

THE MILITANT

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

Vietnam: victory for all oppressed



Vietnamese celebrate victory atop U.S. tank abandoned by Saigon troops

The following statement was adopted May 1 by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, meeting in New York City.

On this May Day the world working class is celebrating the history-making victory of the Vietnamese rebels, who have succeeded in expelling the last contingent of imperialist armed forces from their country.

The Socialist Workers party hails this victory, which has come after decades of heroic struggle against a succession of imperialist powers. The triumph is a powerful reaffirmation of what May Day itself represents to the

workers movement: worldwide solidarity of all the oppressed. This solidarity found powerful expression in the international antiwar movement, the strongest component being right here in the United States, where the American revolutionists played a major role.

The victory in Vietnam will inspire the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world who are fighting for national liberation from economic and political domination by imperialism.

It is a victory for all those throughout the world who are fighting oppression and exploitation.

For nearly ten years the war in Southeast Asia was the central focus of the struggle between imperialism

and the advancing world revolution. The U.S. rulers decided to contain the revolution in Vietnam by American military means and entrenchment of a counterrevolutionary government in South Vietnam. They wanted to show the peoples in the colonial and semicolonial areas that any who tried to stand up against U.S. imperialism would be crushed. But although Washington's mighty military machine pounded this tiny country year after year, it could not defeat the popular resistance.

The victory of the Vietnamese people over imperialism was long delayed by the policies of Moscow and Peking.

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In Brief

JOAN LITTLE HEARINGS: Attorneys for Joan Little, a twenty-year-old Black woman, argued on April 29 that her trial should be moved from Washington, North Carolina, where she is accused of murdering a white jailer, to Raleigh or another urban area. The judge has yet to rule on this motion, which is being contested by the prosecution.

In eleven days of hearings the judge denied twelve defense motions, including one to dismiss the murder indictment because in presenting the case to the grand jury, the state had suppressed evidence that the jailer was naked from the waist down and had sperm on his thigh at the time of his death. Little says the jailer was trying to rape her and she acted in self-defense.

The court denied a motion to dismiss the indictment because the state did not grant Little a preliminary hearing promised to her when she surrendered to authorities. Also denied was a motion to hold such a hearing and a motion to throw out the indictment because of discrimination in jury selection. Blacks comprise 30 percent of the county's population, while only 12 percent of the county's jurors are Black.

Defense attorneys also presented evidence that their office is bugged and asked that all evidence obtained through such surveillance be thrown out.

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FARM WORKERS' SUPPORT: The "First East Coast Mobilization for the Farm Workers" was the name of a conference that drew 600 students to Washington, D.C., April 19-20. The gathering was sponsored by the National Student Committee for Farm Workers, which was set up at the last congress of the National Student Association.

"It's within the power of the student movement to make the Gallo boycott successful," said NSA President Kathy Kelly, citing statistics showing the success of the boycott in areas with large student populations.

At a spirited rally at the close of the conference, United Farm Workers President César Chávez said that Gallo has recently spent more than \$20 million in advertising to counteract the effects of the boycott.

SETBACK FOR TEACHERS: The struggle for the right of Michigan teachers to strike suffered a serious setback April 4, when the state supreme court ruled that striking Crestwood, Michigan, teachers had been legally fired by the city's school board. Previous decisions by lower courts had upheld the teachers' contention that they had been illegally fired. The attorney for the teachers plans to ask the court to reconsider its ruling.

The teachers, after working without a contract for eighteen months, struck in December 1974 in defiance of both a court injunction and a state law prohibiting strikes by public employees. The board of education then fired the striking teachers and hired scab replacements. After the court decisions ordering their reinstatement, the striking teachers returned to work—still without a contract.

The Crestwood Board of Education intends to lock out the teachers after April 24 and to reopen the schools with scabs on April 28. The Michigan Employment Relations Commission may seek an injunction to prevent the lockout.

FORCED STERILIZATION CONTINUES: In April of last year, after revelations concerning involuntary sterilization of Black women, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued a series of regulations to hospitals. Recent studies by Ralph Nader's Health Research Group and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) show that the regulations are being almost totally ignored.

For example, only fifteen of fifty-one hospitals in the ACLU survey give the required notice to Medicaid and welfare patients that "no benefits can be withdrawn if they do not wish to be sterilized."

The Nader study estimates that 3,600 hospitals are not complying with the government regulations.

ATTICA RALLY: A thousand people rallied on the steps of the state capitol in Albany, New York, on April 28 to protest the indictments of the Attica Brothers and to demand that all charges be dropped. The demonstrators, many of whom had traveled from around the state, chanted, "Hands off the Attica Brothers," "Drop the indictments," and "Amnesty for the Attica Brothers." The charges are in retaliation against the 1971 rebellion at Attica state prison,

which was suppressed by an armed assault ordered by then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

Three days earlier ten persons had been arrested after a sit-in at the State University of New York at Buffalo. The sit-in was in response to an administration veto of a Student Assembly decision to allocate \$1,300 for buses to the Albany rally.

Following the arrests, nearly 600 students gathered to protest the administration's action and to demand the release of those arrested. The administration claimed that the Albany rally was not an "educational experience" and therefore was not within the state university guidelines regulating the expenditure of student fees.

TEAMSTERS BACK GAY RIGHTS: "When gay people face discrimination in employment, all working people are less secure in their jobs," stated a letter written by Allan Baird, Teamster representative for Beer Drivers and Salesmen's Local 888 in San Francisco. The letter was an endorsement of a bill now before the California state legislature that would extend fair employment practice coverage to gays.

The Teamster local has sought and received the support of the newly formed Bay Area Gay Liberation for their boycott of Coors beer. "We are grateful for the wide support the gay community has given to the Coors Beer Boycott, which is directed against the racist and sexist policies of that company," Baird's letter said.

Earlier the union succeeded in getting a job for an openly gay person. Howard Wallace, a founder of BAGL, now drives a truck for a beer distributor.

The gay-rights bill "is an important step in the long struggle of the gay population for human rights and dignity," Baird stated.

'FINALS NOW, PAY LATER!' In what Howard University officials called the largest demonstration on that campus since 1968, more than 1,000 Black students demonstrated on April 23 against rising tuition rates, faculty cuts, and administration procedures at the Washington, D.C., school.

Even though Howard is one of the most prestigious and well-endowed Black schools in the country, its tuition rates are skyrocketing. The demonstrators charged that further increases will make it impossible for many of them to stay in school.

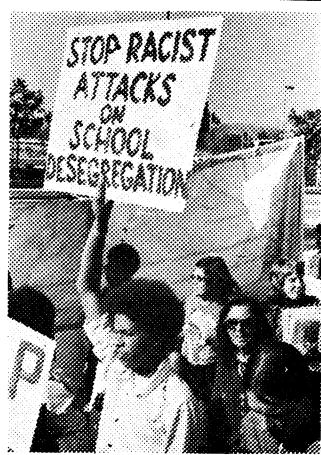
"Get it from who? Get it from the government!" was a popular chant. Half of Howard's budget comes from congressional appropriations.

Demonstrators were angered because the administration had given them forty-eight hours' notice to pay up all bills or be prohibited from taking final exams. "Finals now, pay later!" they chanted. The administration subsequently backed down on the no-exam threat.

—Nelson Blackstock

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...Vietnam: victory for all the oppressed

Continued from page 1

In 1945, after the defeat of Japanese imperialism, the Vietminh swept into power. Under Stalin's agreements at Yalta and Potsdam, however, Indochina was to remain in the imperialist "sphere of influence." The Vietminh, whose leaders were trained in the Stalinist school, accepted the reentry of imperialist forces, which ushered in the next phase of the war.

After the French were defeated by the Vietminh in 1954, both Moscow and Peking pressured the Vietnamese to accept the division of their country and the creation of the artificial "country" of South Vietnam, this time under Washington's aegis.

Moscow and Peking refused from the beginning of Washington's escalation to provide adequate material aid for the Vietnamese rebels or to take the initiative in organizing international mass actions in their behalf. This betrayal was condemned in 1967 by Che Guevara, who warned that the Vietnamese were "tragically alone" in their struggle and that in addition to the guilt of U.S. imperialism, "they are likewise guilty who at the decisive moment vacillated in making Vietnam an inviolable part of socialist territory. . . ."

This treachery took its most blatant form in the spring of 1972, when Nixon was toasted in Moscow while he was carrying out the brutal bombing, mining, and blockade of North Vietnam. It was under this pressure that the Vietnamese were forced to accept the continued presence of the Thieu puppet regime in the 1973 accords.

But despite these obstacles, which greatly increased the cost in blood and suffering for the Vietnamese people, their revolutionary aspirations pressed the struggle forward.

International movement

The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese helped promote the radicalization of a new generation of youth throughout the world. An international antiwar movement developed, with hundreds of thousands of demonstrators taking to the streets throughout the United States and in cities such as Tokyo, Melbourne, London, Berlin, Mexico City, and Paris.

The brutality of the Pentagon's military onslaught revealed for the whole world the terrible lengths to which Wall Street will go in order to maintain and advance the capitalist system. Millions of Vietnamese were killed. One million Cambodians, one-seventh of the population, were killed or wounded. The countryside of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos was devastated.

The military cost alone for bringing about this death and destruction amounts to an estimated \$400 billion. More than 56,000 American soldiers lost their lives.

As the U.S. military commitment deepened, and the economic and social costs of the war at home rose, the rulers found it harder and harder to use the old anticommunist arguments to justify their brutality. At each turn, they were exposed as brazen liars.

Washington put all its political and military authority on the line in Vietnam, but the White House strategists miscalculated badly. They underestimated the determination of the Indochinese people to be rid of foreign domination and their capacity for struggle to achieve that goal. And they underestimated the deep antiwar sentiments of the American people and their ability to see through the government's lies about its aims.

The defeat of the imperialists in Vietnam thus represents something new. It is the first war of such size that the United States, the world's strongest imperialist power, has lost. It is



Antiwar movement stimulated far-reaching radicalization. Masses of people, including GIs, became convinced war was wrong.

also the first war that has led to the development of a mass antiwar movement inside the United States. It is this overt antiwar sentiment that left the White House with no choice but to accept defeat and to withdraw to a new line of encirclement of the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia.

President Ford and others in ruling-class circles are bemoaning the rise of what they call "isolationism." They are trying to persuade the American people to support the "internationalism" of a world police force, of B-52s, of secret wars, and of organizations like NATO and the CIA.

A common enemy

But the American people's opposition to imperialist military adventures is not "isolationism." Just the opposite. It is part of the internationalism of the oppressed and exploited all over the globe who have a common interest in struggling against a common enemy.

As a result of the political education the American people have gained from the war and the antiwar movement, the options open to the top cops of international capitalism have become more restricted. They now must bring into their calculations the likely opposition of masses of Americans—including GIs—to new U.S. military operations to prop up dictatorships threatened by popular rebellions.

They can no longer rely on the American people bowing passively to the defense of imperialism under the banner of anticommunism. As all the opinion polls now show, the American people are opposed not only to inter-

vention in Vietnam but also to U.S. military intervention in other areas of the world.

The antiwar movement played a crucial role in helping to bring about this change in American political consciousness. This movement began ten years ago as a small minority of the population. But it won over the majority of the American people.

Role of the SWP

The Socialist Workers party is proud of the role it played in leading and organizing the antiwar movement in the United States. From the very beginning, the SWP recognized the importance of this movement and threw its energies into it.

In the November 22, 1965, issue of the *Militant*, Fred Halstead, a leader of the Socialist Workers party and a prominent antiwar organizer, predicted the course the antiwar movement would follow:

"It is well within possibility that not just a few hundred thousand, but millions of Americans can be actively involved in the struggle against the Vietnam war. A movement of that scope, even though centered around the single issue of the war, would have the most profound effects on every social structure in the country, including the trade unions and soldiers in the army.

"It would very probably also result in a general rise in radical consciousness on many other questions, just as it has already had an impact against red-baiting. But above all, it could be the key factor in forcing an end to the Pentagon's genocidal war in Vietnam.

The lives of untold thousands of Vietnamese men, women, and children, and U.S. G.I.'s may depend on it. That alone is reason enough to put aside sectarian differences to unite and help build a national organization which can encompass anyone willing to oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam, regardless of their commitment, or lack of it, on other questions."

This understanding of the significance and impact of the antiwar movement guided the activities of the Socialist Workers party throughout the course of the war. Building this movement was seen as our foremost task.

Perspective for Vietnam

What is the perspective now opening before the Vietnamese masses with the defeat of U.S. intervention?

The Vietnamese people have been fighting for more than thirty years for national and social liberation. This irrepressible struggle—generated by the intolerable conditions of life of the masses of peasants and workers—took its first leap forward with the Vietnamese defeat of Japanese imperialism at the end of World War II. It continued after the war, first against the French, and then against the United States.

This fight for national liberation against imperialist domination was closely intertwined with popular struggles for an end to repression, an end to onerous taxation, for land reform, and for other social gains.

The leaders of the Vietnamese liberation forces have often compared their struggle to that of the revolutionary fight of the American colonies against Britain two centuries ago.

The parallel is valid, but unlike the American Revolution, which occurred when capitalism was on the rise as a world system, the Vietnamese revolution is occurring when world capitalism is in its death agony. The fight for national liberation in Vietnam has been a fight *against* the most powerful capitalist countries and their puppet regimes, and it has an anticapitalist logic and potential.

The indigenous capitalist and landlord class within Vietnam was so stunted by the imperialist domination of the country that it has always been completely dependent on the imperialists for support. This has meant that the struggle against foreign capitalism has also been a struggle against its domestic agents and counterparts.

With the defeat of the Saigon army, and with Washington's options severely limited by antiwar sentiment at home, the objective possibility now exists for achieving the long-strived-for goal of national unification and self-determination of Vietnam. The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit.

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Washington wanted to show peoples of colonial world that any who tried to stand up against U.S. imperialism would be crushed. But Pentagon could not defeat popular resistance.

As parasites flee

Liberation fighters cheered in Saigon

By David Frankel

On April 29 more than three decades of struggle against imperialist armies by the Vietnamese masses came to a victorious conclusion. The day after the last Americans and their hangers-on fled Saigon, the soldiers of the rebel army entered the city, cheered by the residents.

The final exit of the U.S. occupation forces was carried out in a style befitting all that had gone before. It was a scene of brutality, destruction, and naked racist contempt for America's "allies" in the fight to preserve capitalism in Vietnam.

While marines used rifle butts to smash the fingers of Vietnamese desperately trying to climb over the U.S. Embassy's ten-foot wall, reported Associated Press correspondent Matt Franjola, "across the street, soldiers, policemen and teenagers were stripping and stealing the scores of abandoned embassy cars. . . .

"Thousands of Vietnamese, meanwhile, were stripping the apartments in which the fleeing Americans lived.

"Soldiers, police and civilians joined in collecting household goods, bathroom fixtures, books, furniture and food."

The Saigon dictatorship, which Washington squandered so much blood and money on for so long, lasted little longer than the other rubbish discarded by the departing Americans. President Duong Van Minh announced the unconditional surrender of Saigon less than twenty-four hours after the U.S. evacuation was completed. According to an April 30 Associated Press dispatch, "Vietcong soldiers soon walked along the main streets shaking hands with Saigon residents."

No bloodbath

Another report described how "people strolled the streets, greeting the arriving Communist soldiers with cheers, smiles and handshakes. Viet Cong flags appeared on many buildings. . . .

"A jeepload of Viet Cong drove up and down the street, waving as they sat with their rifles pointed in the air."

A radio announcement said that from now on Saigon will be called Ho Chi Minh City after the late North Vietnamese president.

The *New York Daily News* reported that "laughing, cheering Communist troops riding the tanks shouted 'Hello, comrades' to bystanders and newsmen."

Despite Washington's insistence on the need to "save" Vietnamese children from communism, and the well-publicized transfer of Vietnamese children to the United States, there were no reports of babies being tossed on bayonets by the victorious liberation fighters.

After weeks of diligent searching, the capitalist media has been unable to locate any signs of the promised bloodbath in Vietnam. *Newsweek* reluctantly admitted in its April 14 issue that "contrary to widespread fears, there has been no real blood bath so far."

As Washington abandoned thousands of its former collaborators, there were scenes of what *Washington Post* reporter David Greenway described as "Danang-style panic." U.S. Marines with fixed bayonets faced a weeping crowd, preventing them from entering the embassy grounds. There were a number of reports of embittered South Vietnamese soldiers firing on the fleeing foreigners and their collaborators.

Panic-stricken South Vietnamese officers unable to join the U.S. evacuation flew to Thailand in about seventy-five planes of the Saigon air force. Others flew helicopters to U.S. ships off the coast of Vietnam.

"The first helicopters disgorged the wives and children of Air Force and Army officers," said an Associated Press dispatch. "Later helicopters," it reported, "brought out Vietnamese army and air force generals."

In addition to military officers and their families, others were also in the stampede of would-be refugees. A glimpse of who they were was provided by the April 26 *Washington Post*—"university professors, prostitutes, wealthy young draft evaders and upper class matrons. . . ."

Gold bars & golf clubs

"As they walked down the plane ramps," reported *Post* correspondent Susan Guffey from Guam, "their arms were filled with everything from flight bags heavy with gold bars to stuffed



Vietnamese lining up outside U.S. embassy in Saigon. Evacuees included war profiteers, military officers, and secret policemen.

animals and golf clubs."

Many managed to buy their way onto evacuation planes, afraid that they would be unable to spend their war profits under the new regime. An example, given by a reporter in the Philippines, appeared in the April 30 *Washington Post*:

"One prosperous-looking Vietnamese man about 45 years old said he paid 7 million piasters (about \$9,500) to an American to be able to make the trip to Clark [Air Force Base]."

Many evacuated by Washington probably had good reason to fear the wrath of the Vietnamese masses. "Senior officials from the old Thieu regime, several Vietnamese senators, and a few police and intelligence officers who had worked with the Americans were among those awaiting evacuation from the embassy," wrote Daniel Southerland in the April 30 *Christian Science Monitor*. Thousands of Vietnamese have suffered in the prisons and torture chambers administered by these butchers.

Among the passengers on the helicopters landing on the USS *Denver* was former South Vietnamese President Nguyen Cao Ky, who recently told 6,000 people at a Saigon rally, "If Hanoi refuses to negotiate . . . we will fight to the death. Our backs are against the wall now. . . . So let the cowards who are leaving with the Americans go and let those who love South Vietnam stay and fight."

'Mr. 10%'

More testimony on the character of those that Washington felt a "moral responsibility" for came from *Wall Street Journal* reporter Norman Pearlstine April 30. Pearlstine explained that "many of Saigon's more affluent and well-connected bar girls and prostitutes were somehow among the first persons evacuated."

Commenting on his flight from Saigon to Guam, Pearlstine noted, "Almost everyone else on the plane was related to a South Vietnamese air force fighter pilot. . . .

"Sources in Saigon say the pilots had threatened to shoot down the evacuation planes or stop flying themselves if their families weren't evacuated."

Among the refugees was "one former cabinet official, known to Saigon businessmen as 'Mr. 10%' because he demanded that much of any deal he approved while in office. . . ."

Also saved from communism was "Mr. Jen, a Vietnamese-Chinese who ran Saigon's largest textile plant. . . ."

One Vietnamese in Saigon saw a positive side to the U.S. evacuation effort. He told an American reporter,

"Perhaps it is better if you take away all the war profiteers, the secret policemen and interrogators."

However, with no more use for the Vietnamese collaborators who served them for so long, the U.S. rulers are beginning to have second thoughts about "inundating" the 210 million people in the United States with almost 60,000 Vietnamese refugees. The racism with which the rulers of this country view all Vietnamese—regardless of their loyalty to the United States—continually burst through the veneer of rhetoric about "saving lives."

Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.), long a staunch supporter of the Vietnam War, complained that the number of refugees "is excessive and is probably more than we should undertake to accommodate."

A fellow hawk, Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.), insisted, "Some very practical considerations," such as cultural differences and unemployment, "raise grave doubts about the wisdom of bringing any sizable number of evacuees here."

'Too many Orientals'

Rep. Burt Talcott of California blurted out another thought that was also on the minds of his more sophisticated colleagues: "Generally my district was more positive, understanding and compassionate than some other areas," he assured his listeners.

"But there is another feeling that, damn it, we have too many Orientals."

While the politicians in Washington argue over how to deal with the leftovers of the Saigon regime, the Vietnamese have already begun the task of rebuilding a country devastated by years of imperialist barbarism.

In an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Da Nang published in the April 19 *Los Angeles Times*, Roland-Pierre Paringaux reported that "the first weeks of contact between Da Nang's residents and the Communist forces seem to have reassured both sides."

"The military presence is inconspicuous. Soldiers on patrol are indulgent, even after the 9 p.m. curfew, which is ignored by a few strollers and street merchants. . . .

"Ordinary soldiers [of the Saigon army] have been issued temporary papers and are left free to go where they will."

The Vietnamese liberation fighters have won the greatest victory against world imperialism since the Chinese Revolution of 1949. Their heroic struggle will inspire the workers and peasants of the entire world with the proof that it is possible to fight U.S. imperialism and win.



U.S. legacy in Vietnam: massacres and devastation.

Informer exposes FBI methods

Attica frame-up: gov't conspiracy unravels

By Kurt Hill

BUFFALO, N.Y.—Attorneys for the Attica Brothers have carried their fight for justice into the camp of the prosecution as the government's conspiracy of misconduct and obstruction of justice has begun to unravel.

Mary Jo Cook, a former informer for the FBI, and Malcolm Bell, one-time chief assistant to Attica special prosecutor Anthony Simonetti, were the principal witnesses during court hearings into defense charges of government misconduct.

Cook, who had infiltrated the Buffalo chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization for eighteen months, testified April 21 that she had used her position of trust within the organization to penetrate the Attica Brothers Legal Defense. Cook said she decided to come forth because she came to believe that her activities "violated First Amendment rights."

Cook testified that she supplied FBI agent Gary Lash with details of defense legal strategies and confidential communications between the lawyers and their clients. She also stated that she provided information about the defendants' political positions and personal problems, as well as the internal structure of the Attica defense organization.

The FBI "wanted psychological profiles" of the defendants, she said, and a blueprint of how the defense organization functioned. "They were interested in names and addresses.

Whenever I heard a telephone number, I memorized it; whenever I heard a name, I memorized it."

Cook said that she is "relatively certain" that in several instances, the information that she provided subsequently resulted in arrests and persons losing their jobs.

Replying to FBI denials that she had furnished them with such information Cook said, "I can't help the fact that they deny it. I know they're lying. I know it for a fact."

Cook said that she had intended to reinforce her testimony with the original drafts of her FBI reports, but these notes, along with other personal effects, were destroyed in an April 20 fire.

Defense spokespersons termed the fire in Cook's home "suspiciously mysterious."

Preliminary investigations have revealed that at least two fires were deliberately set in different parts of the building. A third, an exterior fire, was ignited to make it appear as if the fire began from the outside.

Cook's notes could have been used by the defense to determine whether any of the FBI reports had been withheld from Supreme Court Justice Joseph Mattina.

Mattina has claimed that the FBI reports submitted to him so far do not support Cook's charges.

"However," said Mattina, "after careful and close inspection of all materials submitted to this court, there



Aftermath of Attica massacre. Government prosecutor charges cover-up of police crimes against inmates.

are certain areas that have surfaced which warrant clarification."

Mattina stated that he will subpoena chief Attica prosecutor Simonetti, prosecutor James Grable, and Omar Jensen, an FBI agent who is in charge

of files at the bureau's Buffalo office.

Malcolm Bell, a former assistant to Simonetti, has charged the state with covering up numerous crimes committed by police agencies involved in crushing the 1971 rebellion. In a December 11, 1974, letter of resignation, Bell said the inquiry into police crimes "lacks integrity" and that it was being "aborted" by Simonetti.

In light of Bell's charges and the activities of former FBI informer Cook, defense attorneys have filed for dismissal of charges in several Attica cases, including the recent frame-ups of John "Dacajeweah" Hill and Charlie Joe Pernasilice.

Pernasilice, who was convicted of attempted assault, was recently ordered released from jail on \$10,000 bond by a state appellate court. Hill, railroaded to his conviction of murder in the death of a prison guard, remains confined in the Erie County Holding Center pending the appeal of his conviction. Defense efforts to free Hill on bail are continuing.

Responding to Governor Hugh Carey's decision to appoint a special commission to "investigate" the charges of governmental misconduct, an Attica Now press statement noted: "A special prosecutor to investigate the special prosecutor only postpones the necessary action. . . . The Attica massacre has continued for more than three years. There is only one just way to end it: Complete and unconditional amnesty for all the Attica Brothers!"

Professors back Starsky's rights

FBI victim finds warm response on tour

By Nelson Blackstock

"The counterattack against the FBI and other repressive agencies which the Political Rights Defense Fund is conducting is of tremendous importance. Dr. Starsky's fight against the FBI is as much a fight for his right to speak as for the right of the American people to hear," said Anne Braden at an April 23 news conference announcing Morris Starsky's visit to Louisville, Kentucky.

"For myself and on behalf of the Kentucky affiliate and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, I am pleased to welcome Morris Starsky to Louisville today," Braden said. A longtime fighter for civil rights and liberties in the South, Braden is a PRDF sponsor. The PRDF is organizing Morris Starsky's national tour.

Also speaking at the news conference were Morris Wilhelm of the

Louisville American Civil Liberties Union and Charlie Rosenberg of the Young Socialist Alliance. Rosenberg linked Starsky's fight for academic freedom to his own struggle with the administration of Seneca High School in Louisville over recognition of the YSA there.

Morris Starsky recently won a favorable court decision in the fight against his dismissal from the faculty of Arizona State University for his anti-war and socialist views. Starsky, who obtained the release of secret FBI files that revealed an FBI plot to have him fired, is making the national tour to publicize his continuing fight against FBI harassment and for academic freedom.

After the Louisville news conference, Starsky addressed a University of Louisville meeting sponsored by the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors and the

Union of Student Activities. Lyman Johnson, who is president of the Louisville NAACP, and a number of law professors and lawyers were among those attending the meeting.

Earlier in the week Starsky spoke on several Ohio campuses, including Case Western Reserve University Law School in Cleveland and Cleveland State University.

Significant interest and support for Starsky's fight against the FBI has continued to mount during the mid-west leg of his tour. The AAUP chapter at Wayne State University in Detroit sent a letter to 1,600 persons urging their attendance at an April 14 meeting for Starsky cosponsored by the AAUP and the PRDF.

"This meeting is a first step towards answering this serious threat to academic freedom," the letter stated. "The Wayne State chapter of the AAUP urges everyone interested in supporting academic freedom to attend the meeting with Professor Starsky and to support him in his effort to win reinstatement at Arizona State."

On April 16 Starsky spoke to a meeting of the Stewards Council of the Graduate Employees Organization at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. The campus union, which represents 2,200 workers, recently won a major strike at the university.

The tour has drawn extensive media coverage. The *Detroit News*, *Michigan Free Press*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the *Fifth Estate*, and numerous campus papers have interviewed Starsky.

In Detroit Starsky taped an interview on the nationally syndicated Lou Gordon television program. The show, already aired in Detroit, will be seen in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Boston, and

Miami in June.

The CBS-TV affiliate in Cleveland interviewed Starsky twice during his tour, and Starsky made two appearances, totaling three hours, on a popular call-in radio program in that city.

Help fight FBI crimes

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing Morris Starsky's current tour, is the sponsor of a major lawsuit filed by noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The suit demands a halt to government spying and harassment by such agencies as the FBI and the CIA.

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Starsky talks with supporters in Cleveland. AAUP chapters have been active in building his tour.

Denver Chicanos campaign for municipal posts

By Rich Feigenberg

DENVER—Two Chicano activists have announced their entry into the Denver municipal elections as candidates independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Although the elections, which are to be held May 20, are formally nonpartisan, the alignment of most of the candidates with one of the two capitalist parties continually shows through this facade.

Everett Chávez, however, is clearly running an independent campaign for Denver School Board, and Ernesto Vigil is campaigning as a candidate of La Raza Unida party for city council from District 9, a largely Chicano district.

Chávez, an instructor of Chicano Studies at Metropolitan State College, said in announcing his campaign that different racial groups in Denver "have been pitted one against the other by racist politicians who have utilized the courts, public trust, and the school board as a forum for the perpetuation of racism and polarization."

Chávez is campaigning for implementation of bilingual-bicultural education in the public schools, and for an



Militant/Bruce Farnsworth
Ernesto Vigil, Raza Unida candidate for city council, speaking at April 19 Student Coalition Against Racism rally in Denver.

increase in the number of Chicano and Black teachers to reflect the percentage of Chicano and Black students in the schools.

These two issues are significant in the school board race. Despite the fact that there is a provision in the Colorado constitution calling for bilingual-bicultural education, there is essentially no such program in Denver. Chicano students are more than 27 percent of the public school population, yet only 10 percent of the teachers are Chicanos.

At a recent demonstration in Denver sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism, Chávez declared his "solidarity with the Black community in Boston and their use of busing as a means of achieving equality in education."

"Chicanos here in Denver," he said, "need to take control over the institutions that affect our lives, including the educational institutions."

In a recent poll conducted by the *Denver Post*, Chávez was running second with a vote of 16 percent. Jack Marsh, the candidate of the Socialist Workers party, was sixth with 7

percent. There are eight candidates vying for two seats on the school board.

Vigil is running against incumbent Eugene DiManna and against Sal Carpio in the city council race. Carpio was a candidate of La Raza Unida party in 1972. Last January he ran against DiManna in a recall election and lost. In this election he is running with the official endorsement of the Democratic party.

Vigil, a leader of the Crusade for Justice, was instrumental in the two-year campaign that resulted in the recall election. The Crusade for Justice accused DiManna of not being responsive to the needs of Chicanos.

The Raza Unida party candidate calls for changing priorities so that "the people's interests come before the interests of big business, industry, and politicians."

A leaflet being distributed by the Vigil campaign says: "The [Chicano] community must control its own destiny and solve its own problems. It can no longer be controlled by outside forces, politically, economically or socially."

U. of Mass. students rally against budget cuts

By Jon Hillson

AMHERST, Mass.—The largest student mobilization here since the heyday of the anti-Vietnam War movement has been the initial response to recently announced cutbacks in the Massachusetts state education budget.

A campus poll taken at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst April 24 and 25 gave the green light to a two-day class moratorium to be capped April 30 by a mass student-faculty march in Boston on the grounds of the state capitol. The vote approving these actions was 8,870 to 1,831.

The cutbacks, part of Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis's "austerity program," will lop off 10 percent of the University of Massachusetts's operating budget. State higher education officials have predicted that tuition may have to be raised by as much as 100 percent.

The sharpness of the slashes in programs, admission, and services prompted the first major campus protest meeting on April 15.

Nearly 1,000 students participated in the event, which initiated the call for a university-community "town meeting." That protest filled the hall with students and faculty in the biggest mass action in years. Student organizers estimated the crowd at 3,000-4,000.

The anger ran high at the meeting, with students frequently chanting, "Strike!"

Momentum was interrupted by a four-day holiday weekend, but action resumed April 21 with a march of 1,000 built on a day's notice at the reopening of school.

On April 22 a second town meeting—a mass decision-making body—overwhelmingly supported and voted to authorize the campus referendum on the two-day moratorium and march on Boston.

Students from the University of Massachusetts campuses at Worcester and Boston are also expected to participate in the action, although their campuses have completed classes for this semester.

While many of the students in the new wave of protest have never before been involved in mass demonstrations, the central themes of the struggle against cutbacks reflect the lessons of student activism of several years ago.

Mass meetings make the major decisions for action and set the demands for struggle. At the town meeting of April 22, students debated the thrust of the campaign and agreed, in their vast majority, to focus on opposing any and all cutbacks.

Mass actions, from demonstrations to marches to the town meetings, have set the tone for the protests.

Educational activity, geared to explaining the issues, is a central component of the moratorium leading up to the march on Boston.

The attitude of the campaign is one of openness. Leaflets on different analyses of the cutbacks are avidly read. At the April 21 demonstration of 1,000, one speaker told the crowd the responsibility for the cutbacks "lies with the system." She indicted the corporations and their greed for placing "the burden of the crisis on the backs of working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women."

Until "people are placed before profit," she told the crowd to loud applause, "we can never receive the kind of education and meaningful work we really need."

At the same rally, Ollie Bivins, representing the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, linked the struggle for desegregation in Boston schools to the fight against cutbacks. "Black students are fighting for equality in Boston schools," he said, "but when we get into those schools, if those cutbacks go through, they will keep Blacks and other oppressed nationalities out, they will cut Black studies,

women's programs, they will hike tuition to keep us out."

"That is why the fight against cutbacks is part of the struggle against racism," Bivins said, urging students to participate in the May 17 national march for desegregation in Boston. Bivins's speech was frequently interrupted by cheers and applause.

There is a new mood among students on the Amherst campus. This change in attitude is the product of the radicalizing influence of the economic crisis and its specific attacks on the "educational standard of living."

The *Amherst Record* inadvertently noted this profound development in reporting the mood of the crowd—and the speaker it responded to most—at the spirited meeting of more than 3,000.

"When [Prof. Sam] Bowles addressed the crowd, his prediction of the direction student protest must go met with warm applause," according to the *Record*.

"Bowles states, 'We won't have the kind of education we want so long as we have capitalism in this country.' To a round of applause he concluded, 'I say the kind of economy we need is socialism, and we should start working for it right now.'"

Students, faculty, staff hit cutbacks at U. of Md.

COLLEGE PARK, Md.—Students, faculty, and campus workers are waging a united campaign here at the University of Maryland to stop staff cuts and tuition increases.

The struggle began when the state legislature threatened to cut fifty-five staff positions. After a broadly sponsored rally against the cutbacks took place on March 19, the legislators announced that the reductions would be made in the administration budget instead.

Endorsers of the protest rally included the Higher Education Council of the Maryland State Teachers Association; the local chapter of the American Association of University Professors; Student Government Association; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1072; Young Socialist Alliance; Black Student Union; and Interfraternity Council.

Shortly after the rally, however, the

legislature went back on its word and said that instead, the cuts would be made in part-time student jobs and other supportive services on campus. Fifty-two jobs were to go, while tuition, room, and board rates were to increase.

In response, 1,500 people rallied on campus April 16. James Griffin, chairperson of the local chapter of the Maryland State Teachers Association, called the cutback moves an attempt to induce the faculty to fight among themselves instead of against the cutbacks. He charged that officials were trying to set "different segments of the campus against each other, so they become weak and cannot affect the administration."

Walter Stone, president of the Black Student Union, compared the student body to a "sleeping giant" that must "wake up and fight back."

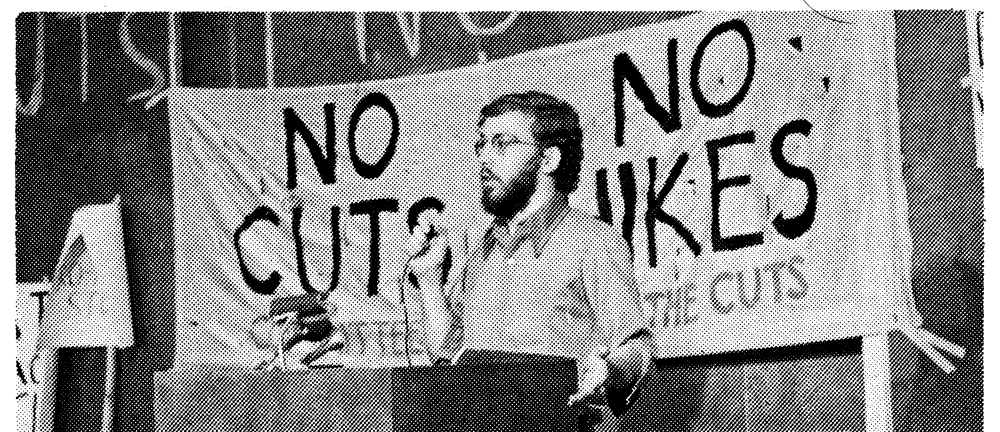
Speaking for the Young Socialist Alliance, Rick Higgins pointed out that

funding for war, not education, is the government's top priority. "With the billions wasted on the Saigon dictatorship since 1973, why do you think they can't find money for fifty-two faculty positions?" he asked.

Higgins also urged participation in

the April 26 "Jobs for All" rally called by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

Representatives of the campus Women's Center, Graduate Assistants Federation, and the Revolutionary Student Brigade also spoke.



Militant/Kathe Latham
Young Socialist Alliance member Rick Higgins addressing recent protest against staff cuts and tuition hikes.

Interview with a participant

Portugal: rank-and-file soldiers organize

[The following interview was given to Gerry Foley on April 9 in Lisbon by an activist of the Portuguese Trotskyist organization, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League). He has not had an opportunity to check the translation, which is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. What happened in your barracks on the day of the March 11 attempted coup?

Answer. On March 11 the soldiers in my unit heard about planes buzzing certain installations. My unit, since it belongs to the military police, has special characteristics. It is 100 percent operational. The personnel met in the barracks and decided to take over the barracks themselves, since the command staff gave no direction.

The comrades decided to set up surveillance over the barracks to prevent any deployments that might help the reactionaries, and to keep a watch over the weapons, over the arsenals where the rifles and other weapons were kept. They also kept a watch on all persons in the area to prevent any action by reactionary officers.

Next, they went to the commander and demanded that he explain his political position. When he refused to take a stand, the soldier comrades demanded that he be purged, and on the following day he was removed from command.

General assembly

Q. What forms of organization arose in the wake of the abortive coup?

A. After March 11, a general assembly of soldiers was held. Not only the commander and deputy commander were purged, but all the Spínola officers down to the level of sergeants. A cousin of Gen. Galvão de Melo, who was a junior sergeant, was also purged.

The comrades felt a need to move forward and take control of the barracks. They decided in the general assembly to form various committees. They felt acutely the lack of rights to meet and discuss inside the barracks. Some squads that were assigned to guard ministries and other places felt this need especially. They had never had any organized discussions. So they decided to form a political education committee. This committee could not, of course, give a well-rounded political education. But lectures were given and discussions were organized in which the soldiers could discuss the main national events as well as the international ones.

The first topics taken up were the following: the occupation of buildings, the occupation of lands that the capitalists held out of production, occupations carried out by armed groups of peasants, who took up weapons to defend the land they occupied; and the need for the workers and the soldiers to struggle together.

Clippings from various newspapers were put up dealing with these questions, and the comrades clearly saw the need for establishing links with the workers and toilers and their independent organizations such as *Comissões de Trabalhadores* [Workers Committees] and the *Comissões de Moradores* [Tenants Committees].

One of the first subjects of discussion was the nature of imperialism, in particular, the role played by NATO in our country.

Q. Have any links been established between the committees in the bar-

racks and those in the factories and the neighborhoods?

A. No links have really developed here like those that developed in one operational base I know of, where the soldiers came out looking for the *Comissões de Trabalhadores* to get their permission to come out into the streets. This has not happened in my barracks.

But the comrades have felt the need for a certain form of control over orders so that they could refuse improper orders. They have also felt the need in the case of any new March 11, when it might be necessary to go into action massively, to hold a general assembly first so that the objectives of the action could be clarified.

Commander removed

Q. What kind of relationship exists now among the various ranks in your barracks? What has happened to the military hierarchy?

A. The commander and deputy commander that were removed were both lieutenant colonels. Their place was taken by a major and a captain. Now both are majors.

After the purge, the military hierarchy was broken, since the ousted commanders were replaced with lower-ranking officers. A soldiers committee in which officers and sergeants were also represented met to choose a new commander. Of the list of seventy lieutenant colonels, there were only two they trusted.

As for the way the barracks is organized, we have a committee to handle problems before they come up. That is, it is a committee that gathers information. When they get something that goes beyond the normal range of military police business, it is submitted to a general assembly to be discussed. And any decisions about it will be made by the general assembly.

At present the relationship of forces in the barracks makes it possible to carry out a certain mobilization inside. I should say that so far there is no organized link between the professional officers and the soldiers who are organized in various committees, but there is a generally accepted feeling that the soldiers have to be able to trust the officers.

I should list the other committees that the soldiers formed. One was a political education committee. Another was an external affairs committee. The objective of this one was to link all the



Refusal of officers to oppose right-wing coup attempt sparked formation of soldiers' committees in armed forces. Above, car is searched for weapons.



Strict discipline and command hierarchy of Portuguese armed forces have been undermined by radicalization of rank-and-file soldiers.

barracks, to exchange information and to coordinate the mobilizations. This committee was charged with getting in touch with the workers committees in the factories and the tenants committees in the neighborhoods.

These are not clandestine committees; they have a kind of semilegality, since the command staff knows they exist and allows them to function.

Another was on "professional upgrading." The reason for forming this committee was that after a certain period of training and specialization, the soldiers never pick up a gun again. We know that in the present conditions, we may have to face another coup attempt by careerist officers, and so we will have to be ready, to have the weapons in good condition, and the men will have to be trained to defend themselves.

Another committee was set up on good and welfare and purging rightists. This deals with problems in the barracks like the food and the removal of reactionary officers and sergeants.

'Initiative from below'

A committee is going to be formed to coordinate all these activities on the regimental level and arrange for general assemblies every two weeks where all this work will be discussed.

I should stress the initiative from below in all this. It is a process of workers self-organization, self-organization of the workers in uniform, the soldier comrades. But there is a danger that these committees can be co-opted in structures like the general assembly of the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* [MFA—Armed Forces Movement]. Many soldier comrades are not alert enough to this problem.

Q. What possibilities do the conservative officers have to use the military police to repress political activities among the soldiers?

A. At present, I do not think the conservative officers have any possibility for doing that. At the moment, the military police are not operating in the other barracks. They are staying in their own barracks.

For the present, I see no obstacles to political activity among the soldiers. They do still prevent the sale of the papers of the real revolutionary groups and even of the reformists. But the kinds of discussions that I mentioned show that we are no longer operating

within the traditional legal framework.

They cannot stop such discussions now. I am convinced that if they tried it, they would create an even greater danger, because the soldiers would unite to demand the right to discuss.

The soldiers are no longer only concerned with these questions, that is, the right to discuss and organize in the barracks, but also problems such as why they do not get the national minimum wage, and why workers called into the army do not have the right to maintain their links with their unions.

Control over officers

Q. What do you think the chances are for imposing direct democracy in the armed forces, for example, direct election of officers?

A. At present, I think this possibility is rather remote. But what is not remote, as I have said, is exercising a control over officers. I have mentioned the purging and removal of squadron commanders. This happened in my regiment. But I don't see the possibility for imposing the election of officers in the armed forces in general, because the relationship of forces varies greatly. A mobilization for such a demand would not be permitted.

I know that the case of a comrade who asked a question in a *sessão de esclarecimento* [educational session] about the real role of the MFA raised some doubts. In many cases, progressive officers lead these sessions. But this time it was the commander himself. There was direct repression against this comrade. He was deprived of his weekend leave. So I don't see the kind of democratization in the army that would enable the soldiers to elect their own officers.

Q. How much of a political hold does the MFA have over the ranks of the armed forces? Do the soldiers accept its lead in an uncritical way?

A. Up until now, the MFA has not had direct control in the barracks, because it has not carried out an educational program or made changes in the barracks themselves. It seems that it is trying to do so now, but it has not yet done it. They say now that they recognize the need to democratize the army, but this has not been done.

Their influence is felt only through the slogans they issue from the out-

Continued on page 26

Boston Black high school students speak out on racism, desegregation

By Chuck Petrin

BOSTON—What do the Black students in Boston's public schools think about the battle over busing that has been going on here? What do they think should be done to fight back against the racist offensive?

Some of the answers came at a "speak-out" held here April 26 at the National Center of Afro-American Artists, Incorporated. The topic was "Racism in the Boston Schools: A Firsthand View."

The program was cosponsored by the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism and the Youth Affairs Committee of the Boston chapter of the NAACP. About eighty people attended.

"It is time," declared Curtis Chambers, a fifteen-year-old Black student now being bused to Hyde Park school annex, "for us to take a stand against racism in our schools. We are tired of yielding our lives to the anti-this, anti-that organizations, which we know are nothing more than fronts for prejudiced and racist individuals."

Several of the students pointed to the continuing harassment and provocations by white students, teachers, and the police that have contributed to "pressure and tension" in the schools.

Audrey Spencer, sixteen years old, lives in the Black district of Mattapan in Boston. Under Phase One of the court-ordered desegregation plan, she has been bused each morning to classes at Hyde Park High School. "When we walk into school in the morning, the parents are outside waiting for us, with their flags and their picket signs. There's this one lady: each and every day since the beginning of school, she's out in her front yard with an American flag, as though it's unpatriotic for us to go into their school."

"We have tried to go to school," explained Allison Quarles, another student at Hyde Park, "but who wants to go to school when you walk around and the cops are trying to proposition you? If you don't respond to their propositions, they'll wait for a time when a riot or something breaks out, and then they'll try to beat you to death. My cousins got beaten up, slapped around by all sorts of cops—almost broke their arms, broke everything they had on them."

"The classrooms are still segregated," Quarles added. "The white kids sit on the left side, and the Blacks on the right. The teachers will stand over in front of the white kids and teach them. If Black kids don't get something, it's their problem; they'll have to wait for another time."

Anibal Flores is a Puerto Rican student in the ninth grade at Boston High School. He used to live in South Boston until whites organized a vicious campaign two years ago to drive his family and other Puerto Rican families out of the neighborhood.

"My brother and I couldn't go to school because they had too many 'problems' with us—the Spanish-speaking, that is, and the Blacks too. If we wanted to go someplace we had to go with someone else to take care of us. It was too much for us; they treated us like animals. But we ain't. We are human beings and we don't like that. We are human beings like them; we should have the same rights as them."

"My uncle had a store there. Every day something happened to the store, a burning, or something. They didn't like us around. My aunt, every day they started a fight with her. The Blacks, they were the same as us. They were together with us. Even so, there were too many of them Irish, so we couldn't do anything about it. Even if you called the police, they won't care because you're Spanish or Black. But if some white called the police, they would come fast."

Need to organize

The central theme of the discussion at the speak-out was the need for students and others in the Black community to organize to beat back the racists. The May 17 march on Boston was seen as the focal point right now for such a countermobilization.

Jackie Roosevelt, a student at Timilty Junior High School, initiated a theme that was echoed by several other students throughout the afternoon. "We have to fight for our right to achieve an equal



Racists demonstrating outside Hyde Park High School last fall

education. Black students have the right to go to any school they choose, wherever it might be. If it means taking a bus, that's what we're going to take.

"If we do not have access to these buses, then we will demand helicopters, planes, or whatever means are necessary.

"We are not going to keep quiet any longer . . . we Black people have been in the dark long enough. Our parents are tired of fighting, and this is why we are going to take it on ourselves to fight for our basic survival in this country."

Joette Chancy, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism and a student in the METCO Suburban Busing Program at Lexington High School, said, "High school students, who are the recipients of all the bull the school committee, Louis Day Hicks, and the others are dishing out, have plenty to say. . . ."

'It's my decision'

"I'm a high school student, seventeen years old, and I'm not going to let any racist bigot tell me where I can go to school and how much I can safely learn. That's my decision."

Two special guests had been invited to attend the speak-out. One was André Jean-Louis, a Haitian who was savagely beaten by a racist mob in South Boston last October while he was going to pick up his wife at work. Unfortunately, he was taken ill on the day of the speak-out and was unable to attend.

However, a close friend of his, Francois Chauncy, presented greetings to the meeting on his behalf. "Until we're ready to be involved, nothing will happen. . . . It's very sad to notice that most Black people stay home when there are demonstrations or meetings, and they say 'What will my presence mean? One person, what can I do?'"

"It is each individual who together make a mass, a crowd," answered Chauncy. "Each person counts."

Kim O'Brien, a school bus driver who was attacked and beaten up in January by members of the South Boston High School track team, pointed to the kind of power that a demonstration like May 17 can begin to generate.

"Those politicians without any backbone," he said, "and the racist mobs that are trying to keep the schools from being desegregated, must be

educated. I'm not talking about reading to them from the Bible, but the kind of education that comes from real life. The sound of thousands of feet marching on May 17 will put a little muscle behind those who want to defend the rights of Black students, and it will teach those bigots about what a human being is."

'Use our power'

Leon Rock, the youth affairs adviser of the Boston NAACP, also addressed the meeting. "We have to start looking at ourselves," he said. "We have to use our power."

He urged students to form Black student unions and NAACP youth councils in their schools to represent their interests.

"The May 17 march is very important," he said, adding that "Black students have taken the brunt of desegregation" and should therefore be represented in large numbers at the demonstration.

The April 26 speak-out was widely covered by the local media. The *Boston Globe*, the *Boston Herald-American*, the *Bay State Banner*—the major Black newspaper in the city—and the *Christian Science Monitor* all sent reporters, as did "Black News," a weekly television program, and several radio stations.

In summing up the day's activities, Mac Warren, coordinator of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, stated: "This type of event has been needed for a long time. What the students have done today is to expose some of the subtle and not-so-subtle aspects of racism that Black students continue to face. Black and Puerto Rican students have a lot to say, and they've been dying to say it for a long time."

"Today we're sending a message to the racists on the school committee, the racists on the city council, the racists in South Boston and around the country that high school students who have the biggest stake of all in this fight do have something to say, and they won't be quiet any longer."

As Jackie Roosevelt put it, "We must demand equal education. We must demand protection for our Black community against racist criminals. We must demand the opening of our schools that will be closed in September. We must demand Black teachers. We must demand to learn our history. We must demand freedom."

Answer to YWLL

CP & Black struggle--history of betrayal

By Ginny Hildebrand

(Fourth in a series)

The May 17 national march on Boston for school desegregation called by the NAACP is only a short time away. Still, the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist party have not directed any serious efforts toward building support for this action.

In last week's article on the CP's record in the Black struggle during World War II, we showed that sabotage of important mobilizations in defense of Black rights is nothing new for the Stalinists. During World War

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

II, their support for Franklin Roosevelt and all-out backing for the U.S. war effort led the CP to oppose Blacks who insisted on continuing the struggle for their rights. The Stalinists argued that fighting for Black rights would divide and disrupt the war effort.

During the war, all-Black segregated army units were used in the front lines of the most dangerous battles. White officers tormented and brutalized Black soldiers. Racists lynched Black soldiers stationed in the South.

Life for civilian Blacks was no better. In Harlem, for instance, one-third of the work force was unemployed and white-racist violence was rampant. When the Harlem ghetto rose up against these unbearable conditions in the summer of 1943, the CP viciously attacked the rebellion. The August 3, 1943, *Daily Worker* said, "... groups of irresponsible elements began a wholesale looting of stores owned by white shopkeepers.

"This looting of stores was a shameful act at this moment in our nation's history, about which the great mass of decent, law-abiding Negro citizens of Harlem are justly angry and outraged."

'Fifth columnists'

The CP gave "100 percent support" to Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's law-and-order measures. "Do not permit fifth columnists and pro-fascists to take advantage of the disturbances in order to create strife, chaos and division among the people of New York," the *Daily Worker* warned.

The CP's betrayal of Black people was paralleled by its all-out capitulation to the racist crusade of the American rulers against people of Japanese descent. The Roosevelt administration viewed every Japanese-American as a potential saboteur and imprisoned 112,000 of them in concen-

tration camps. To demonstrate its total patriotism, the CP USA dropped all of its Japanese members and urged them not to resist their own imprisonment.

This racist line reached its logical culmination when, in 1945, the Stalinists cheered the genocidal atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The *Daily Worker* proclaimed, the day after the Hiroshima blast, "The enemy has several times rejected unconditional surrender. He must now feel the bombshell of the United Nations [the Allied powers] action. The enemy must be thoroughly smashed, and the basis established for a new Asia."

"Today," the *Worker* editorialized, "humanity must stand back from itself for a moment and look at what this unique animal—the human being—can accomplish!" What was accomplished was the deliberate and cold-blooded extermination of hundreds of thousands of Japanese!

After the war, the CP, on orders from Moscow, dumped their leader, Earl Browder, and criticized some of the "excesses" of their wartime policy, making Browder their scapegoat. In this way the CP tried to prevent a real questioning of the roots of their policies—subordinating the class struggle to the narrow interests of the bureaucratic caste that rules the Soviet Union.

'Antimonopoly coalition'

Ever since the 1930s, the Stalinists have given political backing to Democratic party politicians. Their aim is to promote those ruling-class forces they consider to be favorable to "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. In the last two decades they've envisioned in the liberal wing of the Democratic party the foundation for an "antimonopoly coalition." The pattern for such a coalition, in their eyes, is the New Deal of the Roosevelt days.

The Stalinists try to convince Blacks that such a coalition can bring about an end to their oppression. Benjamin Davis wrote in the August 1963 issue of *Political Affairs*, "The accomplishment of these democratic goals [the complete elimination of the special oppression of Blacks] will, of necessity, take place within the limitations of the class nature of U.S. capitalist society."

Davis insisted that the "real" enemies of Blacks—the Dixiecrats and the Republican party—could be defeated through a new realignment of "antimonopoly" forces. And a situation could even arise in the South "where the Negro shares state power."

The Stalinists' strategy is to get more Blacks into the Democratic party and use the civil rights and other mass movements as pressure groups within this capitalist party.



Malcolm X, one of the greatest leaders of the Afro-American people, was attacked by the Communist party while he was alive as 'ultrareactionary.'

The CP backed, and urged Blacks to vote for, Democratic nominees Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956 and John Kennedy in 1960.

Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic presidential nominee in 1964, was a harder candidate to sell to the new generation of militant civil rights and antiwar activists. His record on civil rights was particularly horrendous. As majority leader of the Senate in 1955, for instance, he had bragged that he was responsible for preventing any consideration of civil rights legislation.

But the CP campaigned for Johnson, calling for a coalition to defeat the "greater evil," Barry Goldwater, at all costs. The *Worker* published right after Johnson's landslide victory proclaimed the CP's enthusiasm in a banner headline "Victory Spurs Fight for the People's Goals."

During this 1964 election campaign, the most influential civil rights leaders had called for a moratorium on the mass civil rights demonstrations. They argued that the most effective way to win civil rights in 1964 was to take the movement off the streets and channel it into the Democratic party.

The liberals knew that national mass actions would have continued to focus attention on the Johnson administration's complicity with Jim Crow. The Stalinists supported this capitulation.

Attacks on Malcolm X

Malcolm X was one of the few Black leaders who condemned subordinating the Black struggle to electing Democrats. He thought it was ludicrous to vote for Johnson as a "lesser evil" candidate. As he told the *Saturday Evening Post* in September 1964, "Johnson and Goldwater... as far as the American black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater the wolf... They both will eat him."

At the first rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, in June 1964, Malcolm stated, "We won't organize any black man to be a Democrat or a Republican because both of them have sold us out... Both parties are racist."

Malcolm's call for a break from the capitalist parties, his effort to set up an all-Black organization dedicated to leading an uncompromising struggle

for Black liberation and self-determination, and his advocacy of the right to self-defense were the exact opposite of the CP's class-collaborationist, "antimonopoly coalition" scheme.

The Stalinists viciously attacked Malcolm X as an "agent" of the racists. The July 7, 1963, *Worker* slandered Malcolm X, saying, "The Muslim organization in general and Malcolm X in particular, are ultrareactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement with the strategic assignment to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organization energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses."

In the August 1963 *Political Affairs*, Benjamin Davis attacked what he called "the irrational and irresponsible drivel of Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, whose anti-white racism, anti-Semitism and backwardness, proved utterly bankrupt."

Response of YSA

These were the same despicable slanders that the bourgeois press spread about Malcolm X. The Young Socialist Alliance, on the other hand, recognized the revolutionary dynamic of the Black nationalist ideas expressed by Malcolm X. At our third national convention, in 1963, the YSA adopted a resolution on Black nationalism that concluded, "We welcome the growth of black nationalism as a vehicle of struggle against racial oppression. We assert that revolutionary socialists and black nationalists are complementary forces which should seek to unite in action and collaborate in thought."

In recent years, the CP and YWLL have been forced to modify their rhetoric in the face of deepening Black nationalist sentiment. But they remain completely opposed to what Malcolm X stood for.

Today, the Stalinists' policies are still aimed at constructing an "antimonopoly coalition" with the liberal Democrats. The current CP "Draft Main Political Resolution for the 21st

Continued on page 26

THE OLD ONE-TWO

Daily Worker



This cartoon appeared in the CP's 'Daily Worker' of August 10, 1945, following the U.S. massacre of hundreds of thousands of Japanese in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Attica cover-up

The indictment of sixty-two people on charges growing out of the 1971 prisoners' rebellion at Attica is being exposed for all to see as a vicious conspiracy to turn the victims of the police massacre at Attica into the criminals.

Exclaiming that "one Watergate in this decade is enough," a top Attica prosecutor, Malcolm Bell, has charged that the grand jury inquiry into the Attica events has been a cover-up from start to finish, because of obstruction by the chief prosecutor, Anthony Simonetti. Bell said an "open and full" investigation would reveal crimes by police ranging from murder to manslaughter, assault, hindering prosecution, perjury, and conspiracy.

This only confirmed the results of the previous state investigation, by the McKay commission, which thoroughly documented "acts of brutality" by police and guards, as well as "unnecessary shooting" that "virtually assured the death or serious injury of innocent persons." Not a single guard or state trooper has been indicted, even though they mowed down thirty-nine people during the assault.

Now New York Governor Hugh Carey has appointed a special investigator to investigate the special prosecutor. This will simply be a new stage of the cover-up, designed to placate public opinion rather than expose the truth.

The facts are clear; a new "investigation" by the government is not what is needed. The Attica rebellion, far from being a criminal act, represented a heroic attempt by the inmates to win the right to be treated as human beings—not as caged animals. The vast majority of the 1,200 inmates joined in the rebellion, ready to face the massive police forces virtually unarmed. Their determined action was an example to all the oppressed in this country.

On the orders of then-Governor Nelson Rockefeller, their rebellion was drowned in blood. Now the capitalist courts are trying to make the indicted Attica Brothers an example to all prisoners who dare stand together as human beings. The confession by former FBI informer Mary Jo Cook, who infiltrated the Attica Brothers defense committee, shows the illegal, police-state methods that have been used in this frame-up.

These revelations have thoroughly discredited the prosecution's case against all the Attica Brothers. They are powerful new arguments to back up the demand that all charges against the Attica Brothers be dropped immediately.

'Por los Ninos'

The *Militant* calls on its readers in New York City's Community School District One to go to the polls May 6 and vote for the candidates of the Por los Niños/Save the Children slate in the district's school board elections. The candidates are William Carlotti, Elizabeth Colón, Alberto Esperón, Carmelo Diaz, Francisco Ferrer, Leoncio Rivera, Sandra Segarra, Nicomedes Sánchez, Joseph Jackson, and Janice Wong.

At issue in this election is the democratic right of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities to exercise decision-making power over the schools that their children attend. The Por los Niños candidates were selected by and are pledged to be accountable to a district council of parents. The slate's thirteen-point election program, drafted by the parents' organization, aims at ending the racism and discrimination in the schools that denies an adequate education to the majority of the district's children.

Opposing Por los Niños is a slate handpicked and controlled by the forces around Albert Shanker, president of the New York United Federation of Teachers. This slate, backed by large financial and organizational resources, is dedicated to preventing the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese majority from having a say in the administration of their children's schools.

The Shankerites charge that the community-control forces are "antiunion." This fabrication is belied by the recent endorsement of the Por los Niños slate by Victor Gotbaum, executive director of the 100,000-member District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Gotbaum has stated, "There can be no victory in District One until the slate of candidates there represents both parents and children."

The Por los Niños movement deserves the support of all defenders of democratic rights, not only on election day, but for the continuing struggle that is certain to take place whatever the outcome on May 6.

Healthy rage

The April 18 *Militant* contains a letter from Nellie De Schaaf about the issue of child abuse. Her description of physical brutality is not exaggerated. This is a very common practice, another example of the violence of capitalist society.

However, I don't understand De Schaaf's statements for a cure regarding "children of Chicanos": "the horrible economic system will serve as a crutch for the most horrible kind of child abuse from parents who eagerly seize upon such a convenient excuse," and that "sympathizing with this undeserving element" should be stopped.

During the 1967 Detroit ghetto rebellion, child brutality in the Black community came to an abrupt halt. This was the conclusion of doctors at Children's Hospital of Detroit in the middle of the ghetto. The white doctors could not understand why this violence against children by parents ended when a "violent" rebellion was raging.

It would seem probable that parents were aiming their rage at the system which oppresses them rather than turning it against their family.

I would like to prescribe more healthy rage and anger against the capitalist system, although more politically organized, as a more likely cure for child abuse.

Marc Stretten
Los Angeles, California

Worth repeating

Enclosed you will find three dollars for subscriptions for myself and two of my friends. To risk repeating what hundreds must have already said, we think that the *Militant* provides the most truthful coverage of world events to date.

Mike Finley
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Another vote

I wish I could donate to the campaign of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers candidate, but I am not able to obtain funds. However, I hope to cast my vote in November 1976.

A prisoner
California

Portuguese CP

I'm a layman and make no claim to a precise or thorough understanding of socialism, communism, Marxist-Leninism, or Maoism.

The situation in Portugal is indeed peculiar, and it's true that the Portuguese Communist party has turned a revolutionary principle on its head. But just the PCP? The entire condition is new.

Sure, even I believe the PCP is being shamefully opportunistic and ingratiating to the peoples and situations of dominant influence whenever they stand clear.

The Armed Forces Movement is the military ingredient of the political ferment now occurring. So the AFM must be dealt with. Especially if the PCP is truly stupid enough to ignore the lessons of the Chilean coalition experience, and doesn't intend to (or already have) the Portuguese masses under arms. Accommodation with the AFM defies basic revolutionary common sense. Yet, once again it is being done.

I just hope that the PCP's stated faith in the AFM is completely justified by events yet to come, and

that Marxist-Leninists will soon succeed in controlling the PCP and thereby ensuring that Portugal will be an eventual positive contribution to worldwide and revolutionary peace and progress.

Only time will determine if any of these hopes become fact, or whether Euro-American capital succeeds in its present attempts to retard, reverse, or kill this process of Portugal in mid-stride.

A prisoner
Michigan

Oppression of homosexuals

There is not enough attention given to the gross, miserable, long-standing, manifoldly unjust oppression of homosexuals—particularly male homosexuals.

That which is *Militant* should be aggressively active, engaged in warfare—fighting! You still persist in ignoring oppressed homosexuals *everywhere*.

There are many ignorant superstitions concerning homosexuality that are perpetrated by various religious sects. These are propounded to the individual and reinforced in him daily. This makes it practically hopeless for him to live at peace with the *actual reality* of his, or anyone else's, homosexual condition.

Homosexuals are almost *never* represented in the media, unless it be scandalous representation. Scandalous representation is *misrepresentation*.
William Vanstreck
San Antonio, Texas

They're everywhere

In two items ("CIA:Murder, Inc." and "New facts on FBI harassment of Dr. King" [March 21 *Militant*]), you are right to suggest that the CIA is behind domestic assassinations too. Yet why do you think they weren't behind John F. Kennedy's assassination? You certainly don't believe the Warren report's "lone-Marxist-Oswald-the-assassin, no conspiracy" cover-up?

Yet, it appears, you'd rather discredit JFK, too, as being one of the "liars" and then-attorney general Robert F. Kennedy as the instigator of harassment against Dr. King. Don't you see that *they too* (no matter what you think of their politics) were victims of *the same CIA* that eliminated Fred Hampton, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr.?

All terrorist-repression and political murders are equally bad—because the result is, we're becoming a totalitarian state!
C.C.
San Francisco, California

Good comparison

As a regular reader of the *Daily World*, I usually ignore their suggestions. However, in their recent fund-drive appeal, they suggested readers compare papers and then contribute. I did, so here is my contribution.

Since my *Militant* subscription runs for two more years, please use this five dollars toward the Prisoner Fund.

Marc Schulz
Bloomington, Indiana

Against abortion

I must strongly disagree with the position taken by Ms. Jeness on women's right to abortion. The

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



'Wildcat fever' in Steubenville

A struggle erupted at the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel plant in Steubenville, Ohio, in March. The issues were jobs and the right of steelworkers to protect themselves against "productivity" (speedup) drives by management.

The steel corporations sought to make it all seem routine and was reticent in public statements. The *Pittsburgh Press* reported that the company had filed an \$80 million damage suit against the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) for "illegal interruption of operations." "Company officials," the *Press* reported, "said they believe the dispute is related to planned changes in job assignments on the plant's ladle cars." A run-of-the-mill matter, to judge from this description.

However, the *Press* added: "A number of men have failed to report to work, according to the company, even though a court ordered them back to work. . . ." Maybe not such a routine matter, after all.

From steelworkers comes a different, more complete, version. A leaflet distributed by Rank and File Team (RAFT) tells what was behind the action at Steubenville, why a number of workers suddenly "failed to report," and what the "planned changes in job assignments" were.

What the leaflet describes as "a sudden epidemic of 'wildcat fever'" hit the ranks of Local 1190 of the USWA. The plant was shut down. Here's how RAFT describes what happened:

"The story begins with a management 'expert' sent down from W-P's head office. This 'Dr. Carney' said, according to a widespread rumor, that the plant could be run with 1000 fewer people. The company made its move on Sunday.

"A locomotive job was changed from the Transportation Dept. to the Blast Furnace. It was downgraded from 14 to 7 points, a pay cut. The operating engineers reported off in protest. When the company put supervisors on the trains, the groundmen refused to throw the switches. 'These men are unqualified and a safety hazard' they said.

"The company said: you're fired. When the dust had

settled on Monday, seven men were canned for sure. . . .

"Then the wildcat sickout spread like a prairie fire, from the RR out to the other units. The company sought and got a county court injunction against a work stoppage. The brothers and sisters stayed together though, and by Thursday the mill was down, without any picketing. The solidarity was tremendous.

"The company tried intimidation. They fired wildly. One man was even fired twice. They went to District Court for yet another injunction. They sought court ordered fines, against the union and individuals. Still, the machines stood silent. . . .

"On the following Monday, court was again called to order. The judge's ruling: no firings if work resumed in 24 hours. One demand won. But, the 5 day suspensions issued during the strike still stand. And the locomotive job remains where the company wants it, at lower pay. That issue goes to 'expedited arbitration', out of the workers hands. As of this writing, it looks like people are going back on these terms. . . .

"The ranks showed again their willingness, courage, and solidarity to respond to company belligerence. . . . When the companies attack, we will defend ourselves.

"But defending ourselves is made harder, not easier, by our own union 'leadership'. The companies use the courts to smash our solidarity because we do not have the right to strike in our contract.

"R.A.F.T. says, and has been saying, the right to strike, both over local and national issues, both between and during contracts, is essential to a strong union. W-P workers showed that this right exists in our guts, at least.

"Let's get this right written in our contracts, where it belongs. Join with R.A.F.T. and let's build a grassroots movement of steelworkers that will make some long overdue changes."

It says on the leaflet that you can contact RAFT: P.O. Box 417, Homestead, Pennsylvania 15120; P.O. Box 2221, Youngstown, Ohio 44504; or P.O. Box 99004, Erieview Station, Cleveland, Ohio 44199.

definition of abortion as "women's right to control their own bodies" is a misleading slogan, not a carefully thought conclusion.

This definition of abortion contains two assumptions as I see it: 1) that the fetus is simply a part of a woman's body, and 2) that a woman has the right to do as she pleases with her body. If the fetus is simply a part of a woman's body, when does it cease to be a part of her body? At birth? But then the fetus must be a part of the woman's body until birth or abortion. Why not then allow abortion up to term?

The standard that abortion is permissible until the second trimester is arbitrary and unrealistic. The fact is obvious: the fetus at every stage of development from conception is alive and growing, a being in its own right.

Further, no person has the right to absolute control over his or her own body. Were Ms. Jeness to attempt to cut off a finger because she no longer want it, she would be rightly stopped. Thus, even if a fetus be considered simply a part of a woman's body, she would have no more right to remove the fetus artificially than she would to cut off her hand.

No one forced the vast majority of mothers who are now seeking abortion to conceive their children; rather, they participated in the act of sex freely and knowing they would perhaps conceive. Now they wish to dispose of their children under the cover of slogans and platitudes.

Gerald Kinman
Washington, D.C.

On 'Taylorism'

Dick Roberts's review of Harry Braverman's new book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* [April 18 *Militant*], was excellent, but I think he should have more strongly criticized Braverman's view of "Taylorism" in the Soviet Union.

Lenin strongly advocated introducing the principles of scientific management developed by Frederick Taylor into the productive processes of the young Soviet workers state.

American workers despise Taylorism, and rightly so. Its most familiar manifestation is the "time-and-motion study," which provides the basis for continual speedup of production.

But the central point of Braverman's book was that advances in labor-saving technology that should benefit workers are turned against them under capitalism. That is the framework within which Taylorism must be judged.

Like any tool or weapon, it is neither progressive nor reactionary in itself. It depends on whose hands it is in. In a situation of genuine workers' control of production, workers would no more want to reject Taylorism than they would computer technology.

Although I think Braverman's book is useful and important, on this point I'll stick with Lenin.

Cliff Conner
New York, New York

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.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Our D.C. bureau wins a round

WASHINGTON—The *Militant* has won an important victory here for freedom of the press with the help of journalist I.F. Stone and attorney Herbert Jordan.

On April 25 the Executive Committee of the Periodical Correspondents' Association voted to issue the *Militant* a congressional press pass, culminating a five-month battle to win official credentials for the paper.

I.F. Stone and Herbert Jordan appeared before the committee along with myself, as Washington *Militant* correspondent, to speak in support of the *Militant's* right to press credentials.

Stone is a veteran of this type of fight. For years he was denied an official press pass as the editor of *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, a much-respected journal which he put out from 1953 to 1971.

Jordan, an associate of constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, is also one of the chief attorneys in the suit against government spying filed by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

This victory represents an important step forward for the *Militant's* D.C. Bureau, which was launched in January. The "gallery pass," as it is called, allows me to sit in the Periodical Press Gallery in the House and Senate and in the press section at congressional hearings. It enables me to attend news conferences on Capitol Hill. Perhaps most important, it is a big step toward recognition of the *Militant* as a legitimate part of the Washington press corps.

The executive committee was none too eager to extend this recognition to us, however. When I first applied for a pass last December, I was told that the Periodical Press Gallery is not open to "political newspapers" or papers published by "associations."

My application was then rejected in January,

ostensibly based on the fact that the *Militant* is owned by the Militant Publishing Association.

The executive committee insisted that all this had nothing to do with the fact that the *Militant* is a socialist newspaper. But at the same time, they kept wanting to know if the *Militant* is "controlled" by the Socialist Workers party.

The committee denied singling out socialist or other radical publications for special treatment. They claimed that the prohibition against "associations" is to keep the gallery from being overrun by lobbyists.

This specter of an "overrun" galley was being raised while the committee had handed out no less than eighty-three passes to *U.S. News and World Report* and had also given credentials to publications such as *Club Executive Magazine*, *Western Stamp Collector*, and last but not least, *National Enquirer*.

Yet the *Militant's* "suitability" was still in question. So was that of *Consumer Reports*, which was turned down on the basis that it too is published by an "association," Consumers' Union. *Consumer Reports* has sued the committee and won in a lower court, but the case is now being appealed, and it still doesn't have its gallery pass.

As I.F. Stone explained at the April 25 meeting of the executive committee, denial of a gallery pass to the *Militant* could only be interpreted as an attempt to stifle freedom of the press. "Why all these questions about whether the *Militant* is 'controlled' by the Socialist Workers party?" he asked. "What about the vast majority of newspapers in the country, which are controlled by the Democratic and Republican parties?"

Finding themselves in an untenable position, the committee reversed its decision and voted to give the *Militant* a pass.

Washington teachers rally to save schools

By Harold Schlechtweg

OLYMPIA, Wash.—Chanting, "Save our schools," more than 8,000 angry teachers and supporters rallied here April 22 to demand state funding of schools hard hit by special-levy losses.

The spirited demonstration was called by the Washington Education Association. According to Bill Davidson, WEA communications manager, it was attended by teachers from more than ninety school districts across Washington State. A number of school districts closed to allow teachers to take part in the demonstration.

The teachers' rally was the latest in a series of actions in Olympia, the state capital, in the wake of the most widespread school-levy losses in the history of Washington public schools. School levies, which are voted on every year by each school district, are special property taxes that pay for a substantial share of the schools' basic operating costs.

Students and teachers are calling for an end to the special-levy method of financing the schools and for state funding to make up for school-levy losses. The WEA estimates that as many as 5,000 public school employees will be fired as a result of school-levy failures in thirty-one school districts.

Overwhelming strike vote

The demonstrations came on the heels of a strike vote by Seattle public school employees. In the April 21 voting, 84 percent of Seattle's teachers and staff threw their support behind a strike to protect their jobs.

The strike authorization vote gives the Seattle Teachers Association's twenty-eight-member executive committee power to call a strike whenever it thinks the legislature has not acted on state funding.

STA officials requested the strike vote as a bargaining chip to use in negotiations with the legislature. William Haroldson, STA president, said, "Our position is we will strike at the appropriate time when the legislature is sitting on its hands and not taking effective action."

While strike votes have been taken by other WEA affiliates around the state, the Seattle school district is regarded as key to any strike action against the legislature. It is Washington's largest school district and will suffer the most from cutbacks. The



WEA Action

Five thousand public school employees in Washington State are threatened with loss of their jobs.



Militant/Toby Emmerich

STA estimates that more than 2,000 Seattle teachers and staff will be fired because of the school-levy failures.

Politicians stalling

Democratic and Republican members of the state legislature have sought to delay consideration of state funding of the public schools until August or September. In this way they hope to defuse the issue and break the momentum for a teacher strike.

If the teachers were to accept this proposal, a teachers' strike would be less likely. By next August, the teachers who are going to lose their jobs will already have been fired, and those remaining will have little incentive to strike against a recalcitrant legislature.

Washington's Republican governor, Daniel Evans, has taken a different approach. In a speech to a joint session of the legislature on April 21, Evans called for a 0.6 percent increase in sales tax, a 10 percent increase in the business and occupation tax, and a 10 percent surcharge on utilities.

Evans' plan would enable the state to meet only 75 percent of special-levy

requests for the 1975-76 school year.

In effect, Evans is proposing that teachers and students accept cutbacks in education. The cutbacks that Evans is proposing are 25 percent of what the schools will absorb if they receive no state funding at all. But the impact of these cutbacks is still enormous.

According to Dale Buckley, associate superintendent of schools for business, if Evans's proposal is approved, Seattle will be able to rehire half of the staff being laid off, provided that none of the money goes to salary increases. More than 1,000 teachers and staff will still lose their jobs.

Response to Evans was swift in coming. Wendell Verduin, executive secretary of the WEA, termed Evans's school funding solution "totally inadequate" and unsatisfactory. "Much more is necessary," he said.

T.J. Vassar, education director for the Seattle Urban League, said the league is opposed to Evans's plan to increase the sales tax to pay for education. "We are very much concerned that the tax burden not be placed on the little man, especially in the state of Washington, where the

little man and the poor already pay a disproportionate share."

Reaction by STA leaders has been cautious, however. William Haroldson, STA president, said he would study the governor's plan closely.

Teachers press for action

Many Seattle teachers and staff have seen through the game the legislature is playing. At a meeting of 350 STA picket captains, held the day before Seattle's strike authorization vote, teachers pressed Haroldson to set a definite strike date.

"What the legislature wants to do is delay this thing until school is out for the summer and there's nothing we can do," protested one teacher.

In recent weeks, pressure has been building on teachers not to take strike action to protect their jobs. Editorials in Seattle's daily papers called the STA strike vote "ill-advised at this time."

Unfortunately, some sectors of the labor movement have joined in this opposition to the teachers. Ross Rieder, president of the Washington Federation of Teachers, the small local affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers, told the King County Labor Council that "a strike against the legislature is not a productive action."

The STA, an affiliate of the Washington Education Association and the National Education Association, had announced earlier that it would seek support from the labor council. But James Bender, executive secretary of the council, said, "We're not going to support any request of the Washington Education Association because it is not an affiliate."

Regardless of whether or not the STA is an affiliate, it is in the interests of the labor council to support the struggle of teachers. Many of the council affiliates are public employee unions, which face similar cutbacks. If the teachers are successful in defending their jobs, it will point the way for all public employees.

Moreover, it is the working people who are hurt the most by the crisis in education. It is the sons and daughters of working people who attend Seattle's public schools. It is these students who will be forced into overcrowded classrooms to receive an inferior education if the fight for full funding is lost.

S.F. unions stage a self-defeating rally

By Roland Sheppard

SAN FRANCISCO—Building-trades unions here held a lunchtime "stop work" rally April 17, attended by 2,000 people. The demonstration was called to protest the blocking of construction

Roland Sheppard, a member of Painters union Local 4, is the Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of San Francisco.

of the Yerba Buena Center, an "urban renewal" office, hotel, and convention complex downtown.

A coalition of Black and other minority groups and environmentalists has been instrumental in legal actions impeding the project's progress. Opponents are demanding an affirmative-action hiring program in the construction and eventual staffing of the business complex, and the inclusion of low-cost housing to replace homes removed to make way for the Yerba Buena Center.

Today's "labor" demonstration was endorsed by the San Francisco Cham-

ber of Commerce, the Downtown Association, the Market Street Development Project, the San Francisco Hotel Employers Association, and the San Francisco Hotel Association. Union backing came from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and John Crowley, representing the San Francisco Central Labor Council.

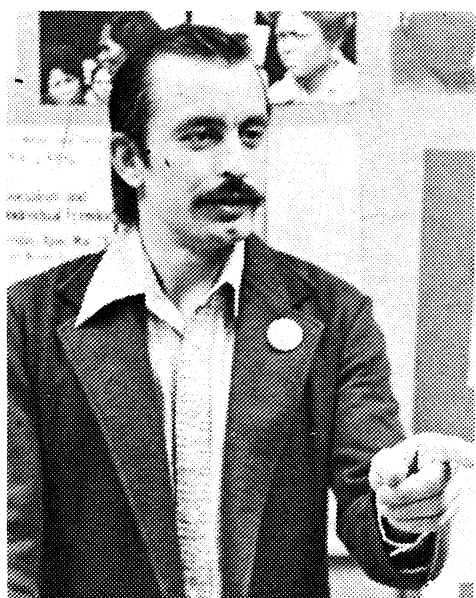
The employer associations urged their affiliates to give employees extended lunch periods to allow them to participate in the demonstration.

Ironically, from 1963 to 1970, the trade-union movement had been officially in opposition to the Yerba Buena project. Seeing it as a crass rip-off of the working-class taxpayer (for example, the bonds financing construction must, by state law, be paid for out of sales tax income alone), labor officials in those years counterposed a program of construction of an industrial center for light industry, low- and moderate-income housing, and public facilities such as schools and medical clinics.

Today, San Francisco labor bureaucrats have reversed their stand and

jumped on the bosses' Yerba Buena Center bandwagon.

Faced with deepening unemployment (25 percent of building-trades workers are out of work), they are impelled to put up a show for their members of "doing something" about



Roland Sheppard

unemployment. But this show is worse than doing nothing. The real-life effect of today's demonstration is to put the labor movement on the side of greedy commercial interests and against minority groups and environmentalists.

The labor bureaucracy's hostile stand, taken in this demonstration, toward demands by Blacks and others for affirmative action in hiring to offset years of discrimination is self-defeating.

One can only imagine the gleeful behind-the-scenes chortling of the powerful financial interests as they savor the spectacle of the labor statesmen of San Francisco alienating some of the most important of labor's potential allies in a particularly stupid exercise in class collaboration.

However, it is heartening to observe that a significant number of labor officials and many, if not most, rank-and-filers took a dim view of the April 17 proemployer program. Even many who participated did so to protest against unemployment and not to support the Yerba Buena scheme for enrichment of the bosses.

N.Y. school board elections

Puerto Rican parents take on Shankerism

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—The New York City school system is dominated by an alliance between representatives of the capitalist ruling class on the one hand and the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers on the other. Acting as front man for the city's central board of education, UFT President Albert Shanker has established himself as the foremost symbol of stiff-necked opposition to the oppressed minorities' struggles for control over their schools.

The struggle against Shanker's policies has been most intense in Community School District One. The battle lines between pro-community-control forces and Shankerite forces in the May 6 community school board elections are clearly drawn in District One.

Two slates of candidates are striving to win a minimum of five seats on the nine-member school board. One is the *Por los Niños/Save the Children* slate, backed by pro-community-control forces. The other is the "Brotherhood" slate, backed and financed by the UFT leaders.

Shanker's primary political base is the 70,000-member New York City teachers' union that he heads. The teachers are predominantly white and constitute a relatively privileged sector of the working class. The present economic downturn, however, has posed a serious threat to many of these teachers' jobs. On April 22, Mayor Abraham Beame announced the closing of forty-three of the city's public schools.

In District One as well as in other parts of the city, spontaneous demonstrations of parents have already occurred to protest the closings. The UFT should defend its members' jobs, and fight for better education, by uniting teachers with students and parents in actions against the capitalist administration's cutbacks.

White job trust

Instead, Shanker sees his union as a "whites only" job trust, thereby pitting the teachers against the Black and Puerto Rican students and their parents. At the same time, he tries to ingratiate himself with Mayor Beame and the central board of education in hopes of winning small concessions for his union at the expense of other

workers. That is the essence of Shankerism.

In defending the privileges of whites over Puerto Ricans and Blacks, Shanker is, of course, promoting a racist strategy. Any resistance on the part of the oppressed minorities against the white-dominated status quo is labeled "antiwhite racism" and "anti-Semitism."

In District One, however, the "Brotherhood" tag sported by Shanker's candidates for school board has been exposed as a facade. The campaign literature of the UFT-backed Committee for Effective Education, which is organizing the "Brotherhood" campaign, has consisted of increasingly shrill tirades against the district's parents and students.

The campaign leaflets of his District One standard-bearers portray the pro-community-control slate in these terms:

"*Por los Niños* practices violence and intimidation. . . . If elected, the *Por los Niños* slate has vowed to bring back ousted superintendent Luis Fuentes, a confirmed bigot and extremist. . . . Fuentes's sole achievement was to polarize ethnic groups, and to rouse violent confrontations—making our whole community unsafe. (For example, after one school board meeting, during which the Fuentes gang shouted anti-Semitic slogans, a rabbi was clubbed in the streets on his way home.)"

Another "Brotherhood" leaflet describes Fuentes's supporters as "thugs" and "bands of young hoodlums" and asks rhetorically: "When an 'educational leader' like Fuentes behaves in such a law-breaking manner, is it any wonder that muggings, stabbings and rapes have taken place right inside our schools?"

The Shankerite character surfaces most clearly in this leaflet, which, believe it or not, both accuses "the Fuentes gang" of "racist slurs" and also states that Fuentes "acts like an Ethiopian bandit." What bugaboos does the word *Ethiopian* conjure up in the minds of people of this ilk? Apparently this was a bit too blatant for even the Shankerites; subsequent editions of the same leaflet revised "Ethiopian bandit" to a more neutral "common bandit."

The Shankerite election leaflets are nothing more than a smoke screen of



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

LUIS FUENTES (speaking): Shankerites say he 'acts like an Ethiopian bandit.'

slandorous characterizations, Joseph McCarthy-style innuendo, and lies. Why does Shanker *really* fear a *Por los Niños* election victory in District One?

In 1972, pro-community-control forces gained a majority on the district's school board and appointed Luis Fuentes as superintendent. The legacy of the previous central board's control of the schools was such that only 6 out of 800 teachers could speak Spanish in a district where three-fourths of the students are Puerto Rican! Fuentes immediately set out to remedy this situation by establishing bilingual and bicultural programs. He hired more than a hundred new bilingual teachers and Black studies and Puerto Rican studies teachers—many of them, of course, Black and Puerto Rican—to staff these programs.

Shanker viewed Fuentes's hiring policy as a threat to his strategy of maintaining the UFT as a white job trust. Instead of welcoming the new teachers to the union and supporting the upgrading of bilingual instruction as a necessary first step toward improving education in District One, he did the opposite.

Programs dismantled

The Shankerites successfully recaptured the community school board majority in last year's election, sus-

pended Fuentes, and proceeded to dismantle all of the programs he had launched.

Although the school population is only about 5 percent white, the district's *electorate* is approximately 50 percent white. Many white voters in the past have been responsive to Shanker's horror stories about mobs taking over the schools and using them as staging areas from which to terrorize the whole of Manhattan's Lower East Side.

The UFT treasury not only pays for the dissemination of the scurrilous literature cited above; it also foots the bill on election day for taxis to ferry white voters to polling places.

The power of the Shanker machine is considerable, and *Por los Niños* cannot hope to match its financial resources. The parents of District One thus face an uphill struggle. Their resources consist mainly of their own efforts and those of other supporters dedicated to the democratic right of an oppressed community to control its own schools.

A victory for *Por los Niños* would advance the community's struggle to a new stage. On the other hand, failure to win a board majority will not end the parents' determination to expel the alien force of Shankerism from their children's schools.

Women's groups defy ROAR

Racist threats won't stop Boston abortion rally

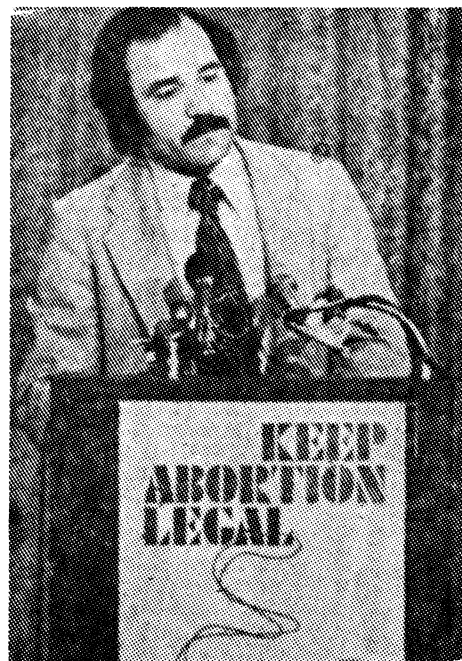
By Bobbi Spiegler

BOSTON—The Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights held a well-attended news conference here April 24 to announce a week of activities from April 26 to May 3 built around the theme "Defend Dr. Edelin—Defend Abortion Rights."

Dr. Edelin is a Black doctor who was convicted of manslaughter last February for performing a legal abortion on a young Black woman.

Stressing the importance of the May 3 march and rally that will culminate Abortion Action Week, Carol Silver of CDAR said the purpose of the rally "is to bring public attention to the fact that our hard-won abortion rights are threatened. We will *not* allow our right to legal abortion to be taken away through the efforts of a minority of the population."

"We would like to call one important thing to your attention," she continu-



Dr. Kenneth Edelin

ed. "On April 9 a group of hecklers successfully disrupted a pro-Equal Rights Amendment rally that was held at Faneuil Hall. At that time they publicly stated that they would disrupt any other women's-rights functions that they could in the upcoming weeks."

ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the virulently racist antibusing group, led the disruption attack on the April 9 ERA rally.

On April 21 a letter was sent by CDAR to Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia demanding police protection for the rally. In addition, Silver said: "Supporters can help by being there and mobilizing friends and other supporters. . . . Marshals are needed to ensure that if disruptions do occur they will be isolated, that no confrontations develop, and that our demonstration takes place and gets across the

message it was intended to."

Support for Abortion Action Week has been growing every day. The week of activity has been publicized through large-scale leafleting, appearances on numerous radio talk shows, articles in all the major press, and even a booth at Jordan Marsh, Boston's largest department store.

"The response from people is tremendous," Diana Travis of CDAR told the *Militant*. "When we're out leafleting and selling our 'Defend Abortion Rights' button, almost everyone is friendly and very upset about the conviction of Dr. Edelin."

"Young people, old people, men, women—they all reach into their pockets to make a donation or buy a button. Women especially are concerned about the threats to our right to abortion and are excited to hear about CDAR and our activities."

A chapter of labor history

The 1939 Minneapolis WPA trials: at 1

This week the Militant completes serialization of excerpts from three chapters of *Teamster Politics*, a forthcoming new book by Farrell Dobbs on the labor movement in the 1930s. In last week's selection, Dobbs described the settlement of the 1939 nationwide strike by workers on federal Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects, and the subsequent indictment of 166 strikers and leaders of the unemployed movement in Minneapolis.

By Farrell Dobbs

(Last of a series)

Eight of the WPA strikers went to trial on October 2 before Judge M.M. Joyce. Five were members of the Federal Workers Section: Richard Connell, Ben Palmer, Carl Pemble, Myron Phillips, and Leslie Wachter. One, John Marshall, belonged to the Workers Alliance. The other two, Arnold Mullen and George Smith, had no organizational affiliation. They had simply joined in the spontaneous walkout.

Many other workers crowded into the federal building, eager to lend the defendants their moral support. But most were refused admittance to the small courtroom. So they packed the corridors, waiting for information about the trial proceedings to be passed to them during the occasional recesses.

Messages of solidarity poured in from trade unions and unemployed formations in all parts of the United States. An appeal for financial support to the WPA defendants was sent out by the Minnesota State Federation of Labor. Word came that the AFL Executive Council had passed a resolution protesting the federal court action in Minneapolis, and the resolution was thereafter used effectively in raising funds for the defense.

Formally, the jury was to pass judgment on allegations that the defendants had violated the Woodrum law, which made it a crime to "interfere" with WPA workers. Actually, though, the eight—and all other workers indicted—faced court action under the president's decree that "you can't strike against the government." Since the prosecution couldn't twist the facts sufficiently without exposing the antidemocratic character of Roosevelt's dictate, charges of "conspiracy" were leveled against his victims.

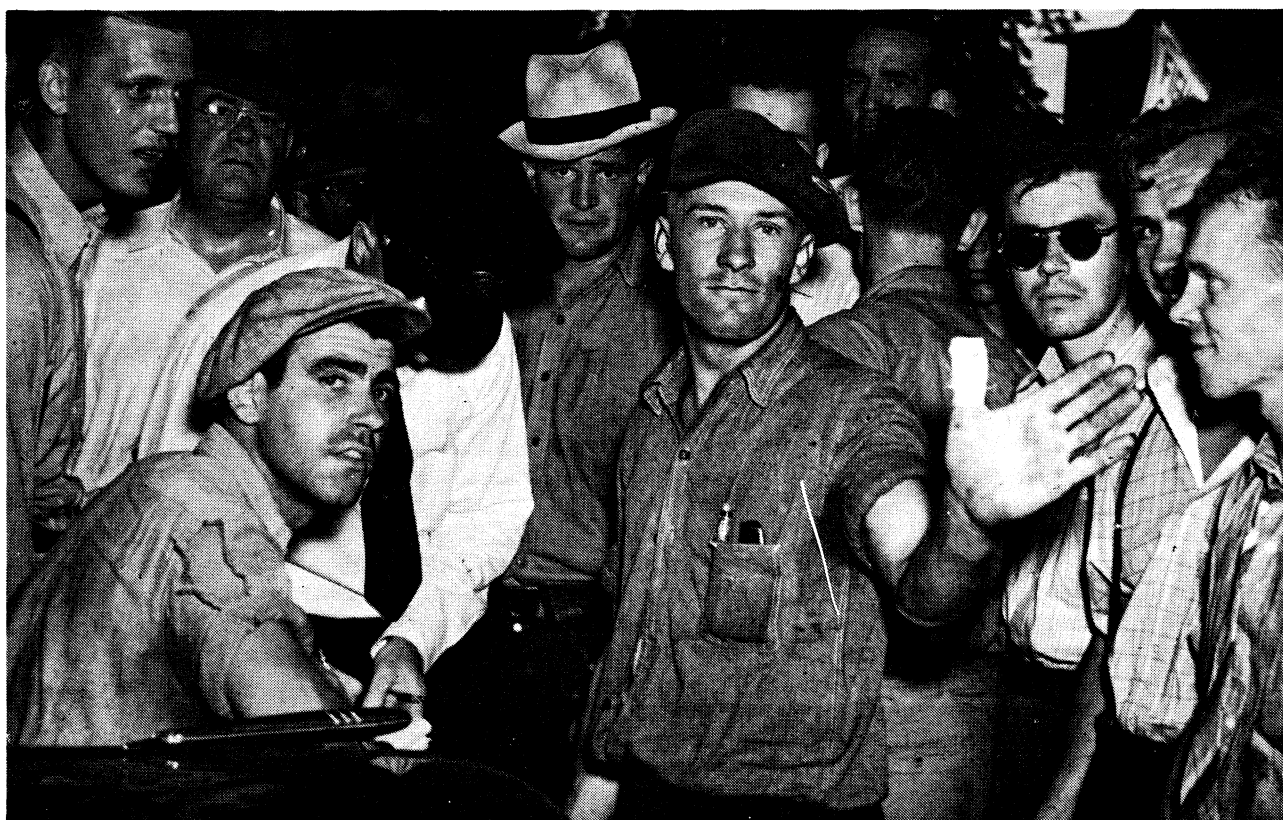
The government based this particular case on a disturbance that occurred on a WPA research project at the University of Minnesota. A scab, Philip Slaughter, had pulled a knife on the pickets. In the scuffle to disarm him that followed, he stabbed one of the defendants, Myron Phillips. Typically, the knife wielder had been allowed to go scot-free, while those he had attacked were being prosecuted by U.S. District Attorney Anderson. The prosecutor made a crude attempt to falsely cast the strikers as the aggressors by putting a couple of finks on the witness stand to testify that the defendants had bullied them.

All five of the FWS members—Richard Connell, Ben Palmer, Carl Pemble, Myron Phillips, and Leslie Wachter—were convicted of "intimidation" and of "interference" with WPA workers. With the exception of Palmer, they were also found guilty of "conspiring" to violate the Woodrum law. John Marshall, Arnold Mullen, and Gordon Smith were acquitted. The judge then announced that passing of sentence would be temporarily postponed.

'We are all conspirators'

The boss press, of course, gloated over the convictions. But intense anger was widely manifested within the working class. During the court proceedings, a defense witness asserted from the stand: "This whole trial is a joke." Agreeing wholeheartedly with his sarcastic remark, workers on the projects said after the convictions: "We are all conspirators."

A second trial followed immediately in Judge Joyce's court. Once again there was not a single worker on the jury. It was composed entirely of business people and well-off farmers, most of whom were from outside Minneapolis. This time there were four defendants—Charles Connors, Milton



Leslie Wachter (center), striking WPA worker injured in scuffle with knife-wielding scab, was among those framed up for 'conspiracy.'

McLean, Charles Moore, and William Riley—who had been caught up in the attack on the Federal Workers Section. All faced charges similar to those in the first trial. To buttress its case, the government alleged that they had committed various specific acts. Connors, for example, was accused of assaulting a scab. He was a Black worker, who defended his conduct with the terse explanation: "He made an insulting reference to my race."

Connors, McLean, and Riley were convicted of "conspiracy" and "overt" acts in the picketing of WPA projects. Moore was found not guilty. After the jury had rendered its verdict the judge announced that sentences would be handed down later.

Defendants in the third Minneapolis WPA case included fourteen women and eleven men.

Among them were central leaders of the Federal Workers Section, including a number of its outstanding activists, and all but one of the twenty-five were members of the FWS. The situation of the women was described by Marvel Scholl, who had transferred to Omaha, Nebraska, in the spring of 1939. In a column written from Omaha for the *Northwest Organizer*, headed "One Woman to Another," Marvel said:

'One Woman to Another'

"Next week when Federal Judge Joyce's court reconvenes, a group of our sex is coming to trial on the WPA thing. I would like to talk about these women, today. To tell you something about them as persons and unionists. Knowing them, working

with them, taught many of us that women can be as good 'Union men' as any member of the male sex. A little less than two years ago the women on WPA began to realize that unless they did something about their own status, they would be left far behind the men. Most women on WPA are mothers, left alone to take care of their children. Unlike the men, they had not only to work on WPA, but they had also to maintain their homes, keep their children clean and in school, keep them fed and well.

"In other words, they had a double job. It might have been easier, from a purely physical point of view, had most of them stayed on direct relief or mothers' aid—but women are no more ready and willing to take something for nothing than are the opposite sex. They clamored for and got jobs, sewing, cleaning, assisting in the hospitals, clerical work—anything at which they could work to earn money.

"Working on huge projects, under supervisors who were prone to give favors to favorites, made a group of these WPA women workers realize that unless they organized they were lost. So they organized. They won new and better conditions for all the workers. They took care of their members, called on them when they were ill, helped them get relief when they couldn't work, helped them get back their job when laid off, assisted them to do better work when they were in danger of losing those jobs because maybe sewing wasn't something they had been born to do—got parents of workers on Old Age Assistance—aided mothers to get Aid to Dependent Children when it was no longer possible for them to go on with the double job.

"In other words, these women took upon their own shoulders the cares and tribulations of many hundreds of families. Took those burdens willingly, their only compensation the knowledge that somebody else's life was a little less burdensome than it had been. They worked tirelessly, completely forgetting themselves in their efforts to help the other fellow.

"Next week several of these women come to trial. They are charged with 'conspiracy.' They face almost certain conviction. If these women—if any of the WPA workers who stand convicted or are in danger of being convicted—if they are guilty, then so is every man and woman in the United States who has ever dared to stand up for his or her own ideals; who has ever struck out against oppression; who has ever believed that this is a free country."

'Proud to be a woman'

"They are charged with 'conspiracy' because they believed in the Golden Rule which tells us to 'do unto others as you would be done by.' If 'conspiracy' is helping your fellow man to a better life; if 'conspiracy' is putting bread into the mouths of hungry children and old people; if 'conspiracy' is giving your all with never a thought for yourself,



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Marvel Scholl at 1972 banquet celebrating publication of 'Teamster Rebellion.'

empt to behead unemployed mov't

then they stand convicted. They are real women. They make me proud to be a woman!"

Ever since the police assault on the sewing-project pickets, the boss press had been trying to depict the strikers as violent aggressors against whom the cops were merely trying to protect the scabs. Now, in federal court, those responsible for the July 14 outrage played the role of accusers and the victims sat in the prisoners' dock.

In an effort to show that the violence had been precipitated by the strikers, Anderson put "loyal" workers from the sewing project on the witness stand. While waiting to be called they sat in the corridor outside the courtroom, talking with FBI agents, and the coaching given them showed through when they testified. Their stories were too good, too pat, to be true. On top of that the defense was able to demonstrate that their identifications of specific individuals was largely a fake.

A double row of seats had been allotted to the big group of defendants. While the finks were testifying they switched chairs from time to time. This caused the witnesses, who had evidently been told where one or another defendant was seated, to make mistake after mistake in attempting identifications.

All told, 158 witnesses were called by the government in the third trial. Their rehearsed testimony was given in a courtroom where a flag in a glassed frame hung on the wall. This led one worker to remark: "They even have the American flag framed in there."

'The Moscow of America'?

During the closing arguments, Assistant U.S. Attorney Giblin painted a horrendous picture of the strike spreading to all parts of the nation and "challenging" the government. He named Ed Palmquist and Max Geldman as the "very fountainhead of the Minneapolis WPA strike conspiracy." Giblin also stressed that twenty-four of the twenty-five defendants were members of the Federal Workers Section; that the FWS was the backbone of the strike; and that the government understood the Workers Alliance to have opposed picketing of the WPA projects.

Chief prosecutor Anderson wound things up by telling the bug-eyed rural jury: "Minneapolis, so long as I am here, is not going to become the Moscow of America. . . . Forty-seven states are watching Minnesota and this jury."

All twenty-five of the defendants were found guilty of "conspiracy" to violate the Woodrum law, and a number were convicted on secondary counts involving incidents during the strike. When the verdict was announced, none of the victimized workers showed any emotion except restrained anger. They filed silently from the courtroom and went to the Local 544 hall. There a large body of supporters joined them in discussing plans for continuation of the Federal Workers Section's fight on behalf of the jobless.

While the third trial was in progress, Judge Joyce had announced that the sentencing of all convicted WPA strikers would be deferred indefinitely. His action was accompanied by stories from "informed sources" that the White House was shaken by mounting labor criticism concerning the handling of the Minneapolis prosecutions.

Labor protests frame-up

AFL President William Green had recently sent a telegram to the local defense committee, stating: "The indictment and conviction of WPA strikers in Minneapolis has aroused resentment among all working class men and women."

A collective letter of protest was sent to Roosevelt by national trade-union officials and prominent liberals. They asked him to "cease such un-American practices" as the mass trial of WPA strikers, adding that "the number of people indicted reflects a kind of witch hunt." Citing Anderson's assertion that "Minneapolis . . . is not going to become the Moscow of America," they contended that "raising this false issue was highly prejudicial to the cause of Justice."

Trade unionists signing the protest included J.R. Butler, head of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union; A. Philip Randolph, leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; George Counts, president of the American Federation of Teachers; James Carey, secretary of the CIO; and Joseph Padway, general counsel of the AFL.



Ed Palmquist (left) and Max Geldman after conviction in 1939 trial. Labeled 'very fountainhead of the Minneapolis WPA strike conspiracy' by prosecutor, they were sentenced to year-and-a-day in prison.

Liberals who added their signatures were Upton Sinclair, Arthur Garfield Hayes, David Clendenin, Roger Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes, Daniel Hoan, and Norman Thomas.

In Minneapolis the AFL unions voted to assess their members a dollar apiece to help provide defense funds. Organizations of militant farmers in the area also manifested concern about the government's attack on the WPA strikers.

What happened next appeared to reflect Washington's response to the pressures from all those sources. O.J. Rogge, head of the Justice Department's criminal division, suddenly arrived in Minneapolis. It quickly became clear that he had come with orders to get out of the fight with the labor movement as gracefully as possible. Negotiations with the WPA defense committee followed. These negotiations concerned the disposition of indictments involving the 130 strikers who had not yet been brought to trial.

Most indictments dropped

As a face-saver, Rogge resorted to the device of nolo contendere pleas (no defense). He first demanded that 40 of the remaining defendants make such pleas, but the defense committee flatly rejected that figure. An understanding was finally reached that 5 would plead no defense on minor charges other than "conspiracy." The indictments against the last 125 workers were then quashed.

Upon completion of the negotiations, Rogge appeared in Judge Joyce's court, where he stated: "The Department of Justice feels that the 32 most culpable persons have already been convicted. . . . The President felt the duty of the WPA workers had been made clear. . . . they have no right to conduct a strike."

After the head of the Justice Department's criminal division had appeared in court, Judge Joyce proceeded to sentence all the strikers who had been found guilty. He prefaced his action with a speech about "self-seeking leaders with ulterior motives" and referred to the strikers as "dupes." On that note he ordered that all but three of the men convicted in the trials be jailed for various terms, as follows:

A year and a day—Ed Palmquist, Max Geldman, and Leslie Wachter; seven months—Charles Grider; six months—William Riley, Victor Nicholas, and George Totino; four months—Milton McLean; ninety days—Eddie Alberts, Frank Stevens, Floyd Hurley, Myron Phillips, and Richard Connell; sixty days—Ralph Core; thirty days—Charles Connors.

Short sentences given to the other three—Ben Palmer, Oscar Schoenfeld, and Carl Pemble—were suspended and they were put on probation. Those who had pleaded nolo contendere—Roy Orgon, Louis Lindsay, Victor Chiodo, Glen Smith, and Owen Jacobsen—got probationary terms of twelve to eighteen months.

Only one of the women convicted, Minnie Kohn, was ordered jailed. Judge Joyce branded Kohn a "ringleader" and gave her a forty-five-day sentence.

There were seventeen counts in the indictment against her. This alone showed that she was indeed a fighter.

As Max Geldman remembered Kohn: "Here again is an example of worker heroism during the class struggle. Minnie was no talker. I vaguely recall her attendance at meetings of the sewing-project workers. She was not even a steward, but once the struggle broke out she was a whole army of wrath. Minnie was amongst the first on the picket line, she and a number of others. Believe me they were a formidable troop. They planted themselves at the entrance of the building, forming a determined picket line.

"Since the majority of the workers at this project were female, Minnie and her squad developed a unique tactic to keep scabs from entering the building. As they were being escorted by the cops, the squad would rush in and virtually tear the clothes off the scabs. It was quite a sight. The strikebreakers naked amidst the jeers of the pickets.

"I really don't know much about Minnie's background. I can only tell you that she never faltered, took the trials in stride, served her time and came out as rebellious and defiant as when she went in."

During the trials, the prosecution appeared to have deliberately padded the court record with extraneous matter so that an appeal to the higher courts would be almost prohibitive to the defense. Not only would the necessary printed transcripts of the trials be very costly, but there would also have to be an extensive outlay for appeal bonds. In addition, the national trade-union bureaucrats couldn't be relied upon to provide significant financial help. Funds to meet the heavy costs would have to be raised mainly within the Minneapolis movement, and there was no real chance of that. For those reasons the defense did not appeal the convictions, which meant that workers given jail terms had to begin serving their time at once.

Significance of WPA strike

Looking back on the experience after thirty-five years, Max Geldman remarked: "The 1939 WPA strike was the culmination of mass protest and anger at a system that robbed the unemployed of the dignity of workers engaged in productive labor. Not only were they alienated from such products as were turned out, like factory workers; they were completely alienated from the work process itself. Then came the mass layoff notices, which sent them back to the worst miseries of direct relief. There were spontaneous reactions. Workers threw down their shovels and manifested their anger everywhere.

"Was it a strike? No production was stopped, since 'made work' was involved. It was a political act, a demonstration of burning resentment against the government. It was a mass outburst such as makes revolutions possible, only it didn't involve workers engaged in actual capitalist production.

"Nationally, the jobless workers were weakly organized and their leadership was even weaker. Minneapolis became the center of the struggle. There the unemployed were well organized, as were the trade unions which backed them; and an experienced revolutionary leadership was present within the mass movement. But it was just in one city, and if it's not possible to build socialism in one country, it's much less possible to do so in one city. Roosevelt knew this as well as we did. With the cry, 'You can't strike against the government,' he came down on us with all the federal power, acting in collaboration with state and city repressive forces.

"I can't say we won the 1939 WPA strike, but we gave a good account of ourselves and left a bright chapter in the history of American class struggles."

Teamster history

TEAMSTER REBELLION by Farrell Dobbs. History of the 1934 strikes. 192 pp. Paper \$2.45, cloth \$6.95.

TEAMSTER POWER by Farrell Dobbs. Midwest organizing drive in 1930s. 255 pp. Paper \$2.95, cloth \$8.95.

Monad Press books. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

The Cointelpro Papers (Part 6)

FBI's campaign against first Black presidential candidate

By Nelson Blackstock

"A review is being conducted of CLIFTON DE BERRY's file to determine if there is anything derogatory in his background which might cause embarrassment to the SWP if publicly exposed."

Those words appear in a secret FBI memorandum dated October 17, 1963. It was recently made public as a result of a suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The suit, which is sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, is aimed at putting a stop to the years of illegal surveillance and harassment by the FBI.

In preparation for the case coming to trial, a federal judge has ordered the FBI to turn over its files pertaining to the SWP. In March the FBI released an initial 3,138 pages. Included are documents from the notorious Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operation against the SWP.

More of these Cointelpro papers concern Clifton DeBerry than any other single individual. In 1964 DeBerry became the first Black person ever to run for president of the United States, when he was nominated by the SWP.

Why was the FBI so interested in DeBerry? What was it about this man and his political activities that caused the FBI to devote so much energy to trying to discredit him?

To find the answer to these questions, I talked with DeBerry about his background—his many years of activity in the union movement and the Black liberation struggle.

DeBerry was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, he told me. His family sent him at a young age to live with relatives in Chicago, where they hoped he would find more opportunities open to him.

Organized in South

Instinctively a rebel, DeBerry was becoming involved in "the gang-war scene and about to get into trouble." Fortunately, he ran into a friend who

persuaded him to go down South and take part in some union organizing efforts.

In late 1942 the two went to Louisiana, where they organized textile workers. "Then we went to a little town just outside Nashville [Tennessee] and organized a John Deere farm equipment plant there," DeBerry recalled.

After returning to Chicago and participating in several different union organizing drives, DeBerry landed a job at the big International Harvester plant.

"They started me off in the shipping department at seventy-seven cents an hour. Our job classification was 'laborer,'" DeBerry remembered. "I had a talk with the grievance committee representative about changing the wording. We organized the guys and went out on strike for a couple of hours after lunch."

They won. Along with the classification change came a pay boost up to \$1.35 an hour. "After that the guys there wanted to make me shop steward. But they already had one—an old-timer, who I later learned was in the Communist party."

"But since the workers were determined to make me their shop steward, some people from the CP contacted me. They told me I had to join the CP to become a shop steward. That's how I came to join the Communist party."

Strike wave

After the war, a strike wave swept the country. The FBI's investigation of DeBerry's background discovered that "labor trouble" charges were placed on his record during this period. How did this happen?

"We were organized at this time by a very dynamic leader, who later became president of the local. He saw the strikes coming and inspired a lot of us young guys to get prepared."

"We all went out to an old automobile junk yard. There we practiced until we had developed a technique for 'dumping' cars. That means turning them over. In anticipation of possible

attempts by scabs to cross the picket lines in their cars, we constituted roving picket squads of five or six each."

The American working class was in a combative mood. They won some healthy wage increases from the corporations, which were obviously in a position to grant them because of their huge war profits.

DeBerry soon became well-known to the Chicago police "labor squad." They developed the habit of picking up DeBerry and his friends as soon as they appeared on the scene of a strike. The cops would take them to the station but would soon release them without pressing charges, thus effectively preventing them from performing their scab-removal operation. "That is the reason so little shows up on my record," DeBerry commented.

As always during a workers upsurge, the creativity and ingenuity of the rank and file came to the fore, and DeBerry gave an example.

"There was this group of three women who also traveled from picket line to picket line. They had devised a method of disabling scab drivers by throwing an air-raid warden's helmet at the windshield of the car. The driver would instinctively throw his hands up to protect his face. At that point we would move in and dump the car."

"One day a big battle was shaping up at Jones Foundry. My squad showed up early in the morning. Right away we got picked up by the cops and taken downtown. They soon released us, and we headed straight back to Jones."

'Back to the station'

"We met up with those three women and were getting ready to dump some cars, when the cops nabbed us all. They threw us into the back of one of those big, square-back paddy wagons and proceeded to take us back to the station."

"Now, these women had been arrested so many times that they had developed this special trick. They would station one person at the front of the wagon to look through a tiny peephole in order to see where the vehicle was headed."

"As the cops began to steer into a left turn, the one at the peephole would signal to the others—who were sitting on benches on either side of the wagon—to prepare to stand up and move to the right. If they did this during the turn, it would flip the paddy wagon over. Another person stationed by the door would kick it just as the vehicle hit the ground. This would automatically knock the doors open, so the passengers could escape."

"So, we followed their instructions. It worked, and we headed straight back to the picket line."

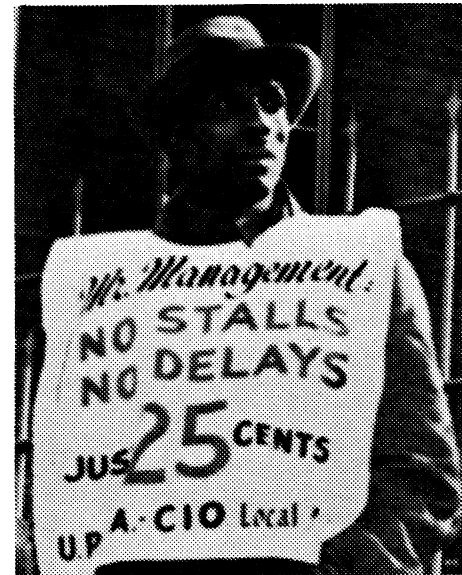
"Of course, they came looking for us. They picked us up again, took us back downtown, and booked us this time," DeBerry said. "That explains how I got those charges on my record."

Cold war

In the late 1940s the cold war began to grow more intense. The United States rulers' offensive internationally against the Soviet Union was accompanied by a domestic offensive against the labor movement, as well as against the American CP. The trade-union bureaucracy capitulated to the ruling class on both fronts.

At first the leadership of the Congress of Industrial Organizations had hesitated to endorse the new cold war foreign policy. During the presidential elections of 1948 they backed Truman, and along with this endorsement came support of Truman's cold war policies. This was codified at the 1948 CIO convention.

The CP followed a smaller wing of the ruling class, represented by Henry Wallace and his Progressive party, which preferred a kind of détente with the Soviet Union—a continuation of the war-time cooperation.



Black workers moved to form own caucuses after World War II. DeBerry backed move while a member of Communist party, which opposed it.

The cutting edge of the attack on the labor movement was the Taft-Hartley Act, which had been enacted in 1947. The labor movement refused to take up a serious fight against it. Among the provisions of the new law was a prohibition on members of the CP holding office in trade unions.

"The heads of a few of the unions, including mine [the Farm Equipment Workers], were known Stalinists," DeBerry said. "Philip Murray, the president of the CIO, handed them an ultimatum that they had to get rid of these CP union officials, in accordance with the provisions of Taft-Hartley, or leave the CIO."

It was at this time that DeBerry began to run into problems with the CP. Along with the president of his local, DeBerry was among those union militants who felt that the Stalinist officials were placing their own personal posts above the interests of a unified labor movement. At the 1949 convention the CP-led unions were expelled from the CIO.

Around this time the Farm Equipment Workers merged with the United Electrical Workers, another Stalinist-controlled union. "After that, the CP took over almost everything in my local," DeBerry remembered.

"I had differences with them on a number of questions, including some of their policies during the war—the no-strike pledge, civil rights, and Black caucuses."

Black caucuses

The economic boom during the war brought unprecedented numbers of Blacks into the plants. In some factories, where they were assigned the hardest and most dangerous work, Blacks constituted a large percentage of the workers. A Black caucus movement began to emerge.

"I would discuss this caucus idea with some of the stewards in my shop and with Black leaders I knew in other

Continued on page 26



Striking workers 'dumping' car carrying scabs across picket line. DeBerry's expertise at this technique led to arrests by Chicago cops during 1945-46 strike wave.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

CLIFTON DeBERRY: Years of involvement in trade-union and Black movements made him special target of FBI.

The Cointelpro Papers

Document 1: Even before DeBerry announced campaign for president in 1964, FBI began its search for way to discredit him. This October 1963 memorandum marked beginning of FBI campaign against the Black socialist. Search into his background turned up 1946 arrests for "labor trouble" in Chicago. "Anonymous letter" in first paragraph refers to another FBI dirty trick. Documents 2-4: When DeBerry ran for mayor of New York City in 1965, FBI revived campaign to slander him. Last page reveals FBI's disappointment at its failure.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

Director, FBI *[redacted]* DATE: 10/17/63

SAC, NEW YORK *[redacted]*

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 10/3/63.

On 10/14/63, the anonymous letter authorized in relet was prepared on a manual typewriter utilizing commercially purchased stationery. The letter was mailed 10/14/63 from a suburb of NYC.

The Bureau will be advised if any tangible results are noted from this disruptive tactic.

The NY Local of the SWP is presently running a candidate for the position of Councilman-at-large in the borough of Brooklyn. A review is being conducted of CLIFTON DE BERRY's file to determine if there is anything derogatory in his background which might cause embarrassment to the SWP if publicly exposed. It is noted that on a previous occasion it was possible to have printed in a daily NY newspaper the prison record of an SWP election candidate.

If a review of DE BERRY's file reflects a disruptive move is feasible, the Bureau will be advised.

1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI *[redacted]* DATE: 4/22/65

SAC, NEW YORK *[redacted]*

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM
(OO: NY)

ReNYlet, 3/25/64.

Referenced letter set forth a disruptive tactic involving CLIFTON DE BERRY, who in 1964, was campaigning as SWP candidate for President of the US. The tactic involved release of public source material identifying DE BERRY as having a police record, deserting one wife and living adulterously with another, the daughter of FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP.

It is felt that public knowledge of the above would reflect adversely upon the SWP.

The Bureau approved the idea and furnished the material to a Bureau contact. The information never was printed, however, as far as the NYO knows.

The SWP weekly newspaper, "The Militant" announced in its 3/22/65, issue that CLIFTON DE BERRY had been nominated as SWP candidate for mayor of NYC in the 1965 elections. He said he intended to start his campaign early.

DE BERRY will attempt to utilize public platforms, radio and television to spread SWP propaganda, and the disruptive tactic proposed in relet is again regarded as having a good potential.

The Bureau is requested to approve again the release of the derogatory information regarding DE BERRY.

2

If circumstances relating to the Bureau contact preclude his using the material, the NYO will submit its recommendations regarding using this data in an anonymous mailing.

-2-

3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI *[redacted]* DATE: 10/29/65

SAC, NEW YORK *[redacted]*

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS-SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY, 6/21/65.

Relet set forth that action would be initiated at the Seat of Government re dissemination of derogatory background concerning CLIFTON DE BERRY, SWP Candidate for Mayor of NYC.

DE BERRY has made several public speeches, radio and television appearances, but the NYO has noted no questioning of him tending to bring out his background. Similarly, there has been no critical comment re DE BERRY in this connection in the press.

Since the NYC elections will be held 11/2/65, it appears that no positive results have been obtained from this operation.

4



Veterans returning home after World War II were in combative mood. DeBerry acquired an arrest record during postwar labor upsurge. FBI wanted to use record to discredit him during 1964 presidential campaign.

Militant circulation drive

Subscription drive wins 9,176 new readers

By Pat Galligan

The drive to obtain 9,000 new *Militant* readers has surpassed the national goal, reaching a total of 9,176 new subscriptions.

Twenty-three areas met or surpassed their local quotas. Boston supporters decided to postpone meeting their quota in order to go all-out to build support for the May 17 march against racism. They have sold 330 subscriptions—the third-highest total for all areas—and plan to meet their quota of 500 subscriptions this summer.

The fifteen Young Socialist teams sold 2,020 subscriptions during their visits to campuses across the country. The Missouri/Kansas team set the pace with 248 subscriptions.

Most of the new subscriptions were sold by local units of the Socialist

Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. However, many individual *Militant* readers also contributed to the success of the drive. Some readers bought gift subscriptions for friends. Others sold prepaid subscription cards.

Six prepaid cards were sent in by Gustavo Gutiérrez from Tempe, Arizona. Harry Baker from Salt Lake City, Utah, has sent in seven prepaid cards during this drive.

The vast majority of the new subscriptions were sold in the Black community and on campuses. Many local areas organized door-to-door subscription sales in Black neighborhoods.

The success of the drive in Washington, D.C., was based largely on this type of sales. Each Saturday, subscription teams canvassed housing projects, apartment buildings, and houses in the

District and in nearby suburbs.

The *Militant's* coverage of developments in Boston and of the case of Joan Little helped convince 199 Black community residents there to purchase subscriptions during the course of the drive.

Twin Cities supporters sold 102 of their 301 subscriptions in that area's Black neighborhoods.

Oakland/Berkeley led the country in total subscriptions sold with 504. Campus sales, primarily during blitz weekends, accounted for 331 of that total. Door-to-door sub selling in Black communities there gained seventy-six subscriptions.

In the rivalry for top subbing honors in Oakland/Berkeley, Ralph Desimone narrowly beat out John Votava. Desimone sold forty-three subscriptions to Votava's forty-one. Carl Finamore, who was also engaged in the race for the Berkeley mayoral seat, finished third with thirty-seven.

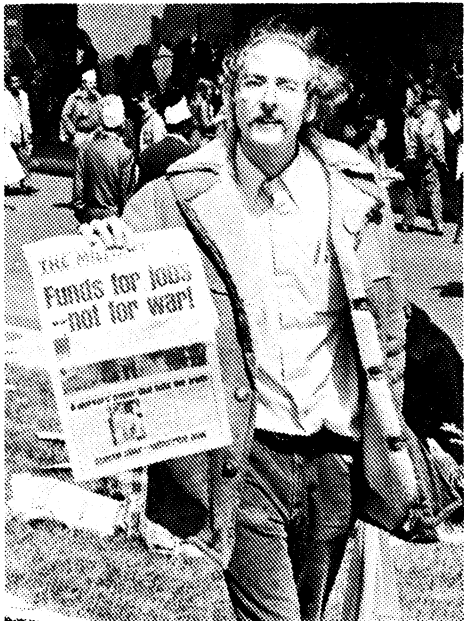
Our supporters also sold subscriptions on the job, at union meetings, and at plant gates. Two St. Louis activists sold thirteen subscriptions at a plant where they regularly sell single copies of the *Militant*.

Even though the drive has formally ended, there are always opportunities to sell subscriptions to the *Militant*. For example, Cappy Kidd, from Upper West Side, New York, sold six subscriptions to members of the Social Service Employees Union during the bus ride to Washington, D.C., for the April 26 rally for jobs.

Militant supporters can also sell subscriptions during their regular street sales of single copies. During the drive, Lower Manhattan socialists sold forty-seven subscriptions during street sales. Brooklyn sold thirty-five.

Ron Wolin, from Lower Manhattan, sold all but one of his twenty-two subscriptions while selling single copies of the *Militant* at New York's Port Authority bus terminal. He averages two or three subscriptions and from twenty to forty single copies at each sale there.

People who stop to talk to Wolin at Port Authority are impressed with the *Militant's* presentation of the facts on



More than 1,600 Militants were sold at April 26 demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Quota	Sold	%			
Madison, Wis.	25	38	152	Portland, Ore.	200	110 55
San Diego	200	223	112	Charleston, W. Va.	30	12 40
Baltimore	50	56	112	Catskill, N.Y.	5	2 40
Detroit	300	327	109	Albany, N.Y.	20	7 35
Lower Manhattan	300	327	109	State College, Pa.	25	8 32
Washington, D.C.	300	326	109	Champaign, Ill.	25	7 28
Milwaukee	150	162	108	East Lansing, Mich.	53	11 21
Cleveland	300	320	107	Columbus, Ohio	25	5 20
Logan, Utah	30	32	107	Tallahassee, Fla.	25	5 20
Brooklyn	300	314	105	Worcester, Mass.	20	4 20
San Francisco	450	466	104	Edinboro, Pa.	30	5 17
Denver	275	286	104	Amarillo, Tex.	15	2 13
St. Louis	200	208	104	San Antonio, Tex.	30	3 10
Houston	300	309	103			
Upper West Side, N.Y.	300	306	102	Young Socialist teams		
Pittsburgh	250	255	102	Missouri/Kansas	240	248 103
Oakland/Berkeley	500	504	101	Northwest	240	234 98
L.A. (West Side)	300	302	101	New England	180	156 87
Seattle	200	202	101	Michigan/Indiana	240	186 78
Twin Cities	300	301	100	Mid-Atlantic	240	180 75
L.A. (Central East)	300	300	100	Rocky Mountain	240	172 72
Bloomington, Ind.	50	50	100	Upper Midwest	180	124 69
Sacramento, Calif.	25	25	100	N.Y./N.J./Conn.	210	128 61
Atlanta	300	266	89	Pennsylvania	240	144 60
Louisville, Ky.	30	25	83	Northern Calif.	240	128 53
Philadelphia	300	225	75	Ohio/Kentucky	240	103 43
Ann Arbor, Mich.	30	22	73	Illinois/Wisconsin	240	78 33
Mankato, Minn.	15	11	73	Texas	240	66 28
Dallas, Tex.	20	14	70	Southeast	240	41 17
Boston	500	330	66	Southern Calif.	240	32 13
Nashville, Tenn.	40	25	63	General		123
Chicago	500	295	59	Total	9,000	9,176 102

Dominica activist framed up on murder charge

From Intercontinental Press

The campaign to save Desmond Trotter, a militant condemned to death on the Caribbean island of Dominica, has become more urgent with the rejection of his appeal by the British Caribbean Court of Appeal on March 19.

Trotter was framed up on a charge of murdering a white tourist and convicted on November 1, 1974. He was sentenced to hang.

The victimization of Trotter by the Labour party government of Prime Minister Patrick John was the culmination of a rising wage of repression against the workers, peasants, and youth of this small British colony, 400 miles southeast of Puerto Rico.

Since the late 1960s, protests and demonstrations against the regime have gathered momentum. In 1968 a Black Power movement emerged on the island. It published a magazine entitled *Black Cry*. Trotter was one of the main leaders of the movement. In 1972 it officially adopted the name Movement for a New Dominica, and Trotter became editor of its monthly publication, *Twavay*.

In July 1972 agricultural laborers at the British-owned Castle Bruce plantation went on strike and threatened to take over the estate and collectivize production. The government responded

by organizing a witch-hunt throughout the island, especially against the MND, which had supported the striking workers. Trotter was suspended from his civil-service job, then transferred to another department. He was repeatedly harassed by the police.

After a general strike in June 1973 brought the country to a standstill, the regime reacted hysterically. It claimed that a "Castro-type" guerrilla movement was operating on the island. (The "evidence" brought forward for this assertion was the discovery of a shack in the jungle and two used 0.22 caliber cartridges.) Repression of the MND and of any militant youths voicing the slightest criticism of the regime was intensified.

During the annual carnival in February 1974, two young American tourists were attacked while camping in the countryside. The day after this incident another American tourist was shot. Although taken to a hospital, he was not seriously attended to until the following morning. He died.

Seizing on these incidents, the regime launched an all-out attack on the MND. Patrick John—then deputy premier—blamed the killing of the American on "a few degenerate leaders who see themselves as the architects of a new society projecting new stand-

ards." An unofficial state of emergency went into effect in the capital, Roseau. Club-wielding police swept through the streets arresting and searching young people. In addition to the MND, their targets were the "Dreads," militant Dominican youths who had adopted a distinctive form of dress and wore their hair in long stiffened locks.

Two weeks later the village of Grandbay erupted. The villagers drove the managers off the estate, and Grandbay was placed under official emergency. Extra police were called in and property-owning volunteers were recruited into a rural constabulary with license to kill.

Against this background, Desmond Trotter and another MND member, Roy Mason, were charged on May 6 with the murder of the American tourist.

The trial itself was a farce. The prosecution's whole case was based on the evidence of two witnesses who later admitted that they had been threatened by the police into signing a statement.

The police identification parade was just for the record—Desmond Trotter was the only one on the line with the distinctive locks worn by the Dreads. The jury was composed almost entirely of local businessmen or managers.

Mason was acquitted, but Trotter was found guilty and sentenced to hang. When the verdict was announced, hundreds of young people took to the streets of Roseau in protest.

After the trial the government rushed a special anti-Dread law through parliament. It made the wearing of long hair a criminal offense. It provided that any member of the Dreads found in a private residence may legally be killed.

During November and December 1974 the police raided homes of MND members and others. They seized the movement's duplicating machine and public address system, as well as books, files, tape recordings, and a large amount of personal property. This material had not been returned after sixteen weeks.

The campaign to free Desmond Trotter raised a total of \$10,801 to finance his appeal. When the appeal was rejected, the defense campaign announced it would take the case to the Privy Council in London, the highest court in the British Commonwealth.

To carry on this fight, more help is needed. Requests for information and letters of support may be sent to Movement for a New Dominica, 6 Canal Lane, Goodwill, Dominica.

World Outlook

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

MAY 9, 1975

Interview with two activists

The struggle for women's liberation in Puerto Rico

[The following interview with Ana Rivera and Maritza Durán was conducted by *Intercontinental Press* in New York March 5. Rivera and Durán are members of the editorial board of *El Tacón de la Chancleta*, a Puerto Rican feminist newspaper. The second issue of the monthly, published in February, had a press run of 6,000 copies.

[The idea of publishing *El Tacón de la Chancleta* came from members in the feminist group *Mujer, ¡Intégrate Ahora!* (MIA—Women, Join Together Now!) who began to feel the need for a newspaper that would represent broader currents of Puerto Rican feminist thought than MIA did.

[Subscriptions to *El Tacón de la Chancleta* cost \$3 a year in Puerto Rico and \$5 elsewhere. They can be ordered from Apto. 21515, Estación U.P.R., Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00931.

[The interview was conducted in Spanish and has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*. Rivera and Durán have not had the opportunity to check the edited text.]

Question. *There have been reports in the press here about the campaign in Puerto Rico to sterilize women. What facts can you give us about this?*

Answer. In 1974 the government announced that it would lower the birth rate from 24 per 1,000 inhabitants to 15 per 1,000. This was announced at the beginning of the year, but everyone in Puerto Rico knows that the government had already begun the campaign despite official denials. Proof of this is that one-third of Puerto Rican women between fifteen and forty-nine years of age have been sterilized.

Forced Sterilization

Q. *How did the government manage to carry out sterilizations on such a massive scale?*

A. In large part by taking advantage of ignorance. There was a campaign in the public hospitals. Every woman who had three children was told that she should get sterilized, and many accepted it without being fully conscious of what they were agreeing to. The majority of these mothers were sterilized.

Q. *Are any other birth-control options presented to women? Abortion, for example.*

A. No, because the government wants a quick, cheap solution. And the quickest, cheapest method is sterilization.

Q. *You mean that despite the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing*

abortion, it is still not possible to get a legal abortion in Puerto Rico?

A. In spite of the fact that the Supreme Court decision should apply in Puerto Rico, the government has refused to accept it. You can get abortions in private hospitals, but they are very expensive, from \$250 up. Or you can resort to the dangerous, unhygienic methods that poor women use.

Government Demagoguery

Q. *How does the government justify not applying the Supreme Court decision?*

A. They don't try to justify it; they just ignore it. The government has followed a policy of saying to the Puerto Rican people that it was a Yankee decision. They use the nationalism this can generate among the Puerto Rican people to argue for not applying the ruling.

On the other hand, when the issue was taken into the courts in Puerto Rico, they said it was simply a question of the doctors. But if you go to a hospital, there isn't a single doctor willing to perform an abortion. And the hospitals haven't obtained the equipment necessary to perform them because they say it is discriminatory against people who need other types of operations.

It is very interesting that in Puerto Rico the controversy about abortion has been argued in political terms. At no time has the question of a woman's right to control her body been raised. The discussion revolves around the question of Puerto Rico's status in relation to the United States.

For example, in the two cases that were brought to the courts, the points raised were designed to expose the political situation of Puerto Rico. They didn't deal with the woman's right.

Q. *What do you mean when you say the issue has been treated in "political" terms and when you speak of "nationalism" as being something the government counterposes to the right of women to get abortions?*

A. Well, when it suits the government to apply some U.S. ruling to Puerto Rico, it does so—for example, when it wants federal funds. But when something goes against the supposed traditional morality of the Puerto Rican people, then the government trots out this so-called principle of Puerto Ricanness and poses it as an argument in the government's favor.

In this case, they said that the abortion ruling would be violating all Puerto Rican tradition. They used this, along with all the nationalism that goes with it, as if abortion was a



Feminists meet in Puerto Rico

Tacón de la Chancleta/Maritza Durán-Almética

cultural imposition by the American people on us in Puerto Rico, and not a woman's fundamental right.

Q. *How have the left and the feminist movement responded to the sterilization campaign and the abortion question?*

A. The left has always maintained that both are part of a genocidal plan directed against Puerto Rico. That is, any attempt at birth control is seen as one more attempt by the imperialists to suppress Puerto Ricans.

Lack of Planning

What is happening in Puerto Rico is that there has been a terrible lack of planning by the government. Puerto Rico has recently undergone a change from an agricultural society to an industrial one. A large number of persons were driven off the land and left without work because of government indifference. For that reason many went to the United States and stayed there.

There are a lot of people. In reality I think there are thirteen times as many people per square mile in Puerto Rico as in the United States, and 60 percent more than in India. If you add the poor distribution and government fumbling to this population density, it makes for quite a load.

The government does not acknowledge this. Instead it says, let's sterilize people; that's the solution. They completely ignore the fact that planning has been botched for a long time.

Q. *Are there groups in the feminist movement that call for the right of women to control their own bodies?*

A. Yes. *Mujer, ¡Intégrate Ahora!*, which was formed three years ago and

was the first feminist group to arise in Puerto Rico in this period. One of the first things MIA got involved in was a public campaign on the right of women to control their own bodies. This includes access to abortion and other contraceptive methods. MIA also criticized the government's plan for mass sterilization, since the plan views women as one more object to be used for the government's own ends and opposes their full integration into society.

Q. *What type of activities has MIA carried out in this campaign?*

A. We collected a large number of signatures to send to the legislature when the courts were arguing the question of liberalizing the abortion law. We have sent press releases to newspapers and magazines giving our views, and we conducted a campaign on radio and television.

Q. *Have any demonstrations been held in Puerto Rico on this question?*

A. Not against sterilization, but there were two against liberalizing the abortion law organized by the Catholic Church.

Q. *Is there interest and action around the issue of working women?*

A. There has been interest in this issue since the beginning of the century. Luisa Capetillo dates from that period. Her story is in the new issue of *El Tacón de la Chancleta*.

Now it seems that some groups of union women are getting interested again in fighting for their rights. The *Federación de Mujeres Puertorriqueñas* has a large number of members, and the majority are working women.

Continued on page 22

Speech by George Novack

In defense of Soviet dissenters Vladimir Bukovsky & Valentyn Moroz

[George Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers party, spoke at a rally held in New York March 18 as part of the international campaign to win the release of Soviet dissidents Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz. Pavel Litvinov, who was to have been the featured speaker, was unable to attend the meeting, but another Soviet dissident in forced exile, Boris Shragin, took his place.

[Other speakers included playwright Eric Bentley, civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, literary critic Alfred Kazin, Margrit Wreschner of Amnesty International, Adrian Karatnycky of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, and exiled Czechoslovak literary critic Antonin Liehm.

[We reprint below the text of Novack's remarks.]

The spirit of this meeting was eloquently expressed by Ivan Yakhimovich, the model collective farm chairman in Latvia and Soviet dissident, who wrote a stirring appeal addressed to the Soviet people on the eve of his arrest on March 25, 1969. It concluded, "When human rights are violated, especially in the name of socialism and Marxism, there can be no two positions. Then your conscience and your honor must command. . . . The great of this world are only great because we are on our knees. Let us arise!"

In this letter, Yakhimovich pays tribute to the courage displayed by Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel when they went out on Red Square in Moscow on August 25, 1968, in protest against the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia and in support of the Czechoslovak movement for socialist democracy. He traveled to Moscow to see Pavel Litvinov and to learn the truth about the views of his colleagues, and later joined with Pyotr Grigorenko in calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Yakhimovich was only one of the many people in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, in this country, and



George Novack speaking at 1974 meeting in defense of Soviet dissidents

around the world who responded in sympathy and solidarity with this daring act of defiance and its slogans: "Hands Off Czechoslovakia" and "For Your Freedom and Ours."

I'm sorry Pavel Litvinov could not be with us tonight, because I wanted to tell him what some of our thoughts were when we heard about that action. What brave and noble people this besieged band of Soviet oppositionists are! How magnificently are they carrying forward the traditions of the remarkable Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century mentioned by Alfred Kazin. They're the keepers of the conscience of the Russian people and the other peoples in the Soviet Union. Through them the ideals of the October Revolution are kept burning bright, no matter how much the Stalinist bureaucrats fear its flames and work to extinguish them.

Three Generations

The invitation to speak at this meeting happened to coincide with the news that Maria Joffe, the companion of A.A. Joffe, had arrived in Israel after being exiled from the Soviet Union in early January. Joffe was the associate of Lenin and Trotsky, a well-known Soviet diplomat and Left Opposition leader, who committed suicide in 1927 in protest against Stalin's expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Communist party. Maria Joffe spent many, many years in the Soviet concentration camps and is today one of the few survivors of the first generation of dissenters there.

From the Joffes to Litvinov, Bukovsky, and Moroz, there have already been three generations of oppositionists who have crowded the Stalinist prison cells, camps, and now psychiatric wards, purely for insisting on the rights of free expression guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. This is a long time. I know this only too well, since I have been involved for over forty years in defending the victims of Stalinist repression and frame-up.

Way back in 1934, I helped form a committee of American intellectuals to secure asylum in the United States for Leon Trotsky, then hounded in France by both fascists and Stalinists. We delegated Morris Ernst, who was

general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union and a friend of the Roosevelt family, to go to Washington and apply for that permit. He had a Sunday night dinner with President Roosevelt and at the end of the dinner he said to the president, "I have a friend who is in difficulty and I would like to get permission for him to enter the country."

The president asked: "Who is your friend, Morris?"

He said, "Leon Trotsky."

Well, I imagine that Roosevelt's cigarette holder dipped a bit at that point. And he answered: "Well, I'll have to consult the secretary of state, Cordell Hull, about that."

The visa was not forthcoming, among other reasons because some months before, in November 1933, the Soviet foreign minister, Maxim Litvinov, Pavel's grandfather, had come to Washington and negotiated the first détente agreements with the U.S. Roosevelt did not care to affront Stalin by permitting his arch-opponent to come to this country.

Two years later, the first of the Moscow frame-up trials were staged. We did our best to expose these as frauds and save the lives and reputations of the Old Bolsheviks slandered and slaughtered in connection with them. Roosevelt's ambassador to Mos-



MOROZ: 'The dead become a symbol which inspires brave souls to new sacrifices.'

cow, Davies, endorsed the verdicts.

The business of defending Soviet political prisoners has been what Irving Howe once called "steady work." That has been the reason for the formation and activity of this coalition.

The dissenters who are subject to repression encompass a very broad and variegated spectrum of views and political positions. Yet they are objectively united by their common repression under the Brezhnev regime, which treats them so harshly and denies them the most elementary human rights.

United Defense

We in turn are obligated, despite our ideological and political differences, to join together on their behalf. For example, I don't share the view expressed by Alfred Kazin that the regime in the Soviet Union today is Leninist. I think it's Stalinist. That's the antithesis of Leninism. Nor do I believe that, in light of what Washington has done in Vietnam and Cambodia, one can call the Soviet Union the most murderous regime in the world today. But nevertheless, let's say the leaderships in Washington and Moscow are in competition with each other in that respect. We're against both kinds of criminals.

We can unite in opposition to the injustices inflicted by them and let the dissenters know that they are not isolated in their struggle. We can put the Kremlin and the KGB on notice that they cannot commit their misdeeds without provoking the widest possible outcry and strong protest. I was happy to hear from Boris Shragin tonight, who recently came from the Soviet Union, that such expressions of sympathy and solidarity are very keenly welcomed there.

In reading *A Question of Madness*, in which Zhores Medvedev and his brother Roy tell how the Soviet biochemist was railroaded into a mental hospital by the Soviet police, I was impressed by the way the scientific and intellectual community rallied to their side and conducted a formidable protest that led to his release. It is quite possible that Boris Shragin had a part in it. [Shragin nodded assent.] Today Zhores Medvedev is living in exile in England, deprived of his Soviet citizenship.

Bukovsky & Moroz

The successful action of their colleagues at that time should be an example to us on how to mobilize the forces of progressive public opinion in this country—no matter how small we may be at any given moment—and come to the rescue of the victims of repression in the USSR.

Our immediate objective concerns the cases of Vladimir Bukovsky and Valentyn Moroz.

We are especially obligated to speak out on Bukovsky's behalf, because for ten years now he has been imprisoned and brutally mistreated for organizing demonstrations against the arrests of his fellow dissidents—Sinyavsky, Daniel, Galanskov, and Ginzburg—and for exposing the abuse of psychiatric methods against political oppositionists. We can do no less than he has done: Insist that he be liberated and permitted to go where he pleases and do as he sees fit. He should be allowed to enjoy at least a particle of the freedoms promised by the program of socialism and in accordance with the Soviet constitution itself.

It is impossible to speak about the



BUKOVSKY: Imprisoned and brutally mistreated for defending his fellow dissenters.



International support has had powerful effect in heartening fighters for democratic rights in USSR and defending them from victimization.

fate of the literary critic Moroz without bitter anger. He has become a living symbol—fortunately still living in spite of all the savage brutality inflicted by his persecutors—of unbreakable resistance to the inquisitorial methods to which he has been subjected, which have broken so many others, including the brilliant scholar Ivan Dzyuba. He is being so severely punished because he is such a passionate partisan of the revival of the Ukrainian national culture, its heritage, and its aspirations. And that is what the Russifiers are trying to extirpate.

As a Marxist I am an internationalist, not a nationalist of any kind. And yet I learned from Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky that the socialist movement is opposed to any form of national oppression, whether it related to the Kurds, the Azerbaijanis, the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Palestinians, the Ukrainians, or the Latvians, and that socialism aims to create the conditions that can give rise to the full and free development of every nationality and the special contributions they can make to world culture.

The upholders of the Stalinist order have callously trampled upon the right of self-determination in many instances, and not least in regard to the forty million or so Ukrainians under their rulership.

Moroz is their most courageous,

learned, and talented spokesman, and the protection of his life and liberty is inseparable from the defense of the rights and freedoms of the whole Ukrainian people today. Let us hearken to the voices of these Ukrainians in their own words. Dzyuba in 1965: "There are epochs when the decisive battles take place in the arena of social morality and civic conduct, when even elementary human dignity, opposing brutal pressure, can become a great rebellious-revolutionary force. To such epochs, in my opinion, in a great measure also belongs our epoch. . . . That is why perhaps nothing else has at present such significance as the loftiness of civic conduct."

Now Moroz, who has laid his life on the line and has embodied these words in deeds, from the statement to his judges at his second trial in 1970: "The court will try me behind closed doors. It will still be a boomerang even if no one hears me, even if I remain silent in solitary confinement in Vladimir prison. *There is silence which is louder than shouting.* And even having destroyed me, you will not be able to silence it. It is easy to destroy, but have you ever considered the fact that the dead are often of greater significance than the living? The dead become a banner. The dead become a symbol which inspires brave souls to new sacrifices."

And even at death's door, Moroz has not been silenced—and his supporters here and elsewhere in the world will not be silenced either about his case.

In his *Report From the Beria Reserve*, Moroz reminded the KGB and its masters how the tyrant Stalin was glorified at his death in 1953 and three years later was exposed by his own successors as a murderous criminal.

We have just witnessed a comparable reversal here in regard to Nixon and his lawless gang of highly placed agents.

Let the mighty who desecrate democratic rights in the name of socialism or of democracy beware! The victims of yesterday and today will be avenged by the people, who will be the victors of tomorrow.

Let me close by repeating the thought of our own revolutionist of 200 years ago, Tom Paine. He wrote in *The American Crisis*—and it's fitting to remember it on this bicentennial anniversary—"Though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire."

That's for Moroz and Bukovsky.

Free revolutionists held in Mao's political prisons

[The following article is taken from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

Week after week, a great number of pages in *Intercontinental Press* are devoted to the defense of political prisoners. From Attica to Vladimir prison, we support the campaigns demanding freedom for the victims of class justice and bureaucratic repression.

This is an elementary obligation of working-class solidarity. It is also an issue on which organizations of widely varying political views can unite in the effort to inform and mobilize international public opinion.

One case that deserves the attention of the international workers movement, and of all who support the right to free speech, is that of the Chinese Trotskyists—courageous revolutionary militants whose voices have been stilled for more than twenty-two years behind the bars of Mao's prisons.

It is a monstrous violation of proletarian democracy that these militants are left to rot in jail while the Mao regime boasts of its generosity for having released 293 convicted war criminals, nearly all of whom were lieutenants of the late and unlamented Chiang Kai-shek.

Not only have these butchers of the Chinese workers been released but they have received the red-carpet treatment. Ten of them, including two of Chiang's former army commanders, have already arrived in Hong Kong on their way to Taiwan, escorted by Chinese public-relations and tourism officials. Once in Hong Kong they were given VIP treatment. Air-conditioned limousines whisked them off to local hotels.

Should they find Taiwan inhospitable, they have little to worry about. Mao has provided them with reentry permits, renewable every six months. His regime has publicly stated that they are welcome to return at any time. Little wonder they have thanked the chairman for his "magnanimity."

In contrast, every known revolutionist of the Chinese Trotskyist movement remains in jail to this day. They, along with their friends, relatives, and sympathizers, have been behind bars since their arrest in police raids the nights of December 22, 1952, and January 8, 1953.

Not a single word has been heard from them since the time of their arrest. No charge has ever been brought against them. No public trial

where they might have answered their accusers has ever been held.

It is not difficult to see why they were never put on trial. They had committed no crime. Their only "offense" was to have opposed the bureaucratic misrule of the Mao regime. They demanded the right—guaranteed in the Chinese constitution—to put forward publicly their revolutionary-socialist views. And they demanded this right for all other supporters of the Chinese Revolution as well. This is why Mao views their ideas as a far greater danger than those of the bloodstained Kuomintang agents and officials he has released.

Consider the backgrounds of the prisoners Peking has released. According to Mao's own press, the 293 war criminals who were freed March 19 include 219 officers of Chiang Kai-shek's army, 21 Kuomintang party and government officials, 50 Kuomintang police agents, and 3 officials who served under puppet imperialist regimes.

Compare the record, the decades of revolutionary activity, of the Chinese Trotskyists. They include:

- Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of the Chinese Communist party and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution.

- Chiang Tseng-tung, a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement and a participant in the Shanghai uprising and general strike of 1925.

- Ho Chi-sen, a student leader in Peking in the early 1920s who joined the Chinese CP shortly after it was formed. He played a leading role, together with Mao, in the 1925-27 expedition of the Kwantung revolutionary army.

- Ying Kwan, a leading activist in the Chinese CP in the Province of Anhwei during the 1925-27 revolution; arrested twice by the Kuomintang.

These are only four of the Chinese Trotskyists in Mao's jails. The years they put into the struggle to liberate China from the imperialists and the Kuomintang testify to depth of their loyalty to the cause of the Chinese Revolution.

We ask all organizations that support the Chinese Revolution to join with us in demanding that they be freed immediately. It is a travesty of elementary socialist democracy that they be kept in jail while former Kuomintang police agents are treated as Mao's honored guests.



Kuomintang executioners at work in China during 1925-27 revolution. Maoist regime has freed Chiang Kai-shek's butchers but keeps Trotskyist militants in prison.

Samizdat

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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.

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...women in Puerto Rico: feminists state their views

Continued from page 19

In the main they are from trade unions.

The Federación de Mujeres Puertorriqueñas was formed in large measure in response to a declaration published by MOU [Movimiento Obrero Unido—United Workers Movement], a coalition of trade unions, which has several thousand members. MOU made a public statement supporting the rights of the working woman, and within their own coalition, they set up a committee for working women's rights. Then they wanted to involve other trade unions and interested women. That is where the Federación de Mujeres Puertorriqueñas came from.

Q. What type of demands are raised by working women?

A. The demands raised in the platform of the Federación de Mujeres Puertorriqueñas. Of course, the main ones are for more facilities for working women, the question of protective measures, the enforcement of the constitutional provision against sex discrimination, and the establishment of day-care centers for children.

Here in the United States you have the fight for the Equal Rights Amendment. I think it is important to point out that Puerto Rico's constitution already has such a provision prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex. The Puerto Rican constitution is lovely, but it is not enforced.

Student Movement

Q. Is there interest in the question of women's liberation among students?

A. The university students are interested. Their interest is not yet great enough to bring them into action, but clearly the students are more concerned than other sectors of the population.

Q. Did students participate in the founding conference of the federation?

A. There were some there, but the majority weren't students. The question of what students do has an impact, however, because obviously the student struggle and the workers struggle are linked. The students have always supported the workers movement.

Q. Have any women's actions taken place in Puerto Rico?

A. In Puerto Rico it is very difficult to get people together. I find that in

contrast to here, we have a political problem; the question of Puerto Rico's political status divides people. It comes up in all movements. We are historically backward in almost everything because of our status.

Q. As you know, one form the movement in the United States took at the beginning was the consciousness-raising group, where women discussed the character of their oppression. Do you think this is the stage the feminist movement is passing through in Puerto Rico?

A. I think so. For example, those of us in Mujer, ¡Intégrate Ahora! were in a consciousness-raising group together before. In Puerto Rico we are still in that phase because the majority of women don't have any consciousness of their oppression. They still have to express this fury they have inside them and that's what we are seeing.

Feminism & Nationalism

Q. Do you think the proindependence groups see a contradiction between struggling for women's rights and for independence?

A. Yes. Up to now the proindependence groups have taken the position that any attempt to organize a feminist movement is going to interfere with the independence cause.

They view feminism as something imported from the United States, an imperialist tactic to eliminate the independence movement. They use the question of our Puerto Ricanness; they go around promoting this, along with machismo and virginity. They say that feminism is an attack on our Puerto Ricanness, an attack on Puerto Ricans.

Q. How can you explain that in all this machist, antifeminist atmosphere you succeeded in interesting some women in forming MIA and fighting for women's rights?

Rivera. That's a good question. I was the first president of the organization and now I am coordinator of it. When I talk about prejudice, many people begin to attack me saying, "You are 'neoriquen' [a Puerto Rican New Yorker]. You must have spent a lot of time in the United States and that's where you got the idea." But this is the first time I have been out of Puerto Rico! So their attacks fail on this score.

I have always had these ideas, and when I saw the opportunity to organize



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

Puerto Rican independence demonstration. Growth of feminism will help independence movement by encouraging greater participation by women in politics.

for them, I grabbed it.

I am studying law at the University of Puerto Rico. My father is dean of one of the schools at the university and my mother teaches in elementary school. My family didn't raise me to be interested in current events and social issues, but they did want me to read. This may have had something to do with my development.

In addition, I am one of the few Black people in Puerto Rico involved in things like this.

Durán. My case is different. I lived here for some years before. I don't think that had much to do with it, but it is true that here people tend to be more independent. A woman has to be more self-sufficient out of necessity if she is to live in New York.

My parents were divorced. I was raised completely among women. And my mother, although she doesn't understand anything about why I am a feminist and why I am concerned about such things, is a woman who always had to take care of herself, to work to support herself and me. I always remember this business about a woman not being able to carry ten pounds or put a nail into a wall or paint. My mother painted, was an electrician, and did everything in the house. I learned all this from her. I had to do everything. I never had this dependency on men.

Rivera. The women who formed MIA came from different backgrounds. So you can't explain it by anything other than the fact that in Puerto Rico there are conscious women, capable ones. They realize what the situation is. I don't think, for example, that you can explain it by influence from the United States, as something that arose from the feminist movement here.

Tradition of Feminism

There is a tradition of feminism in Puerto Rico. There was a suffragist movement at the beginning of the century that was quite strong. The movement of women workers under the leadership of Luisa Capatillo and Juana Colón was very strong. There is a tradition of fighting for women's rights even in intellectual circles.

Q. Is there any group on the left that has called for the liberation of women?

A. There are individuals who have, and a growing number of persons on the left have begun to get concerned about this question. They are trying to understand the feminist movement and to communicate to the left that feminism is not some imperialist attack. When it has been shown that feminism doesn't contradict the struggle for Puerto Rican independence, the left is going to fight for women's rights.

Coming in the May 12

Intercontinental Press

- "Protests Spread in French Army." How the movement begun by a handful of draftees demanding their democratic rights has swept through France's armed forces.

- "How Belgian Unionists Battled Layoffs." An interview with two members of the strike committee at the

Glaverbel-Gilly glassworks.

- "Witch-hunt in West Germany." The aftermath of the kidnapping of West Berlin mayoral candidate Peter Lorenz.

For a copy send \$.75 to *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.



Tens of thousands of unionists packed Kennedy Stadium

Militant/Flax Holmes

...60,000 at D.C. rally: 'We want jobs!'

Continued from back page

action around the theme "Jobs, not war," and "Not one more penny for war in Southeast Asia." Five thousand copies of an NPAC statement were distributed on the march.

Of all the demonstrators interviewed by *Militant* reporters, not one could be found who favored continued military spending for Southeast Asia.

"I think we done our thing in Vietnam, I don't think we done it the right way. We lost out over there, I think we should put our money back in the United States."

Young, old, Black, white, men, women—most had never been to an antiwar demonstration, but the answer was always the same.

"I definitely feel like enough money has been spent there. We should stay out of it, and the money should be spent here."

"War? The hell with war. Let's do something about peace. Let's face it—the big people that have got the money in this country are making money off wars, and they always have."

"No, absolutely not, we've spent enough money on wars—we need money to live on."

"I think it's stupid—we're out of

work and need it here."

"All those people coming from South Vietnam—the only reason we're sending them here is because they're against the Viet Cong. They've been making up stories that the Viet Cong is going to kill everybody—they're not going to kill people! But they're building it up, just like with Cuba."

"Ford should get himself in line and think about us at home. They should spend it for jobs, because war is just useless and greedy. That's the way we feel."

At the stadium the marchers joined thousands of others who had been bused directly there.

According to the April 27 *Washington Post*, "Officials at RFK Stadium said 54,000 people were permitted inside and many others were left on the ramps underneath the facility. The metropolitan police estimated the total crowd at 60,000."

Although the top tiers of the stadium were never completely filled, the demonstrators outside and in the food concession areas probably brought the total participation to 55,000 or 60,000.

Who were they?

The rally presented a cross-section of the union movement, from both AFL-

CIO affiliates and independent unions. There were city employees, steelworkers, teachers, hospital workers, Teamsters, auto workers, printers, electrical workers, clothing workers, iron workers, bakers, and even movie projectionists—all brought together in a remarkable display of labor unity and solidarity.

The demonstration also offered a picture of those who have felt the worst impact of the economic crisis and have been the first to move into action.

More than half of the demonstrators were women. Many contingents from AFSCME locals, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and some electrical workers' locals were almost entirely made up of women. There were a few banners from the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The proportion of Blacks varied greatly from union to union. Some were lily-white, reflecting the long years of exclusion of Blacks from certain jobs, but the big AFSCME contingents were largely Black. In the crowd as a whole, an estimated 35 to 40 percent were Black.

Not surprisingly, those present tended to be more active in their

unions than the average member, perhaps serving as shop steward or in some other representative capacity.

A large proportion of those interviewed had participated in some union or civil rights marches before. Several specifically mentioned the 1963 civil rights march on Washington—one of the few protests of the 1960s that saw a big union mobilization.

The unionists gave a warm response to activists from the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), who joined the march under their own banner and distributed more than 20,000 leaflets about the May 17 march against racism in Boston, sponsored by the NAACP. A thousand marchers bought NSCAR buttons.

"You want to hear me rap about the demonstration? I think the demonstration is beautiful. I'm from New York, see, District Council 37."

"I need more money, see, 'cause I'm broke. I can't make enough money, you know. I have a family of three. I need a job that can uplift me—I don't need a layoff or a take-away."

"Myself, really, I don't believe in any kind of war and violence, if there's a

Continued on next page

April 26: wide interest in socialist campaign

"I'm the Socialist Workers party candidate for president in 1976," Peter Camejo told the riders on the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees train to Washington April 26, "and you can bet I'm the only presidential candidate who will be marching with you today."

"The others, you know, they talk about being 'friends of labor,' but when the unions demonstrate for jobs—where are they?"

Camejo got a friendly response as he campaigned up and down the train during the trip from New York to Washington, distributing copies of the SWP's proposed "Bill of Rights for Working People" and discussing how the unions can win jobs for all. Nearly everyone the socialist candidate spoke to agreed that the \$100 billion military budget should be used instead to provide jobs and public services.

Many had already heard of the SWP campaign from a recent *New York Times* article or from other sources, and several said they would vote for Camejo.

"The Democrats and Republicans don't represent our interests," Camejo emphasized. "They serve only the rich. What sense does it make to demonstrate against their policies one day and go out and vote for them the next?"

"They tell you to keep quiet, rely on them, and they'll solve everything. But demonstrations like today's show the real power of the labor movement. Relying on our own strength is the only way to win jobs for all."

Everyone on the train received a copy of the Bill of Rights and of the *Militant* reprint "Why Can't Everyone Have a Job?" All told, on the buses and trains and at the Washington

march and rally, 23,600 copies of the Bill of Rights and 29,000 copies of the reprint were distributed.

In Washington, Camejo joined in the march from the Capitol building to Kennedy Stadium, then talked with participants inside the rally. All along East Capitol Street, marchers passed "Jobs for All—Vote Socialist Workers" posters put up by campaign supporters.

Many of the demonstrators were interested in finding out more about the socialist program: 1,649 purchased copies of the *Militant*, and 204 bought the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

A button printed by the SWP campaign especially for April 26, "Jobs for All: Not one cent for war," clearly captured the feelings of the marchers—1,433 of them were sold.

—A.R.



Militant/Andy Rose

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo greets participants in 'Jobs Now' rally.



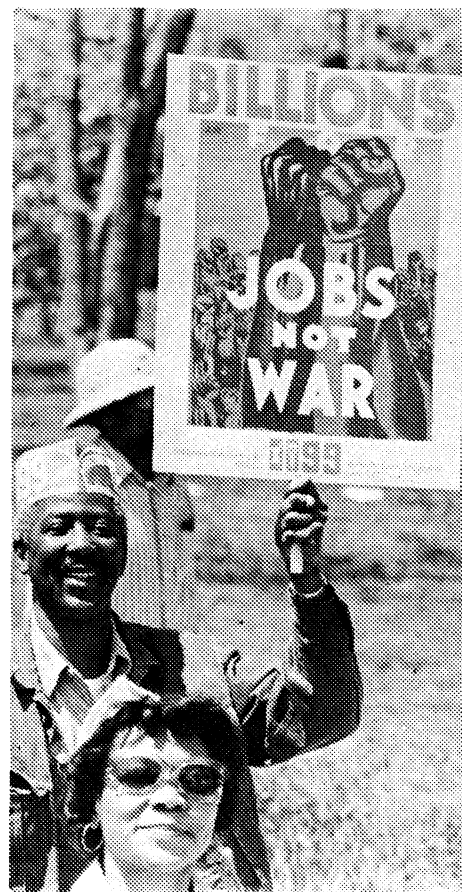
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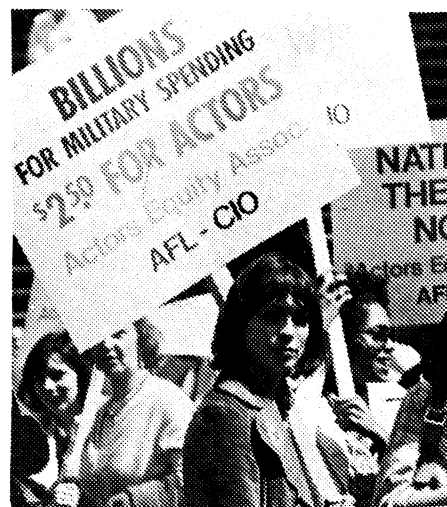
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Militant/Dennis Scarla



Militant/Andy Rose



Militant/Andy Rose

... 'people are really showing how they feel'

Continued from preceding page
war like in Vietnam. But I believe in a war like what people are fighting for today: a war for jobs and to uplift the people."

Signs of the times

There were union-printed signs and original hand-lettered signs, and thousands of colorful paper hats identifying members of the different unions.

A banner from AFSCME Local 1930 urged: "30 for 40—Jobs For All," referring to the demand for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

United Auto Workers Local 259 similarly proposed: "5 Days Pay For 4 Days Work."

"Jobs For All Now. . . Or We'll Be Back!" promised the banner of AFSCME Local 1072.

A bunch of steelworkers from the Chicago-Gary area carried signs with pictures of their recently elected district director, Ed Sadlowski, and the slogan, "It's Time to Fight Back."

"SEIU Demands Jobs Now"; "Save Our Jobs, Save Our Cities"; "NMU Says: We Want Action, We Want Jobs. . . Now!" "CWA Says. . . We Want Work!" "Get the Recession Off Our Backs"; "We Demand Tax Justice: Make the Rich Pay"; "IBEW: Work Not Welfare!" The message was clear.

Some posters reflected the conservative, protectionist outlook of most of the union officialdom. Indeed, the majority of signs from the clothing workers' unions carried the "Buy American," "Curb Low-Wage Imports" message.

It was also notable, though, that few if any signs carried the racist attacks on undocumented immigrant workers—the so-called illegal aliens—that the bosses and part of the union bureaucracy have tried to make scapegoats for unemployment.

Members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party (PSP) joined the demonstration with a big banner "Stop All Attacks on Immigrant Workers."

Supporters of Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo carried a banner, "Jobs for All: No funds, no GIs to Vietnam."

Many radical political groups were present with newspapers, leaflets, and banners. All were freely allowed to participate in both the march and rally and to distribute their literature. The great majority of union demonstrators showed no hostility toward radicals, and many took literature with interest.

"Why did I come? I haven't worked since October the tenth! I need a job."

She had short red hair and a rugged, friendly face. "Fifty-two dollars a week—I'd like to see you try to live on it. I lost my husband and I got to take care of everything myself on \$52 a week."

The three women were from Easton, Pennsylvania, from IUE Local 112. Two were in their forties, the third was older.

"I'm retired, honey, but I came along with them."

"She's a booster for us."

"What's gonna happen? I don't know. If they get some jobs they may call us back. God knows when that's

gonna be. Only that man upstairs knows."

"We work in a very competitive field, and most of it they do in Japan now. Coil work, coil windings, transformers, TV work, and all that kind of work. Their labor's not that cheap, either, as far as that goes. They ought to pull the work out from the other side and bring it back here."

"What newspaper are you from?"

The third woman now spoke up. "I'm against all militancy. I didn't approve of this today nohow. It didn't accomplish one thing."

The retiree disagreed. "I think we accomplished quite a bit. We let them know how we feel. If you don't do these things, how do you expect to gain, really?"

"They've gotta keep on doing something like this," her friend added, "to bring the work here, put food on the table."

Precedent for action

What did it accomplish? It began to give an organized voice to the seething anger of working people. It set a precedent for independent mobilization of labor's forces that will not be soon forgotten.

There were drawbacks and limitations, of course—in the official program and level of organization. That was hardly surprising. The AFL-CIO tops became sponsors of the rally only under extreme pressure, with the knowledge that AFSCME and other New York unions intended to stage a Washington demonstration with or without them.

Even then, George Meany, representing the most hidebound, conservative wing of the union officialdom, refused to endorse the rally or even to appear.

Outside of the Eastern seaboard area, where specific unions did take responsibility for mobilizing, union officials made at best a token effort to turn out the ranks.

A *Militant* correspondent from Cleveland, a member of IUE Local 707, reported: "The officers of the Cleveland Federation of Labor did less than nothing. They neither coordinated buses nor publicized the rally. The IUE could have filled three buses with no problem if it had publicized the action properly. As it was, the officers discouraged families of union members (there were many who wished to go) and turned down others because their one bus held only thirty-five."

April 26 was a sign that the militancy of union members—their readiness to take action—far exceeds the expectations and capabilities of their leadership.

Do you think demonstrations like this one will help?

"Oh yes."

"Sure, definitely."

"I think this is magnificent. People are really showing what they feel."

"They show that everybody has their mind on the same thing, that everybody's worried, you know. I think it will have an effect."

"We should have one once a month, really, to let Ford know we're still fighting for what we should have."

It was a first step, and a big one.

Was April 26 'a mistake'?

Behind disruption at D.C. jobs rally

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—The April 26 "Jobs for All" rally, the largest demonstration against unemployment since the Great Depression, was a powerful show of anger by the labor movement. The tens of thousands of marchers sent a message to Congress and the White House that will not soon be forgotten.

But those who wish the unions would remain meek and off the streets are trying to discredit the April 26 demonstration, using as a pretext a disruption of the scheduled program that resulted in early termination of the rally.

The *New York Times*, a leading mouthpiece for big business, was quick to point to the disruption as reason to oppose any future mass actions by jobless workers.

In an April 28 editorial, the *Times* said: "The hooliganism that broke up the weekend's mass unemployment demonstration in Washington confirms the judgment of George Meany and other old line A.F.L.-C.I.O. leaders that the whole idea was a mistake."

The *Times* attack is a calculated distortion of the facts. What actually happened?

Role of union officials

A large measure of responsibility for the disruption must fall on the conservative union officials of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (IUD).

They had called the rally with extreme reluctance in the first place—as a concession to pressures building up in the union ranks and in the hopes of heading off a more militant march initiated by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Those who called the rally and appeared on the platform had little connection with the actual mobilization of workers for the action, and they were neither politically nor organizationally prepared to deal with the huge outpouring of demonstrators.

They foolishly expected the protesters to travel by bus for as many as ten or fifteen hours, climb into a seat in the stadium, and then sit quietly while Democratic politicians and labor officials gave long-winded speeches.

The IUD organizers decreed that no one should set foot on the stadium's huge expanse of grassy field. This prohibition was an unnecessary limit on the numbers who could fit inside and—to anyone with the slightest experience organizing mass demonstrations—an obvious invitation for trouble. But these conservative officials wanted the union ranks kept at a distance, in the stands—as an audience, not a visible, vocal, mass protest.

The workers had come, however, because they wanted to make their voices heard and heeded by the government. And if they had to listen to speeches, they at least wanted to be able to understand what was being said.

Even this proved impossible with the sound system provided by rally organizers, which turned the speeches into a muffled, unintelligible mish-mash.

So, with the start of the first speech, given by Walter Burke of the Steelworkers, the audience had difficulty feeling like participants in the proceedings. Burke was reading a speech on behalf of Steelworkers President I.W. Abel. As he droned on, participants began to get restless.

Suddenly a section of the crowd broke out in applause and cheers as a lone individual dashed onto the playing field waving a sign.

When the uniformed security guards hired by the IUD ran after and caught the first demonstrator, the crowd booed. Then another roar of approval was heard as a second person ran out onto the field.

As Burke continued to read Abel's prepared text, the audience paid no attention, instead watching the spectacle developing on the field, where dozens of demonstrators and security guards were running about.

Then the scene changed as larger numbers of demonstrators began to stream out of the stands. At about the same time, Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) was announced as the next speaker. Boos were heard in several sections of the audience.

Seizing upon the confusion, a few sectarian political groups decided to try to lead the people



Militant/Dennis Scarla
Disrupters, shown here trying to drown out Hubert Humphrey, took it upon themselves to decide for majority who would be allowed to speak.

milling about in the field over to the speakers' platform in an attempt to break up the rally. Chanting slogans about the "rank and file" and "let the people speak," they tried to drown out Humphrey.

The sectarian groups leading this disruptive move included the Progressive Labor party, October League, International Socialists, and Youth Against War and Fascism. Although the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party, later denounced the disruption as the action of "ultra-leftists, overwhelmingly white," the Coney Island Young Workers Liberation League was also among the disrupters, carrying one of the largest banners. The league is the youth group of the Communist party.

The activity on the field attracted some trade unionists as well. Some wanted to express their frustration with the rally and make a more visible protest, others were just curious. At the high point, the crowd on the field was probably between 1,000 and 2,000.

The vast majority of rally participants, however, remained in their seats, confused and unable to hear the speakers or figure out what was going on.

Humphrey quickly gave up and hurried off the stage. Not long after, Albert Shanker, head of the American Federation of Teachers, made his own rapid exit from the speakers' platform.

The rally organizers stood on the stage paralyzed. They hadn't organized a marshaling system of trade unionists that had authority with the thousands of demonstrators. Nor did they address themselves to the masses in the stands, using the pressure of the majority to allow the rally to proceed.

Instead, the organizers tried to appease the jeering protesters in front of the podium. But AFSCME Secretary-treasurer William Lucy, Rep. Barbara Jordan (D-Texas), and Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) all failed to restore order to the rally.

Rhetoric from ultralefts

A couple of ultralefts from the ranks of the protesters eventually got the microphone, but they were even less able to capture the attention of the crowd and offer it direction. Like Humphrey, they chanted "Jobs for all!"

Finally, Jacob Clayman of the IUD abruptly

announced that the rally was over, a bare forty-five minutes after it had begun.

Some rally participants had already started to leave the stadium, out of boredom or confusion. The rest cleared out quickly and began heading for their buses.

How did they feel? Their reactions varied, but the majority clearly had not ridden for hours to Washington to have their rally disrupted and called off. Instead, they had come to make the most effective protest they could against unemployment.

"My people came all the way down here and now they're going back without having heard what we're supposed to do," complained a young AFSCME organizer from New Jersey.

"They should have had the speakers. I just wanted to come and see what it was like," explained a garment worker from Philadelphia.

One woman said she thought those who went onto the field "were frustrated. They wanted to be sure their sign was seen, that the message got across."

"Those speakers up there, those guest speakers, they say they're going to try to get jobs, but all we've heard is promises," said one man.

"What happened was terrible," said an older man. "The general crowd here was not for that."

A Black woman, disgusted by the empty rhetoric of the ultralefts, had this to say: "Let the people speak? I've heard that before. How're they going to get us jobs doing like that?"

Anger

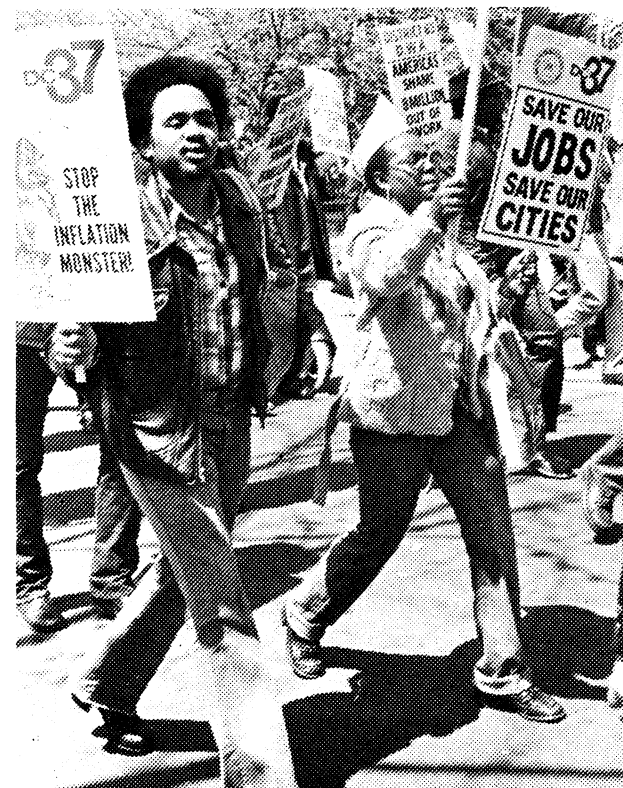
Many people were angry—both with the officials who had mismanaged the whole affair and with the small minority on the field, who arrogantly took it upon themselves to decide who could or could not speak.

The sectarian groups may have been under the delusion that they were leading the rank and file. But the rank and file disappeared as soon as the sectarians achieved their aim of disrupting the speakers. All the super-"militancy" accomplished was to help end this giant demonstration prematurely.

The sectarians' actions have also unnecessarily provided the antilabor press, conservative union officials, and capitalist politicians a handle to red-bait and discredit union militants. Thus the *New York Times* can gloat over labor "hooliganism" and pronounce George Meany right in the first place.

But the real lesson of April 26 is not that "the whole idea was a mistake," as the *Times* would have people believe, nor that radicals should be excluded from future labor actions.

The real lesson is the power of mass labor protest in the streets and the enthusiasm of the union ranks for such mobilizations. The real lesson is the need to unite all who want to fight for jobs and go forward to bigger, broader, and better-organized actions in the future.



Militant/Flax Hermes
Demonstrators came to Washington to make a massive protest for jobs, not to have rally end in confusion and disruption.

Calendar

BOSTON

INDOCHINA: THE REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE. An analysis of recent developments. Speaker: Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of Boston. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CLEVELAND

PORTUGAL TODAY AND TOMORROW. Speaker: Robert Bresnahan, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

BOSTON: THE FIGHT FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Robert F. Williams, author, *Negroes with Guns*; Andrew Pulley, coordinator, Chicago Coalition Against Racism. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

FREE JOAN LITTLE! Speakers: Eve Norman, NOW; Cecilie Downie, Compton College Women's Center. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND THE STATE. Part of class series. Tues., May 6, 7:30 p.m. Room 203 Sarratt Student Center, Vanderbilt Univ. Admission free. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

NEW YORK: BROOKLYN

THE FIGHT FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN BROOKLYN AND BOSTON. Speakers: Luis Fuentes, suspended superintendent, Community School District One; Samuel Wright, member, New York City Council; Jerry Guest, national office, NAACP. Thurs., May 8, 7:30 p.m. First Baptist Church, 450 Eastern Parkway (at Rogers Ave.). Admission free. Ausp: Brooklyn NAACP, Brooklyn Student Coalition Against Racism, Crispus Attucks Democratic Club.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

EMERGENCY RALLY TO STOP RACIST ATTACKS ON BLACK STUDENTS. Speakers: Gloria Steinem, editor, *Ms.*; Luis Fuentes, suspended superintendent, Community School District One; Cleveland Robinson, national president, Distributive Workers of America; Nat Schwerner, NECLC, father of slain civil rights worker Michael Schwerner. Fri., May 9, 7:30 p.m. P.S. 41, Sixth Ave. at W. 11th St. Admission free. Ausp: Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP. For more information call (212) 242-1650.

SEATTLE

UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION: THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, faculty member, Evergreen State College and editor, *Life in Capitalist America*. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

PORTUGAL: MEANING OF THE RECENT EVENTS; WHICH WAY FORWARD? Speaker: Bill Onasch, SWP. Fri., May 9, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 3

The needs of the masses of workers and peasants of Vietnam run directly counter to the interests of the landlords and capitalists and their military machine, which supported the U.S.-created puppet government. A workers and peasants government independent of these elements is needed to carry out such tasks as land reform, lowering of taxes, and reunification of the North and South.

The upsurge in South Vietnam and the crumbling of the puppet Saigon government have already carried the Provisional Revolutionary Government well beyond its stated program of "reconciliation" with the now collapsed Saigon regime. "Reconciliation" with the remaining capitalist-landlord forces is impossible without going against the desires and interests of the masses of peasants and workers.

After years of suffering and war, the Vietnamese masses deserve the full

fruits of their victory. The task ahead is unification with the workers state of North Vietnam and the establishment of proletarian democracy. A government based on soviets as exemplified in the October 1917 revolution in Russia would inspire the masses throughout Asia and throughout the world and would bring appreciably closer the victory of socialism on a global scale.

This is the perspective we as revolutionary socialists support as we celebrate the victories now being won in Vietnam.

...Portugal

Continued from page 7

side, like the need for an alliance between the MFA and the people. Aside from the sessões de esclarecimento and the sessões de dinamização cultural [cultural promotion sessions]

they are holding around the country, they have exercised no political influence. But the soldiers do feel that there is a need to defend the MFA.

Q. Do the soldiers feel that a real possibility of foreign intervention in Portugal exists?

A. They do think that there is a chance of foreign intervention. There has been discussion of an intervention by NATO in Portugal. But the soldiers think that there was no intervention because March 11 did not turn out favorably for the reactionaries. They think that if the reactionaries can create a climate of civil war, this will be used as a justification for intervention by NATO.

Q. Do you think that if there were an intervention by U.S. armed forces, the Portuguese soldiers are ready to put up a determined fight against it?

A. Yes. I have no doubt whatever that if an intervention by NATO or the U.S. took place, the Portuguese soldiers would take up the fight en masse and struggle to the death. And because of the colonial wars, there are probably a million men in this country who have had military training.

...YWLL

Continued from page 9

National Convention" points to the election of more Black Democrats as a sign of the growing potential for the "antimonopoly coalition." But as the CP's own history of reliance on Roosevelt, Kennedy, and LBJ has shown, as long as these Black politicians remain in the Democratic party, they will not lead the fight for Black liberation.

In its draft political resolution, the CP applauds what it calls a shift in the Black movement away from independent mass action toward increasing electoral activity in the Democratic party: "The forms of struggle are changing. The focus of struggle has tended to shift from the streets toward other arenas of struggle. In the new situation there is probing for new forms and new directions."

Today attacks on the rights of Blacks are on the rise. Boston is the focus of a national drive to roll back the gains that Blacks have won

through hard-fought struggles in the last two decades.

Massive countermobilizations by Blacks and their allies are essential to building a powerful social force that can turn the tide and defeat this racist offensive. If the Young Workers Liberation League and the Communist party do not pitch in to build this antiracist mobilization, beginning with the May 17 action, they will only add another chapter to their long history of monstrous betrayals of the Black struggle.

...FBI

Continued from page 16

locals. We decided it was a good and necessary idea in order to fight the special oppression of Blacks," DeBerry recalled.

The Black caucus movement led to the formation of the National Negro Labor Council at a convention in Cincinnati in 1950. "I was a delegate from my local. The CP was very instrumental in setting up the whole thing, but they were actually opposed to the formation of Black caucuses, although they were reluctant to come out and say it."

It was at that convention that Jean Tussey, an SWP member, sold a friend of DeBerry's a copy of the *Militant*. They liked what they read and asked if there was a chapter of the SWP in Chicago. "She said there was and gave us the names of some people to look up."

(Next week's installment of the *Cointelpro papers series* will deal with DeBerry's experiences after joining the SWP.)

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Western Pa. socialist campaign banquet

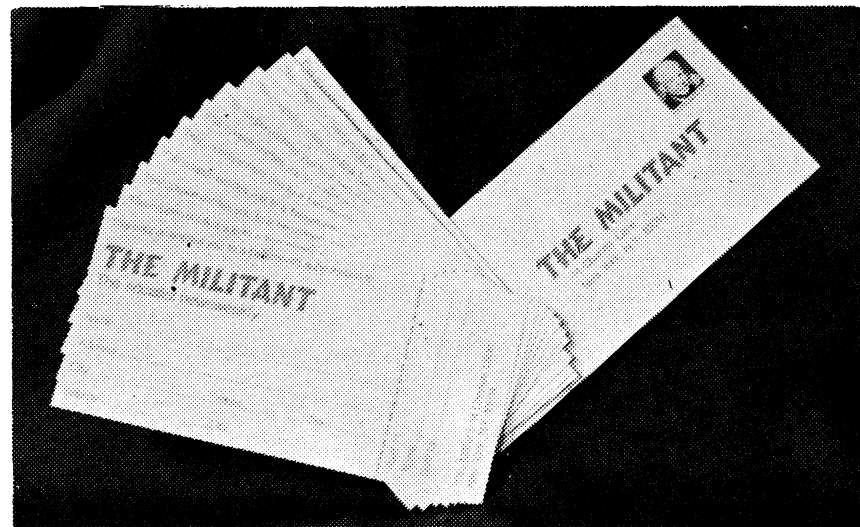
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THE MILITANT

60,000 tell gov't: 'We want jobs!'

By Andy Rose

WASHINGTON—The balmy spring breezes, brilliant sunshine, and rows of trees sporting pink and white blossoms at times lent a holiday air to the throng of demonstrators here April 26. Beneath the festive appearance, though, their aims were deadly serious.

"What do we want?" a marcher stepping off from the Capitol building bawled out.

"Jobs!" the crowd roared back.

"When do we want 'em?"

"Now!"

The union members had joined together by the tens of thousands in Washington to say—loudly, angrily, and in no uncertain terms—that they were fed up with suffering from an economic crisis they didn't create and that they expected the government to do something about it.

April 26 was officially sponsored as a "Rally for Jobs Now" by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. It was an action without precedent for decades in this country: a national protest demonstration called by major trade unions to advance political demands.

The labor-hating news media, seeking to discredit the demonstration and paint it as a failure, have focused on the disruption that caused the rally at Kennedy Stadium to be ended early (see story on page 25). But the disruption could not blot out the real significance of April 26 as a milestone toward developing a massive labor response to the layoffs.

"Yes, I've been on demonstrations before, similar to this—for labor organizations. I'm strictly a labor man myself."

The two Black men in their thirties were holding up a banner from Tobacco Workers Local 187, Petersburg, Virginia.

"I think the people got across what they want to do, not what the establishment wants done, but what labor wants to do."

"First we ought to get more jobs, that's our main slogan. How would I do that? The only way right now that we can do it is to get jobs through the government. Local businesses, corporations—the economy's so bad they don't want to hire, so it's the government's job to get jobs for the people."

Do demonstrations like this one help?

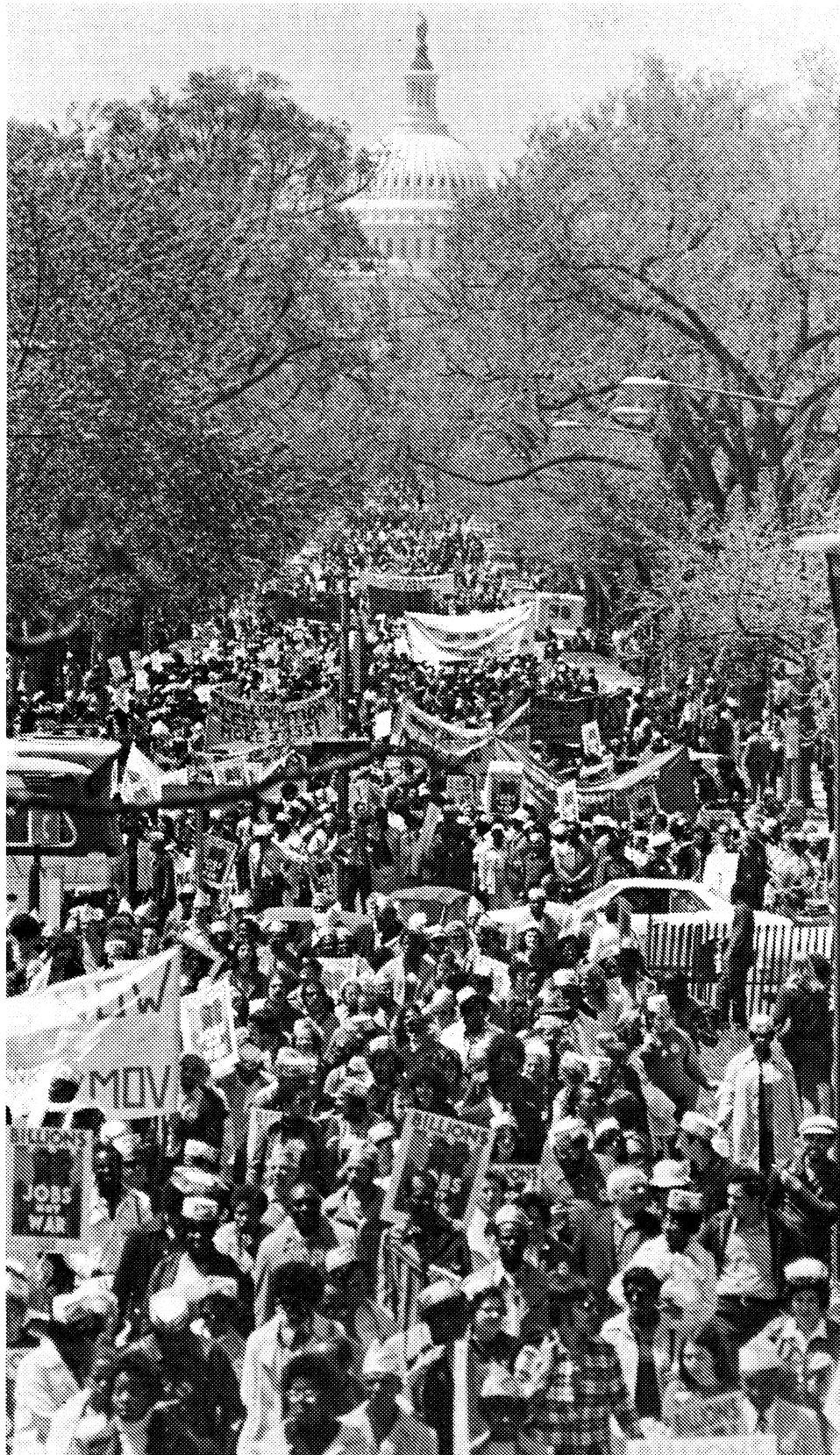
"You've got to show some type of interest."

Should there be more?

"As often as possible."

Caravans of buses

Busloads of union members came from as far away as Atlanta and Milwaukee, leaving in the middle of the night to arrive in time. More poured in from Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey.



Demonstrators pour down march route from Capitol to Kennedy Stadium for April 26 'Jobs Now' rally.

There was even a plane full of United Steelworkers of America members from Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas.

The biggest contingent by far—half the demonstration if not more—was organized by New York unions, most notably District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Several hundred buses and four chartered trains pulled out of New York in the early morning hours. Twenty miles north of Baltimore, one observer noted, every fourth vehicle on

the road was a bus headed for the demonstration.

Enthusiasm for the action ran so high that by a week beforehand there were no more regular buses to be chartered, so every conceivable kind of transportation was marshaled into action. There were Westchester Airport buses, Carey buses, SEPTA (South-East Pennsylvania Transportation Authority) buses, and a bunch of yellow school buses.

One union had even dug up a church bus that had "He Saves" painted on the back.

Washington police later said they parked more than 1,000 buses from out of town.

The earliest arrivals assembled at the Capitol building and shortly after 11 a.m. began a mile-and-a-half march up East Capitol Street to the stadium. As the trains and later buses pulled in, they disgorged thousands more marchers—the procession went on continuously for two-and-a-half hours.

"No, I haven't. This is the first demonstration and it's really fantastic and really, the people are asking for what is rightfully theirs."

"We're the school aides from Queens, I'm a shop steward. We're in District [Council] 37, Local 372. We've had a tremendous layoff in our schools, and we've lost a lot of our workers, and they can't get jobs nowhere. They're all different ages—fifty, forty, some are a little older, and we're having a very difficult time."

"We cut down on the hours, and nobody's asking for more money. They're only asking to stay where they are."

"At my age, I am 100 percent for them lowering the age limit. I'd be glad to retire and give the young people the chance. Because they have the right to live, like I've lived."

"We already have 9 percent unemployment—now what is going to happen when our boys come from high school? It's gonna be awful. They may call it a recession, but as far as I'm concerned it's a depression. Definitely."

'Jobs not war'

The march—the most militant and inspiring part of the day's events—was sponsored by the coalition of New York-area unions, not by the AFL-CIO.

According to an article in the April 21 *New York Times*, conservative AFL-CIO officials were worried about "participation in the march by radicals" and about "possible injection of the Vietnam issue into the demonstration."

To their credit, the New York unions welcomed the participation of anyone who wanted to march against unemployment, and the overwhelmingly antiwar sentiment of the demonstrators was evident.

District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, brought one of the big contingents, with hundreds of signs reading, "Billions for Jobs not War." "Rx for a Healthy America: No More Arms or Troops for Vietnam," an 1199 banner declared.

Members of Distributive Workers District 65 carried signs: "Children Can't Eat Military Aid."

Coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized many of the mass antiwar demonstrations, issued a statement urging opponents of the war to join the April 26

Continued on page 23