe working conditions for its employees.

The local's endorsement also covers two steelworkers running in the Democratic primary for Clairton city council. The endorsements are to be printed in the local's newspaper, and Berns will be invited to address the local about his campaign. After the local meeting several members told Berns they were glad he was running and expected to vote for him.

Berns and seven other SWP candidates—Joan Buchanan for Allegheny County commissioner; Christina Adachi for Allegheny County controller; and Howard Beck, Susan Beck, Virginia Burke, Paul LeBlanc, and Thomas Twiss for Pittsburgh City Council—have all been certified for ballot status in the November election. The socialists filed 11,428 signatures on nominating petitions, about twice the legally required number.

TWIN CITIES CLUW MEETS: The first voting conference of the Twin Cities Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) drew more than seventy women to the AFL-CIO United Labor Center on April 5. The women represented fifteen international unions.

Florence Criley, an international representative of the United Electrical Workers, gave the keynote address on behalf of the National Coordinating Committee of CLUW. She stressed the importance of CLUW basing itself on the entire labor movement.

The conference passed a motion urging "the entire labor movement to issue a united call for a mass demonstration at the state capitol, Saturday, May 10, 1975, with the demand of 'jobs for all.'"

Elaine Onash, president of Twin Cities CLUW, said, "We think such a demonstration will remind employers and the government just how powerful the united union movement is, and will let them know we want action now."

Motions were also passed calling for the formation of women's committees in local unions and stating CLUW's intention to actively oppose any attempt to rescind Minnesota's ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The gathering received greetings from Virgil Moline, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council, and David Roe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO.

DOMINICAN PROTESTS SET IN NEW YORK: The New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa* reported that "Dominican activists of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) will visit several university centers in this city between now and April 24." Their purpose is to organize support for a series of activities on the tenth anniversary of the

revolutionary upsurge in Santo Domingo and the United States invasion that installed the current government.

Among the activities planned are a meeting at Church of the Intercession, Broadway and 155th Street on April 25 at 8 p.m.; a meeting of solidarity between the North American and Dominican people at Saint John the Divine Cathedral, Amsterdam and 110th Street on April 26 at 8 p.m.; and at noon on April 27 a car caravan will assemble at Broadway and 157th Street and drive to Broadway and 137th Street, where it will be joined by marchers and proceed to a rally at Broadway and 155th Street.

REPRESSION IN USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA: A teach-in to protest political repression in the USSR and Yugoslavia was held at MIT in Boston on April 10. The event was organized in response to an appeal issued by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Soviet dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Pavel Litvinov, and Jiri Pelikan, former head of national television in Czechoslovakia, to protest the incarceration of Vladimir Bukovsky in the Soviet Union.

Speakers included Irena Kirk, author of a recently published book on Soviet dissidents; Oleh Illytzyk, who spoke about the case of Valentyn Moroz, an imprisoned defender of the rights of the Ukrainian people; Boris Shragin, exiled Soviet dissident now teaching in Boston; Robert Cohen, a Boston University professor, who spoke about the eight dissident Marxist professors recently purged from the University of Belgrade; George Saunders, editor of *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*; and Gary Cohen, who spoke for the Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which initiated the teach-in. Gary Cohen told of Pyotr Grigorenko's release from a Soviet mental hospital, which was an important victory for defenders of the rights of dissidents.

ANSWERS WANTED: A group of seventy-eight high school sophomores coming from every state and seven foreign countries recently visited New York City as part of the week-long Hugh O'Brian Youth Foundation Leadership Seminar. Television's former Wyatt Earp organized a series of lectures designed to instill devotion to the free-enterprise system. The questions from the students, however, indicated a healthy skepticism.

After an address by the president of the Merrill, Lynch brokerage firm, a student from Delaware asked what difference it would make if there were no stock markets.

"If free enterprise is so fantastic, why is the United States so badly hit by inflation and almost in a depression?" a young woman from Rhode Island asked former Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent. In response to a question from a student who wanted to know if the Soviet Union had ever had a recession, he replied, "The Russian system is one of repression."

"Oh, come on, answer the question," whispered a female student from Idaho.

—Nelson Blackstock

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



The April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO will draw thousands of concerned working people to Washington, D.C. The Militant will provide full coverage of that action, as well as future developments in the fight against unemployment in the coming months. Keep informed.

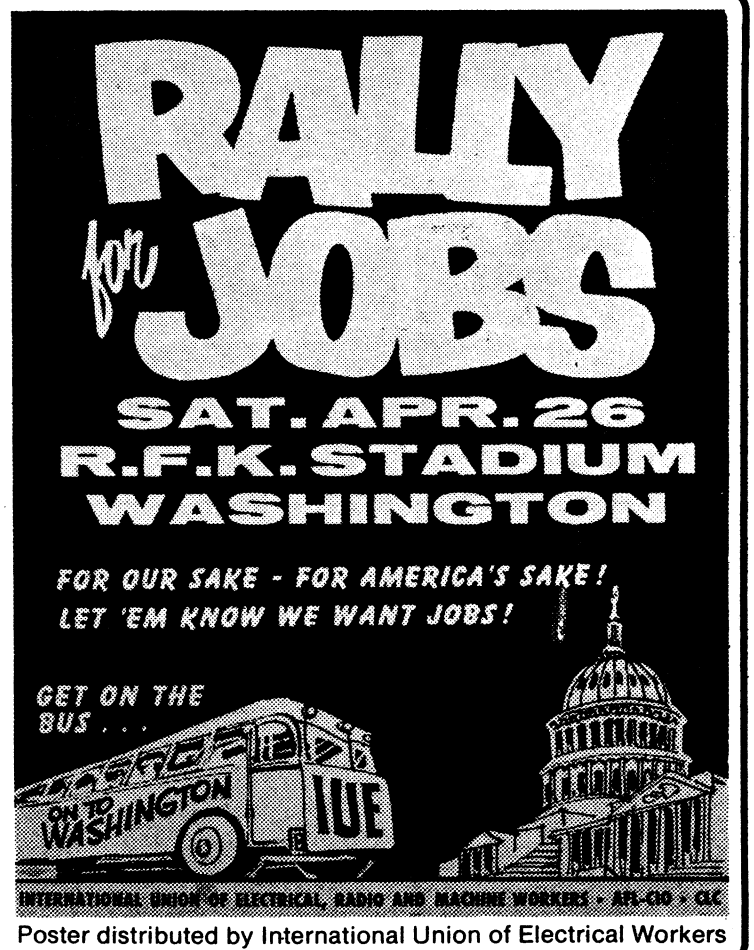
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MASSIVE TURNOUT SEEN FOR APRIL 26



By Andy Rose

"The 53,000 people that will be in Kennedy Stadium are going to be dwarfed by the crowd of people outside."

That's how a spokesperson for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) summed up the massive turnout expected for the April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now," called by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

The rally will be held in Kennedy Stadium in Washington, D.C., and organizers are readying loudspeakers outside to carry the speeches to the overflow crowd.

Going all out

The Amalgamated is one of several major industrial unions going all out to bring their East Coast members to the national demonstration.

"We will have at least twenty-five to fifty buses coming from New York," the ACWA spokesperson said. The call for a national jobs protest has met with such an enthusiastic response, he added, that "I can't really give you an exact figure for all the regions, because

there's more every time I check."

Some areas, he said, are now running into the problem that all available buses have already been chartered.

The call for the demonstration is featured on the front page of the April issue of the ACWA's newspaper, *Advance*.

Inside, an appeal signed by ACWA President Murray Finley and Secretary-Treasurer Jacob Sheinkman says: "It is urgent that all Amalgamated joint boards and locals, to the highest degree possible, participate in the April 26 'Jobs Now' rally in Washington. . . ."

"It is particularly necessary for the Amalgamated to have a large turnout," the union officers write. "Our industry has been hit hard. We are currently suffering from an 18.8 percent unemployment rate, and there are no signs that the situation will improve. . . ."

The Washington rally has also been spotlighted in recent issues of the *Machinist*, newspaper of the International Association of Machinists, and *Steel Labor*, published by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

The April issue of *1199 News*, published by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, predicts a "massive 1199 turnout" for the march on Washington.

Two trainloads of 1199 members—some 2,000 people—are coming from New York and New Jersey, the magazine reported. Also scheduled are four buses from Philadelphia, two from Connecticut, and one from Boston.

AFSCME contingent

By far the largest contingent will come from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), especially from AFSCME District Council 37 in New York.

Edward Maher, District Council 37 associate director, who is coordinating transportation from New York, has revised his estimate of District Council 37 participation from 15,000 up to 20,000.

"If the interest and excitement continues to grow as in the past week or so, then we might have 30,000 people going," Maher said.

AFSCME Local 1549 alone has reserved 7,500 bus seats, a District Council 37 staff member reported. Several big AFSCME locals are providing transportation and box lunches free to their members.

The United Federation of Teachers in New York has chartered fifty buses, and trains or large numbers of buses are also expected from the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); Distributive Workers District 65; and Region 9, United Auto Workers.

The New York-New Jersey unions will assemble at the Capitol for a march up East Capitol Street to the stadium. Buttons, banners, signs, and hats are being printed for the demonstrators.

Students back action

Demonstration organizers have invited participation from community organizations, students, and all others hurt by the economic crisis.

The April 26 action was endorsed by an April 12 steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), which is organizing support for the NAACP-called march against racism slated for May 17 in Boston.

Hamilton Banks from the New York Coalition to Support the Rally in Washington, which operates out of District Council 37's offices, reported to the NSCAR meeting on the origin and aims of the April 26 demonstration. It was called by the unions in response to rank-and-file demands for labor action for jobs, he said.

Banks stressed the need for continuing mass action. "This effort on April 26 cannot be seen as an isolated effort; the May 17 effort cannot be seen as an isolated effort," he said. "They are part of an ongoing struggle."

Banks said he believed the unions

should help provide transportation to Washington for "community people, unemployed people, students, and senior citizens who can't afford to get down there."

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, linked both April 26 and May 17 to threats made against the jobs of Black workers in Boston.

"I hope there are a lot of us in Washington," Atkins said. And "I hope that those people who are going to Washington on the twenty-sixth will just go home and rest and come to Boston on the seventeenth."

In addition to New York and New Jersey, big turnouts are expected from nearby areas such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and of course from Washington itself.

Contingents are also coming from areas further away, although in many cases organization of transportation is still lagging behind union members' enthusiasm for the action.

The following is a roundup of reports obtained by the *Militant* on participation from more distant areas:

- **Pittsburgh.** Steelworkers District 15, which includes some fifty locals, is providing free bus transportation, breakfast, and a dinner in Washington for local officers and ten rank-and-file members from each local. Buses are also coming from AFSCME, IUE, and the teachers' union. About forty buses in all are expected.

- **Cleveland.** Sebastian Lupica, secretary-treasurer of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, has reported buses coming from IUE Local 707, AFSCME Local 100, and USWA Dis-

Continued on page 26

Jobs, not war!

Declaring that "the American people must say no to Ford's attempts to get U.S. troops back into Vietnam," leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) have urged all opponents of the war to join in the April 26 demonstration to "make their feelings known."

In a statement issued April 16, the leaders of the antiwar coalition said: "The need of the American working people for massive government spending for jobs is in direct contradiction to the squandering of another billion dollars to back up the Thieu dictatorship."

The statement was signed by NPAC coordinators Abe Bloom, Helen Gurewitz, James Lafferty, Katherine Sojourner, and John T. Williams.

They concluded: "All opponents of more war in Vietnam should join the April 26 march to demand:

"Jobs, not war!"

"Not one GI to Vietnam!"

"Not one more penny for war in Southeast Asia!"

Help sell 'Militant' April 26

Thousands of unionists, students, and unemployed marching on April 26 will be interested in reading about the socialist answer to the deepening economic crisis.

Socialist activists are planning a major effort at the march and rally to sell the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers and distribute the *Militant* reprint "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" and the "Bill of Rights for Working People," action program of the 1976 Socialist Workers party campaign.

We urge all *Militant* readers to join us on this historic demonstration and to participate in getting out the socialist message.

Militant dispatch trucks will be at

two locations in Washington on April 26: the corner of First Street and Constitution Avenue N.W., near the Capitol and march assembly area; and in front of Elliott Junior High School on Constitution Avenue between Seventeenth Place and Nineteenth Street N.E., about two blocks from Kennedy Stadium.

In addition, there will be an open house at the Socialist Workers party headquarters at 1345 E Street N.W., Fourth Floor, beginning right after the rally and continuing until 10 p.m. Food and refreshments will be available.

For more information on the open house or on socialist literature distribution, call (202) 783-2391.

Propaganda campaign in high gear

Ford threatens to send GIs to Vietnam

By Peter Green

From Intercontinental Press

President Ford's April 10 speech was designed to impress the world with the threat of resumption of full-scale American military intervention in the civil war in Vietnam.

Since the rout of Thieu's army, the Pentagon has indicated in various ways that it is pressing to send in B-52s and U.S. troops. The excuse, of course, is "to protect American lives." To show that it means business, the Pentagon has deployed naval forces off the coast of Vietnam. By April 10, 4,000 troops were standing by.

"Under the worst possible circumstances. . .," reported John Finney in the April 11 *New York Times*, "as many as 40,000 troops could be involved" with air cover supplied by Navy aircraft carriers. Other Pentagon sources have put the minimum figure at 90,000 American troops.

A tremendous propaganda campaign has accompanied these moves. In addition to the excuse of intervening to evacuate Americans, the White House has also been plugging the need to save the puppet officials and former employees of the United States. Unless they are evacuated, there will be a "bloodbath," said White House representatives. "Tens of thousands," "hundreds of thousands," even a "million or more" would have to be saved from the advancing Communist hordes, they claimed.

The press has cautiously supported the publicity. The return of American troops to Vietnam is an "ugly question," editorialized the April 12 *New York Times*, but "it may well be necessary to land military forces to protect American citizens as they leave."

A test exercise was carried out in Phnompenh. The Americans could just as easily have left by plane, but twenty-four helicopters swooped in, and marines with automatic rifles at the ready held a few hundred gaping children at bay while Ambassador John Gunther Dean carried his American flag and Samsonite suitcase through the cordon of troops.

No one bothered to mention that the marines were there despite an act of Congress barring their use. That little legal deterrent will not hold them back in Saigon either. The Democratic leader of the House of Representatives, Thomas O'Neill, said there was "no question" that there was a moral obligation to make sure American citizens get out of Vietnam safely. Only the use of troops in a massive evacuation of Vietnamese is being questioned.

Any attempt to evacuate hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese would of course require a massive number of U.S. troops. These troops would have to hold an area around Saigon and the coast so that the evacuation could proceed by boat, an operation that would take months. George McArthur reported in the April 13 *Washington Post* that "even under good conditions at the Saigon port it would take a month or more to evacuate 200,000 Vietnamese by sea. . . ."

Meanwhile, the situation in Saigon is getting more explosive day by day.

Pedicabs Ordered Off Streets

Thieu's tiny base of support in Vietnam is dwindling even further.

The patriarch of the United Buddhist Church, the officially recognized Buddhist church in South Vietnam, called on Thieu to resign. The larger An Quang Buddhist faction has long criticized Thieu. Roman Catholic Archbishop Nguyen Van Binh also called for new leadership and urged Catholics not to evacuate their villages whatever



FORD: Asks Congress for 'a new beginning.'

happened, but to unite with their compatriots to establish peace and concord among Vietnamese.

As a sign of his nervousness about the situation in the capital itself, Thieu ordered the thousands of pedicabs off the streets. He apparently feared that the pedicab drivers, most of whom are poor, might have been infiltrated by the liberation forces.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government reiterated its call for negotiations, if Thieu were deposed. Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh said in an interview in Dar es Salaam April 9 that "we are still for the application of the Paris peace accord."

There are quite a few figures willing to replace Thieu and open negotiations. According to a report in the April 11 *Chicago Tribune*, leaders of an underground coalition of generals, politicians, and intellectuals have proposed to Hanoi an immediate ceasefire. Included in the group was former Prime Minister Nguyen Cao Ky.

The newspaper quoted the Reverend Tran Huu Thanh, described as a founder of the "Government in hiding," as saying that contact with Hanoi had been made through the French embassy. Thanh is chairman of the People's Anticorruption Movement to Save the Country and Restore Peace that was formed last year.

After the unsuccessful bombing attack on Thieu's palace by one of his own pilots April 8, many opposition politicians went into hiding to avoid an expected police crackdown. Thieu said the bombing was in no way a coup d'etat initiated by the armed forces or the air force as a whole, but was carried out by "a narrow exclusive group of men."

'Operation Kidnap'

The grabbing of orphans for adoption abroad has been met with revulsion and indignation as a transparent propaganda stunt intended to sway public opinion behind continued U.S. aggression.

In Rome an official of the Vatican's relief organization, Caritas, called the airlift "a deplorable and unjustifiable mistake." The International Red Cross in Geneva denounced it on April 9.

Fox Butterfield reported in the April 13 *New York Times* that "most Vietnamese reacted with anger." The An Quang Buddhists condemned the "mass evacuation" and demanded the children be returned as soon as peace is restored. The PRG denounced the airlift as "kidnapping on a vast scale." In Saigon opposition politicians, repor-

ters, and government officials also attacked it.

"What future will they have in a racist country like the United States anyway?" asked one Saigon official.

The airlift itself has been conducted in a thoroughly callous way, with Ford and other politicians posing with an orphan in their arms before the television cameras. In addition to the more than 100 killed when the first plane-load crashed, children have arrived sick and three have died during flights. One of these was reported to have died from "shock." Dozens of children flown out of Vietnam as "orphans" were later discovered to have parents still alive. The children were not even allowed to retain their Vietnamese names—all were rechristened with American names. Some were tagged with names like "D-1." "It was confusing with names, so we used numbers," said their escort.

Tran Tuong Nhu, a Vietnamese anthropologist living in California, who was quoted in the April 9 *New York Times*, said she was "livid" about the airlift.

"What is this terror Americans feel that my people will devour children?" she said. She said she believes that if the North Vietnamese or the Viet Cong defeated the South, the future of the children there might be brighter. "There are 22,000 day-care centers in the North," she said. "They love children and take care of them."

From the accounts of life in the newly liberated areas, it is clearly safer there now for adults as well as children than in the Saigon-held territory. As the battle intensified around Xuan Loc, military sources cited in the April 11 *Washington Post* "said the Xuanloc province chief radioed Saigon that an estimated 12,000 refugees were fleeing toward Communist lines north of the city." H.D.S. Greenway reported in the April 7 *Washington Post* that some people in Xuan Loc had decided to stay.

"For example, there are two women selling tea and soft drinks outside their home. They say they are too poor to matter and that only the rich have run away. They say they have no money so

it is better to stay home. 'It doesn't matter if the VC come,' one of them says.

"They have the impression that the Communists do not bother poor people."

According to refugees, said Fox Butterfield in the April 11 *New York Times*, the Communists "have generally succeeded in restoring order, getting water and electricity running again and taking a census. . . ."

"In almost every case, the refugees related, local people long associated with the Vietcong have been appointed to new jobs in Communist civil administrations. . . ." In Pleiku and Ban Me Thuot the new province chiefs were Montagnards.

The PRG press agency reported that in Hue, "more and more evacuees were coming back. The streets and eight markets in the city were again bustling with activity. The cleaning of the streets was done mostly by young people and students." Another dispatch stressed that "the liberation armed force strictly abide by their 10-point code of conduct, which enjoins them from touching even a needle and thread" belonging to civilians.

The PRG has appealed for international assistance in caring for the people now in the liberated areas—a population grown from 5 million to 9.3 million in recent weeks according to the PRG foreign minister. The Catholic relief agency Caritas said it is working normally in areas now controlled by the Communists.

PRG representatives in Paris stated they were following a policy of "general amnesty" in the newly liberated areas. The head of the PRG delegation in Paris, Dinh Ba Thi, spoke with a group of Americans that included a congressman and several antiwar activists. He said the amnesty policy applied "even with regard to those who have been involved in the C.I.A. Phoenix program," which was designed to assassinate Communist cadres, the April 10 *New York Times* reported.

So much for the "bloodbath" that the White House and its agents screamed

Continued on page 26



Liberation forces move into Da Nang. Despite 'bloodbath' propaganda, Vietnamese are safer in liberated territory than with Saigon mercenaries.

SWP Party Building Fund

A good way to answer Ford's threats

By Barry Sheppard

The FBI has been forced to reveal some of its files detailing its attacks on the Socialist Workers party. One of these documents had to do with Judy White's campaign for governor of New York on the SWP ticket in 1966.

In a memo dated October 24, 1966, under authority of the FBI's "Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program," an agent recommended that the FBI carry out some "dirty tricks" against White. He motivated his proposals in the following way: "It is known that WHITE was chosen for this role since the Party desired a youthful candidate who had participated in the anti-war movement, and who would campaign on this issue and appeal to individuals of this ilk."

Much to the chagrin of the author of this memo, I'm sure, is that "individuals of this ilk" now comprise the vast majority of the American people. With the recent debacle of the forces of the

Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Saigon regime, opposition to any renewed U.S. military intervention has reached new proportions, a fact that is severely restricting Washington's options.

The primary reason for the growth of antiwar sentiment among Americans was the tenacious resistance and heroism of the Vietnamese in the face of Washington's brutal onslaught. This forced the American people to consider the price they were being asked to pay—in blood and resources—for U.S. imperialism's attempt to retain its grip on South Vietnam.

As the casualties and the costs mounted, more and more Americans began to see through the tissue of lies Washington used to cover its aggression. So deep did antiwar sentiment become that the United States was forced to find a way to disengage from direct military involvement, or risk serious trouble at home.

An essential part of this process was the development of a visible and articulate opposition to the war. For the first time in this century, an

antiwar movement developed in the United States itself during a shooting war.

By giving expression to the growing antiwar sentiment, this movement became a key factor in its own right in reaching out to win masses of Americans to opposition to the war. The antiwar movement, all the hundreds of thousands who marched and spoke out, can take pride in what they did, the effects of which are still unfolding.

And the members and supporters of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance can take special pride in the political role we played in this movement.

Many individuals and groups cooperated in building the mass actions of the movement. But of all the tendencies and groups that claim to be socialist in the United States, the American Trotskyists played such an outstanding leadership role in the movement that there is really no comparison.

Every other tendency attempted to derail or co-opt the antiwar movement. The pro-Moscow Stalinists of the Communist party tried to steer it off the streets and into the swamp of Democratic party politics. Both the Maoists and the CP attacked the slogan "Out Now" in favor of slogans that gave credence to Washington's false claim to have a right to negotiate the future of Vietnam. Both wings of Stalinism covered up Moscow and Peking's betrayal of the Vietnamese struggle.

Maoists and others, sometimes with the help of government agents provocateurs and at times with the cooperation of the CP, sought to lead the movement into futile confrontations with the cops. Others stood on the sidelines of this mass movement, issuing proclamations about the value of their own sectarian nostrums.

All of these groups vied with each other in the virulence of their attacks on the SWP and YSA. They all denounced us for our insistence that the antiwar movement above all had to be a movement of independent mass action in the streets. They attacked us for championing slogans such as "Out now," which succinctly put the blame



Militant/David Thorstad

Socialist Workers party has been in forefront of fight against Washington's bloody war in Vietnam.

squarely on Washington, where it belongs—demands that said what had to be done and could reach out to millions of Americans and focus their growing opposition to the war.

In this struggle, while our viewpoint did not always carry, we proved that we could not only develop a correct political line, but also had the skill to carry it out. In the process, we greatly strengthened the YSA and the SWP.

The role we played in the antiwar movement indicates the importance of building the SWP. We are at present asking readers of the *Militant* to help build the SWP in another way, and that is to support the SWP Party Building Fund. This special fund works this way: we are asking you to pledge part or all of the tax rebate you will be receiving in May or June. We are now collecting pledges to get an idea of what goal we should shoot for

in this campaign, and we will announce that goal in next week's *Militant*. Please clip and mail the coupon below and add your contribution to this important and timely fund.

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Campus meetings, rallies denounce war moves

By David Frankel

The threats of the Ford administration to step up U.S. intervention in Vietnam have led to protest meetings and demonstrations on campuses around the country. Although most of the actions have not been large, they are signs that the campuses are ready to mobilize if Ford moves to send U.S. military forces back into Vietnam.

Teach-ins and demonstrations have taken place in dozens of cities. The largest occurred in Madison, Wisconsin, on March 22, shortly after the collapse of the Saigon dictatorship in the northern part of South Vietnam began. Seven hundred people attended a rally against any U.S. intervention.

When Ford came to San Diego April 2 he was greeted by 150 demonstrators from a wide variety of groups. As Ford shook hands and posed for pictures, protesters chanted and booed.

One group of plainclothes security guards tried to pull down a picket sign, but beat a hasty retreat when angry bystanders and demonstrators sur-

rounded them. Two of the three major television stations showed a large Socialist Workers party campaign banner that read: "U.S. Out of Southeast Asia Now; No More Aid to Thieu Regime; Vote Socialist in '76."

The Young Socialist Alliance has been active in initiating and building many of the antiwar actions that have taken place over the last few weeks.

At Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, members of the Northwest Young Socialist team, one of a number of traveling groups visiting campuses across the country, initiated a teach-in that drew 300 people April 10.

Faculty member Naomi Greenhut expressed outrage at Washington's cynical use of Vietnamese orphans as propaganda aids. "It is a disgusting kidnapping of Vietnamese children, an attempt to turn our justified concern for the innocent victims of the war into support for the administration's policy of more money for war in Vietnam," she said.

Stephanie Coontz, also of the Evergreen faculty and a member of the Socialist Workers party, pointed out the success of the mass antiwar movement in forcing Washington to back off from its destruction of Vietnam. She added:

"That doesn't mean we can rest on our laurels, however. The government is going to keep probing and trying, just as it is now, and not only in Vietnam but all around the world. I suspect that those of you who have attended teach-ins before will have to attend them again. And I suspect that those of you who have marched before will have to march again."

April 10 also saw meetings in Berkeley and Chico, California. Carol Lipman of the Socialist Workers party, a former leader of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, spoke to 125 people at the University of California at Berkeley. Also speaking at the meeting were author Robert Scheer and a representa-

tive of the Union of Vietnamese in the United States.

At California State College at Chico, 200 people turned out to hear Rich Stuart of the YSA.

In New York City, *International Socialist Review* editor Caroline Lund addressed a meeting of 300 people April 11 on the revolutionary upsurge in Indochina.

An outdoor rally at the University of Pennsylvania the same day drew 100 students. Among the speakers was Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. (See story, page 6.)

Meetings also took place on the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis and the St. Louis Militant Forum on April 11, while on April 12, about 500 people marched in San Francisco against any U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Smaller meetings have taken place in Los Angeles; Cleveland; Portland, Ore.; Pittsburgh; Bloomington, Indiana; and other cities.

Socialist campaigns in Phila.

Camejo: no money, no troops to Vietnam!

By Nancy Cole

PHILADELPHIA—The day after President Ford's April 10 "state of the empire" speech to Congress, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo spoke here at a broadly sponsored Vietnam speak-out at the University of Pennsylvania. Pointing to the danger of renewed U.S. military action in Vietnam, and Ford's demands for more money for Saigon's army, Camejo urged total rejection of any money for war or sending of troops to Vietnam.

More than 100 students stopped to listen to the outdoor rally as Camejo said, "Ford's solution to the 'problems' he sees internationally is to send more guns to all those regimes that support U.S. imperialism. Not once did he mention the hunger and poverty around the world and what could be done to end that."

"After a decade of killing Vietnamese and destroying their country, he wants to send \$722 million to continue that killing and \$250 million for what he calls 'humanitarian' aid."

"If he wants to be humanitarian," Camejo continued, "he should immediately end any aid to the murderous dictator Thieu and let the Vietnamese people decide their own affairs."

The local affiliates of NBC and CBS TV covered the rally and showed excerpts of Camejo's speech on their evening news broadcasts. The *Philadelphia Bulletin* also quoted from Ca-



Peter Camejo, SWP presidential nominee, discusses campaign issues on Philadelphia street corner.

mejo's speech in their coverage of the speak-out.

The danger of U.S. troops being sent to Vietnam and the U.S. economic crisis, caused in large part by huge military expenditures, have been themes of Camejo's campaigning in Philadelphia. The day before, he had spoken to a crowd of more than 200 students at an outdoor campaign rally

at Temple University.

This meeting was in stark contrast to another meeting at Temple attempted the week before by Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter. According to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "No one, except a handful of young Democrats who had organized the fiasco, had any intention of standing outside. Finally, Carter's press secretary found an empty lecture hall . . . and did some quick audience recruitment."

"The candidate for President ended up speaking to 33 students in a room seating 110. 'I'll be back to see you in better organized fashion,' promised Carter."

For Camejo, there was no need to make excuses. His campaign supporters had spent the three days preceding the Thursday rally posting the campus with leaflets and selling copies of the *Militant*, each stuffed with a leaflet announcing the rally.

During the rally Thursday, supporters circulated through the crowd selling the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, passing out the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People," and signing up seventeen endorsers of the socialist campaign.

After the rally, Camejo campaigned at a busy street corner, joined by several campaign supporters and a reporter from the *Philadelphia Bulletin*. The reporter had accompanied Camejo throughout his campaigning that day.

"It is there—on the streets—that Camejo says he can gauge what he believes is an upswing in Socialist

sentiment," wrote the reporter in the *Bulletin*.

"The party platform, 'A Bill of Rights for Working People' calls for an immediate moratorium on the two largest items in the federal budget—defense and interest on the federal debt," the article continued.

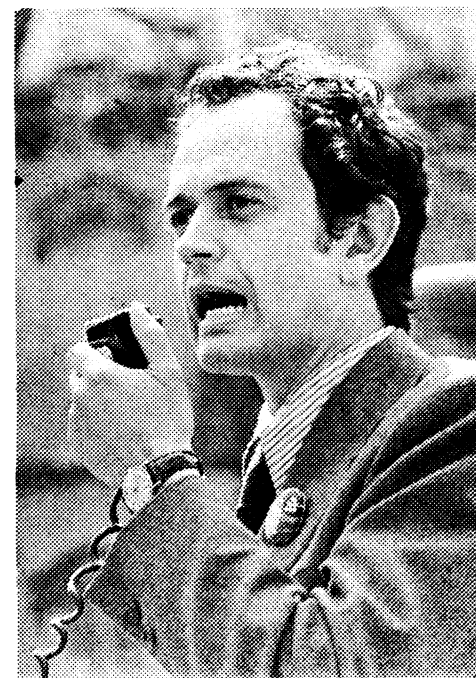
"This money, according to Camejo, would be used instead to put the unemployed back to work."

Camejo asked the scores of people he spoke to at Fifteenth Street and Chestnut Street in downtown Philadelphia whether they favored cutting the war budget and using the money to put people back to work on public works projects. Almost without exception, the people said yes, sometimes offering their views on unemployment and military spending.

In less than an hour, 2,000 copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" were distributed to passersby by Camejo and a group of twelve campaign supporters.

In response to Camejo's question as to whether they would consider voting socialist in 1976, almost everyone said they would read his campaign literature and consider it. "I would consider anything other than what we have now," said one woman. Another answered emphatically, "Yes, I would. I never have before because I felt not enough people were behind it, and it wouldn't do any good. But if enough people did, it would."

During his tour here Camejo also spoke in Spanish to a group of 100 Puerto Rican students at Edison High School in North Philadelphia. The students are all members of Aspira, an organization of Puerto Rican students.



Camejo at antiwar speak-out at University of Pennsylvania.

Help distribute 'Bill of Rights'

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, say that workers have a right to a job. They propose a new "Bill of Rights for Working People" to protect us from the ravages of this system—unemployment, war, racism, and sexism.

They will join the April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO. You can help distribute copies of the Bill of Rights on April 26 or at your workplace, at union meetings, on unemployment lines, at community meetings, or at your school.

Bill of Rights for Working People: three cents each; two cents each for 1,000 or more.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

() Please send me one free copy () in English; () in Spanish. En-

closed is \$_____ for _____ copies () in English; () in Spanish.

() I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to support their campaign.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

Business Address _____

Occupation/School/Organization _____

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D. C.

Edison High: 'Your heart sinks, it's so terrible'

PHILADELPHIA—Edison High School is a dilapidated building in North Philadelphia. Originally an all-white school, it is now overwhelmingly Black and Puerto Rican. The conditions have deteriorated over the years as that change took place.

Five years ago the school board voted to build a new school for Edison students, but to date not even a site for the school has been decided upon. Last year a wall caved in, sparking protests and a walkout by the students.

On April 11, Peter Camejo toured the school. Puerto Rican students, whom Camejo had spoken to that morning, arranged for the tour so that the socialist candidate could see for him-

self the conditions that have forced the students and the community to fight for a new school.

Acting vice-principal Sharon Hofferman accompanied Camejo through the school. According to Hofferman, there are about 1,500 students enrolled, down 500 from the beginning of the year. The school is 85 percent Black, 10 percent Puerto Rican, and about 5 percent white, although these white students are only on the rolls.

They don't attend, Hofferman says, not because they are afraid of the other students, but because "the school has such a dismal atmosphere. When you come in, your heart sinks because it's just so terrible."

The "highlight" of the tour is the basement, referred to by students, faculty, and administrators alike as the "dungeon." The "dungeon" houses among other things the cafeteria, but there is no longer any lunch program.

"How do the students eat?" asked Camejo.

"They don't," replied Hofferman.

The "problems" with the lunchroom required a reorganization of the school schedule. Now students begin class at 8 a.m. and finish at 1 p.m., with no break.

One of the "problems," it would seem, might have been the nauseating condition of the cafeteria. Metal strips that once formed a frame for ceiling

panels now hang down to the floor. Gaps of plaster are missing from the graffiti-covered walls.

The bathrooms are so disgusting that Hofferman says some students insist on leaving the school to use facilities elsewhere.

"Certainly the physical environment does not provide for any motivation or stimulation," Hofferman observes. "It's not only a reminder that they're the poorest, but it tells them that no one cares about them."

Spend \$972 million more to aid the floundering Vietnamese puppet Thieu? What about a new school for the students of Edison? —N.C.

NAACP leader outlines goals of Boston march

The following is a statement made by Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston chapter of the NAACP, at a news conference in Boston on April 9.

On May 17, 1975, thousands of people of good will from across the country will join the thousands from the Greater Boston area in a National March on Boston.

This march, called by the local, state, regional, and national NAACP offices, will commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of the Supreme Court decision declaring segregated schools in this country to be unconstitutional.

We will march to show our children who are now undergoing intense pressure in recently desegregated schools that we will stand by them till the battle for decent and desegregated schools has been won in Boston.

We will march to guarantee our children still trapped in the airtight cages of segregated schools that we have not forgotten them and will not abandon them to complete their schooling in inferior schools.

We will march to keep the faith with our brothers and sisters in other parts of the country whose educational fate will be greatly determined by how our struggle is concluded.

We will march to let all the good people in this country join us to show that there are still more people in this country who believe in social justice under law than there are who seek the comfort of the rock-throwing mob.

We will march to let our elected leaders at all levels of government know that they need not become political cowards for fear of support when they vote for constitutional equity and against bigotry and prejudice and discrimination.

We will march to guarantee that the beginning of the Bicentennial will not be recorded in history as the period when the Constitution was amended to add anti-Black language.

We will march because we know that a minority child forced to attend segregated schools will face a future marked with failure, a present marred by frustration, and a life of being

frozen out of colleges, jobs, homes, and the benefits of this land.

We will march for quality desegregated education as guaranteed by the Constitution.

Our march will be massive, peaceful, nonviolent, orderly, and purposeful. We will not tolerate, nor will we encourage participation by those unwilling to commit themselves to these rules. We will seek the support of all those who agree with us that this nation can and must rededicate itself to those lofty ideals of justice and progress under law which have made it possible for millions of diverse ideas and peoples from many lands to come here and prosper.

We seek the young, the old, the rich, the poor, the Black, and Brown, and Red, and white, and Yellow, all professions, all religions, all political persuasions, from all parts of the country.

The National March on Boston will assemble in the Fens area, proceed down Commonwealth Avenue, down Arlington Street, down Boylston Street, down Charles Street to the rally

point on the Boston Common. There, speakers representing a wide spectrum of American opinion and walks of life will address the marchers. Following the rally, the marchers will be asked to return to their homes by the fastest and quietest routes possible.

We anticipate that thousands of Bostonians will be led in the march by various performing groups—choirs, marching units, drum and bugle corps, etc.

We have asked the 1,700 NAACP branches across the country to coordinate the mobilizing which will take place in their areas, and we already know that the response from across the country will be great. The branch participation will be under the direct supervision of the national office of the NAACP and Mr. Roy Wilkins. The local activity will be under the supervision of Mr. Leon Nelson, whom I have asked to be the general coordinator of the National March on Boston. The headquarters will be 451 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston 02118, 267-7702.

Texas conference maps support for May 17

By Rick Congress

HOUSTON—The Houston chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) hosted a two-day conference April 4-5 to build support for the May 17 Boston march against segregation. The theme of the conference was expressed in a banner on the speakers' platform: "Desegregate Houston and Boston schools now."

The rally and conference attracted 145 people from ten Texas cities. Ten college campuses, fourteen high schools and junior high schools, and seven unions were represented.

Marcia Codling, a national coordinator of NSCAR and a student at Northeastern University in Boston, spoke at the kickoff rally. She centered her remarks on the need to respond on a national level to the racist violence in Boston. She pointed out that racists from around the country have gone to Boston and that the major antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), is trying to expand to other cities.

Other speakers at the rally included Claudia Jacobs, vice-president of the



Marcia Codling, one of NSCAR national coordinators.

Houston Coalition of Labor Union Women; David López, a member of the Houston School Board; Javier Ramírez, president of the University of Houston Mexican American Youth Organization; Gertrude Barnstone, a former school board member; and Anthony Hall, a Black state legislator.

Ramírez spoke about racist cutbacks at the universities. He told of a recent protest at the University of Texas in Austin against such moves.

López and Leon Everett, the only Black member of the school board, both spoke on the racist conditions in Houston's schools and denounced the board majority for failing to deal with the needs of nonwhite students and resisting efforts to bring about desegregation.

López and Everett were the only members to cast dissenting votes on a school board proposal that was presented as a desegregation plan, but which only affected 6 percent of all students.

López said that "meetings such as this . . . followed by unifying actions like May 17 would enable a movement to score victories against segregation

in Houston's public schools."

The conference passed a resolution calling for a May 3 demonstration here to back the demand for school desegregation. Another resolution passed will set up a Texas-Louisiana regional organization.

Other resolutions approved by participants included support for Kenneth Edelin, a Black doctor convicted of manslaughter in Boston for performing an abortion, and for Joann Little, who will soon stand trial for the alleged murder of a prison guard who tried to rape her.

Participants also heard a report from TU CASA, a San Antonio-based anti-deportation organization, on the victimization of undocumented workers.

Workshops were held on subjects such as: children of undocumented workers in the Houston schools; high school organizing; how to build NSCAR; and racism in the universities.

Messages of support were read from Richard Dockery, the Southwest regional coordinator of the NAACP, and others.

ROAR breaks up pro-ERA rally in Boston

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—The thoroughly reactionary nature of the antibusing forces who oppose court-ordered school desegregation was demonstrated once again here on April 9.

A rally sponsored by the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women was held in Faneuil Hall that day to support passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Three hundred supporters of the ERA, mostly female office workers, attended the noontime event.

Up to 200 women and men from the racist antibusing group ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) mobilized to break up the meeting, many sporting their uniform—a vest with the initials ROAR on the back.

Their signs ran the gamut of right-wing sentiment. "Stop Forced Busing," "Feminist Domination Equals Communism," and "Abortion is Murder" were a few. There were also pictures of fetuses.

When State Rep. Elaine Noble, who was elected as a well-known gay activist, got up to start the rally, the reactionaries chanted: "We like men!" They sang their anthem, "Southie is My Home Town," to drown out the speakers.

Scheduled speakers at the rally were Kitty Dukakis, who is married to the governor of Massachusetts, and Florence Luscomb, a veteran women's rights activist.

When Luscomb tried to address the crowd she was shouted down with chants of "Stop forced busing," and she finally had to give up trying to speak above the din. Through their sustained heckling the racists succeeded in forcing the organizers of the event to cancel the rally.

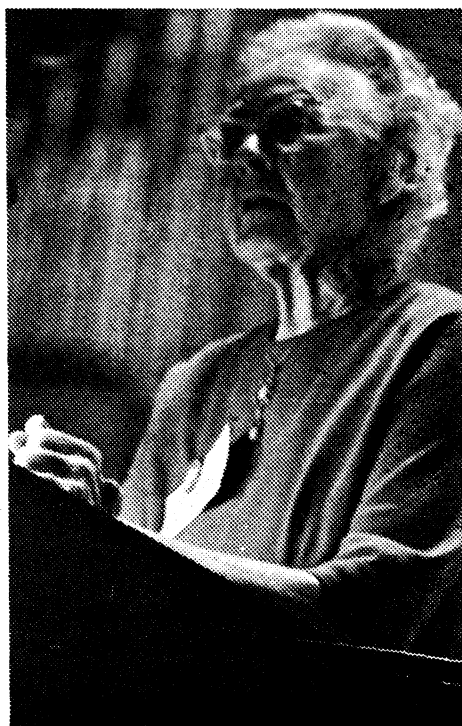
A leader of the disrupters vowed to continue their campaign to break up future meetings for women's rights, saying, "If you're really for women's rights you have to be against forced busing."

Noble responded to the hecklers, who claimed that the issue at stake is neighborhood schools, by saying, "The real issue is racism in Boston."

The connection between the racist antibusing groups and anti-women's rights forces has been seen before in this city. The same people who show up at rallies to oppose school desegregation are also the foot soldiers for the anti-abortion movement.

The hysteria that has been whipped up here in opposition to the right of the Black community to equal education was largely responsible for the conviction last February of a Black doctor, Kenneth Edelin, for performing a legal abortion.

This latest intimidation campaign by the racists underlines the need for supporters of women's rights and Black rights to unite in answering the reactionaries by building the largest possible turnout for the May 17 march in Boston for school desegregation.



LUSCOMB: Shouted down by hooligans

Answer to YWLL

What strategy in fight against racism?

By Ginny Hildebrand

(Second of a series)

In Matty Berkelhammer's recent series of articles in the *Daily World* attacking the National Student Conference Against Racism and trying to undercut the NAACP-called May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation, he says that "the major issue debated at the conference was the role of white youth in the struggle against racism."

Berkelhammer, a leader of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), claims that the Young Socialist Alliance believes "that the masses of white people are hopelessly poisoned by racism."

His source material for the YSA's position is a slanderous piece written

Ginny Hildebrand is the national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

by Communist party leader Tony Monteiro, which appeared in the July 1971 issue of *Political Affairs* under the engaging title, "Trotskyism: Racist Voice in the Left."

Berkelhammer picks out this quote: "Trotskyites view racism abstractly, divorcing it from its class roots and divorcing the struggle against it from the class struggle. Their position precludes the possibility of the working class in general and white workers in particular assuming leadership in the struggle against racism. They hold that Black people alone have the responsibility for fighting racism. . . ."

"This petty-bourgeois formulation ensures that racism will not be defeated. It militates against the unity of the working class and divorces the struggles against racial and national oppression from the struggles of the working class."

What are the real views of the YSA?

We start from the fact that Blacks are doubly oppressed—as workers and as a people, a nationality. The racist oppression of Blacks as a nationality is deeply rooted in the political, economic, and social structure of U.S. capitalism. Racist ideology flows from this and is one of the foundations of the capitalist social order.

For us the fight against racism is one of the most important parts of the overall class struggle against capitalism. And racism will only be completely obliterated with the end of the capitalist system.

Far from divorcing the fight against racist oppression from the overall class

struggle, we think they are intimately intertwined. The coming American revolution, in our opinion, will be a combined revolution against a common enemy—a revolution for national liberation on the part of the oppressed nationalities, and a proletarian revolution to wrest power from the hands of the capitalist class and place it in the hands of the working class.

Black people, because of their dual oppression, tend to be among the most militant fighters in the class struggle. They have the least to lose and the most to gain by fighting against the system of capitalism, which subjects them to the worst exploitation as workers on the one hand and to the onslaught of racist oppression in every aspect of life on the other.

Blacks are leading the fight for their own national liberation. This does not mean that they do not or will not have allies in this fight. Nor does it mean we think, as Monteiro accuses, that "Black people alone have the responsibility for fighting racism."

It is not an abstract question of "responsibility." Blacks are leading the struggle for their own liberation precisely because they are the ones who have the biggest stake in that struggle and who have discovered that, because of this fact, they are in the best position to wage the most uncompromising fight.

Blacks have correctly taken up their own fight and are not waiting for "the working class in general and white workers in particular" to lead their struggle. The growing understanding on the part of Black people of the necessity of organizing to do precisely this has led to the spread of nationalist consciousness.

Welcome Black power

Revolutionists welcome the development of Blacks organizing to lead the struggle for their national liberation. That struggle is directed against the enemy of all working people, Black and white—the capitalist class.

But the Stalinists of the CP and the YWLL have a different view. They fear the independent power of Blacks leading a struggle for their own demands. Monteiro attacks the YSA and SWP for supporting Black nationalism. He even equates nationalist consciousness among Blacks with racism among whites!

Berkelhammer neglects to quote this section of Monteiro's article, but it says, "U.S. imperialism will use racism for whites and nationalism for oppressed peoples in America to divide the peoples' opposition and to create the conditions for a fascist takeover."

This is the heart of the Stalinist position—hostility to the idea of Blacks organizing themselves to fight against national oppression. They counterpose to this trying to convince whites not to be racists.

In this light Berkelhammer is outraged as he quotes a 1933 statement by Leon Trotsky that "99.9 percent of the American workers are chauvinists, in relation to the Negroes they are hangmen. . . . It is necessary to teach the American beasts."

Boston today

Berkelhammer squirms at such harsh denunciations of white racism. But the hard truth of Trotsky's statement can be seen in Boston today. The YSA does not recoil from labeling as beasts the Ku Klux Klan and the racist mobs who have tried to lynch Blacks in South Boston.

To wriggle free of his discomfort, Berkelhammer and his friends say that Trotsky's statement shows that



Selma, 1965. Militancy of Black civil rights activists inspired whites to join in fight for justice.

the YSA views white workers as "hopelessly racist." Not true. We do not even think that all of the white workers in South Boston are hopelessly racist, although some are. But we do think that they will have to be "taught." We simply disagree with the Stalinists on how this will happen.

The Stalinists think that racism is simply some bad idea that white workers have that they can be talked out of. They fail to see that this idea is given life because it is rooted in the reality that whites have power and privilege under this system at the expense of Blacks.

Whites in Boston went to better schools than Blacks and are seeking to maintain that privilege at the expense of the Black community's right to equal education.

Does this mean that the whites who are now fighting against school desegregation can never be won to fight against racist oppression? Not at all. It is actually in the interests of whites to unite with Blacks in a common struggle for vastly improved schools for all, or for jobs for all, or decent pay for all.

White workers will come to understand in the course of struggle that in order to effectively defeat their common enemy it is necessary to unite with Black workers—and that it is necessary to support the demands of Blacks for their rights in order to cement that unity.

An educational struggle against racism is necessary. But it is insufficient merely to talk about how wrong racism is. It is necessary to act against specific manifestations of racist discrimination.

Berkelhammer favorably notes the remarks of one Maoist at the Boston conference who walked out with a small group that opposes busing and the May 17 demonstration. The Maoist said, "They're calling these marches, but let them [whites at the conference] go into their own communities and ring door bells and talk to people."

This sums up the YWLL's position—ringing doorbells. The YSA's view is that the most powerful education comes from action.

The early civil rights movement demonstrated this. The freedom rides, sit-ins, and mass demonstrations led by Blacks showed white America, and particularly the government, that Blacks would no longer suffer oppression without a fight. This militancy inspired greater and greater numbers of Blacks to stand up for their rights

and inspired many whites to join in the just cause.

Most importantly, the struggle obtained results. It succeeded in forcing the government to end legalized Jim Crow segregation. When Blacks fight for equal education in Boston today they have these gains on their side.

A mass-action strategy is what is needed in Boston today to carry the struggle through and defeat the racist mobilizations.

The December 13 National Teach-In Against Racism and the December 14 mass march for school desegregation—both of which the YWLL refused to support—were important first steps. By shining the spotlight on the campaign of racist violence being used to attempt to deny Blacks equal education, the teach-in and march answered the lies of everyone from President Ford to the Boston School Committee that the issue is "neighborhood" schools.

Those actions showed that the Black community and its allies among whites were going to fight the racist drive. This inspired more support for the right of the Black community to desegregated schools, as shown by the broad endorsement and participation of 2,000 in the founding convention of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and the widely supported May 17 demonstration, called by the NAACP.

The December actions even helped to divide and demoralize some of the racists. Their counterdemonstration on December 15 was far smaller than the prodesegregation march the day before, and smaller than many of their previous actions.

May 17

May 17 will be an opportunity to take the next steps to force the government to implement desegregation and guarantee the safety of Black students.

Boston has become center stage in the struggle over whether reactionary forces will succeed in driving back the gains Blacks have won during the past decades. A victory for Black rights in Boston will be an important victory for Black liberation all over the country.

A victory there will also be a victory for the class struggle as a whole. It will aid in the development of unity between Black and white workers.

Many whites will be inspired to support the desegregation struggle in Boston, just as they were inspired to support the fight against Jim Crow.

Continued on page 26



Stalinists fear independent power of Blacks struggling for own demands.

NSCAR leaders meet

Students plan all-out effort for May 17

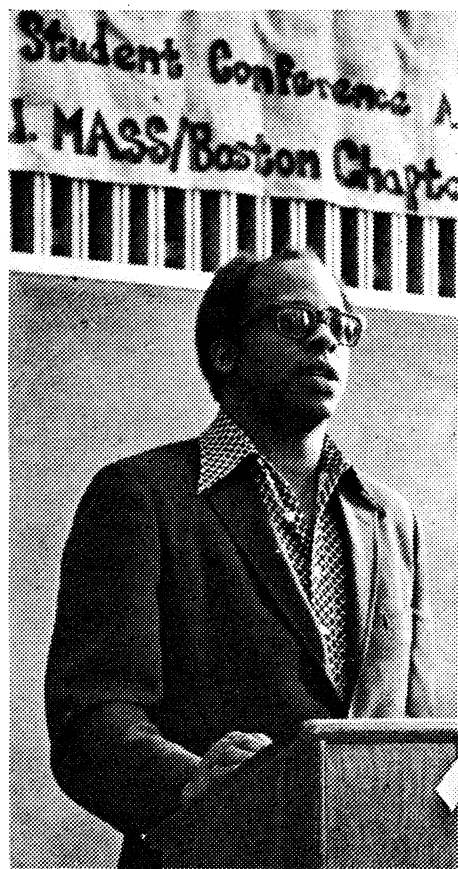
By Ginny Hildebrand

BOSTON—"You have a crucial role to play," Boston NAACP head Thomas Atkins told the 125 student leaders attending the National Steering Committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) here April 12.

"People say you are crazy," he continued. "They said you all were crazy when you rode those buses down South and sat in with us. . . . They said you were crazy as hell when you started talking about toppling some president because of his policies in Southeast Asia. . . . They'll forgive you if you're crazy enough to get involved with us here in Boston because they expect you to be crazy. Why, next to the niggers in this country, there's nothing as crazy as students. So I'm glad to welcome this convention of crazy folk."

The steering committee meeting, which was held at Northeastern University, was called to lay plans for the final five weeks of activities to build student participation in the NAACP-called May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation.

Students from nineteen NSCAR chapters attended, as well as representatives from nineteen other organizations. Among the groups represented were the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, Liberal Religious Youth, Iranian Student Association, Boston Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Joan Little Defense Committee, Boston NAACP, New York Coalition to Support the Rally [April 26] in Washington, and several Black student unions



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

ATKINS: 'The Boston Black community is not going to buckle under. We are mobilizing to go forward.'

and student governments. They came from thirty-six schools, from as far away as Texas.

Racist violence

Atkins described the ongoing violence against the Black community here, aimed at stopping desegregation of the schools.

He blasted the local media for ignoring this and the plans for the May 17 march. He talked of "Boston compromise," comparing it to the "Jackson compromise" in 1964, when the Jackson, Mississippi, media ignored the murders of civil rights activists at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan.

He described the attempts to pressure the Black community into accepting the masters' Phase Two busing plan, which would maintain segregated schools in areas of Boston.

"The local media write editorials that say, 'Why doesn't the NAACP get reasonable and accept the masters' plan?'" Atkins said. "They think there's no reason why there shouldn't be permanently segregated schools in Boston. There's nothing inconsistent with the federal judge, operating on the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment, ordering schools in Boston to be segregated, they think."

"If only the NAACP would accept this," they say, 'peace and harmony would come to Boston.' I'm here to tell you, as I've told them, that they can shove their peace and harmony!"

"Despite the pressure that is being put on the community, and there is enormous pressure," he said, "I can tell you that this community is not going to buckle, it is not going to crack. We are mobilizing to go forward. . . ."

He described an ominous new campaign of racist intimidation. A group identifying itself as "the suicide squad" has threatened to bomb businesses in South Boston unless they fire all their Black workers. A Black driver was shot at recently and his company was subsequently called and told they had until April 12 to get rid of all Black workers or "face the consequences."

Atkins urged the students to go back to their communities and work closely

with local branches of the NAACP and other community organizations. "The people working here in the National Student Coalition Against Racism and I have a good working relationship," he said, adding that he hoped the same kind of collaboration was developing between NAACP branches and NSCAR chapters in other areas.

"Local NAACP units are going to come here on May 17 and they are going to be working with other people in those communities to bring people with them. . . . This is not a little family affair. We are inviting people to join the family—this is not exclusive."

"May 17," Atkins said, "has the potential to help dissolve the 'Boston compromise.' And it has the potential to let people understand that people in this community . . . are citizens of the United States."

Joan Little defense

Sara Small from the Joan Little Defense Committee also addressed the meeting. Little, a Black woman from North Carolina, has been charged with first-degree murder for defending herself from a rape attack by a white prison guard.

Small urged NSCAR chapters to get active in Little's defense. "Joan needs support from people all around the United States because if she gets out of this, she will be one of the first Blacks who has ever been accused of killing a white person to get out. Joan Little is just an average person. She's not an Angela Davis or a big political figure. She's just what happens to Black women when they are put in jail."

Sara Small is also active in the Boston desegregation fight. She was cheered when she lambasted the new masters' busing plan: "They're talking about quality education, but I'm nowhere in the plan. . . . These people say that we are inferior. I'm tired of people saying that I am culturally deprived. Because I am not deprived of my culture—I may be deprived of theirs. . . ."

She blasted racist white teachers in the Black schools saying, "I don't care how many degrees you've got. If you can't communicate with me, then you can't help me at all. . . . In America, they say we want a melting pot. But they're not trying to melt nobody except us!"

The steering committee cheered Small as she sat down and then the meeting voted to send a solidarity telegram to Joan Little.

March for Jobs

Another special speaker at the meeting was Hamilton Banks from the New York Coalition to Support the Rally in Washington, which is organizing participation in the AFL-CIO-sponsored march for jobs on April 26. The steering committee meeting voted to endorse the march and urge students to attend.

The reports from local NSCAR chapters indicated the growing success the organization is having in winning people to support May 17, and the wide range of local antiracist struggles it is involved in. Many areas carried out events on April 4 commemorating the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Olga Barrera, from the University of Texas in Arlington, reported that six Texas NSCAR chapters recently organized a demonstration at the Austin campus of the University of Texas demanding the recruitment of more Chicano and Black professors and students, and protesting cutbacks in financial aid.

She also reported that a recent Texas

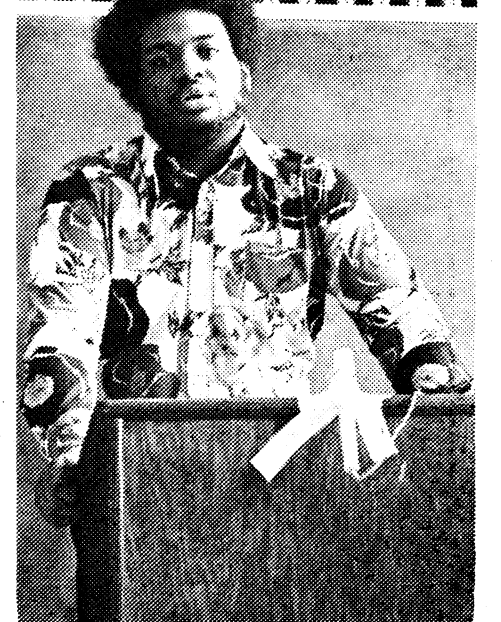
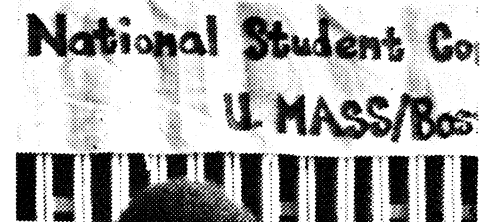
statewide meeting of 145 people voted to focus attention on the plight of undocumented workers at the May 17 support demonstrations in that state.

Students from Texas are also planning to come to Boston for May 17.

Fuentes tour

A representative of New York SCAR said that in addition to organizing May 17 building activities, the group is sponsoring a campus tour for Luis Fuentes, suspended superintendent of schools in District One. Fuentes is fighting to regain his job after a racist school board voted to fire him. The tour will also seek to win support for the pro-community-control slate running in the district's school board election.

William de la Paz, president of the Adelante Club at La Guardia Community College in New York, told the meeting, "Racism in New York is everywhere. We've got to stop it be-



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

DIXON: 'Make May 17 biggest demonstration against racism Boston has ever seen.'

cause it's an infection that's spreading all over the country. We've got to do something on May 17 to open the eyes of the people, and the way we are going to do it is if everyone participates."

Hattie McCutcheon from Detroit reported on the NAACP's desegregation efforts in that city. "We understand," she said, "that by building May 17 and helping to crush the racist offensive in Boston, we will be having a dramatic effect on the racists who are lifting their heads in Detroit as well."

A member of Baltimore SCAR reported that the chapter in that city has been active in opposing a recently declared curfew aimed at harassing Black youth.

A Philadelphia activist talked about the joint efforts of Philadelphia SCAR and Aspira, a Puerto Rican high school group, in fighting for bilingual programs in the schools and against attempts to cut back on busing in that city.

Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of NSCAR, ended the meeting by urging everyone to go back to their areas and "make May 17 one of the largest demonstrations against racism that Boston has ever seen."

Support the march on Boston

Wear a May 17 button designed for the National Student Coalition Against Racism by "Doonesbury" creator Gary Trudeau. Price: \$1.00 each, 35 cents each for orders of ten or more. Also available from NSCAR are May 17 posters at \$1.25 per 100 and the *Student Mobilizer* at \$4.00 per 100. All orders must be prepaid. Send to NSCAR, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

Enclosed is \$_____for:

_____button(s)

_____posters

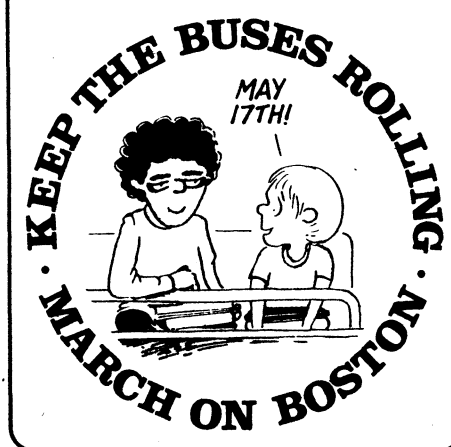
_____Student Mobilizers

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____



Continued from page 1

bullets, and other war matériel to the Saigon dictatorship.

An immediate opportunity for opponents of the war to make themselves heard is the upcoming April 26 march for jobs in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO. The opposition of the American people to the war in Vietnam must be heard loud and clear in Washington—both by the White House and by the Congress—on April 26.

Union members and other working people are overwhelmingly opposed to any new U.S. invasion or the squandering of more money in aid to Saigon. Many unions have linked the need for allocation of funds for a massive jobs program to a cutoff of war spending for Indochina. Antiwar signs and banners will be welcomed by the marchers.

The call for antiwar activists to turn out on April 26, issued by leaders of the National Peace Action Coalition (see page 3), which organized the giant antiwar demonstrations in the past, should be heeded by all who want to put a stop to the killing.

Ford's April 10 demand for nearly \$1 billion to prop up the Saigon generals was greeted with revulsion and anger by the overwhelming majority of the American people, who well know that the funds will only mean more killing in Indochina and more cutbacks in spending for social services at home.

Despite the popular sentiment, however, the Democratic and Republican politicians in Congress are maneuvering to work out a "compromise" agreement to give Ford the authority and money to send troops to Saigon and more aid to Thieu's army.

The public justification for such action is to "evacuate Americans from Saigon and provide humanitarian aid to the South Vietnamese."

But if Congress or Ford were genuinely interested in humanitarianism they would immediately suspend all shipments of arms and weapons to the Saigon butcher and his band of mercenary cutthroats.

If Congress or Ford were concerned about the safety of Americans in Saigon they would take the simple step of getting them out now, rather than keeping them there as hostages to provide an excuse for a military invasion. They would accept the offer of the Vietnamese rebels to guarantee the safe departure of all Americans.

The ploy of citing the need to evacuate U.S. citizens was also used as a cover by Lyndon Johnson when he ordered the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965. Johnson said his motive was to "save lives" when he sent in 30,000 troops just as the right-wing U.S.-backed military junta was on the verge of collapse.

No, neither Ford nor the Democratic "doves" are interested in saving lives or humanitarianism.

They are merely searching for some new justifications to continue the war, justifications they hope they can get the American people to swallow. As the *New York Times* reported April 16, "Some Senate leaders felt . . . that members who opposed any additional military aid might modify their position if they could maintain they were voting for 'contingency funds' to assure the safe withdrawal of all Americans. . . ."

The White House and Congress are merely repeating their performance of eleven years ago, when the Tonkin Gulf resolution was whisked through the Senate with only two dissenting votes. As the Pentagon papers proved, the U.S. deliberately set up the whole Tonkin Gulf incident to provide the pretext for Congress to adopt a resolution—prepared by the administration in advance—authorizing "retaliatory" air strikes and giving Johnson a free hand to carry out his escalation plans.

The politicians in Congress are working the same hustle today. By granting Ford the "discretion" to use money and troops in Vietnam, they will free his hands to escalate U.S. intervention. They are continuing their decade-long policy of double-talk on the war: denouncing the killing, while voting authorizations of more troops and more funds to carry it out.

It would be a self-defeating abdication of responsibility for antiwar forces to put their confidence in the "war critics" in Congress. The only voice the "doves" have ever responded to was the demand of masses of antiwar demonstrators. There is an urgent need for that voice to be heard again.

For decades, the people of Vietnam have been fighting for the right to run their own country. The situation has never been more favorable for their victory. Revolutionists and other progressive forces throughout the world are behind them 100 percent in their struggle to finish the job.

But we in the United States have a job to finish also. We must mobilize the antiwar sentiment of the majority into a force that neither Ford nor Congress can afford to ignore. Let's make April 26 a powerful rebuff to the war makers in Washington.

Funds for jobs, not for war!

Not one penny, not one GI to Vietnam!

Enlightening

We have been receiving the *Militant* for quite a while now, and I look forward to each issue to tell the other side of the major headlines in the capitalist newspapers.

With the tragedy of Vietnam hopefully coming to an end, with extreme violence, I could not understand why the Vietnamese were fleeing from Communist advances.

David Frankel's article in the April 4 issue was extremely enlightening and answered my questions. The United States cannot afford to cut its neck off. We must stop the money flow to Thieu!

Laurie Schlatter

Brighton, Massachusetts

Chicano Cointelpro?

After reading parts I, II, and III of the Cointelpro papers, I start to wonder if the *Militant* has any information about the FBI against the Chicano movement—like in the National Chicano Moratorium, Crusade for Justice, Brown Berets, or Partido de la Raza Unida?

Ricardo Gonzalez

Union City, California

[In reply—The latest collection of FBI Cointelpro documents released has no mention of disruptive activities aimed specifically at the Chicano movement. The *Militant* has in the past reported on similar tactics used against the Chicano movement when they have come to light. See especially "Gov't agents in the Chicano movement" in the September 7, 1973, *Militant*.]

Credibility

I was pleased to see your fair representation of Art Fox's political views on the nature of the Soviet Union and other things. [See *Militant*, April 11.] It was journalism in marked contrast to your deceptive reporting of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee convention. In the article on Harrington you printed distortions if not lies. The piece on Art Fox restores some of your credibility and shows that you can report about an opponent without falsification.

Sean Doherty

Dorchester, Massachusetts

Attica Brothers

Attica Brothers Dacajeweah and Charley Joe Pernasilice have been convicted of murder and attempted assault, respectively, because they took part in the 1971 Attica uprising. They are now back in prison in Buffalo. When they are sentenced on April 30, Dacajeweah may be imprisoned for the rest of his life and Charley Joe for up to four years.

The state now has plans to prosecute more than thirty other Brothers and a grand jury is still sitting which might indict even more.

The Attica Brothers are the scapegoats for the crimes of New York State officials, including former governor Nelson Rockefeller. Rockefeller and his agents created the conditions at Attica that made the prisoner uprising necessary and they committed the massacre that ended the uprising, leaving forty-three people dead.

The survivors of Attica 1971 are now being prosecuted and convicted and are being sentenced to spend more time in New York's inhuman prisons. There

they will be subjected to more beatings, torture, and murder because they have dared to stand up for their rights as human beings.

On Monday, April 28, people from all parts of New York State will gather on the steps of the state capitol in Albany to advance the demand raised by the Brothers in 1971 for unconditional amnesty. We will insist that officials immediately *halt all reprisals against the Attica Brothers and drop the Attica indictments*.

We call upon people of conscience in all parts of the United States and around the world to observe Monday, April 28, as a national day of support for the Attica Brothers.

Attica Now

Buffalo, New York

A good synthesis

Although I forget to send a sales report each week, I very easily sell the papers you send me. So if you wish you can simply add my five to your total each week.

You've printed some good copy lately. I really like the synthesis of the *International Socialist Review* with the *Militant*. It adds so much to both.

Dan Vagird

Syracuse, New York

Punitive transfer

I would like to inform you that I have been transferred, and also that I would like to continue receiving the paper. As your paper is a necessary tool in our development, I must utilize it.

One has only to understand the mentality of the oppressor and the actions, practices, and principles we adhere to, to understand the reason for my transfer. Just a couple of months ago I had been elected vice-president of the Lewisburg prison NAACP chapter. We had begun to build community support, and I had a visit by congressional aides as well.

The thing that broke the cart was the organizing for the Joann Little defense committee (we collected \$185 in one day). Four days later they came in the night, and I was on the bus the next morning.

A prisoner

Illinois

Gift subscription

Having read your paper for a while now, I have noticed a distinct improvement in reportage and content. So I am beginning a subscription for my mother, since it's her birthday, feeling that this will be a fine gift. Keep up the good work! Happy birthday, Mom!

Kiyo Tabery

South Amherst, Massachusetts

RSB

I will never fail to be astonished by the sectarian and even down-right hooligan character of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB), the youth organization associated with the Revolutionary Union. *Militant* readers have heard about their opposition to the desegregation struggle in Boston, but they may not be aware of this group's attitude toward other left organizations.

Following a program sponsored by the RSB on the University of Minnesota campus, I was threatened

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Private plunder at the post office

Postal workers, who are opening contract talks April 21, are victims of a double-bludgeon operation. On one hand they must deal with the noose of government-imposed arbitration, curbing their right to strike. On the other hand they are up against the profit-seeking "private management" that Congress in 1971 put in charge of the mails.

The old U.S. Post Office Department, which operated as a subsidized nonprofit public service, was declared suspect because the profit motive was said to be lacking. So it was traded in for the "more efficient" profit-driven U.S. Postal Service. What we got was private plunder.

The postal workers aren't the only victims of this squeeze play. Those who use the postal system are also badly in need of help. They are outrageously overcharged, kept standing in long lines for the privilege of buying stamps, taxed on top of it to pay overhead costs, and kept waiting weeks for mail that ought to take a day or two.

When wage settlements were imposed in July 1971, shortly after the new managers took control, the 650,000 postal workers were granted minimal pay increases. They subsequently got a limited cost-of-living allowance in their 1973 contract.

The average annual pay of full-time postal workers today is generously estimated by management at \$12,000—which is \$2,300 less than the government itself says is required for an urban family of four to live "moderately."

The 1971 settlement granted the Postal Service a free hand to introduce automated equipment and ruled out grievances against speedup. The work force is being reduced, and speedup is becoming unbearable. Machinery now in use can handle eighty billion pieces of mail annually, but each piece requires the attention of human eye and hand. Tending this machinery demands quick motions and steady concentration. It is grueling, nerve-racking work. There is no time and no way to correct mistakes.

The latest speedup scheme is the "Kokomo plan," first tested in Kokomo, Indiana. It prescribes the precise distance of delivery routes, instructs letter sorters on how to pick up their trays, and even stipulates that they must "hold the letters in their left hand and stand without moving their feet." The purpose is to handle the mail with fewer workers, eliminating an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 carriers.

President James Rademacher of the National

Association of Letter Carriers says members of his union must handle parcels, sort letters for three hours, and walk an average nine-mile delivery route in a day's work. "In the last three years," he says, "letter carriers have suffered 800 heart attacks and there have been 500 on-the-job deaths. One out of every three letter carriers retiring does so because of disability."

The Postal Service has invested heavily in untested machinery, has hired a top-heavy staff of "experts," and has gone about the task of bleeding the system with a green light from Congress. More than 1,800 administrators, expeditors, inspectors, public relations advisers, and lobbyists—with salaries up to \$58,000 a year—have been hired.

They haven't improved the mail delivery, but they have helped themselves to a lavish source of revenue—federal subsidies. The scheme with its heavy funding program is running deeply in the red, with an annual deficit of \$300 million, another excuse for denying a living wage to the workers who deliver the mail.

This is how the "efficient" postal management reduces the work force and cuts labor costs.

Postmaster General Benjamin Bailor says the price of the 1970 six-cent stamp, now at ten cents, is going up to twenty-five cents and could go higher if workers get raises. He anticipates that "higher postal prices may well depress mail usage so that many postal jobs become unnecessary."

This is the mentality of these "private managers" who seek profits from the Postal Service. They have reduced the work force, sweated and starved the workers, undercut the services, and raised prices; and they hope to discourage customers.

The Postal Service plans further cuts by refusing modest wage increases demanded by the unions in the negotiations this year. Postal officials do not fear a strike. They are counting on Congress to "keep the mails moving." If that fails, they say, the unions lack strike funds, there is no sympathy for postal workers, and the high rate of unemployment ensures an army of strikebreakers.

The postal unions have said, "No contract, no work." If they strike on April 21 or soon thereafter, as they may be forced to do, it will be an opportunity for the unions to demand a public review of the whole crooked scheme and to replace it with a nonprofit postal service operated under workers' control. That is the only way low-cost postal service can be restored after the debacle of the past four years.

with physical violence for questioning their stand on the Boston issue during the question-and-answer period.

They said, "stay after the question period, you Trotskyite slime, and we'll bring out the tire irons." "Trotskyite slime" refers to my membership in the Young Socialist Alliance, which supports the fight of the Black community in Boston. They feel the way to solve differences on the left is to murder anyone who disagrees with them.

This kind of attitude is detrimental to any constructive exchange of ideas in the socialist movement and should be opposed by all radicals and socialists.

Michael Chamberlain
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Trash

I have recently subscribed to your socialist newspaper. I have taken my time to read your propaganda and have come to the conclusion that it is nothing more than trash. I would greatly appreciate if your office could refrain yourselves from sending your literature indefinitely from any address in which I will be residing in the near future.

Marc Dulin
Fort Collins, Colorado

FBI documents

Please accept my check for one dollar for the two-month subscription. I intend to extend it to a one-year subscription as soon as I have the money.

I had intended to subscribe to the *Militant* ever since Sandor's here in Richmond quit carrying it. But the mention in *Intercontinental Press* that the *Militant* was reprinting documents obtained by the Political Rights Defense Fund through its lawsuit against the FBI convinced me that I can't bear to be deprived of this unique font of information and inspiration any longer.

Right on!
Kenneth Nygren
Richmond, Virginia

Clarification

I would like to clarify a misleading point in the April 11 *Militant*. On the article on Peter Camejo's tour in Michigan entitled "Estudiantes de la Raza hear Peter Camejo," the title is inaccurate.

This meeting was not attended by the Chicano student group Estudiantes de la Raza. Rather, it was a community meeting attended almost entirely by older workers and high school students from the Chicano community in Pontiac.

The confusion probably arose because the meeting was organized by Hugo Alemán, who is one of the leaders of Estudiantes de la Raza, an organization based at nearby Oakland University.

Margaret Scott
Detroit, Michigan

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

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



San Diego diocese bans NOW

The following is a guest column written by Jessica Star, who is active in the abortion rights movement in San Diego.

SAN DIEGO—Losing ground on the abortion issue among Californians, the Catholic church hierarchy here has resorted to calling down the wrath of God on those who believe in women's right to control their own bodies.

That was the substance of a letter from Bishop Leo Maher that was required reading at every mass in the half-million-member San Diego diocese on April 13. The bishop declared that Holy Communion would be denied to all Catholics who are "members of pro-abortion groups such as the National Organization for Women [NOW]." Singling out NOW for its "shameless agitation" in favor of abortion, Maher asserted that those who support the right to abortion "ignore God's law and his love."

According to newspaper reports, 100 or more Catholics—many of them wearing NOW buttons—were ordered away from the communion rail by priests at April 13 services. One woman, asked whether she believed in abortion, simply replied, "I believe in the law of our land." She was promptly told she could not receive communion. Meanwhile, hundreds of NOW members and supporters held a vigil outside St.

Brigid's Catholic Church to support their sisters inside.

Anne Radlow, president of San Diego NOW, called Maher's directive an "incredible, tyrannical statement." The church hierarchy has "its back to the wall," she said. "This edict seems to be their reaction to the realization that most people, including Catholics, are now taking a moderate if not outright pro-abortion stand."

NOW members believe the bishop is especially lashing out at Jan Gleason, the outspoken coordinator of NOW's human reproduction task force. Gleason is a respected member of the community, a registered nurse, and active in her church.

In Washington, D.C., NOW legislative vice-president Jan Liebman announced that a May 11 demonstration at the Vatican Embassy in Washington would be dedicated to the San Diego chapter.

"We are calling our mobilization on Mother's Day a 'Day of Outrage' in a direct public challenge to the Roman Catholic hierarchy's attempt to undermine the right of women to control their own bodies," Liebman said. "We are calling for a national action to support our sisters in San Diego."

If the hierarchy persists in its vindictive stance, one thing is for sure: there will be a lot of excommunicated Catholics carrying on the fight for women's right to abortion.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Perfect opportunity—We're intrigued by reports of an apparent split in the Divine Light Mission, with word coming from India that the mother of the Guru Maharaj Ji has declared that because he succumbed to the American fleshpot she no longer recognizes him as the "perfect master." We've been wondering if this could open the way for the guru's most distinguished disciple, Rennie Davis.

That explains it—"A renowned physician-sexologist has suggested that turbulence in world affairs might be traced to transsexual tendencies in international leaders. Dr. Harry Benjamin, ninety, speculates . . . that when a male has female passions, or a female, male passions, profound behavior upsets might occur. Thus, he

proposes, subtle, hidden transsexuality in heads of states could be responsible for violent, sudden changes of worldwide consequences."—*San Francisco Examiner*.

Bit-bullet dep't—Because of the recession, Henry Ford II and Lee Iacocca, chairman and president, respectively, of the Ford Motor Company, did not receive the \$590,000 bonus they drew last year. However, to help them scrape by, their wages were raised by \$16,000 to \$291,667 each.

Like snappy, man—A men's apparel group declared President Ford the world's best-dressed public figure. A spokesperson soberly declared that his button-down shirts had a "charmat-

ic" quality. We knew there was something about the man that moves us.

A puzzler—Federal Reserve officials report a "strange" and "dramatic" increase in the circulation of twenty-dollar and fifty-dollar bills. One factor, it was speculated, was the trend toward slimmer wallets. One economist did theorize it might be inflation-related. Visiting a restaurant without anything less than twenty dollars these days, he observed, "is practically useless."

Not so screwy—Offering a condensed lesson in economic theory, *Changing Times* magazine suggests that you think of the inflationary spiral as a corkscrew, and yourself as the cork.



Jim Berry
© 1975 by NEA, Inc.

'Tell 'em back in Washington, if I don't interfere in the internal affairs of some nation soon, I'll go outta my gourd!'

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The white man's justice (II)

First, there is the shock over the verdict. Next, there is the grief at the sentencing. Only in a few cases, and then only after weeks, months, and years have left a dune of dust on this sort of frame-up, will the public ever hear about a cover-up by prosecution officials.

So that, by itself, puts the Attica case—where a prosecutor has resigned in the midst of it and charged that his superior has covered up for the crimes of guards and state troopers in crushing the rebellion by not entering testimony on them before the grand jury—a hop, skip, and a jump ahead of most frame-ups.

Now the question is, what will this mean to the various state officials who were blind when the McKay commission wrote about it, and were deaf when prisoners, National Guardsmen, and others spoke about it?

Will they now be dumb and unable to say "yes, the continued prosecution of any prisoners is a frame-up, and guards, troopers, and even some of us should be tried instead"?

New York's Democratic Governor Hugh Carey says a special deputy attorney general of "outstand-

ing integrity, ability, and reputation" will look into the charges.

To find evidence of guard and trooper crimes, the special deputy might want to put out two dollars and twenty-five cents for a paperback copy of the McKay commission report.

Nelson Rockefeller, governor during the rebellion, appointed the commission to look into the revolt from what he termed a "historical perspective."

Here's what it found:

"National Guardsmen in the yard to evacuate the wounded testified they saw correction officers, troopers, and sheriffs' deputies strike inmates with nightsticks during the strip searching. One guardsman said that as he helped carry out an inmate who had been shot in the groin several troopers came over and hit the inmate with nightsticks. The inmate screamed in pain, the guardsman recalled, and a trooper responded: 'Fuck you, nigger. You should have gotten it in the head.'"

One guardsman, a surgeon, told the commission he saw lots of beatings and feared he would be beaten by cops for helping wounded prisoners. But,

like others, he was never called before the grand jury to testify.

Besides the beatings, the cops also shot and murdered prisoners after they retook the prison. The ex-prosecutor says that murder charges could be brought in at least two such cases. He also charges that manslaughter, assault, reckless endangerment, conspiracy, and other crimes by cops were never brought before the grand jury.

Governor Carey, of course, said he wants to get to the bottom of all this, so his special deputy will "thoroughly investigate" all the ex-prosecutor's charges about the state's wrongdoing in the past.

But the governor must not want to get to the rock bottom because he's not ordering his special deputy to investigate defense charges that the state is using coercion and threats to make prisoners testify in pretrial hearing *right now*. So that must be okay.

And, oh yes, the other day an FBI informer surfaced from the defense saying she reported to the bureau on it as often as forty times a month. But the governor isn't ordering his special deputy to investigate this, so that must be okay too.

The American Way of Life

What do they need education for, anyway?

"I am therefore asking the Congress to appropriate without delay \$722 million for emergency military assistance and an initial sum of \$250 million for economic and humanitarian aid for South Vietnam."

It was not reported how many of the 5,700 public school pupils in the little Connecticut township of East Haven watched the president's speech on TV, or what they thought if they did hear him. They had other problems to worry about. You see, their schools were closed indefinitely the next morning because the school board ran out of money.

Many of the 300 teachers showed up for work anyway. They couldn't believe it was really happening. But the school buildings were dark, the doors were locked, and the teachers had no choice but to turn around and go home.

The school board says it is \$333,000 short this year. It asked the town finance board to make up the difference, but the finance board said it didn't have the money either. A new law in East Haven makes school board members personally liable for any budget deficits they incur.

"We will stand by our friends. We will honor our

commitments. And we will uphold our country's principles."

The Connecticut state constitution guarantees that "there shall always be free public elementary and secondary schools in the state."

But shutdowns are on the horizon in several other Connecticut towns as well. At a public meeting at West Hill School, principals explained that without new funds, instruction will be eliminated in art, music, home economics, and physical education. Spring sports will be canceled. Librarians, nurses, custodians, and secretaries will be fired.

In Bridgeport, 200 teachers may be dropped by July 1, and a thousand more in twenty-five other towns have been given notice.

In Falls Village, teachers offered to withdraw their request for pay raises if the board would promise not to fire any of them. The board refused, and gave notice it was dropping five teachers.

"The national security budget that I have submitted is the minimum the United States needs in this critical hour. . . . any significant reduction or revision would endanger our national security and thus jeopardize the peace."

Total federal spending for elementary and secondary education is set at \$4.4 billion in President Ford's new budget, down \$79 million from the year before.

"I see a compassionate America, its heart reaching out to orphans, to refugees, and to our fellow human beings afflicted by war, by tyranny, and by hunger."

What do they need an education for, anyway? To be told there aren't any jobs for them when they graduate?

What do they need an education for, anyway? To be sent to fight Washington's dirty wars around the globe? To hear the anguished screams of Vietnamese children dying from U.S.-made bullets and bombs?

What do they need an education for, anyway? No, it would just make them dissatisfied.

"We who are entrusted by the people with the great decisions that fashion their future can escape neither responsibilities nor our consciences."

—Andy Rose

Force action by NYC school head

Dist. 1 parents press Fuentes reinstatement

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—On Monday morning, April 7, Luis Fuentes went back to work. Although the parent-selected superintendent of New York's school District One had been suspended last August by the racist, anti-community-control majority of the district school board—and barred by a court order from entering his office—Fuentes walked in, put his family photos and nameplate back on his desk, and resumed his job of administering District One's schools.

While this action—backed up by the presence of determined District One parents—did not result in Fuentes's permanent reinstatement, it did force New York City school board head Irving Anker to drop his stalling tactic and act on some of the community's demands.

Fuentes was accompanied to the district office on Monday morning by a number of parents and supporters from

the Por los Niños/Save the Children campaign, an organization that is striving to elect a pro-community-control majority to the district board in elections to be held May 6. After reclaiming his office, Fuentes invited the supporters, who had been picketing outside, into the building.

Before long there were upwards of a hundred parents on the scene, cheering Fuentes's return. The New York City central school board's "security" forces were present, but made no move to stop the parents.

Last August when Fuentes was suspended, he and the Parent Association, which had selected him, were promised a speedy hearing on the false charges against him. More than eight months passed, and still no hearing was even in the planning stage. Then, at the beginning of April, Anker officially ruled that acting superintendent Leonard Lurie had been illegally appointed and therefore had no legal claim on Fuentes's position. Lurie is a supporter of Albert Shanker, head of the New York teachers union and a virulent opponent of the right of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese residents of District One to control their own schools.

Although the Parent Association and four of the nine District One school board members had demanded Lurie's dismissal, Anker did nothing, apparently waiting for the issue to be resolved by the May 6 elections. Having acknowledged that the district had no legal superintendent, Anker no doubt felt his position was too weak to call out the cops against Fuentes and the parents on April 7.

Nelson González, who was a bilingual teacher at Public School 64 in District One until he was dismissed at the behest of the anti-community-control majority of the school board, was one of the participants in the pro-Fuentes action. He described what happened:

"We knew that Luis Fuentes was going to try to reassume his position, so the Por los Niños campaign put out the word and organized a picket line of parents to support him. Fuentes went inside and came back out and asked us to come in too.

"Soon more parents began to join us. Miriam González and Georgina Hoggard, two of the best-known community leaders, were there. As time went by, hundreds came through to congratulate Fuentes and express their solidarity."

Fuentes's first step was to call a news conference. Then he asked the district office staff to meet with him so he could explain what was going on. "When he finished," Nelson González said, "he thanked them for their support and three-quarters of them applauded. It was very impressive—this show of staff solidarity with Fuentes and the parents."

"Lurie was furious," González reported. "He left his desk and some of us sat down at it. He went off and locked himself in another room for a while. On the third day, knowing there was no way he could win, Lurie started pushing people. He was trying to provoke a situation where someone would smash him in the face or something, and then the security guards would have to arrest them. He pushed Pedro Torres, and Miriam

González, and Linda Albertorio, but none of them reacted the way he wanted.

"In the meantime, while he's pushing them, he's yelling, 'They're hitting me!' He was trying to get the board of education cops to arrest people, but it didn't work. Eventually he was escorted out."

As Lurie left the district office, which is located at Junior High School 71, the students were just getting out from school. "The people who had stayed all night were chanting: 'The racist must go! The racist must go!'" González said. "And the students all picked it up. It was really a powerful scene."

Confronted by the militancy and determination of the parents, Anker was finally forced to take action. After Lurie was escorted out of the building, Anker appointed a trustee, Rufus Shorter, to temporarily administer the district. He also set an April 17 deadline for the naming of a hearing officer to open a public hearing into the charges against Fuentes. These concessions represented a victory for the parents of District One.



Militant/George Basley
Luis Fuentes resumes work at his District One office. Community wants his illegal ouster by racists overturned.

Community nominees at forum

NEW YORK—Eight of the ten candidates running for New York City's District One school board on the Por los Niños/Save the Children slate spoke April 10 at a forum in Manhattan's Lower East Side. The meeting was sponsored by the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers. The pro-community-control candidates are campaigning to win a majority of the seats on the nine-member school board in the May 6 election.

Since some three-quarters of the students in the district's schools are Puerto Rican, bilingual education has been a major issue in the campaign, and parents have demanded that school board meetings be conducted in Spanish and English. Symbolic of that demand, this candidates' speak-out was conducted from start to finish in both languages. About seventy-five people attended.

ple attended.

The candidates who spoke were William Carlotti, Elizabeth Colón, Alberto Esperón, Carmelo Díaz, Francisco Ferrer, Leoncio Rivera, Sandra Segarra, and Nicomedes Sánchez. Joseph Jackson greeted the meeting, but had to leave without speaking because of a prior commitment. Janice Wong was unable to attend. These ten comprise the slate chosen by the Parent Association of District One to represent the interests of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities in the May 6 elections.

All who spoke emphasized the need for a maximum voter turnout on May 6 to defeat the racist, anti-community-control forces headed by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker in alliance with the central school board in New York City.

—C.C.

Hundreds hear Coral at Puerto Rico campus

By José Pérez

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—Two hundred people attended a meeting here held at the University of Puerto Rico April 7 for Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral.

The meeting was sponsored by the Social Sciences Department and the Pedagogy Department Student Council of the university, and by the Committee for Civil Liberties in Latin America, an ad hoc group associated with the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

One notable aspect of the meeting was the large security committee organized by student activists and a number of political organizations at the Rio Piedras campus. Coral is well-known for his staunch defense of the Cuban Revolution, and it was feared that counterrevolutionary exiles, or gusanos, as students here call them, might try to disrupt the meeting.

One of Coral's meetings in the United States was attacked by gusanos. Organizers of the meeting also took into account the fact that in recent years there have been more than 150 terrorist disruption attempts by gusanos in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican government has failed to arrest even one of the perpetrators of these attacks.

This is one of the few times in recent years that a marshaling squad for a meeting composed of activists and a broad range of student organizations has been constructed.

Students from both the University of Puerto Rico and the private Inter American University participated. The marshals included members of the Liga de Juventud Comunista (Young Communist League), the Unión de Juventud Socialista (Union of Socialist Youth), the Federación de Universitarias Pro-Independencia (Pro-Independence University Federation), the Naturales en Acción (Natural Science Students in Action), and the Mujer Intégrate Ahora (Women Join Together Now).

A large part of the audience that came to hear Coral was composed of longtime activists in the student and proindependence movements. After Coral's explanation of the growing wave of repression and right-wing violence in Argentina, much of the question-and-answer period focused on the kinds of strategy and tactics that can be most effective in combating right-wing attacks. The tactic of guerrilla warfare was a particularly heated topic of discussion.

After the meeting at the university, Coral met with Carlos Gallisá, an

independista member of the Puerto Rican legislature who recently joined the Puerto Rican Socialist party. The two socialist leaders exchanged information about the struggles of their respective countries and pledged mutual solidarity in defense of democratic rights.

On April 8, Coral held a news conference in the chambers of the General Students Council at the University of Puerto Rico. Both *Claridad*, the daily newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and *Avance*, a widely circulated weekly magazine,

Continued on page 26



Militant/José Pérez
Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral at Rio Piedras campus. United defense guard protected meeting against disruption.

A chapter of labor history

The 1939 WPA strike: how worke

This week the Militant continues serialization of excerpts from three chapters of *Teamster Politics*, a forthcoming book by Farrell Dobbs on the labor movement in the 1930s. In last week's selection, Dobbs explained how Minneapolis Teamsters Local 574 (later changed to 544), of which he was a central leader, established a Federal Workers Section to organize unemployed workers. For information on how to order the two earlier books by Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, see page 27.

By Farrell Dobbs

(Second of a series)

For an organization that had existed only about two years, the Federal Workers Section had compiled quite a record of accomplishments. These included: prevention of discriminatory practices on the part of relief supervisors; increase in the budgets of families on city relief to more than double the 1934 figures; payment of a city supplement to WPA workers; solid organization of WPA projects in Hennepin County; blocking of attempted wage cuts and arbitrary discharges; and effective handling of workers' grievances on WPA.

In addition the [AFL] Building Trades Council had been helped to establish a minimum wage of 68 $\frac{3}{4}$ ¢ per hour for common labor on WPA. Various unions had been supported by pickets from the FWS during strikes and it had fought to get city relief for the workers involved. Some of those unions had then reciprocated with financial aid to Local 544's jobless unit.

Accomplishments of this kind had not gone unnoticed by the capitalist overlords of the city. They had become increasingly irritated about the amount of money spent for relief and they tried to do something about it. Their stooges rigged a grand jury report calling for "drastic economy in public affairs." Mayor Leach then opened a propaganda assault on the Federal Workers Section, branding it "a racket to take money from the unemployed."

Organized labor was too powerful in Minneapolis—and too much aware of the value of the Federal Workers Section—for the boss class to get away with the scheme to cripple the unemployed movement. If anything, the jobless workers themselves had even stronger feelings on the subject. Their mood was characterized by Max Geldman in these words:

"Members of the FWS were not just unemployed stiff. They were union members, wore union buttons, paid union dues (if only 25¢ a month). They had a union to represent them, to fight for them—and they believed in it."

'WPA here we come'

In those circumstances Local 544's auxiliary section had little difficulty fending off the capitalist attack, and it was able before long to extend its activities into yet another sphere. During the depression, young workers had dim prospects of securing meaningful employment. Students, as well, found it tough to get jobs upon their graduation from school, which caused them to coin the ironic phrase, "WPA here we come." As a means of stemming restlessness among these young people, Roosevelt created a National Youth Administration, designed to steer them into the federal "made work" setups.

With an eye on that development, the FWS established a Youth Committee in mid-1938. It was given the responsibility of forming a subdivision composed of young workers and students. Oscar Schoenfeld was designated secretary of the committee; among those who played leading roles in its activities were Peggy Kuehn, Jake Cooper, Oscar Coover, Jr., Don Severson, and Rube Scholl. Together, they developed such an effective recruitment drive that the first major youth rally filled the big Teamster hall.

This activity among the youth was paralleled by an intensified controversy over the issue of WPA jobs in general. Persistent mass pressure for reversal of the layoff trend—coordinated by the

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Mass demonstration by WPA workers at state capitol in St. Paul, June 2, 1939. Max Geldman, leader of unemployed movement, tries to quiet protesters, challenges Gov. Stassen (hands in pockets) to explain why he rejected their demands.

AFL-FWS committee that had recently been formed—was brought to bear on federal officials. Two conjunctural factors gave added weight to the workers' demand: unemployment was mounting because of the new economic slump that had been developing since 1937, and Roosevelt wanted to avoid alienating the unemployed voters from the Democratic Party in the upcoming national elections. In those circumstances labor was able to win a significant concession. The WPA job quota for Minnesota was increased by 6,000, raising the state total to 66,000.

Roosevelt's treachery

Quite soon, though, matters took a turn for the worse. After the November elections a new federal policy was put into effect, one that was to become increasingly savage during the following months. Layoffs were resumed and by the end of December the Minnesota WPA rolls had been cut back to 64,000. With workers losing jobs day after day in private industry, this action thrust the direct relief load toward crisis proportions. In Minneapolis the situation was rapidly becoming the gravest since the inception of the WPA.

A mass protest meeting against the layoffs was sponsored by the Central Labor Union at which the following demands upon the government were backed, as presented by the Federal Workers Section: the stoppage of WPA layoffs; diversion of military spending to meet social needs; a \$20 billion federal public works program; appropriation of \$25 million by the city and state governments to finance

a housing and public works program; a local construction program to furnish workers with decent homes; the opening of all idle factories under government operation; a thirty-hour week in government and private industry with no cut in pay; union wages on WPA; an immediate 30 percent increase in all social security benefits; and no abrogation in any way of the workers' right to strike.

Roosevelt, of course, had an opposite line in mind. He was tapering off the "pump priming" domestic expenditures of the New Deal period and preparing to expand the outlay for armaments. His aims now were to prop up industry with war orders; to balance the federal budget at the expense of the unemployed; and in doing so, to pressure the idle component of the labor force into accepting, on the bosses' terms, any jobs that might be offered by private industry.

In his January 1939 budget message to Congress the president listed over \$2 billion for arms, roughly double the total for the previous year. He was recommending what—up to then—amounted to the largest peacetime military budget in U.S. history.

Mass layoffs begin

Concerning money allocated to the WPA, on the other hand, he proposed a drastic cut. Simultaneously, the WPA administration was revamped under the direction of Colonel Francis Harrington, who proceeded to shave its job rolls. His opening moves were accompanied by an announcement of plans to return full control of public relief to state and local agencies.

As a first step toward that end, some categories of workers were subjected to immediate victimization. Many women were forced off WPA on the grounds that they should seek help from the Aid to Dependent Children program. Members of national minorities got it in the neck on various pretenses. Orders went out to fire foreign-born workers who had not obtained U.S. citizenship, and within a few weeks about forty thousand of them were dropped.

General, indiscriminate layoffs then followed, month in and month out. In October 1938 there had been 3.35 million on WPA. By May 1939 the rolls had been reduced to 2.6 million, and a further cut of 200,000 had been scheduled for June. Almost a million workers had been, or were about to be, dropped from the federal program since the national elections seven months earlier.

Such were the conditions faced by the unemployed when the Workers Alliance of America (WAA) held a national "Right to Work" congress in early June in Washington, D.C. As described by an

"Our Interests" Must Be Defended!



This cartoon appeared in the March 7, 1939, 'Socialist Appeal.'

1. The Workers Alliance of America was an unemployed group dominated by the Communist party.

rs fought Roosevelt's cutbacks

eyewitness in the June 13 *Socialist Appeal*,² all proposals submitted to the congress emanated from a behind-the-scenes conference room. Stalinist whips then stampeded the delegates into accepting whatever resolutions were presented.

'No strikes against gov't'

Eleanor Roosevelt, the president's wife, was invited to address the gathering. In introducing her, David Lasser, the Workers Alliance president, said, "I'm sure that this day is an historic one for the unemployed, the WPA workers, and the underprivileged generally." During her remarks, Mrs. Roosevelt said WPA workers were "government employees" and then declared, "No group that actually works for the government has a right to strike against the government." After her talk the Stalinists pushed their main resolution through the congress. It contained an assertion that "we should form such organizations and clubs as are necessary to rally the utmost support to keep the New Deal in the White House in 1940."

An altogether different stand was taken by the Federal Workers Section. With WPA jobs in Minnesota slashed to about 52,000 by this time—a drop of 14,000 since the previous October, with yet another 2,000 scheduled to get the ax by July 1—the FWS took the initiative in organizing a mass protest. An unemployed formation in St. Paul, known as the Workers Benefit Association, quickly endorsed the action, and mass enthusiasm forced the Workers Alliance leaders in St. Paul and Minneapolis to cooperate. A Joint Action Committee, consisting of representatives from all these organizations, then called a one-day protest holiday on June 2, 1939.

More than five thousand WPA workers, who readily dropped their tools in response to the call, mobilized for a demonstration at the statehouse in St. Paul. Most of the participants from Minneapolis were transported in trucks provided by owner-operators belonging to Local 544. Comprising a motorized parade several miles long, they passed by the Minneapolis WPA office and circled city hall on their way to the capitol.

'Bread not bullets'

Banners displayed on the trucks supplied by Local 544 read: "Bread not bullets"—"All war funds to the unemployed"—"Thirty dollars for thirty hours"—"We want rat-proof houses for our children"—"Keep the bull in the stockyards, [Gov.] Stassen, we want jobs"—"Maintain relief standards or we fight."

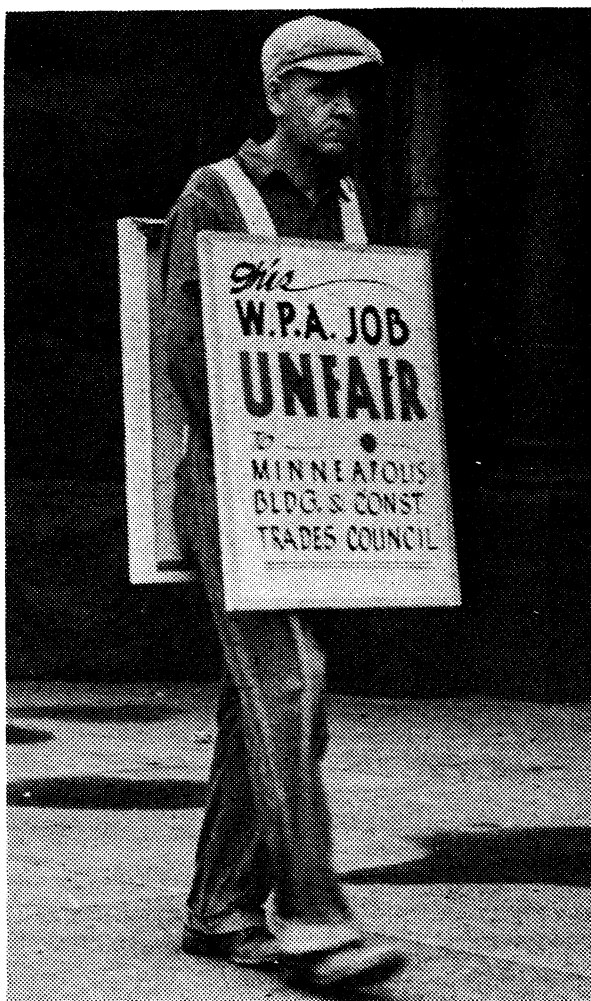
Similar manifestations of the fighting mood among the unemployed were cropping up elsewhere in the country, usually in a spontaneous way. So the federal government made a phony gesture of appeasement. Layoffs during June were held to 100,000, half the figure previously scheduled, leaving 2.5 million on the WPA rolls nationally.

Meantime, Roosevelt set Representative Woodrum, one of his Democratic wheelhorses in Congress, to work on a more deceptive whittling job. As chairman of a House appropriations subcommittee, Woodrum pushed through a series of policy recommendations that emanated from the White House. The WPA budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1939, was held down to \$1.477 billion—a sum roughly one-third less than was spent on WPA during the previous fiscal year. In conformity with that financial perspective, the bill sponsored by Woodrum contained new devices to hack federal relief spending.

Furthermore, the Woodrum bill abolished the previous government policy of paying the prevailing community wage to skilled workers on federal projects. This meant that once Congress had passed the bill, organized labor's hard-won protection of union wage standards in the federal relief sphere would be wiped out by a stroke of Roosevelt's pen.

More specifically, it was stipulated that skilled workers would have to put in 130 hours monthly in order to earn the same pay they had previously received for 75 hours. In Minneapolis, for example, this lengthening of hours with no change in total income cut the skilled workers' wage rate from \$1.25 to 71¢ an hour, truly a descent into the worst of open-shop conditions. Among other things, this hike in the hours of work laid a practical basis for

2. The *Socialist Appeal* was the newspaper of the American Trotskyist movement from 1937 to 1941, when its name was changed to the *Militant*.



Picket during national WPA strike

the firing of many building-trades mechanics from federal projects. For similar purposes the hours of the unskilled were also boosted, from 80 to 130 a month.

Toward the end of June the Woodrum bill was passed by both houses of Congress, with the foregoing provisions intact. Roosevelt then signed it into law and proceeded at once to impose the lengthening of hours and the consequent cut in wage rates on WPA. What happened right after that was described in a special bulletin by the *Northwest Organizer*, issued July 13, 1939.

'A tidal wave'

"The strike of WPA workers continued to mount and roll across the country like a tidal wave this week," the Teamster paper said, "as fresh thousands of desperate and disgusted workers downed tools and brought the number of men and women on strike close to 500,000 with still more to come out."

"America has never seen such a popular strike. Not even the great nation-wide strike for the eight-hour day in 1886 approached the present strike in numbers. . . .

"American labor defies the yoke of the vicious Roosevelt-Woodrum relief bill. Fighting from coast to coast, AFL, CIO and unemployed organizations followed the lead of New York and Minnesota in a militant thrust against the vicious measure."

"The strike movement began spontaneously throughout the country when workers saw WPA notices posted up which threatened to smash fifty years of union-building at one stroke."

Concerning local developments, the report added: "A spontaneous mass movement against the new Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law began last Wednesday in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth, and quickly grew into a statewide protest political strike enveloping practically all of the fifty thousand WPA workers in the state. . . .

"When the workers returned to their WPA jobs on Wednesday following the July 4 holiday, they were confronted with notices informing them of a lengthening in hours and a cut in wages. Apparently, workers on the State Fair Grounds projects were the first to refuse to work under the new slave provisions. The 160 skilled workers were quickly joined by the bulk of the unskilled men. A series of meetings were held on the grounds, and by noontime all work had ceased. From the Fair Grounds, strikers traveled to all other WPA projects in the Twin Cities. Discontent with the new WPA provisions was so widespread that a word was enough to close down projects. Unorganized workers were fully as eager as their organized brothers and sisters to down tools. . . . On Thursday the movement continued to spread. District WPA

Director Richards reported 90 percent of the Minneapolis projects were shut down. . . .

"On Thursday the Minneapolis Building Trades Council met and officially sanctioned the strike, voting to direct its members to stay out until the wage cut was removed by Congress for all workers and appealing to the rest of the WPA workers to join them in the walkout. Friday the Workers Alliance met and voted to endorse the strike. . . . Friday morning the Policy Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union endorsed the stand of the Building Trades Council. Saturday morning at 10 o'clock Local 544's Federal Workers Section met in its strike headquarters at Bryant and 7th Avenue North and officially voted to support the strike. . . .

"Monday morning the Building Trades Council opened an official strike headquarters at the Central Labor Union hall, 18 North Eighth Street. . . . Monday morning at 5 a.m. 544's Committee of Five Hundred turned up at strike headquarters, Seventh and North Bryant, and dispatched squads to all projects with the result that the shutdown was again complete in Minneapolis. . . .

"At 8 o'clock Monday night 5,000 workers attended a mass meeting on the Parade Grounds where leaders of the Joint Action Committee set up by the Building Trades Council, 544's Federal Workers Section and the Workers Alliance, explained the aims of the demonstration and vowed their intentions to make this a fight to the finish."

"The first issue of the *WPA Organizer* issued by the Federal Workers Section's Committee of Five Hundred was distributed at the Parade Grounds."

As this account in the *Northwest Organizer* indicated, the nationwide strike was neither planned in advance nor called by any organization. It simply broke like an unforecast thunderstorm all over the country. By the hundreds of thousands, skilled mechanics and unskilled laborers joined in wrathful protest against the abuses to which they were being subjected.

Roosevelt threatens strikers

Turning a deaf ear to this massive demand for justice, Roosevelt threatened the strikers with heavy reprisals. Orders went out from Washington to fire all workers who remained off the federal projects five consecutive days. Local welfare boards were urged to deny them direct relief allowances. At the same time, propaganda was spread about an alleged back-to-work movement.

Threats and lies alike were brushed aside by the strikers, whose numbers grew steadily. Within a short time some ten thousand had walked out in Minneapolis, and elsewhere in the country the forces involved in the struggle were similarly expanding.

Due to the spontaneous nature of the walkout, it had assumed a generally unorganized character at the outset. By the second day, though, the AFL building trades union had begun to take a hand. One of the first to act was the New York City Building Trades Council, which called an official strike of skilled workers on local WPA projects. AFL unions with members on federal construction jobs soon followed suit in several other cities, and the CIO promised to back them. After that, only one necessary step remained to be taken. In keeping with the strategic needs of the struggle—which had the essential characteristics of a political strike—it was vital for the building trades unions to link their demands nationally with those of the unskilled workers.

If that was to come about, however, pressure would have to be put on the AFL bureaucrats by the unskilled masses. For that job, a national organization was needed. But as matters stood the only force of such geographical scope was the Workers Alliance of America, which had become Stalinized. Not only was the WAA incapable of taking militant action, but its officials actually played what amounted to a strikebreaking role. Instead of backing the spontaneous walkout, they merely called for a one-day stoppage on WPA projects around the country, deliberately setting a delayed date for the action—July 20. By that time, they seemed to hope, the strike would have folded and they could more gracefully avoid taking a stand against Roosevelt.

(Next week: a stab in the back)

The Cointelpro Papers (Part 5)

FBI plot against 1968 SWP visit to Vietnam

By Nelson Blackstock

Early in 1946 a young sailor named Fred Halstead was stationed on a ship off the coast of China. World War II had just ended, but on the mainland of China the fighting had not stopped. A civil war was raging.

Back in Washington the rulers of this country were very interested in the outcome of that struggle. They would have liked to have sent their army in to back up Chiang Kai-shek's crumbling forces, but their attempts to stall the demobilization of American troops after the war provoked massive protests among the GIs. It was clear that large-scale U.S. military intervention in China was out of the question.

Two decades later when the United States began committing thousands of troops to another Asian country in an attempt to hold back a revolution, Fred Halstead remembered what he had seen while he was in the navy. He was convinced that there were important lessons for the growing movement against the war in Vietnam.

I talked with Halstead about this and about some revelations contained in the recently released FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") papers. Halstead was the Socialist Workers party candidate for president in 1968. During the campaign he made a trip to Vietnam. It now turns out the FBI had tried to sabotage that trip.

Among the documents turned over to the SWP under federal court order is evidence that the FBI wrote a "news story" that it sought to have placed in the military press. The relevant FBI files are reproduced on the facing page.

The FBI's purpose was to provoke violence against the socialist presidential candidate during his visit to Vietnam. "It should be an interesting experience for Mr. HALSTEAD when he encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom," the FBI's article concluded.

In a telephone interview with Halstead at his home in Los Angeles, I discussed that experience with him. But first I asked about what he had seen at the close of the Second World War.

"I was attached to a ship that was part of the Seventh Fleet in China waters. Ostensibly, we were there to repatriate Japanese troops," Halstead said.

Chinese troops

"But after unloading our passengers in Japan, we found ourselves loading up again. This time with Chinese troops, which we took up to a port in northern China. This was part of the use of the American navy to assist Chiang's offensive in the Chinese civil war.

"Well, most of us didn't know there was such a thing as a civil war in China until we found ourselves more or less involved in it."

The GIs had just finished one war, they thought, and they didn't like the idea of getting into another one. Soon a protest movement developed.

"I remember walking into the Red Cross building in Shanghai where GIs would go to get coffee and hamburg-

ers," Halstead said. "There I saw this big banner with the words: 'GIs Unite! We want to go home!'"

There were mimeograph machines aboard the ships and on the army posts, and leaflets expressing that demand were reproduced. "I didn't organize all this, but I picked up leaflets and passed them out," Halstead recalled.

He also remembers attending meetings where some of the organizers gave speeches condemning imperialism. "But mainly, it was a movement of GIs who just wanted to go home."

They held some big demonstrations. There was one in Manila and another in Shanghai. The message got through, and orders soon came in to return to the United States.

"This made an impression on me



Halstead talks with GIs at USO in Saigon. Open response of GIs to 1968 socialist presidential candidate spoiled FBI's hopes for violence.

that I didn't forget. That you could organize among GIs," Halstead remarked. "Just that simple proposition."

When he got back home, Halstead had some additional experiences that he later found useful in the antiwar movement. He went to work as a civilian seaman in the merchant marine, where he was a member of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific. But before long he was "screened" off of that job by the Coast Guard for being a "subversive."

"A fellow named John Mahoney up in Seattle had been fired for criticizing the bureaucracy of the union," Halstead recalled. "A lot of people who had come to his defense were fired. I had passed out some leaflets on the case. That's probably the reason my name got turned over to the Coast Guard."

Automobile worker

After going to school on the GI Bill for a while, Halstead got a job as an automobile worker and became active in a United Auto Workers (UAW) organizing drive.

"The Korean War came along and we lost that drive, in part because of

the hysteria around the war and the red-baiting that developed."

Halstead next learned garment cutting, which has been his trade ever since. As a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), he participated in the union's organizing campaigns. At times, Halstead was assigned by the union to get a job in an unorganized shop. The ILGWU paid him the difference between the salary he received there and union-scale wages, while he spearheaded the drive for union recognition.

Halstead also participated in efforts during that period to organize agricultural workers in California.

In 1953 Halstead moved to Detroit, where he landed a job in an automobile plant cutting cloth for the upholstery in cars.

"I had been working there for about a year when the Square D strike broke out," Halstead said. That strike occurred during the depths of the witch-hunt and was of some importance.

Square D was an electrical manufacturing firm under contract to the United Electrical Workers, which was one of the unions expelled from the CIO for "Communist domination." The company was out to break the strike and was nearly successful.

What finally saved the union was the massive response of UAW militants, including Fred Halstead, who rallied to the defense of the Square D strikers and beat back the company and the scab-herding cops. In the course of the strike, Halstead became the victim of a frame-up attempt by the Detroit police and their "loyalty"

"You're crazy," people would say to me. They are butchers, and there is nothing we can do about that."

"I would tell them that they were wrong, that GIs are just ordinary people who will be responsive to the same arguments as civilians," Halstead continued.

"I knew GIs could be reached because I had been a GI myself and I had seen GIs organize."

Vietnam trip

Why did Halstead decide to visit Vietnam in the summer of 1968? During the presidential campaign that year Lyndon Johnson tried to convey the impression that the war was almost over. Nixon and Humphrey, the candidates of the two capitalist parties, made a pact between themselves not to make the war an issue in the campaign.

The SWP's candidate went to Vietnam as part of the socialist strategy to try to inject the war into the presidential campaign as the major issue.

"We demanded the immediate withdrawal of the American forces as the only way to end the killing over there and as the only legal and moral thing for the United States to do," Halstead recalled.

"That year there was a tendency on the part of some in the antiwar movement to get into electoral activity as a substitute for antiwar demonstrations. Through this campaign we encouraged the antiwar movement to stay in the streets," Halstead stated.

There was another reason for making the trip. "We wanted to illustrate to the antiwar movement that it could reach GIs," Halstead said, "and we wanted to demonstrate to the GIs that the antiwar movement was on their side."

On August 15, 1968, Fred Halstead arrived in Saigon. He was accompanied by Barry Sheppard, who was at that time editor of the *Militant*. They spent five days in Vietnam, including a visit to the big army base at Long Binh, talking with GIs. The *Militant* carried reports from Vietnam on what they found.

"We were interested in talking to the American GIs who were on the scene," Halstead said. "They had a right to vote and to listen to what the candidates had to say. They also had a right to have an opinion on the war—a greater right than any American citizen, including the president. I went there to ask them what that opinion was."

What did he find? "The overwhelming majority of them were not willing to suddenly join the peace movement, but they weren't supporters of the war either," Halstead remembered.

Attitude of GIs

They were mainly confused, looking for answers, still making up their minds. "That was all the more reason for the antiwar movement to have the stance and attitude that they were interested in reaching GIs—were on their side," Halstead observed.

I also asked Barry Sheppard about his impressions. "We found no hostility to us among any troops," he recalled, "including those who were for the war at that point."

"There were some antiwar figures who thought I would get into trouble talking to GIs in Vietnam," Halstead remembered. "And I might have gotten

Secret Documents Exposed
FBI Plot Against the
Black Movement
by Baxter Smith
with reprinted FBI memos

\$35

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into some difficulty speaking to the GIs the way they did. If I had called them butchers and told them they were immoral for not refusing the draft, I probably would have gotten a fist in my face."

Instead, Halstead explained that he was a candidate from the United States who was active in the antiwar movement. He said that he thought this country never belonged in Vietnam and should get out immediately.

"I was received in a courteous and sometimes friendly way," Halstead remembered. "Never in a hostile way."

Is there any evidence that the FBI was successful in its goal of getting their story about Halstead into the military press in order to provoke an attack? The item was never picked up and printed as far as Halstead knows.

"The response we found among the soldiers in Vietnam is the key to understanding why this particular project failed," Sheppard observed. "Even those who supported the war offered no strong political motivation. They would argue along the lines that since so many lives had already been lost, the war should continue so that those deaths would not have been in vain. An appeal to anticommunism wasn't put forward as a compelling reason to stay in Vietnam."

Might have been set up

However, Sheppard and Halstead both remembered something, which in retrospect they feel might have been a set up under FBI influence. The incident was reported in the *Militant* at the time.

Among the best places to meet and talk with GIs, they found, were the bars. One day the two socialists were sitting on stools at a bar, when a white sailor sat down beside Sheppard and began talking. While Fred was carrying on a conversation with a group of Black GIs on the other side, the white sailor made a remark about "Black power niggers." It was clearly audible to the Black soldiers.

A Black GI immediately reached over and smashed the sailor in the face. There rapidly ensued a fist fight, which Halstead and Sheppard managed to avoid. Fortunately, the automatic rifles, which some of the GIs in the bar were carrying, did not come into play.

Halstead and Sheppard suspect that the white sailor could have been acting under instructions to start a fight in hopes that the two socialists would become caught up—or even seriously injured—in a fight between Black and white GIs. On the other hand, they think it could have been, as Halstead put it, "Just a little piece of America."

The antiwar movement as a whole would soon be convinced of the possibility of reaching GIs. "What really changed their mind was that they saw with their own eyes the GIs turning against the war," Halstead told me. "You couldn't draft 30,000 youth a month in 1968 and 1969 without getting a lot who had been involved in the antiwar movement in one way or another. Then it just spread all over the army."

Vietnam and China

As I was talking to Halstead, the Saigon army in Vietnam was falling apart. By drastically limiting Washington's ability to use its military forces in China, the movement Halstead had seen almost thirty years ago when he was a GI in the Pacific had been instrumental in the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

Did he see any parallels with what is happening today? "I think the fact that the United States finds it so difficult to put its military forces back into Vietnam is a very important factor in the victories that the liberation forces have won."

"The Pentagon keeps moaning that their hands are tied. Well, what tied their hands is the American antiwar movement."

The Cointelpro Papers

FBI 340
Date: 7/23/68

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

FRED HALSTEAD, SWP candidate for President, has scheduled a tour of Japan and possibly South Vietnam. HALSTEAD is scheduled to depart sometime after 7/20/68, at which time a farewell party is being held at SWP headquarters, NYC. The SWP and HALSTEAD have publicly stated that the purpose of this tour is to "go to the troops". The following is a squib, written in a humorous vein, which could possibly be placed with the US Army Personnel Information Service:

"The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the Trotskyist version of a Communist Utopia, has announced that their candidate for President of the United States, FRED HALSTEAD, will shortly tour 'Japan, Vietnam, India, Jordan, Yugoslavia and several European countries'. The alleged purpose of this trip is to reach GIs on foreign bases in order to promulgate on behalf of this Communist splinter organization in the US. HALSTEAD purports to be a champion of the anti-war activities in the US, the latest tactic and intervention by the SWP in order to gain recruits. Evidently, the SWP, whose total membership has not exceeded more than 50 members in a decade, now feels that the pickings for recruits and sympathy are better abroad. In the US, the

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum
DATE: July 25, 1968

TO : _____
FROM : _____
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
DISRUPTION PROGRAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP

PURPOSE:
This memorandum recommends we furnish a blind memorandum to the intelligence branches of the Armed Forces by Liaison which would hamper the efforts of the leader of the Socialist Workers Party in trying to contact members of the Armed Forces abroad.

BACKGROUND:
Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for President of the United States, has scheduled a tour of various foreign countries to "go to the troops." The SWP is a communist splinter group designated under Executive Order 10450 which has been active in campus unrest, anti-Vietnam protests, antidraft and racial demonstrations. Information concerning his trip has been previously disseminated.

Now York has prepared a squib which describes Halstead and the SWP in an uncomplimentary manner. New York recommended the squib be furnished the Army for use in its publications to decrease the effectiveness of Halstead's efforts to contact military personnel. We believe the squib should be furnished the intelligence branches of all the services through Liaison in order to get the maximum benefit for use in the publications of the Armed Forces.

CONTINUED - OVER

3

"SWP has recently suffered its usual reversal among fellow radical organizations in its attempts to infiltrate and dominate the antiwar scene. HALSTEAD is scheduled to push for the return of all US personnel abroad. As a post champion of FINEE CASTRO, he believes all countries should be left to fend for themselves and establish their future Utopias on the scale of the current Cuban Paradise. Intervention into the affairs of nations by countries or forces other than 'the imperialist US' is not a plank in HALSTEAD's platform. It should be an interesting experience for Mr. HALSTEAD when his encounters the men who have served both their own country and others in the interest of freedom."

- 2 -

2

Memorandum to _____
Re: Socialist Workers Party
Disruption Program

The proposed squib is attached in blind memorandum form. It does not jeopardize any sources.

RECOMMENDATION:
It is recommended the squib be approved and sent by Liaison to the intelligence branches of the Armed Forces.

- 2 -

4

Documents 1-2: New York FBI office noticed in July 1968 that SWP presidential candidate Fred Halstead was preparing to visit Vietnam. Deciding to employ frequently used FBI disruption tactic, New York recommended to FBI director in Washington that brief "news" item prepared by FBI be placed in press. Usually FBI relies on civilian commercial media, but since Halstead planned to talk to GIs abroad, this time FBI proposed using military press. The final sentence of proposed "squib" was obvious invitation to physical assault on socialist candidate. Documents 3-4: Washington FBI headquarters approved idea in order "to decrease the effectiveness of Halstead's efforts to contact military personnel." It recommended relaying "squib" through "intelligence branches of the Armed Forces."



Militant/Barry Sheppard

Fred Halstead, SWP presidential candidate and antiwar leader, in Saigon during 1968 visit. An eyewitness to GI 'Bring Us Home' movement at close of World War II, he was convinced that movement against Vietnam War could win support from GIs.

Communist party's Berkeley campaign: 'coalition politics' with the Democrats

By John Powers

BERKELEY, Calif.—This spring the Communist party has focused a lot of attention on the campaign for city council here, putting forward a twenty-seven-year-old Black CP member, Mark Allen, as an "independent" candidate in the formally nonpartisan election.

An election campaign by an avowed Communist party member is a rarity in California politics, and the endorsements Allen has collected have been prominently featured in both the CP's *Daily World* and its West Coast weekly, the *People's World*.

According to these sources, Allen has been endorsed by a number of labor officials and political figures, including the prominent Black attorney Howard Moore and incumbent city council member Ira Simmons.

(Of course, *Worldly-wise* readers will take these reports with a grain of salt. Two weeks in a row, for example, the *People's World* listed Julian Bond and H. Rap Brown as Allen endorsers—only to run a "correction" later, acknowledging that the two had not endorsed at all and apologizing for "misleading" their readers.)

Leaving questionable endorsements aside, the Allen campaign is still one of the most vigorous CP election campaigns in recent times. What is the CP trying to accomplish?

No illusions?

A March 22 *People's World* editorial on the fight for jobs declared: "If one held any illusions about the two major parties, their inaction in recent months should forever put to rest any hope that either the Democrats or the Republicans have any interests at heart besides those of the great corporations and monopolies."

Absolutely true, and well-spoken. There is plenty of evidence that growing numbers of people today are willing to consider a socialist alternative to the corruption, racism, and antilabor policies of the two capitalist parties.

Is Mark Allen's campaign, then, posing an independent working-class alternative to the Democrats and Republicans? Is it explaining the nature of these big-business parties as the defenders of oppression and exploitation?

Just the opposite.

Allen's "independent" campaign is in fact aimed squarely at corraling dissatisfied and radical-minded people back into the capitalist two-party system, through a shopworn trick called "coalition politics."

In a front-page feature in the March 1 *People's World*, Lenore Weiss spells



Militant/Mark Satinoff
GAILE WIXSON: 'SWP is campaigning against both capitalist parties.'

out precisely what "coalition politics" is all about and where the "independent" Allen campaign fits in.

"Coalition is not a new word here," she observes. "For nearly 10 years, Berkeley Left activists have tirelessly built electoral campaigns and supported progressive candidates in an attempt to wrest power from conservative Democratic forces."

Weiss modestly neglects to mention that the Stalinist Communist party has been among the most tireless in promoting "progressive" Democrats over "conservative" Democrats.

For example, Carl Bloice, executive editor of the *People's World*, was campaign manager for Robert Scheer's unsuccessful bid in 1966 for the Democratic party congressional nomination. Weiss terms that campaign "an important breakthrough for anti-war forces."

And Mark Allen proudly lists among his credentials his activity in the 1972 and 1974 reelection campaigns of U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, a Black Democrat.

Isn't there a bit of a problem here, a naïve reader might wonder? If the Democrats don't have "any interests at heart besides those of the great corporations and monopolies," why is the CP out "tirelessly" campaigning to elect Democrats?

Weiss's article takes up this curious dilemma, using the 1970 Dellums campaign as a case in point. She notes that "there were serious objections among certain people on the Left as to whether he should be supported as a Democratic party candidate."

Such people "wondered whether radicals would be sucked into the Democratic party," Weiss writes. Fortunately, she recalls, most were indeed sucked right in and backed Dellums on the Democratic ticket.

Castigates SWP

Weiss castigates the Socialist Workers party in particular for not joining the suckers. She quotes the SWP as having said that "to run a candidate regardless of his personality or individual views on a Democratic . . . party is to aid in miseducating, disorienting, and weakening the radical movement in regard to the independent road it must follow to achieve victories."

Others, Weiss writes with obvious approval, concluded that the Dellums campaign would be a "valuable vehicle for building political strength," or at least that "significant numbers of people in the Black community were not ready to break with the Democratic party."

That, then, is "coalition politics": a "coalition" of liberal Democratic office

seekers who run the show, and Stalinists and others who go out and hustle votes for them. The coalition in Berkeley has evolved through many different names and slates—today it's "Berkeley Citizens Action" (BCA)—without the slightest change in this basic perspective of faction politics *within* the Democratic party.

The "independent" Mark Allen campaign is just another gambit in the same con game. Allen took out nominating papers for the city council spot only after Berkeley Citizens Action failed to put up a candidate. Allen has sought the BCA's endorsement, but other candidates vehemently objected to running with an open CP member.

Cover for liberals

The BCA-backed officeholders are, of course, accountable to the Democratic party, not to the "coalition" (and much less to the Black community, students, or the trade unions). As these "progressive" Democrats trample on the radical-sounding platforms they campaigned on, those who voted for them discover that they have been betrayed, and it takes some fancy footwork by coalition promoters such as the CP to maintain their credibility.

As Lenore Weiss admits in the *People's World*, the history of coalition politics has been marked by "mistakes, bad feeling and political backstabbing." She chides the BCA for "gross insensitivity to the Black and other Third World communities."

She points out that a coalition-sponsored Alameda County Transit director took an antiunion position during a strike by bus drivers. And in another article she notes that incumbent city council member Loni Hancock, a prominent coalition leader, played a strikebreaking role at the University of California in a 1972 struggle.

With the procapitalist policies of these liberal Democrats threatening to drive disillusioned Blacks, unionists, and students out of the coalition, Allen's campaign is intended to provide "left" cover for the BCA slate.

Weiss explains it this way: "At a time when conservative Democratic forces are about to launch a major campaign to keep their spokespeople on Council, the BCA has not managed to come up with a sufficiently united slate to completely fend off the attack."

"That's where Allen's campaign is important," she says. "He is running to raise and clarify the issues and help prevent the drift of Berkeley politics to the right."

SWP campaign

The Socialist Workers party is running a full slate in the Berkeley city elections, headed by Carl Finamore for mayor. Gaile Wixson is the SWP candidate for the city council post also sought by Allen.

Asked to contrast her campaign to Mark Allen's, Wixson told the *Militant*: "The most fundamental difference is that the SWP is campaigning for working-class political action, and against both capitalist parties, while Mark Allen is running with the 'good' Democrats against the 'bad' Democrats."

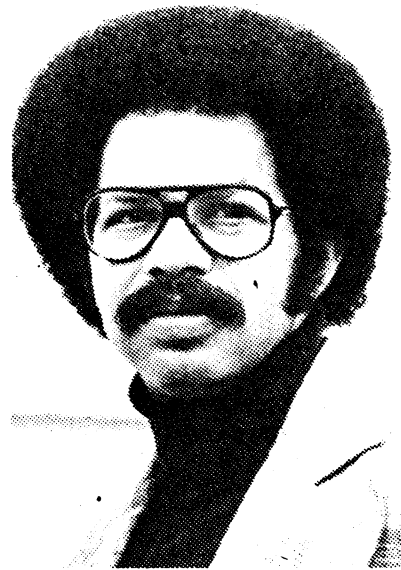
"In keeping with his perspective of supporting the Democrats," she said, "Allen's platform is strictly limited to penny-ante municipal reforms. From 'rent control' to 'overhaul of public transportation' to 'aid to the poor,' there is nothing any liberal Democrat would feel uncomfortable with."

"Socialists are the best fighters for any immediate measure to defend the rights and living standards of working people," Wixson continued, "but we put

the blame for unemployment, racism, and the crisis of the cities right where it belongs—on the private profit system. We don't build up people's illusions that everything will be solved if they just elect a few 'good' representatives."

"In accomodating to liberal capitalist politics," Wixson said, "Allen even manages to adopt a pro-cop, law-and-order stance on the police. His platform calls on them to 'concentrate on crime prevention and speedy action in emergencies' and urges 'better communication between [Berkeley] residents and the Police Department to aid in preventing crimes such as rape and burglary.'"

"Racism, brutality, and union-busting by the cops are not a failure to



CP's MARK ALLEN: Running with 'good' Democrats against 'bad' Democrats.

communicate!" Wixson said. "That is their fundamental social role—to uphold oppression and exploitation. The problem of crime will only be solved by eliminating the sources of crime, such as poverty and unemployment, not by reforming the police, as Allen advocates."

Mayoral race

The Berkeley mayoral race is still another test of where the CP stands on supporting capitalist parties. There are three candidates on the ballot: incumbent Black Mayor Warren Widener, running with the "conservative" Democrats of the Berkeley Democratic Club; Ying Lee Kelley of the BCA on the BCA slate; and SWP candidate Carl Finamore.

(Ironically, Widener was seen as part of the "coalition" and strongly backed by the Stalinists when he was first elected in 1970. But that's the sort of opportunist flip-flops you have to get used to with "coalition politics.")

Today the CP is backing Democrat Kelley against socialist candidate Finamore. Although Mark Allen maintains a formal position of "no endorsement," his campaign workers wear "Ying for Mayor" buttons, and Kelley literature is prominently displayed in the Allen headquarters.

And if that isn't enough to give people the message, the major feature on the editorial page of the April 5 *People's World* is a letter by Ron Dellums endorsing Kelley.

"It's similar to the recent Chicago mayoral race," Finamore commented, "in which the CP backed a white liberal Democrat who lost in the primary, and then refused to call for a vote for Willie Mae Reid, the Black woman who was on the ballot against Daley on the SWP ticket."

"In Berkeley, too, the Stalinists would rather give open support to a Democratic party hack than back a socialist candidate."



Militant/Joseph Ryan
CARL FINAMORE: 'Stalinists give open support to a Democratic party hack rather than backing a socialist.'

World Outlook

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

APRIL 25, 1975

Report from Portugal

LCI refuses to sign pact with Armed Forces Mov't

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—"Socialism is to begin" was the headline in the April 8 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*. The event that inspired this conclusion by the editors of the Communist party-influenced daily was the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), which met April 7 for the first time since the abortive rightist coup of March 11.

After the disastrous setback for the probourgeois forces last month and the new mass upsurge that developed in response to yet another coup attempt, the assembly reflected powerful pressures from below. The ruling military circles sought to give it more representativeness and authority. For the first time, it included noncommissioned officers and common soldiers. The army was represented by eighty officers, twenty sergeants, and twenty privates; the navy and air force by forty officers, ten sergeants, and ten privates each.

According to the final communiqué, the agenda included the following eight points: (1) a report from the Conselho da Revolução on its work; (2) a discussion of the "internal institutionalization" of the Armed Forces Movement; (3) a report on the investigation of the March 11 attempted coup; (4) the creation of a revolutionary tribunal to try those officers involved in the coup; (5) the drawing up of a communiqué stating the socialist goals of the Armed Forces Movement and the methods to be used to achieve them; (6) the restatement of the MFA's determination to maintain "democratic and revolutionary order" especially in the election period; (7) a report on the "constitutional pact" between the MFA and the political parties; and (8) a report from Premier Vasco Gonçalves on the economic and social plans of the government.

It was apparently point no. 5 that inspired *Diário de Lisboa* to state that the move toward socialism had begun. This point was elaborated further in the issue of the MFA publication *Movimento* that appeared April 8. The headline in the military's paper took a more martial tone: "Reinforce Revolutionary Will and Discipline."

The article under this heading stressed that the failure of a second rightist coup had opened a new phase: "In the wake of March 11, the contradictions in the MFA and in the political arena can begin to be resolved through the qualitative advance of the revolution that has become possible because of the high treason of the counterrevolutionaries."

"In a transitional period that will last some years—in the period that can be called the *first phase of the transition to socialism*—the revolution has gained a clear-sighted and firm political leadership, the MFA, through its

institutionalized organs, in particular the Conselho Superior da Revolução. In this period, three fundamental tasks arise: making a determined start toward building an economy of the socialist type, putting the economic sector under the direct control of the political sector; reinforcing the alliance between the people and the MFA, through the creation of structures for popular participation at all levels and the transformation of the armed forces into an instrument at the service of the people; strengthening the MFA as an independent political force serving the revolution and uniting the genuinely democratic political forces."

The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies was to provide the basis for moving on to a socialist economy. It would be followed by "agrarian reform, nationalization of the basic industries, and socialization of the main lines of foreign trade."

The article promised that the future socialist Portugal would be a "multi-party" society. But at the same time, it placed the MFA above the political parties and demanded that they subordinate themselves to the military leadership.

Document To Be Rubber-stamped

The concrete means for pressing these demands was the "pact with the parties." On April 3, the MFA called the twelve parties with ballot status to a secret meeting. It presented them with a "pact-platform" that was to be included in the constitution that will be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly elected in the April 25 vote.

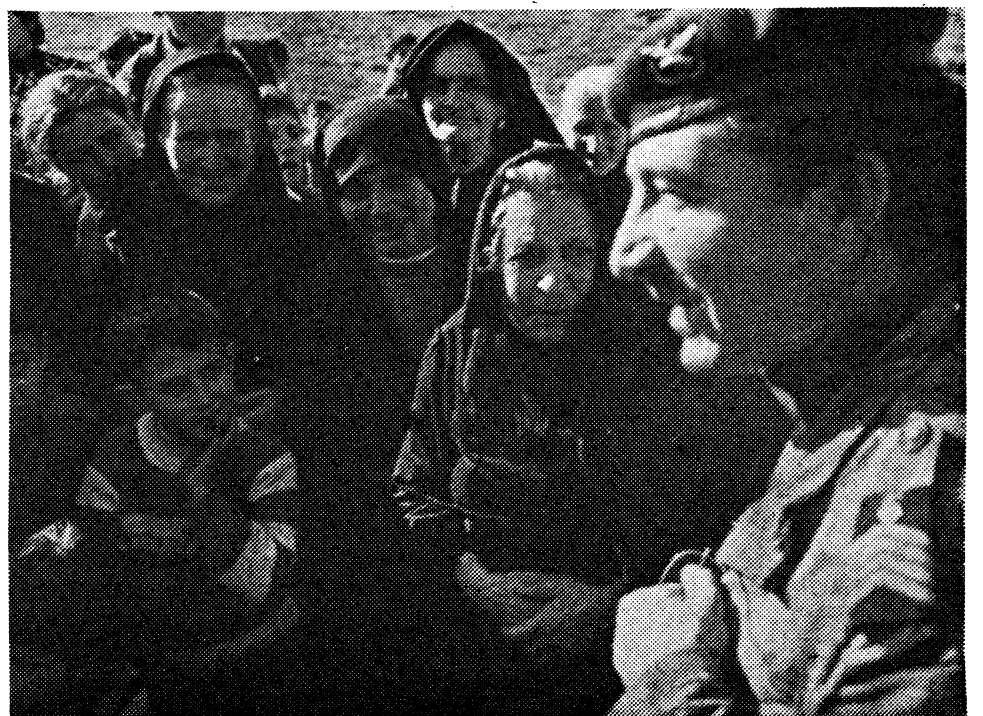
Of the twelve parties contesting the elections, eleven went to the meeting. Only the Frente Eleitoral Comunista (Marxista-Leninista) (FEC[ML]—Communist Electoral Front [Marxist-Leninist]), a Maoist group whose primary strength is in Oporto, refused to attend the meeting.

The Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League), went to the meeting, but immediately denounced the pact and announced that it would not sign it.

The Maoists of the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—Democratic People's Union) also rejected the pact-platform, denouncing it as an ultimatum. A grouping that split off from the Socialist party at the end of the year, the Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—People's Socialist Front), expressed reservations about the agreement.

The LCI Explains Why

The LCI expanded on its answer to the MFA in a rally in Oporto April 5, where Ernest Mandel, the noted Marxist economist and member of the



Paratrooper explains election process to villagers. Radicalization has reached deep into rank-and-file of armed forces.

United Secretariat of the Fourth International, was the featured speaker. Speaking to an audience of about 1,000 persons, José Tavares, a soldier on active duty, said:

"Everyone is talking about socialism today. Today, comrades, there is no one in Portugal who doesn't call himself or herself a socialist. And the MFA is also beginning to talk about building socialism. For this purpose, it is seeking an alliance between the workers movement and the small and medium-sized capitalists."

"It is on the basis of this alliance that the leaders of the MFA and the army, the Conselho Superior da Revolução, think they can erect some reforms that will lead to socialism. For the sake of this, they are calling on us to unite, to show our discipline, to subordinate ourselves, and to place our confidence in them."

"But comrades, where can unity of the working class and the toilers be achieved except within their own organizations, independent from the bosses and the state?"

"Only there, through the discipline imposed by the working class itself can we achieve the iron unity of the proletariat that is necessary to make the socialist revolution."

"Only the independent organizations of the working class can have the authority to decide who is and is not a revolutionist, who is and is not a socialist, who is and is not a communist."

"It is on the basis of the Workers Committees in the factories, on the Soldiers Committees in the barracks, that the united front of the working class that we are fighting for and that all revolutionists, all workers, aspire to, will be built."

"Therefore, comrades, we say that it is not the working class nor the soldiers that have to have confidence in the MFA or its Conselho da Revolução. But rather, those in the MFA who call themselves socialists and revolutionaries must have confidence in the workers and the toilers and in their independent organizations."

"And so I am speaking especially for the soldier comrades, whose organization lags behind that of the workers out of uniform."

"Comrades, Soldiers Committees must be formed at the national level, in every platoon, in every company, in every barracks, to stand guard against reaction, to struggle for improving the living conditions of the soldiers, and to struggle for a socialist revolution."

Another LCI speaker, António Brandão, a candidate in the Oporto district, criticized the MFA for its slowness in moving against the right after the September 28 attempted coup and called for the dissolution of the riot police and repeal of the "fascist laws" that are still on the books.

Francisco Sardo, an LCI candidate for the Lisbon district, stressed that the bourgeois parties, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—People's Democratic party) and the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center), still represented a danger to the workers: "The CDS and the PPD are active most of all in the provinces. They do not defend the workers. They attack the rallies and meetings of the revolutionary organizations of the working class. They plan provocations designed to prepare the ground for a coup. But although they have been exposed, the reactionaries of the PPD continue to carry out their

Continued on next page

...the workers should place their confidence not in the MFA, but in their own independent organizations'

Continued from preceding page

provocations, and even today in Amaranthe they tried to carry out a demonstration of the 'silent majority' by manipulating the poor peasants in a march of tractors."

The slogan of "PPD, CDS, dissolução" (Ban the PPD and the CDS) was one of the most popular at the meeting, where rhyming slogans were chanted dozens of times. Perhaps a fourth of the audience rose each time to give the clenched-fist salute and shout the slogans begun by LCI members.

Ernest Mandel Tour

Mandel talked about the international context and implications of the upsurge in Portugal. He analyzed the present crisis of capitalism, the worldwide recession, and the increasing tendency of workers to demand control over the process of production. He said that as the crisis deepened and the upsurge continued in Portugal, the workers would have to take control of industry to defend themselves against both the economic and political attacks of big capital.

"If the bourgeoisie continues with its line of sabotage, the workers themselves must occupy the factories and organize production." He went on to say: "The independent organization of the working class is the only form of revolutionary struggle, independent organization in factory and neighborhood committees."

Mandel stressed that the need for workers to organize independently was the essential feature of proletarian revolution that had been obscured by Stalinism.

The organizers of the meeting tried to give it a strongly internationalist note. "For a workers' red Europe" and "Long live the Fourth International" were among the slogans most enthusiastically and frequently chanted. The question of the upsurge going on now in Spain was raised, along with the demand for the release of Spanish political prisoners. Most of the daily press took particular note of Mandel's statement that the process in Portugal was the "most important in Europe at the moment."

The majority of the crowd in the Palvillão do Académico, a basketball stadium, were young people in their early- and mid-twenties. But unlike the rallies of the young left groups that followed the April 25, 1974, overturn, there was also a notable sprinkling of older people, including, apparently, some workers. The LCI presented forty

candidates, most of them young workers in their early twenties. After the meeting, groups of youths walked around the city chanting the slogans that had been raised.

Mandel's tour was the main national event in the first phase of the LCI's campaign. It began with a news conference in Lisbon and a meeting in the local university April 4 that got extensive coverage in the Portuguese press. The tour schedule was a packed one. It included a major rally in Oporto on April 5, another in the university center of Coimbra on April 6, and a final rally in Lisbon's Palácio de Desportos on April 7.

Ferment in Army Ranks

After the meeting, I talked to one of the LCI activists in the army, who gave me a picture of how concrete and urgent the problem of direct democratic organization is now in Portugal. The soldiers on his base conducted two general strikes, arms in hand, to force the release of an imprisoned sergeant. He had led a committee of soldiers who forced the removal of a commander.

During the March 11 coup attempt, the CP was forced to call for a mass mobilization out of an elementary reflex of self-defense. In this process, a member of the CP leadership in Oporto approached revolutionists on his base asking for their help.

The soldiers refused to leave their barracks in this period unless the officers explained to them exactly where they were going and what they were going to do. At the same time, they took the opportunity to arm themselves and many did not hand back the guns after the crisis ended.

The traditional distinctions in rank are rapidly disappearing. The most active element is the sergeants, who are organized and more numerous than the officers and come from modest backgrounds.

The low pay of the common soldiers has accelerated the process of the disintegration of bourgeois military discipline. Since privates get only about \$4 a month, a campaign quickly got under way to refuse to pay fares on public transport.

Committees Begin to Form

In the navy, where the political consciousness of the ranks is most advanced, the LCI activist told me that there is now a Sailors Committee that rules on the orders issued by officers, orders that may be either accepted or rejected.

The example set by the bank and insurance workers in the period following the attempted coup also seems to be spreading rapidly. In many cases, these workers stood guard to prevent the management from removing records. They began to exercise a control over the functioning of the company.

In this context, the April 8 issue of the Lisbon daily *A Capital* announced that the government was studying a bill that would give the local workers

gains of the working masses. By this we mean that the government must have the following objectives: immediate nationalization, under workers control, of the big private enterprises; agrarian reform, giving the product of the soil to those who work it; economic planning under workers control, so that the fruits of their labor can go to improve their living conditions and the conditions on the job; the immediate institution of a 6,000 escudo [about US\$250] minimum wage; the reduction of the workweek to 40 hours and full retirement at fifty as a means of fighting unemployment; drastic reduction in rents and the cost of energy and transport; free medical insurance and education."

In addition, Sardo called on the government to suppress the procapitalist forces: "The only right we grant the capitalists is to disappear forever from history."

2,000 at LCI Rally

About 2,000 persons attended the rally in the Palácio de Desportos in Lisbon, a giant sports stadium on a hill overlooking the Avenida de Liberdade. Some activists told me it was the largest meeting the LCI had yet held.

It seems evident that the LCI is rapidly developing a substantial national following through its electoral campaign. The workers united-front demand in particular seemed popular with the audiences in the meetings during the weekend of April 4-7. Although the LCI faces competition from a number of Maoist groups that are still numerically stronger, the absence of sectarianism in its approach gives it a considerable advantage.

Furthermore, unlike the Maoists, who are divided into many bitterly warring factions, the only two significant Trotskyist groups are united in this campaign. The only other substantial group of Trotskyists, the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers party) and the youth organization affiliated to it, the Aliança Socialista da Juventude (Young Socialist Alliance), which have some strength in Lisbon, particularly in the student movement, announced on April 4 that they would support the candidates of the LCI.

In addition, Mandel and the other LCI speakers could offer a more concrete international outlook than the Maoists. The question of solidarity with the workers and revolutionists struggling in Spain was raised forcefully again and again in every meeting.

Also Mandel referred once or twice to the vital role played by sections of the Fourth International in organizing defense of the Vietnamese revolution. He pledged the solidarity of the international revolutionary movement against reactionary intervention in Portugal.

The Portuguese people have an unusual, almost unprecedented, opportunity to hear and weigh the ideas of many tendencies within the working-class and left movement. The radio and television programming is full of lectures by all sorts of groups on capitalism, revolutionary struggle, the needs of the working class, and so on. The bourgeois forces are unusually weak and discredited. The masses are confident and anxious to move ahead.



Militant/Brian Shannon
Ernest Mandel, a leader of Fourth International, is touring Portugal in support of Trotskyist election campaign.

organizations control over firings. In companies with more than fifty workers, this control will be exercised by the Comissões de Trabalhadores (Workers Committees); in those with fewer than fifty workers, by the union committees.

Factory committees do not yet exist everywhere, but they fill an important function in the big plants in particular. Because of the craft concept of unionism fostered by the old regime, it is common to have more than forty unions represented in the larger companies. This is the case, for example, in the Sacor oil refinery in Oporto. The Workers Committee elected by an assembly of all the workers in the plant is much better able to represent the work force effectively than the fragmented unions. It is also considerably more democratic.

Participation in union elections has increased since April 25, 1974. In the clerks union, for instance, only about 200 out of 40,000 used to vote. The percentage is now about 25 percent, but that is still considerably fewer than in the Workers Committees. However, the Comissões de Trabalhadores remain essentially within the framework of the Intersindical, the national union federation.

Call for Workers Government

In the April 7 rally in Lisbon, LCI leader Francisco Sardo stressed:

"Side by side with ever broader sectors of workers, the LCI declares its determination to struggle for the immediate establishment of a government of the workers organizations, so as to assure the defense of the rights and



In the navy, a sailor's committee has been formed to oversee all orders made by officers.

Guerrillas to resume armed struggle

Smith regime launches attacks on Zimbabwe rebels

By Tony Thomas

The Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) called March 19 for the resumption of guerrilla warfare against the white-minority Ian Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The call came after a series of attacks on Zimbabwean nationalist leaders by the Smith regime.

The attacks included the assassination March 18 of Herbert Chitepo in Zambia, and the imprisonment of the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole in Zimbabwe on March 4. Both were top leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union. ZANU, one of the most important nationalist groups in the country, is credited with carrying out the bulk of the armed actions against the Smith regime.

ZANU has also been attacked by the Zambian government. When ZANU leaders gathered in Lusaka, Zambia, at the end of March, about fifty of them were arrested by Zambian authorities. Among them were all seven members of ZANU's supreme council, many of its military commanders, and several of its representatives abroad, including those from London, Cairo, and Dar es Salaam.

The stepped-up drive against ZANU followed a breakdown in negotiations between the Smith regime and Zimbabwean nationalists. These talks were based on the idea of a gradual, peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe through a "détente" between Black African states and the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Proof of the dangers of such collaboration came with the collapse of the "cease-fire" agreement between the Zimbabwean nationalists and the Smith regime that had been arranged by South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia in December.

In November, Sithole and other Zimbabwean nationalist leaders were released from prison and allowed to go to Zambia to take part in negotiations with leaders of the Black African states and the Smith regime.

In talks with the nationalists, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania demanded that the three Zimbabwean guerrilla groups—ZANU, Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe (Frolizi)—unify with the African National Council (ANC), a moderate group with semilegal status.

Nyerere and Kaunda pushed a plan for the establishment of Black majority rule in stages that could take as long as five to ten years. These plans

supposedly had the backing of South Africa.

While the Zimbabwean groups formally agreed to this proposal, ZANU is reported to have strongly opposed it. In a statement in its journal, *Zimbabwe News*, quoted in the March 6 issue of the British revolutionary-socialist newspaper *Red Weekly*, ZANU said:

"... the movements that have signed the Lusaka declaration have different political backgrounds, ideological outlooks, attitudes towards national liberation in Zimbabwe. For example on the question of political settlement, ANC is on record for supporting parity or the sharing of power with white settlers. ZAPU and FROLIZI are on record for seeking gradual majority rule. They accept a transitional period. Only ZANU has said 'Majority rule is not negotiable.'"

Despite these disagreements, ZANU agreed to a unification of the groups under the name of ANC, as did the other organizations.

On December 11, 1974, Ian Smith announced that following the negotiations in Lusaka, a cease-fire would take place between the African freedom fighters and his white minority regime. In return for a halt to the fighting, he reportedly agreed to release political prisoners, end the ban on ZANU, ZAPU, and Frolizi, and convene a constitutional conference.

These concessions appear to have been forced by a number of factors including the increase of guerrilla actions and other nationalist activities in Zimbabwe, the collapse of Portuguese rule in Mozambique and Angola, and South Africa's unwillingness to commit itself to military actions in Zimbabwe that could set off massive Black protests in South Africa.

However, the Smith regime refused to live up to its commitments. On January 9, Smith's minister of justice announced that no more political prisoners would be released because African guerrilla operations had not been halted. At that time only 100 of 350 prisoners scheduled to be released had been set free.

The statement about guerrilla operations has been denounced as hypocritical. According to the Africans, the agreement called for a cease-fire after the provisions of the Lusaka agreement had been met by the Smith regime.

The Smith regime says that it will meet these obligations only after the cease-fire. It thus appears that Smith views a cease-fire as a complete surrender and disarming of the freedom fighters, which would undermine the



Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of Zimbabwe African National Union, handcuffed during previous arrest by white supremacist regime in 1969.

power of the Zimbabwean nationalists to push for their demands.

During February, ANC leaders met with South African Foreign Minister Dr. Hilgard Muller in Zambia to discuss the several thousand South African "police" stationed on the Zambia-Zimbabwe border. These forces had been used against the guerrilla forces. Following this discussion it was announced that "some elements of the South African police" were withdrawing from the border areas, although it was made clear that they would not leave Zimbabwe.

Despite these moves, the talks did not go forward. The last meeting in February lasted only forty-five minutes.

The main stumbling block is the demand for Black majority rule. On January 15, Smith declared that his government had no intention "to hand over our country to a black-majority government."

"There never has been such a policy in Rhodesia," he told a gathering of whites at a factory-dedication ceremony.

The March 29 Peoples Translation Service, a radical news service based in Berkeley, California, described a demonstration in support of ZANU's position at a meeting of the ANC executive on March 2. This meeting

was to prepare for talks with the Smith regime scheduled for March 6.

"When Sithole and Robert Mugabe (ZANU Secretary General) arrived for the meeting," PTS said, "thousands of waiting supporters lifted both leaders and carried them shoulder-high into the meeting amid wild cheer and shouts of 'Pamberi ne chimurenga' (forward with the revolution); 'Freedom or death!' 'Fight to the bitter end!'"

Two days later Sithole was arrested. He was initially charged with plotting to assassinate three other ANC leaders: Bishop Abel Muzorewa, a Methodist, who is the leader of the ANC; Muzorewa's deputy, Dr. Elliott Gabelah; and Joshua Nkomo, head of ZAPU. Two weeks later, Sithole was charged with supporting guerrilla warfare and blocking the cease-fire in his position as formal commander in chief of ZANU's armed wing.

Important lessons can be drawn from the recent experience in Zimbabwe. Chief among these is that the struggle for national liberation cannot be advanced through kowtowing in negotiations with South Africa. The quid pro quo for the recent "détente" was obviously the assistance of African capitalist leaders like Kaunda in crushing the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

Russell Foundation threatened with demolition

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation,* which has been active in the defense of political prisoners around the world, has lost a round in the fight to save its printing shop and offices from demolition. The Nottingham Planning Committee approved the demolition plans March 24, brushing aside all other proposals for the redevelopment of the area that would have spared the foundation's building.

Ken Coates, a director of the foundation, said after the decision was reached, "we are not leaving this

building. The fight has not yet begun. The people of Nottingham have not even been brought into the debate yet."

During the past three years, the Russell Press has printed about 300 radical and socialist pamphlets at inexpensive rates for a variety of groups. The Nottingham Council's present plans to redevelop the area would involve the widening of Gamble Street and the destruction of the foundation's facilities.

The Russell Foundation's activities in defense of political prisoners is also being threatened by Inland Revenue, which is claiming a corporation tax of £35,200 on the royalties for the first volume of Bertrand Russell's autobiog-

raphy, which had been signed over to the foundation.

"Cash reserves don't exist to pay the full amount the Revenue is claiming," Coates stated. "We can't pay without liquidating the Press and we can't wait till the judgment in order to raise the funds."

Protests against the tax suit may be sent to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Letters protesting the moves to demolish the foundation's offices may be sent to the Lord Mayor of Nottingham, Old Market Square, Nottingham, England. Copies of all protests should be sent to the foundation.

*Bertrand Russell House, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, England.

New protests by Korean students; troops occupy university

Following the declaration of a state of emergency on April 8 by South Korean President Park Chung Hee, about 200 government troops stormed Korea University and closed it down in an effort to halt continuing student protests against Park's repressive regime.

The next day, about 300 Korea University students staged a street demonstration in defiance of the state of emergency and demanded the release of jailed students and the lifting of the decree. An estimated 3,000 students at three other universities held rallies on their campuses to protest the closing of Korea University. Some of the demonstrations called for the resignation of Park, the disbanding of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, and freedom of the press. By April 12, twenty universities in South Korea had been closed.

The Seoul regime reimprisoned twelve dissidents, including nine students who were released two months ago after receiving suspended sentences. All twelve were tried by military courts in April 1974 on charges of having plotted to overthrow Park.

Kim Sang Jin, a student at Seoul National University, died April 12

after stabbing himself in the stomach in protest against the government repression.

As a brutal warning to student protesters, eight persons accused of belonging to the outlawed People's Revolutionary party were hanged April 9, barely twenty-four hours after the Supreme Court rejected their appeals. They had been tried and sentenced to death during secret military trials. Nine others accused in the case had been given life sentences and the remaining four sentenced to shorter prison terms. The regime had charged the twenty-one defendants with spying for North Korea and aiding the student demonstrations.

During the trial, the defendants denied the charges and said they had "confessed" only under torture. When the sentences were confirmed by the Supreme Court April 8, members of their families shouted "injustice" and "unfair trial."

The day after the executions, about 200 riot police broke up the funeral for Song Sang Jin, one of those executed, to prevent it from becoming a political demonstration. Members of the family who resisted were dragged from the hearse, and a priest was clubbed.



Banner welcoming President Ford to Korea last November shows him beside dictator Park Chung Hee.

United actions for Argentine political prisoners

By Judy White

In a massive assault on militant trade unions in the Buenos Aires region and in northwestern Argentina, police arrested several hundred workers in mid-March.

In Villa Constitución, the central focus of the operation, 4,000 federal and provincial police raided hundreds of homes and factories in the predawn hours of March 20. The Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* of March 27, citing "authorized sources," said that "security forces had held a detailed list of the arrested activists for seven months." The list was used to help single out the more than 200 trade unionists detained.

At approximately the same time, police raided the nearby towns of Zárate and Campana, where several dozen more workers were arrested, along with the families of some "wanted" activists who were not at home when the police arrived.

A member of the plant committee at the Gabilondo metalworks in Zárate described the police dragnet in the March 29 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina):

"They went to look for people one by one, house by house. Groups of seven or eight armed police in uniform would go to each house. Sometimes they entered by force, breaking down the doors. In many compañeros' homes, they ripped up the floors in the bathroom or elsewhere on the pretext of looking for arms. They turned everything upside down, looking for what they call 'subversive' materials..."

The following day, fourteen sugar workers were shot and 140 arrested when 1,400 armed police broke up a workers demonstration at the Ledesma mill in Jujuy.

Although some of those arrested in these raids were released, the majority are still being held, many without the chance of even being able to obtain a lawyer.

The PST, which has been campaigning to win the release of political prisoners since the state of siege was declared in Argentina last November, made the following statement in the March 29 *Avanzada Socialista*:

"To the long list of political prisoners from the workers and student movements and the political parties, including those from our own party, must now be added the hundreds of compañeros arrested in the raids in Rosario, Zárate, Campana, Jujuy, and other places. The first prisoners paid the price of having opposed the Social Pact and the government's rightist course. The new ones are paying the price of having initiated this wave of struggles undertaken by the workers to defend their standard of living, a wave the government is trying to stop in its early stages.

"In the present situation of profound political instability, our party, as a principled revolutionary current, will fight steadfastly against any coup but will continue to demand the release of these leaders and activists. To free them, mass mobilizations are necessary, following the heroic example of the compañeros at Villa Constitución."

The PST was referring to the strike immediately launched by thousands of workers in Villa Constitución when they learned of the arrest of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) leadership and militants.

Four members of the PST are in jail—attorneys Juan Llanos and Daniel Veiga, longtime activist Silvio Dragunsky, and student leader Luisa Segura.

Segura, who was arrested November 14 while standing guard in the dining room at the University of Tucumán, described her arrest in the March 12

issue of *Avanzada Socialista*:

"On November 14 a meeting of activists from all student political groups was held in the university dining room. The purpose of the meeting was to set up shifts to watch over the dining room equipment. We were doing this because a few days before, the fascists had set off an explosion, destroying the other dining room. We also discussed the possibility of the university being shut down. We were almost through with the meeting when the police appeared. Although they found nothing that would suggest illegal activities of any kind, everyone present was arrested—all fifty of us. Almost everyone has been released, but nine of us are still under the jurisdiction of the executive branch. No one explained why we were singled out."

Silvio Dragunsky is a well-known representative of the PST in Bahía Blanca. He was the first student recruited to the party in Bahía. Following a period of activity in other areas, he returned to help in the education of the many new comrades the PST has won in the last three years. One day in January, he was arrested as he was leaving work and has been held ever since. No charges have been filed against him.

United action of the type the PST

has been calling for in defense of political prisoners has begun to develop in the northern industrial belt of Buenos Aires in the wake of the recent police raids. A rally held March 21 in front of the Gabilondo administration's office drew 200 persons to hear speakers from the PST, the Communist party, and the Gabilondo and Callegari plant committees.

On March 22, 150 persons, mainly workers and relatives of those arrested in Zárate, met in the headquarters of the Sindicato de Papeleros (Paperworkers Union) to make plans for a campaign to win the release of arrested workers.

Among those attending were representatives of the PST, CP, Frente de Izquierda Popular (People's Left Front), Partido Socialista Democrático (Democratic Socialist party), Unión de Mujeres Argentinas (Union of Argentine Women), Unión de Entidades Zaratenses (Union of Zárate Organizations), and workers from several trade unions and plant committees in the zone.

The meeting set up a provisional committee to work for the release of the prisoners and decided on two immediate actions: a public rally for the following week and a petition campaign directed at the president and ministry of the interior.

Coming in the April 21

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Shredding the evidence

L.A. cops order destruction of secret files

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles city officials announced April 10 that they have destroyed 1.9 million intelligence files involving an estimated 55,000 individuals and organizations.

Destruction of the files began after a February 26 revelation of their existence by a local newscaster.

Art Kevin, investigative reporter for radio station KMPC, broke the story about the secret police dossiers several weeks ago. He reported the files had created difficulty within the administration of Mayor Tom Bradley, when a member of his police commission learned that there was a dossier on his wife who was active in Women For, a liberal grouping.

In an interview, Kevin said he believed the massive destruction of the files had been pushed through because city officials feared a suit similar to the one recently brought against the police in Houston by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). That suit resulted in the court impounding extensive secret dossiers there.

"I know for a fact," Kevin said, "that chief [Edward] Davis was very upset by the lockup of the Houston intelligence files by the court. He took the initiative before it was done here."

Linda Hunt, public relations director of the ACLU of Southern California, said, "To destroy these files without the individuals and organizations involved having an opportunity to see what information was contained in them and the process by which the information was gathered is like destroying the Nixon tapes without allowing people to know what was on them."

In announcing destruction of the files, Bradley said the action should

"show the nation that Los Angeles is willing to lead the way for positive social change."

If there were a grain of truth in the mayor's statement, he would not have even permitted the destruction of the files. Rather he would have ordered that they be turned over to those who had been spied on so that people could see what the illegal secret activities of the police have been.

This would have opened the way for legal action against those officials responsible for illegal surveillance, illegal infiltration of organizations,



Former cop Bradley says destruction of cop files shows Los Angeles is 'leading the way forward.'

and illegal acts of provocation against organizations, often in collaboration with ultrarightist groupings.

Instead there is now an attempt to persuade the people that all this was done sometime in the dim past and that it is all over now.

But is it?

Police commission President Sam Williams, Bradley's former law partner, said that the files extended "from the Wobblies [Industrial Workers of the World] of the twenties to some antiwar demonstrators of the sixties," and mainly included "outdated and irrelevant information."

This is patently misleading. According to reporter Art Kevin—and there has been no denial of this—most of the destroyed files were compiled by the Public Disorder Intelligence Division of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), an offshoot of the department's sinister Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS). The "Public Disorder" section was not organized until 1970.

In his original revelation about the existence of the files, Kevin had asserted that they included thousands of public figures who had associated themselves in any way with a social cause or issue.

Louis Tackwood, who was an informer and provocateur for the LAPD, had charged that the secret police division had set up attacks on the Black Panther party, the Nation of Islam, and others. He charged that they had advance knowledge of the Marin County Courthouse shoot-out in 1970 and the George Jackson "escape" attempt at San Quentin.

These charges of illegal conspiratorial activity by the CCS have been reiterated and expanded in a state supreme court affidavit filed by a

Marin County public defender, acting as attorney for one of the San Quentin Six charged with participation in that alleged breakout attempt.

Recently it was also disclosed that the LAPD secret dossiers included an "Alpha file," a compilation of the names of Black and Chicano young people branded as "potential troublemakers." The names are compiled on the basis of "information" from school bus drivers and others.

And recently the state supreme court issued a ruling barring the LAPD from conducting indiscriminate snooping in university classrooms. The ruling resulted from a suit filed by a UCLA professor in which he charged that members of the LAPD secretly registered as students, monitored classroom discussions, and infiltrated campus organizations. He charged they compiled dossiers "which pertain to no illegal activity or act."

The court held that such undercover activity violated a state "right-to-privacy" statute.

Even while announcing the destruction of the 1.9 million files, city officials said consolidation of remaining data left the Public Disorder Intelligence Division with some 2,500 files on about that number of individuals and organizations. They declined to explain who the targets of this continuing surveillance are or what legal justification there is for it.

Police commission head Williams said that guidelines are being drawn up to ensure that there would be no abrogation of civil rights with the continuing surveillance.

Police Chief Davis, who is currently training department members to deal with "food riots," said he anticipates no problems with the new guidelines.

Starsky on tour

Professors back academic freedom fight

By Nelson Blackstock

Morris Starsky's current tour to publicize his fight for academic freedom has drawn support from the two most important organizations representing university and college teachers.

Norman Swenson, president of the Cook County College Teachers Union, American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Local 1600, issued a public statement of support for Starsky during Starsky's visit to Illinois, the first stop on his tour. And the University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana, chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) sponsored a campus meeting on April 2 for Starsky. The meeting was cosponsored by the AFT, the student government, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing Starsky's tour.

"When a government agency directly intervenes to have a professor fired for his or her political ideas or activities, as the FBI did in my case, the government makes a mockery of its contention that colleges and universities are the free marketplaces of ideas," Starsky told the ninety students and teachers at the Champaign-Urbana meeting.

"The FBI's secret 'Counterintelligence Program,' complete with its anonymous poison-pen letters intended to discredit me and destroy political dissent," Starsky continued, "prove that the government has done its utmost to try to convert the campuses into academic meat markets where only government-certified ideas are expressed."

In his message backing Starsky's fight for reinstatement at Arizona State University, Swenson wrote, "The issues raised in the case of Professor Morris Starsky are of fundamental concern to all who support the democratic right of working people to organize into trade unions. Professor Starsky was fired by the Arizona State Board of Regents in 1970 partly as a result of his participation in the formation of American Federation of Teachers (AFT) local 2050 on the Arizona State University campus."

"For those who support civil liberties and democratic rights the watchword has always been that an injury to one is an injury to all. Professor Starsky is a union brother and an injured one with whom I solidarize," Swenson concluded.

Starsky also addressed meetings at Roosevelt University, Loyola University, and the University of Illinois Circle Campus, where a "Speak-out Against Police Spying" was held. The speakout occurred in the context of unfolding revelations of Chicago police spying and collusion between police and the ultraright Legion of Justice in the armed attack on the SWP headquarters in 1969.

David Sokol, head of the Circle Campus AAUP, wrote a letter urging AAUP members to attend "An Evening for Academic Freedom," an April 3 benefit that raised \$260.

The AAUP nationally continues to lend important backing to Starsky's case. The March 10 issue of *Higher Education Daily* reported on a message sent by Jordan Kurland, associate

general secretary of the AAUP, to the president of the Arizona Board of Regents. "If the Board of Regents does not act now to reinstate Professor Starsky," Kurland wrote, "we intend, under our longstanding responsibilities, to authorize an *ad hoc* committee to conduct an investigation and promptly prepare a report which, upon approval of our Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure, we shall publish in order to bring this matter fully to the attention of the academic profession."

On March 21 Kurland mailed Starsky a check for fifteen hundred dollars to help cover legal expenses in his case.

In its quarterly magazine *Academe*, the AAUP featured a two-page spread

on its support to Starsky's case.

After leaving Illinois, Starsky went to Michigan, where he was scheduled to address a meeting cosponsored by the PRDF and the AAUP at Wayne State University, speak at the University of Michigan Law School, and tape an interview on the nationally syndicated Lou Gordon television show.

From Michigan, Starsky will travel to Cleveland, where a meeting at Case Western Reserve Law School is being organized by the Student Bar Association. In Louisville, Kentucky, a cocktail reception is planned with the help of Anne Braden and other local PRDF supporters.

Additional tour stops will be in Minneapolis, New York, Atlanta, and Los Angeles.



Morris Starsky has won support from national AAUP and from AFT locals in his fight for reinstatement at Arizona State University.

Piri Thomas: walking tall

Savior, Savior, Hold My Hand by Piri Thomas. Bantam Books. New York, 1973. 336 pages with glossary. \$1.50.

The victims of racism and poverty have a new and powerful voice in Piri Thomas. *Savior, Savior, Hold My Hand* is a book about the day-to-day struggles of a Black Puerto Rican in New York City's Spanish Harlem. It's a powerful and moving autobiography of an ex-youth gang fighter, drug victim, stick-up man, and prisoner.

This is the second book by Piri Thomas. In *Down These Mean Streets* he took us from the time of the Great Depression, when Piri was ten years old, to his release from Comstock prison. In *Savior*, Piri takes us from the first few days out of prison to his break with the church. The books should be read in the order they were written.

I can personally testify to the books' accuracy and truthfulness due to my own experience as a young drug victim in the mid-1950s. One of the surprising things is that nothing had changed from Piri's Spanish Harlem in the 1940s to my South Bronx in the 1950s. In the 1970s many things have changed, and for the worse.

Piri lived his books. He completely succeeds in his attempt to paint us a picture of the street scenes, gang warfare, and pain of being a victim of drugs and of racism.

Piri's ability to communicate what racism is all about and his talent for making us feel what it is to be a victim of racism more than completely justify his works.

'Walk tall'

"Walk tall or not at all," the title of the last chapter of *Savior*, expresses the consciousness of today's ghetto youth, whom Piri represents. Many jails are today filled with people like Piri who wanted to "walk tall or not at all"; the victims of capitalist exploitation who knew no other way to

Books

express themselves but to rebel against society by drugs and petty crime.

Today we see hope in the new forms of struggle all around us. There are hundreds of people coming out of prisons each month, people who, like Piri, tried a form of rebellion and failed. These ex-prisoners were educated in a special school and they will be a mighty force on the side of the oppressed.

The racism in New York's construction industry is laid out for us in the book. After many weeks of looking for work and getting the runaround, Piri comes close to getting a construction job, or at least finds a foreman willing to talk to him. (In New York the runaround is: you must have a union card to get a job, and you must have a job to get a union card.)

Piri asks the foreman for a job as a bricklayer. The foreman asks Piri for his job experience. Before the foreman has a chance to say anything, Piri picks up a trowel and lays six bricks down perfectly. In Piri's words, like "a Madison Avenue barber." The foreman likes the work, and asks, "Union?" but answers himself, "Not in. You trying?"

The expression on Piri's face says, you better believe it.

Foreman: "Try for apprentice?"

Piri puts his hands out to show their color. "You must know how it is with the union."

Foreman: "Yeah, I know, but there's ways of getting around that."

The foreman presses Piri for work experience. Piri then gets a flash, "And the truth shall make you free." He tells all to the foreman—prison, armed robbery, and prison-learned bricklaying.

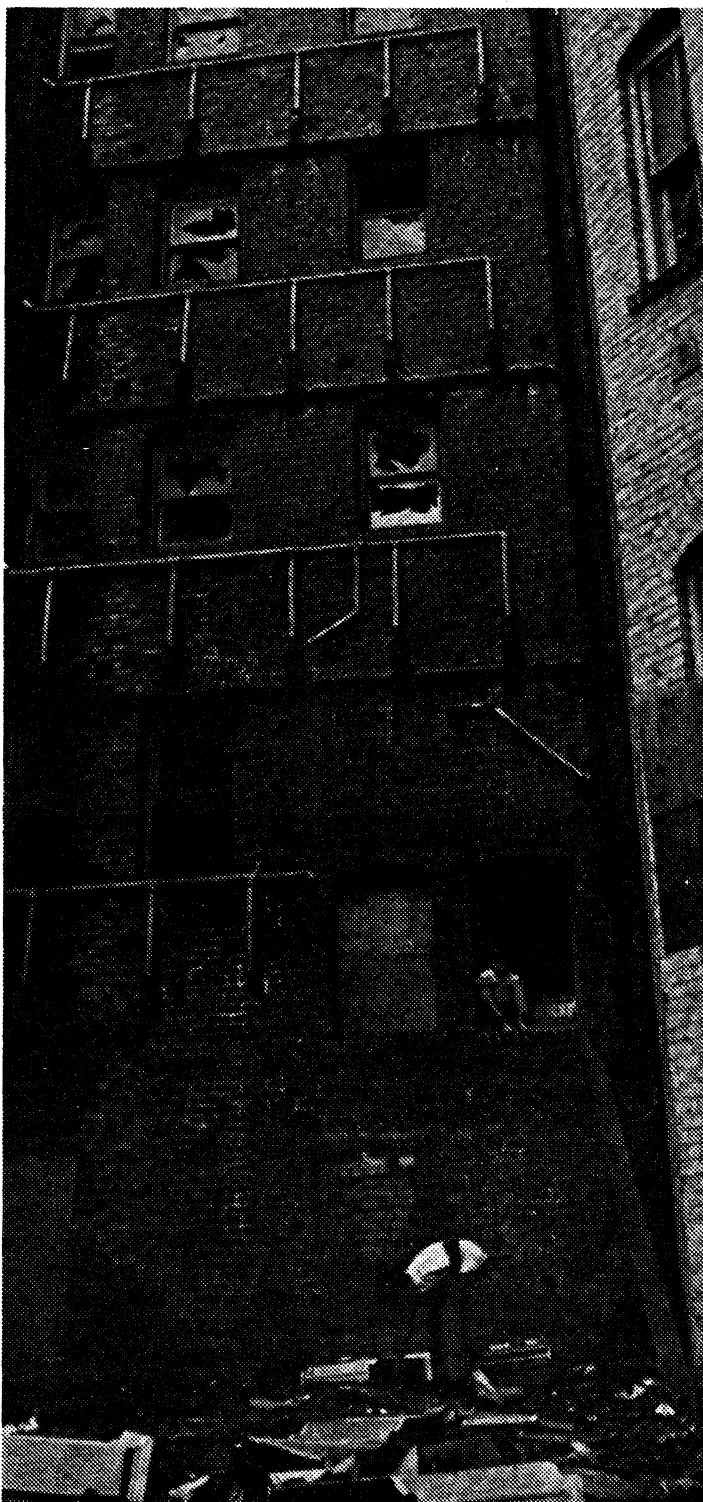
The foreman answers, "Jesus Christ, kid. The union is tough to get into. . . . It was gonna be hard to get you in, being straight, but having been in the can, that blows it, kid. There's guys trying to get in that could be priests."

After some time Piri finds a job as a forty-dollar-a-week all-around man in a sweat shop.

One of the myths exploded in this exchange is the one about prisons preparing people for the world. Piri is one of the lucky ones who has talent and learned a trade. But it is of no use in this racist society. A Black Puerto Rican ex-con has about as much chance of becoming a bricklayer as of becoming an astronaut.

The church

All through the book Piri has been involved with the church and work with youth gangs. While working with the church and its representative, John the Christian, Piri finds out where they are at.



'Nothing had changed from Piri's Spanish Harlem in the 1940s to my South Bronx in the 1950s.'

A big turning point comes when Piri is forced by John the Christian to hand over to the cops a fourteen-year-old down-and-out kid for writing a threatening letter to a social worker.

Piri: "In the Bible it says that Christians are supposed to go to spread the word, but God Almighty, I think they at least should try understanding the people they're spreading the word to. Don't these ivory-tower Christians know anything except their own stick of living?"

John the Christian: "Listen, Piri. You're young in the Lord. I've told you many times, you still lack discipline."

It becomes apparent that John and the church are using Piri as a way of building prestige in the white world.

Piri begins a closer examination of the church, and picks up on Paul. Some children ask Piri if the Bible says what they think it says.

Piri says, "I read from I Timothy 6:1-2, the Revised Standard Version, a letter from Paul to Timothy:

"Let all who are under the yoke of slavery regard the master as worthy of all honor so that the name of God and the teachings may not be defamed.

"Those who have believing masters must not be disrespected on the ground that they are brethren. Rather, they must serve all the better since those who benefit by their service are believers and beloved."

"Wow," says Piri. "I yelled inside my head. *Diggit, Paul, you dug slavery. Instead of a real Christian putting slavery down, you're telling people to dig their slavery and like it all the better because their masters are Christians.*"

Some people will criticize Piri Thomas for pointing out problems and not coming up with solutions. I don't think this is a legitimate criticism. When problems are given wide publicity a big step has been taken in a positive direction. It's up to other people—to us—to take up the fight.

—James Mendieta

Minutes of the Bolshevik party: 1917-18

The Bolsheviks and the October Revolution: Central Committee Minutes of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks), August 1917–February 1918. Pluto Press, London, 1974. 331 pp. with index. £6.60 cloth, £2.70 paper.

This, as the publisher warns, is not a book for people starting to study the Russian Revolution of 1917. But it is a useful book for people already familiar with the main development of that revolution who want to acquire added insight into the nature of the Bolshevik leadership at three critical points shortly before and after they took power.

At the core of the book are the Bolshevik Central Committee minutes during the period when they were deciding whether or not to lead the insurrection that gave power to the soviets; during the crisis about the composition of the new government immediately after the insurrection; and during the dispute a few months later over the German conditions for ending the war embodied in the Brest-Litovsk treaty.

The Central Committee minutes are brief résumés of motions passed and defeated, of reports received, etc. Some were important, others not. They are supplemented, in the second Russian edition of 1958 that is translated here, by explanatory documents of the 1917-18 period and notes prepared by the Kremlin hacks of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. These supply background information without which the minutes would be meaningless, but they often do it in such a way as to distort what was happening. Sometimes they are utter falsifications.

As an antidote Pluto Press has provided notes of its own, written by Tony Cliff, which correct some of the worst distortions in type that is easily distinguished from the Institute of Marxism-Leninism's notes. The translation by Anne Bone is very good.

The Bolshevik party was, before its Stalinist degeneration, the best revolutionary organization the world has ever known, but few people today know much about its real character. That is not only because of capitalist propaganda, but also because the Stalinists, both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking, picture it in their own image—bureaucratic, monolithic, and "infallible."

The Central Committee minutes, like Leon Trotsky's writings in the *History of the Russian Revolution* and elsewhere, help to expose their distortions and to show that the Bolsheviks' victories were made possible by internal struggles, democratically conducted. Incidentally, the first (1929) Russian edition of this book was available to Trotsky when he wrote his *History* in the early 1930s, and his account incorporates its information in every important detail.

—G.B.

Reach 99% of goal

Antiwar actions boost Militant sales drive

By Pat Galligan

Single-copy sales of the April 11 *Militant* (headline: "Vietnam rebel gains: a victory for all humanity") reached 9,656 copies in local areas—the best sales week of the spring campaign so far.

Many of our supporters across the country, who were active in building the mass demonstrations against the war a few years ago, found themselves once again organizing actions to stop new U.S. military moves toward intervention in Vietnam. *Militant* salespeople were inspired by the developments in Vietnam to make a special effort to get out the truth about the Vietnamese struggle. Glen Swanson reports that while selling the April 11 *Militant*, members of the Logan, Utah, Young Socialist Alliance "took great pleasure in displaying the headline."

Twenty-eight of the thirty-nine areas reporting made their weekly sales goals, and 99 percent of the national sales goal was achieved.

Amarillo, Texas; Champaign, Illinois; Cleveland; Denver; St. Louis; San Francisco; and Syracuse, New York, have all made their goals each of the seven weeks of the sales campaign thus far.

Last week 1,022 subscriptions were sent in, bringing the total received to 8,170. In this week, the final one of the subscription drive, 830 subscriptions are needed to reach the national goal of 9,000.

Antiwar sentiment among GIs and sailors has boosted sales of recent issues of the *Militant* in several cities. For example, Bay Area socialists report that sales to GIs account for a high percentage of the *Militants* sold

each week at the San Francisco airport.

Many of the *Militants* sold in the downtown area and in the parks of San Diego are to military personnel.

Jerry Freiwirth, a member of the YSA there, explains, "Four ships have already left San Diego for Vietnam, and the sailors here are not fooled by the government's 'humanitarian' gestures."

Freiwirth adds: "Sailors who buy the *Militant* are impressed with its honest reporting on the situation in Vietnam and its exposure of the government's real intentions."

In response to the developments in Vietnam, antiwar rallies and teach-ins have been held on a number of campuses across the country.

Twenty copies of the April 11 *Militant* were sold at an antiwar rally at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. The rally was addressed by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

"Students on the campus who were active in the antiwar movement are buying the *Militant* to read the truth about the situation in Vietnam and to find out how the FBI disrupted antiwar activities," comments YSA member Susie Berman.

Twenty-five percent of the *Militants* sold each week in local areas are sold to students. In addition, sales of the fifteen traveling Young Socialist teams on campuses across the country averaged about 1,500 copies per week.

"Many students on the campuses we have visited this spring are interested in finding a radical alternative," notes Wayne Hieber, captain of the New York/New Jersey/Connecticut team.

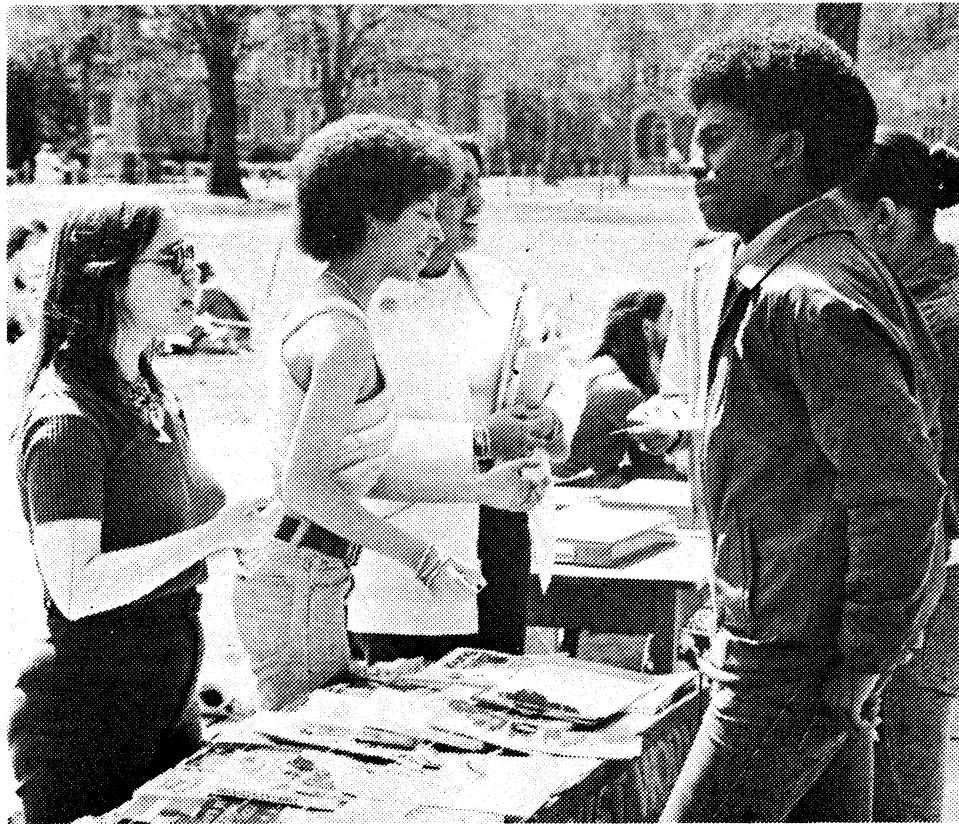
"They buy the *Militant* because it proposes such an alternative," he said.

Hieber also reports interest in the *Militant's* coverage of the May 17 March against Racism in Boston.

"Students see the *Militant* as an organizer. They read it to find out about plans for May 17 and how they can get involved," Hieber added.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
Sacramento, Calif.	18	35	194
Madison, Wis.	25	44	176
Baltimore	75	100	133
San Francisco	450	514	129
Boston	400	460	115
Cleveland	350	382	109
Bloomington, Ind.	100	108	108
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	429	107
Washington, D.C.	400	427	107
Chicago	600	622	104
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	414	104
L.A. (West Side)	375	386	103
Houston	500	503	101
Philadelphia	400	405	101
St. Louis	400	402	101
Denver	350	355	101
Oakland/Berkeley	600	600	100
Pittsburgh	375	376	100
Twin Cities	300	301	100
San Diego	275	276	100
Charleston, W.Va.	50	50	100
Logan, Utah	45	45	100
Louisville, Ky.	35	35	100
San Antonio, Tex.	35	35	100
Tucson, Ariz.	25	25	100
Amarillo, Tex.	10	10	100
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100
Syracuse, N.Y.	5	5	100
Detroit	600	555	93
Atlanta	475	425	89
Milwaukee	200	176	88
Seattle	275	235	85
Albany, N.Y.	30	23	77
L.A. (Central-East)	450	340	76
East Lansing, Mich.	50	37	74
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	304	72
Lawrence, Kans.	25	15	60
Portland, Ore.	325	189	58
State College, Pa.	15	8	53
TOTAL	9,700	9,656	99



Militant/Dennis Scarla
Mid-Atlantic Young Socialist team gets good response at literature table at Duke University in North Carolina.

Protest strip-mine curbs

Coal bosses stage phony 'miners caravan'

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Hundreds of coal trucks lumbered down Pennsylvania Avenue April 8 in what was billed as a "coal miners' caravan."

The "coal miners" picketed the White House and later went to Capitol Hill. Their purpose was to urge defeat of the strip-mine bill now before Congress.

The bill, which Congress has just passed, would place federal restrictions on strip mining for the first time. Last year, Ford vetoed a similar bill amid cries of the strip-mine owners that environmental restrictions would put them out of business.

The bill requires that strip-mined land be restored to its original contour after use. This is impossible, say the coal companies, in an era of energy shortage and high unemployment. Productivity must be placed before environment, they claim, and if forced to comply with such a law, they would simply have to shut down, throwing thousands of workers out of their jobs.

The coal bosses threw together the "coal miners' caravan" to back up these arguments. But it was clear from the start whose interests were being served by the demonstration—not miners and other working people, but the coal companies that have profited magnificently while destroying the hills of Appalachia.

The cost of the caravan was estimated at \$200,000 to \$400,000. The "coal miners" were put up at the plush Washington Hilton and Dupont Plaza hotels, and each received an envelope containing fifty dollars' spending money upon arriving in town.

The Appalachian Organization of Surface Miners and Truckers, the "sponsoring" group, conceded that the demonstration was underwritten by the companies. One spokesperson, according to the April 9 *Washington Post*, "described [it] as a coalition of

local unions, mine operators, and other businessmen."

However, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), did not endorse or support the action. In fact, the march was in part directed against the UMWA, which supports the strip-mine bill.

Some of the demonstrators threatened to picket at the UMWA headquarters here, but did not do so. Others carried signs reading "Miller let us down." Arnold Miller is the president of the UMWA.

A spokesperson at the UMWA headquarters reiterated the union's support for laws forcing strip-mine owners to reclaim the land. He added that "99 percent of the people who marched here today were independent coal operators."

Fred Wilson, secretary-treasurer of UMWA District 28, where many of the demonstrators came from, charged that "the millionaires" were manipulating strip-mine workers and using them in an effort to defeat the bill.

Some of the millionaires' friends in Congress came out to welcome the caravan and support its aims. Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) spoke to the protesters at the Capitol. "This is democracy in action," he told them. "I'm proud that you come not, as so many do, asking welfare, but to seek jobs."

Anyone genuinely concerned with the millions seeking jobs, however, would be quick to point out that laws requiring restoration of strip-mined land could open up thousands of new jobs, not cut back on jobs.

Many others could be put back to work if the coal companies were forced to reclaim even a tiny fraction of the millions of acres they have ruined in past years.

But profits, not jobs or the environment, come number one in the coal business.



Calendar

ATLANTA

VIETNAM: THIRTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. Speakers: Brian Riffart, Vietnam veteran; Lynn Henderson, member of SWP National Committee. Fri., Apr. 25, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp.: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. Film on frame-up conviction of the Rosenbergs. Speaker: Diane Germano, Massachusetts Rosenberg Committee. Fri., April 25, 8:00 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

RACISM IN THE BOSTON SCHOOLS: A FIRST-HAND VIEW. Speakers: Andre Jean-Louis, victim of racist beating in South Boston; Leon Rock, youth adviser, Boston NAACP; Black students from several Boston area junior and senior high schools. Sat., April 26, 3:30 p.m. National Center of Afro-American Artists—Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts, 122 Elm St., Dorchester. Ausp: National Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (617) 266-9665.

DETROIT

WHY VIETNAM WILL WIN. Speakers: Bruce Cameron, Indochina Peace Campaign; Michael Kelly, SWP. Fri., April 26, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

HOW TO FIGHT RACISM IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. Speakers: Charles Johnson, chief counsel, Los Angeles desegregation suit, NAACP member; Raul Wilson, president, Padres Unidos of the Magnolia School; and Willie Petty, 1975 SWP candidate for Los Angeles School Board. Fri., April 25, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND CUTBACKS. Panel discussion with Andy Rose, *Militant* staff writer; union and campus representatives. Fri., April 25, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

CHILE: THE DAYS OF TERROR ARE NOT OVER. Speakers: Rodolfo Campos, Chilean imprisoned and tortured by junta for a year and a half; Joe Lombardo, USLA; representative of Amnesty International. Fri., April 25, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

BOSTON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism. Fri., April 25, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

SAN DIEGO

THE ROSENBERG CASE: HISTORY OF A FRAME-UP. Speaker: Rev. Amos Murphy, Commit-

tee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case. Fri., April 25, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

...jobs

Continued from page 3

trict 7. AFSCME Local 100, made up of Cleveland city employees and hard hit by layoffs, has already filled its bus and has a "waiting list" of 100, according to the AFSCME office.

- **Chicago.** Support is being organized out of the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) office. Six buses are reportedly coming from U.S. locals and one each from the Chicago Teachers Union, Meat Cutters Local P500, the Textile Workers Union, and AFGE together with AFSCME Local 1006.

- **Youngstown.** A bus from USWA Local 1462 is already filled up.

- **Atlanta.** At least one bus is coming from AFSCME Local 1664.

A rally for jobs will also be held on April 26 in San Francisco. The demonstration will begin at noon at the Civic Center Plaza. Sponsored by the Coalition to Fight the High Cost of Living, it is endorsed by a number of Bay Area unions, community groups, and political figures.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 4

about. In fact nearly all observers agreed that the worst danger was the Saigon troops. They collapsed into a murderous rabble terrorizing the population.

Thus Washington's scare stories about the need to evacuate its loyal followers are exposed for what they are—part of the propaganda cooked up in support of Thieu's murderous regime. Public opinion polls in the United States show the overwhelming majority of the population opposed to any more military aid to the Saigon dictatorship and even stronger opposition to the reintroduction of American troops, so Ford and Kissinger must twist and turn and delay as much as they can to prolong the American presence. Even the Americans in

Saigon have become pawns in their political game.

As the military situation grows worse for Saigon, the puppets that Washington has created grow more desperate. According to an article in the April 13 *Washington Post*, intelligence reports say Saigon's air force is prepared to attack U.S. craft at Tan Son Nhut Air Base to prevent American departure at least until and unless the Vietnamese commanders themselves are given a way out.

"The South Vietnamese may have only one battle left in them," wrote James Reston in the April 13 *New York Times*, "and it could be against us, so the United States may have to face the ultimate irony of having to fight its way out of that tragic peninsula against its own ally."

...YWLL

Continued from page 8

Others will learn that Blacks will not relinquish their rights and that it is a losing battle to attempt to maintain their privileges at the expense of Blacks. The sooner whites find this out the better. It is the precondition for Black-white unity.

The real test for all those who claim to oppose racism is to show it in action, by throwing their energies into building May 17 among whites, Blacks, students, trade unionists—everyone who can be convinced to take a stand for equal rights now.

The YWLL approach to fighting racism fails to understand the vital need for Blacks to take the lead in building a powerful counterforce to the racists through mass action.

Berkelhammer's advice on how to fight racism is hollow phrasemongering from an organization that to this date has not thrown its energies into building May 17, but instead tries to undercut a mass mobilization that can be a big step toward turning the tide against the racists.

...Coral

Continued from page 13

sent reporters. In addition an Associated Press dispatch about the news conference was carried in the U.S.

Spanish-language news media.

At the news conference Coral emphasized the growing danger of a possible right-wing coup in Argentina.

"The government is caught in a vicious circle of increasing repression and terrorism, designed to stop strikes and other struggles, but the workers continue to mobilize," he said. "The Argentine capitalists and the imperialists are desperately looking for a way out of this vicious circle, through a military coup."

Coral said that such a coup would take away the remaining democratic rights of Argentine workers and that his party will fight against any attempted coup because of this. He appealed for increased international protests to stop such a coup.

Samizdat

Voices of the Soviet Opposition

An anthology of dissident writing circulated clandestinely in the Soviet Union, edited by George Saunders. This collection includes memoirs of the early struggles against the growing Stalin bureaucracy; accounts of personal experiences in the prison camps; and speeches, writings, and petitions of the recent dissident movement. A Monad Press book. 464 pp., \$15, paper \$3.95

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Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512, YSA—(213) 483-2581.

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Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

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Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA,

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Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340, YSA—(414) 283-9380.

young socialist
DESEGREGATE BOSTON SCHOOLS
JOIN THE MARCH
ON BOSTON MAY 17



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FREE JOAN LITTLE!

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, North Carolina—Pretrial hearings began here April 14 in the case of Joan Little, a twenty-year-old Black woman whose defense has won national support. Little faces the death penalty on the charge of killing a white jailer who tried to rape her.

"They can't do but one thing—if they want to do the right thing—and that's free her," said Lorraine Haywood, a young Black standing outside the courthouse. "They know she acted in self-defense."

The hearings are taking place in the Beaufort County Courthouse, in a room just two floors above the jail cell where the alleged crime occurred on August 27, 1974. Joan Little, confined in the cell on a breaking-and-entering conviction, was attacked by the night jailer, Clarence Alligood. Armed with an ice pick, Alligood tried to rape Little. She fought back, stabbed him, and escaped.

According to the medical report, Alligood was found in the cell naked from the waist down, with evidence of recent sexual activity. The ice pick lay nearby.

But today Little—the victim—has been made the criminal by authorities in this small town in eastern North Carolina. They have whipped up a campaign against her, typified by the editorial that appeared in the *Washington Daily News* the day after Alligood's death.

"The murder of Clarence G. Alligood . . . is one of the most brutal ever to happen in this county," the paper charged. "Here is a man who gave his life in the line of duty."

But Little's case has aroused strong support, particularly from Blacks both here in North Carolina and throughout the country.

On April 15 at a news conference in Washington, D.C., Black Representatives Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) and Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.) called on Attorney General Edward Levi to open a federal investigation into Little's case. They charged that she had been the victim of a blatant miscarriage of justice.

Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women (NOW) also spoke at the news conference in defense of Little and urged a national study of the conditions in women's prisons.

Blacks interviewed by the *Militant* at the pretrial hearings were outraged at the treatment Little has received. Chester Brown, a native of Washington, grew up with Little. He described the pattern of police harassment in the Black community. "You walk past a store and look in the wrong way and they think you're trying to break into the store."

Brown's cousin, Elbert Brown, talked about the racism that pervades



The case against Joan Little is stacked: prejudicial pretrial publicity; grand jury pool discrimination; biased special prosecutor; and rampant racism in Washington, N.C.

Beaufort County. "It's terrible, terrible. Whites control almost everything around here. There's nothing left for the Black person, not in this part of North Carolina."

He emphasized that Black people here have no intention of returning to the days of Jim Crow. "It used to be a Black would walk down the street in a hush, scared he'd get hung or beaten to death. But that don't work anymore. That's all over with."

A Black woman who brought her family to the hearing put it another way: "We are just trying to show that we are free now, and we are going to stay free."

The courtroom was filled on the first day of hearings. Most of the 200 spectators were Blacks from Washington and surrounding cities in North Carolina. One group of Little supporters had traveled all the way from Michigan.

As Judge Henry McKinnon opened the first session he noted the "great public interest" in the case. Pretrial hearings are expected to take a week or more. The defense has submitted eighteen motions, including motions to quash the indictment, change the site of the trial, and delay the trial.

In the first two days of hearings, the defense called witnesses in an effort to establish that the selection of the grand jury that indicted Little systematically excluded almost all Blacks, young people, and women. Grand juries in the county are selected from

objections were generally overruled by the judge.

Most vociferous in his objections was John Wilkinson, who has been hired by the Alligood family as a private prosecutor to assist District Attorney William Griffin.

The defense is asking for Wilkinson's removal from the case because of his role in getting Little convicted in the original breaking-and-entering case. In that trial, Wilkinson represented Little's brother, Jerome, and counseled him to turn state's evidence against his sister in order to get a lighter sentence for himself.

District Attorney Griffin intends to prosecute Little with religious zeal. As he wrote in a letter to the *Washington Daily News* last year, he believes that the death penalty "should be retained, not as a deterrent but as a punishment. . . . The Bible not only requires punishment for crimes, it demands it. . . ."

Through their pretrial motions, the defense attorneys intend to prove that there has been suppression of evidence, intimidation of grand jurors, and other attempts to obstruct justice in this case. Much of this information has been clouded over by the media, which has tried to focus instead on disputes in the defense camp over tactical and money questions.

Based on the composition of the grand jury, the denial of a preliminary hearing to Little when she was arrested, and the suppression of evidence, the defense attorneys have submitted a motion to drop the charges.

The defense is also moving for a change of the trial site to Raleigh or some other large city in another county. The attorneys have asked for a delay in the trial because of Little's poor health (she has a thyroid condition) and the refusal of the state to release evidence to the defense on time.

They have also submitted motions to compel the state to reveal any paid informants in the case and any electronic surveillance used by the prosecution.

lists of registered voters and taxpayers.

Under questioning by defense attorney Jerry Paul, Carolyn Taylor, an official at the county board of elections, testified that in 1974 there were 15,655 registered voters in the county, 2,960 of whom were Black, or 19 percent. Yet Blacks make up about 35 percent of the county population.

In later testimony another county official conceded that the grand jury lists excluded two predominantly Black sections of the county.

The two prosecuting attorneys jumped up frequently during the defense's probing of voter registration procedures, objecting that such questions were irrelevant to the case. Their



U.S. Representatives Shirley Chisholm (left) and Yvonne Burke have demanded an investigation into Little's case.