

THE MILITANT

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

Desegregate schools now! Stop racist drive --all out May 17!

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students battle
racist cutbacks**

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CALIFORNIA CAMPUS PROTESTS: The University of California in Santa Barbara has recently eliminated the Black Research Unit, which is part of the Black Studies Department. The administration is also making threatening noises against the Chicano Research Unit. These racist attacks have prompted a series of demonstrations in defense of minority programs. There was also a peaceful building occupation involving twenty-five students, all of whom were arrested.

Norm Holsinger, a UCSB student and a Young Socialist Alliance member, spoke to a rally of 700 on May 5. Holsinger connected the cutbacks to the nationwide racist offensive centered in Boston. As a response to these attacks, he urged students to attend the May 17 freedom march in Los Angeles.

HIGH SCHOOL YSA FIGHT: The struggle for recognition of a Young Socialist Club at Seneca High School in Louisville, Kentucky, has drawn extensive media coverage in that city. After her school's principal refused to recognize the group, Cathy Murphy went before the school board to argue for recognition. The board decided to set up an ad hoc committee composed of principals and administrators to bring in a recommendation on the dispute to their next meeting, on May 12.

The Kentucky Civil Liberties Union is handling the case on behalf of the YSA. Messages backing YSA recognition can be sent to Don Randolph, chairman of Jefferson County School Board, Richard Van Hoose Education Center, Louisville, Kentucky 40218.

OLD PEOPLE'S RIGHTS: A recent survey by pollster Louis Harris uncovered some significant attitudes on the part of the American people. The \$324,000 study, commissioned by the National Council on Aging, found that 81 percent believe tax money should be used to help support the elderly. And 97 percent—as close to unanimous as you can get, according to Harris—believe that Social Security payments should include automatic cost-of-living increases.

PALESTINIAN PROTESTS SET: An International Day of Solidarity with Palestine has been set for May 15, marking the establishment of the state of Israel. On that date supporters of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination will be holding activities around the world.

In the San Francisco Bay Area the May 17 Coalition, composed of a variety of groups supporting the Palestinian cause, has called for a demonstration on Saturday, May 17. A march will begin at Embarcadero Plaza at 11 a.m. and proceed to the Federal Building, where a 12:30 p.m. rally is planned.

CANNON IN FRENCH: *La Lutte Pour Un Parti Proletarien* has just been published by Editions d'Avant-Garde in Québec. This translation of the first five chapters of Socialist Workers party founder James P. Cannon's classic *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* marks the first appearance of a major section of Cannon's writings in French.

"It is in order to pay homage to Cannon's contribution to the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States and on a world scale that we publish the first part of his best-known work," wrote Alain Beiner in his introduction.

Beiner is a leader of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, which established a James P. Cannon Fund after his death last year.

SCHOOLHOUSE DOOR: The decision of Catholic St. John's College High School in Washington, D.C., to give an award to George Wallace for his "contribution to education" brought a predictably strong protest from outraged Black Catholics. "It's incredible, incredible; it just can't happen," said the head of the National Office for Black Catholics.

Wallace "stood in the schoolhouse door" in Alabama twelve years ago to block the court-ordered admission of Black students. Alabama currently ranks last among the fifty states in the amount spent per child on education. When Wallace took office the state ranked forty-eighth.

OHIO-KENTUCKY SOCIALIST CONFERENCE: A commemoration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Young Socialist Alliance was the theme of a conference held in Cleveland April 18-20. Linda Jenness, a cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, recounted the history of the YSA. YSA National Committee member Christina Adachi spoke on "How to defeat the racist antibusing drive in Boston." Bronson Rozier described the FBI harassment and jailing of members of the women's and gay movements in Lexington, Kentucky, under the cover of a search for radicals charged with various crimes. And Cathy Murphy spoke of her efforts to gain recognition for a Young Socialist Club at her high

school in Louisville, Kentucky.

Conference participants attended a banquet for Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Cleveland Robert Bresnahan and school board candidate Christine Gauvreau.

The banquet heard greetings from a representative of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America. "On behalf of the Executive Committee of the ELNA," he said, "I have been asked to congratulate the SWP on the victories that are now unraveling in Vietnam and Cambodia. We recognize that the persistent struggle of the American antiwar movement, in which the SWP actively participated, was a strong factor in the heroic victories scored by the Vietnamese and Cambodian liberation forces."

Nine people decided to join the YSA after the conference.

THE MILITANT GETS AROUND: The April issue of *El Despertador*, published by Chicanos in Austin, Texas, reprinted from the *Militant* major excerpts of Fred Halstead's "Why can't everyone have a job?"

And *Palestine Digest* reproduced two *Militant* articles. One was Dave Frankel's story on Israeli raids on southern Lebanon. The other was an article by Dr. Israel Shahak, an Israeli opponent of the Zionist regime, documenting the oppression of Palestinians in the recently occupied territories.

ANTIWAR SUIT FAILS: Eighteen opponents of the Indochina war brought a \$1 million suit against H.R. Haldeman and eight others, including White House advance men, local cops, and Veterans of Foreign War members, on grounds that they had conspired to deprive them of their constitutional rights.

The suit stemmed from a 1971 Billy Graham Day rally in Charlotte, North Carolina, attended by President Nixon. The defendants employed a scheme whereby anyone who appeared to be a potential war protester would be arbitrarily excluded by falsely charging that their ticket to the rally was counterfeit. The plaintiffs' American Civil Liberties Union attorney argued that this constituted prior restraint of free speech.

The battery of fifteen defense lawyers argued that since police intelligence indicated that disruption of the rally was planned by the May Day Red Hornet Tribe, the exclusions were necessary. The jury found in the defendants' favor.

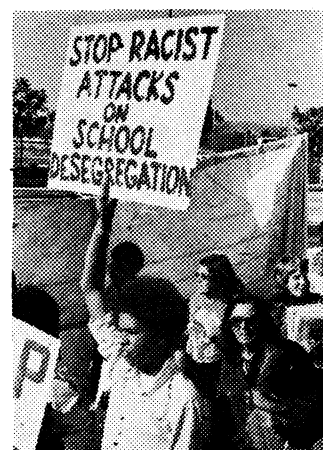
THE ULTIMATE DOMINO: Writing in the *Washington Post*, Kenneth Crawford mourned the loss of Vietnam to the Vietnamese and observed that the current world reaction seemed to confirm the domino theory.

Dismayed by the reaction of the American people, he noted that polls indicate that 80 percent of the population opposed the use of marines to rescue "this country's close Vietnamese friends from Saigon." Worst of all, Crawford is disturbed to find a visible minority of Americans openly sympathetic to the Vietnamese freedom fighters. "It is becoming apparent that on the far left there are those who hope that the United States itself will be the ultimate domino."

—Nelson Blackstock

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Vietnam 'refugee' debate shows gov't racism, deceit, and hypocrisy

By Andy Rose

The Vietnamese, one foreign correspondent reported, have a saying that "only when the house burns do you see the faces of the rats."

It made a fitting motto for the final act of Washington's long crusade in Vietnam: the "humanitarian" evacuation of some 120,000 "refugees" fleeing soon-to-be-liberated Saigon.

At a May 6 news conference, his first since the "loss" of Vietnam to the Vietnamese, President Ford talked at length about the need to "welcome" those who were trying to "escape the probability of death."

Which refugees?

The decades of war, to be sure, spawned refugees by the millions throughout Indochina. But Ford's tender concern was not for those made homeless by the B-52 raids, nor for those maimed by napalm and antipersonnel bombs, nor for those who suffered in the prisons and torture chambers directed by U.S. "interrogation" experts.

No, Ford's welcome is for a different class of "refugees."

"I had been expecting people with tattered, torn clothing and the marks of battle," said a marine watching them arrive in California, "but you just don't see that."

A *New York Times* reporter described the "refugees" reaching Florida as "well-dressed and well-educated. Their attire was basically Western in style, as were their haircuts and coiffures. Many of the teen-agers stepped to the tarmac . . . in modish, thick-heeled shoes, wearing wide-bottomed, broad-cuffed trousers or slacks."

Those getting off the planes were the wealthy U.S. hangers-on and their families: the high-ranking military officers, secret police, prostitutes, war profiteers, and others of the Saigon elite who could bribe their way onto the evacuation.

One was Hong Van Hoanh: "With a thriving business, a young wife, a dozen children, two large houses, four cars and seven servants, he was the envy of his neighbors and a prince among his peers."

Heavy burdens

Newsweek correspondent Ron Moreau, aboard a Navy evacuation ship, reported on the arrival of a helicopter full of "high-ranking generals. One of them, Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Manh,



Racist government policies and propaganda are to blame for outbursts against Vietnamese.



Double-talk: Ford urges 'open door' for wealthy Vietnamese who collaborated with U.S. imperialism, demands more deportations of undocumented Mexican workers.

was accompanied by two aides who were straining under the weight of their attaché cases. When the ship's security officers took a look into the cases, they found them to be loaded with gold bars."

And *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield reported that "dozens of prostitutes . . . were taken out by American contractors and officials who listed them as wives or fiancées."

When their ilk deserted Cuba after the revolution they were dubbed gusanos, meaning worms. For the parasites and imperialist collaborators leaving Vietnam, "rats" is probably as good a term as any.

The Ford administration wants to resettle some 120,000 of them in the United States and has demanded \$507 million for the operation. The usual immigration quotas and restrictions have been waived, and their papers are being expedited.

But Ford's plan to offer safe haven to imperialism's former servants has provoked a storm of debate in this country. A Gallup poll found that only 36 percent of those questioned favored allowing the Vietnamese to stay, while 54 percent said they should be kept out.

On the one hand, many Americans recognize these "refugees" for what they are and want nothing to do with them. "These people that have got the dough and have been selling heroin for the last ten years, I say no," was the reaction of a Los Angeles woman. "I don't want these people that shoved women and children off planes."

On the other hand, Ford's resettlement plan has also run up against entrenched racist attitudes fostered by the government itself: both the virulent anti-Asian racism encouraged by a

war of annihilation against the "gooks," "dinks," and "slopeheads"; and the anti-"alien" racism based on making foreign-born workers the scapegoats for unemployment.

'Gook klux klan'

High school students in a small Florida town where 1,500 Vietnamese were to be temporarily housed talked of organizing a "gook klux klan."

The refugees would be Communist infiltrators, the students charged. "But they're not Communists," one argued. "They're coming here because they're running from Communists."

"It doesn't matter," was the response. "They're Vietnamese, aren't they?"

This "yellow peril" mentality is not confined to, nor does it originate in, backward small towns. In the corridors of Congress, one politician told a reporter, "You hear cracks being made . . . such as 'They'd make nice bookends, because they're small.'"

Some of the opposition feeds on a distorted antiwar sentiment. Just as Ford links a U.S. "commitment" to the Vietnamese to upholding U.S. military might around the world, some people reject both together.

"Vietnam seems a long way away to me now," said a teacher in Georgia, "and I don't think we want to be reminded of it."

A Detroit man commented, "This area is overcrowded now, I don't see why we should sacrifice our jobs and bring in more people. We are not obligated to police the whole world."

But the predominant objection to admitting the immigrants is that they will "take away American jobs" and swell welfare rolls.

Ford pooh-poohed such sentiments as reflecting "fear and misunderstanding, rather than charity and compassion," but it is precisely this kind of racist, xenophobic hysteria that has been deliberately whipped up by the capitalist class to blame unemployment on the so-called illegal aliens.

The head of the "refugee" program hastened to explain that most of the Vietnamese speak English already and many are professionals. In other words, he implied, they're not comparable to impoverished Spanish-speaking workers looking for nothing more than a day's hard work for a living wage.

Who knows? Many may have bright careers ahead as right-wing gangsters for the CIA, like their Cuban predecessors.

Naturally, those reactionary bigots who yell the loudest for deporting "aliens" from Mexico are now piously invoking the spirit of the Statue of Liberty to offer sanctuary to the Vietnamese right-wingers.

In the front ranks of the hypocrites is AFL-CIO President George Meany, who pontificated: "We are a nation of immigrants. Rejecting them would be denying our heritage and the history of this country as a haven for the oppressed."

Open doors?

President Ford declared that he was "upset" by opposition to the Vietnamese immigration, "because the United States has had a long tradition of opening its doors to immigrants from all countries."

But where are the open doors for undocumented Mexican workers?

Where are the open doors for Haitians who escaped the Duvalier dictatorship, only to be imprisoned and threatened with deportation by U.S. immigration agents?

Where are the open doors for refugees from military repression in Chile? At least 18,000 were massacred there after the CIA-backed rightist coup in 1973, but the U.S. refused to grant asylum to more than a handful of Chileans and others fleeing the terror.

No, Ford's show of concern for political refugees is just as phony as every White House justification for the war ever was.

Looking for 'bloodbath'

Now Ford, who remained silent in the face of mass slaughter in Chile, is desperately casting about for evidence of the promised "bloodbath" in Indochina. The best he could come up with was an unsubstantiated report that "eighty or ninety former Cambodian officials were executed, and their wives were executed."

Even if the report were true, that would amount to fewer deaths than the My Lai massacre alone. Not to mention the CIA's infamous "Operation Phoenix," which systematically assassinated tens of thousands of "suspected Viet Cong."

A different angle on the "bloodbath" was given by Daniel Southerland, reporting from Hong Kong in the May 7 *Christian Science Monitor*. The U.S. embassy's claims of executions, he wrote, "were derived from second-hand sources and were poorly documented. . . ."

"Many Vietnamese refugees suggested that if there was a 'bloodbath' in the early stages of the Communist take-over, it was carried out by fleeing Saigon government troops who took control of several refugee ships and terrorized the passengers."

Thus, all in all, the imperialists got out of Vietnam much like they went in: with racism, deceit, and limitless hypocrisy.

1945-1975: The 'Militant' defends

By David Frankel

When the August 18, 1945, *Militant* carried a banner headline declaring, "There Is No Peace!" it stood alone. Every other newspaper in the country hailed the allied victory in World War II as the dawn of a new age of peace and world harmony.

The aggressors had supposedly been defeated. The capitalist press—echoed by the Stalinists and Social Democrats—denied any predatory plans on the part of Washington and the other imperialist victors.

For the people of Vietnam, however, even sooner than for most others, it rapidly became clear that the end of World War II did not mean peace at all. They would have understood very well the *Militant's* warning that Paris fears "that Indo-China will fall either into the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist 'liberators,' or, worse still, the Indo-Chinese people."

Both fears were to be eventually realized. In the meantime, the *Militant* began reporting on the mass independence movement in Vietnam and the attempts of the French to suppress it.

From that day to this the *Militant* has established an unequalled record as a source of news on the Vietnamese struggle, as an exposé of the imperialist lies used to justify the war, as an educator on the nature of the system that produced it, and above all, as a campaigner for mass action in behalf of the rights of the Vietnamese people.

The *Militant* helped to encourage the development of the movement against the Vietnam War in the United States, it served as an organizer of that movement, and it was a forum in which the major political debates of the antiwar movement were explained and the issues clarified.

Sounding the alarm

When U.S. troops were flown into Hanoi to break up an independence demonstration on September 12, 1945, the *Militant* sounded the alarm. An editorial in the October 6 issue explained:

"Throughout the Far East the masses are beginning to rise against imperialist domination. They see no reason to submit once again to foreign conquerors. They want to choose their own form of government. . . . Thus, terrible and sanguinary struggles will wrack these lands if the imperialist powers try—as they surely will—to carry out their plans.

"It is the duty of the American working class to do its utmost to help these peoples in their fight for independence. Demand the withdrawal of Allied troops from these areas! Bring the soldiers back home!"

The next week, the *Militant* warned in a front-page headline, "Allies Prepare Slaughter In Java And Indo-China." The article said that although the French government was seeking a truce with the Vietnamese rebels, this was a maneuver to "trap the nationalist forces into passivity while the imperialists prepare to suppress the movement for national independence."

This was in fact what happened in Vietnam. A truce agreement was reached in March 1946, but by the end of the year, Paris had broken the accords. "French Drive Aims At Crushing Indo-China's Fight For Freedom," the *Militant* reported

Indo-Chinese Battle Imperialist Despots

Hands Off Indo-China!



From the October 6, 1945, *Militant*

January 4, 1947.

The long and bitter Indochina war was now in full swing. The *Militant* wrote: "French imperialism is throwing everything it has into the suppression of the Indo-Chinese struggle for independence: crack troops, including members of Hitler's Army who have been recruited into the Foreign Legion; air, naval and armored forces collected from all parts of the Empire; and first-class fighting equipment, most of it lend-lease in origin and American in manufacture."

In May 1950, Washington admitted that it had made secret agreements to arm and finance the faltering French forces.

"Without this American aid," wrote the May 15, 1950, *Militant*, "the French and their native puppets would have long ago been driven out of Indo-China."

The May 11, 1953, *Militant* warned, "We know from experience that where U.S. bombs, planes, tanks and guns go, sooner or later American flyers and infantry usually follow."

In fact, Washington revealed in February 1954 that military "technicians" had been sent to aid the French war effort in Indochina. Two months later, then-Vice-president Richard Nixon threatened full U.S. intervention in Vietnam in a trial balloon that provoked such a big public outcry that the government had to repudiate the speech. Washington was

left with no choice but to attend the Geneva conference on Vietnam along with Paris, Moscow, and Peking.

Betrayal at Geneva

The crushing military defeat inflicted on the French armies at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954 was not reflected in the settlement foisted on the Vietnamese at Geneva. As Joseph Hansen explained in the July 26, 1954, *Militant*:

"Another time bomb, that can set off the chain reaction ending in World War III when it blows up, was planted in Indochina July 21.

"This was the real meaning of the partition of Indochina that was agreed to on that day between Molotov and Chou En-lai, representing the Soviet bloc, and Mendes-France, representing the Western powers.

"The people of Indochina, who had complete victory in their hands after seven and a half years of heroic resistance against the combined weight of imperial France and Wall Street, were not consulted as to their wishes in the matter. They and their country were simply laid on the chopping block and carved up."

Hansen warned, "The artificial division of Indochina, like the division of Korea and of Germany, puts a new trouble spot on the map that will invite continual intervention.

"The Indochinese people themselves will continue to seek unity, Paris and Washington will both seek to recoup losses and bolster their position in this area. Each new flare-up will threaten to precipitate a world-wide conflict."

Kennedy intervenes

Hansen's prediction was borne out when President John Kennedy began beefing up the U.S. forces in Vietnam and Thailand. By the end of 1961, U.S. troops were ordered into combat areas in Vietnam.

George Lavan wrote in the *Militant* January 1, 1962: "Without consulting Congress, without even informing the American people, President Kennedy has thrown U.S. troops into the civil war raging in South Vietnam.

"Already American soldiers have been killed and wounded. First reported casualty was an unnamed enlisted man killed in action on Dec. 22. The flag-draped coffin bearing his corpse should soon be arriving somewhere in the U.S. This may well be the first in a long series of shipments for burial at home which became such a familiar aspect of American life during the Korean war."

The following week Lavan warned that Kennedy's escalation of the war "was just a small down payment on bigger troop commitments to come."

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Get Out Of Indo-China!

An Editorial

The American people are bitterly opposed to U.S. military intervention in Indo-China, where the French imperialists, armed and financed by Wall Street's government, have been butchering the Indo-Chinese people for eight years. Popular opposition to involvement in Indo-China is reflected in the alarm expressed by some Senators and Congressmen when it was revealed that U.S. Air Force personnel had been sent secretly into Indo-China eight months ago and 400 more were on their way.

Eisenhower claims that only "technicians" are aiding the French despots to bomb and burn the Indo-Chinese villages and people. But as Senator John C. Stennis correctly pointed out: "If we are going to send men for the purpose of keeping airplanes on the firing line, it is only natural that we send in pilots and trigger men. It is a logical next step."

Eisenhower assures us he won't take that "logical next step." But did the American people realize what we were getting into when Truman announced the first dis-

patch of U.S. armed forces to Korea? U.S. forces in Indo-China, we are told, won't be in combat areas. But, states a Pentagon official quoted in the Feb. 9 N.Y. Daily News, "such areas in Indo-China are very fluid and we don't know."

Whether Eisenhower sends only 600, or 6,000, or 600,000 U.S. military personnel to Indo-China is not the real issue. If he can send 600 to aid the Indo-China invasion, he can send 600,000 or 6,000,000. Isn't that what Truman did in Korea and who in Congress spoke against it?

The war in Indo-China is a naked imperialist aggression. It began in 1945, immediately after the close of World War II, when Ho Chi Minh's government, which had ousted the Japanese and French collaborators, was founded. French imperialism, quickly switching its allegiance from the Axis to the "democracies," tried to smash this government which the Indo-Chinese people had established.

So strong was the resistance of the independence fighters that the French tyrants were forced to make "peace" — temporarily. In Paris, March, 1946, the French government signed a treaty recognizing the Ho Chi Minh government. In December 1946, the French treacherously broke the treaty and suddenly started to seize the public buildings in the capital city of Hanoi. America is now paying a billion dollars a year to keep this "dirty war" — as the French people themselves call it — going.

We want no part of this "dirty war." Tell Eisenhower: Hands off Indo-China. Bring our men back. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for this brutal aggression.

This front-page editorial appeared in the February 22, 1954, *Militant*, when Washington was threatening to bail out faltering French war effort with U.S. troops.

Vietnam revolution

The *Militant's* predictions on Vietnam proved a good deal more accurate over the years than those of the analysts and "experts" employed by the capitalist government and media. Its message was summed up by staff writer Art Preis in the June 1, 1964, issue.

"There are no more cheap conquests for imperialism," Preis explained. "The days when the advanced capitalist countries could subjugate and exploit underdeveloped peoples with the use of relatively small military forces are long since gone. The American people are once more being taught this lesson the hard way. . . .

"As more and more of the facts leak out, the American people will learn that we have been dragged into a dirty, bloody, brutal and costly aggression against a people who have been fighting for 20 years for land and freedom."

Antiwar movement

As the American people began to learn the truth about Vietnam, as Preis predicted they would, they took to the streets against the war, beginning with the student radicals. The growth of the mass antiwar movement was warmly welcomed by the *Militant*.

"Student Marchers Blazed a Path" was the headline of a front-page editorial in the April 26, 1965, *Militant*. The capitalist media, of course, was less than enthusiastic. It did everything in its power to knife the new movement, ignoring it as much as it could and, when that was not possible, running reports that distorted the movement's character and lied about its activities.

The *Militant* continued to provide news and analysis about the war itself, but now it also became the single best source for information on the activities of the antiwar movement, both in the United States and around the world.

"Join the March on Washington To Protest the Vietnam War!" urged the April 12, 1965, *Militant*. "Washington Parley and Mass March To Press Fight Against Vietnam War," was the November 15, 1965, headline. "Help Bring the Troops Home Now—Build the March 25-26 Protest!" said the *Militant's* front page in the March 21, 1966, issue.

"Int'l Vietnam Week shows rising antiwar militancy," declared the November 8, 1968, *Militant*. "A million marched in D.C. and S.F.," said the November 28, 1969, issue.

Year after year, issue after issue, the *Militant* hammered away at the imperialist war and the need to continue the fight against it. When Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not run for a second term in office and that he would seek to open negotiations with North Vietnam, the *Militant* replied: "LBJ Stalls and GIs Die—Get Them Out Now!"

When Nixon presented his so-called plan for ending the war following the 1972 elections, the *Militant* answered, "Out now, no conditions! Nixon's 'peace plan' a fraud."

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM
"Independence—Freedom—Happiness"
Dr. PHAM-NGOC-THACH,
Under Secretary of State
Near Hanoi, Feb. 15, 1947

Chairman, Socialist Workers Party
New York

Dear Sir:

We were deeply moved by your big demonstration in New York in favor of the struggle for Viet-Nam's independence. On behalf of President HO-CHI-MINH and the Government of Viet-Nam's Republic, I convey to you and your organization our gratitude.

On the other hand the Viet-Nam's Labor Federation asks me to send you and your organization their warmest greetings and thanks.

It was the first time American people openly supported our present fight. We hope through your activities American progressive organizations would send us arms, ammunitions and medicines in order to help us wipe out the French imperialism.

Sincerely yours,
(signed) P. N. THACH

This letter of thanks from North Vietnam, printed in the April 12, 1947, *Militant*, was in response to demonstration at French consulate in New York on January 25, 1947.

And after the signing of the 1973 Paris accords, the *Militant* again insisted, "There will be no peace 'til U.S. gets out of S.E. Asia."

Who was right?

The apologists for capitalism tried to red-bait the antiwar movement, to dismiss it as unimportant, or both. On the eve of the first national antiwar demonstration in April 1965, the liberal *New York Post* attacked the protest as a "frenzied, one-sided anti-American show," but the 20,000 demonstrators who turned out and the movement they built showed who was "frenzied."

Commenting on the next national antiwar protest, in October 1965, *New York Times* associate editor James Reston claimed that the antiwar movement would never "force the American Government to give up the fight" in Vietnam.

A different view was presented in the November 22, 1965, issue of the *Militant*. "Is it possible for the antiwar movement as such to develop the power necessary to stop the war?" asked Socialist Workers party leader Fred Halstead. He answered:

"In my opinion the answer is yes. The antiwar movement in this country can be an important factor, perhaps the crucial factor, in ending the war. It can be that if it maintains clear opposition to the administration's war policy, insists on bringing the G.I.'s home, and if it proceeds to organize the tremendous potential which has only just begun to be tapped."

The *Militant* never lost sight of this perspective. Its tireless campaign to defend the Vietnamese revolution was a major factor in the development of the mass antiwar movement in the United States. The victory of the Vietnamese people is our victory as well, one that we can share with pride.

About those secret Nixon letters

The following is reprinted from the News Analysis section of the May 12 issue of Intercontinental Press.

When Thieu in his April 21 resignation speech blamed "untrustworthy" allies in the White House for his downfall, he touched off widespread speculation. What was the "solid pledge" he had received from Nixon?

On April 30 at a news conference in New York, Nguyen Tien Hung, Thieu's former executive assistant, quoted from four letters from Nixon to Thieu and released copies of two of them. These letters dispelled the mystery. On at least two occasions in late 1972 and early 1973, Nixon secretly promised Thieu that Washington would again intervene in Vietnam in a massive way if the North Vietnamese "violated the accords," i.e., defended themselves against Thieu's forays.

The first letter was dated November 14, 1972, six days before the Paris peace talks were scheduled to resume. At that time Thieu was balking at signing any accord. He objected above all to the continued presence of North Vietnamese troops in the liberated areas of South Vietnam.

In response, Nixon wrote a letter to Thieu telling him not to worry about this or that point in the agreement. According to Thieu, Nixon told him the accords were just "pieces of paper." Here is what Nixon put down in writing:

"... far more important than what we say in the agreement on this issue [the presence of North Vietnamese troops] is what we do in the event the enemy renews its aggression. You have my absolute assurance that if Hanoi fails to abide by the terms of this agreement it is my intention to take swift and severe retaliatory action."

"Above all," Nixon wrote, "we must bear in mind what will really maintain the agreement. . . . I repeat my personal assurances to you that the United States will react very strongly and rapidly to any violation of the agreement."

Nixon warned, however, that to be able to carry out his pledge successfully, "it is essential that I have public support and that your government does not emerge as the obstacle to a peace which American public opinion now universally desires."

The second letter, dated January 5, 1973, was written shortly after the carpet bombing of North Vietnam, an action designed by Nixon to show the kind of support Thieu could expect if he ran into trouble.

Nixon repeated in this letter that he could do nothing about the North Vietnamese troops and he warned of the "gravest consequence" if Thieu "chose to reject the agreement and split off from the United States." (Thieu recalled another warning in his resignation speech: "I also was told my life was threatened. . . .")

"Should you decide, as I trust you will," Nixon continued, "to go with us, you have my assurance of continued assistance in the post-settlement period and that we will respond with full force should the settlement be violated by North Vietnam."

The *New York Times* account of Hung's news conference summarized his remarks on the meaning of "full force" as follows:

"Full force," Mr. Hung said, was interpreted by high Saigon officials as meaning actions similar to the heavy bombing of North Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong harbor in May, 1972, and the Christmas bombing. That is, they equated it with the most murderous assaults the Pentagon could dish out, perhaps even up to the use of nuclear weapons.

Confirmation of this came from another well-placed source—conservative columnist William Buckley, one of Nixon's pipelines to the press. Buckley drew attention May 1 to an item, which he said he had "reason to believe is true," in the May 5

Continued on page 26

Thousands in U.S. Protest Viet War; New York Is Scene of Huge Parade

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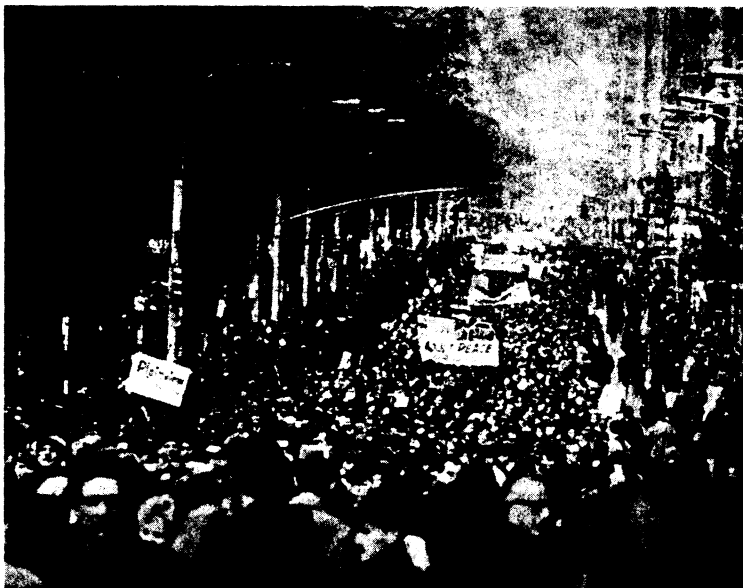
Antiwar Movement A Rising Force

An Editorial

Opponents of U. S. aggression in Vietnam have every reason to be encouraged by the outcome of the March 25-26 International Days of Protest. The demonstrations across the country were bigger and more numerous than the similar ones last October.

The increased size and number of parades, picket lines and rallies, involving a greater cross-section of the population, reflects the growth in the opposition to the war that has taken place in the few short months since last October.

Equally encouraging is the fact that the organization of the demonstrations reflected fairly adequately the determination of the ranks of the antiwar movement that no one shall be excluded from participating because of their views.



DOWN FIFTH AVENUE. Opponents of U.S. war in Vietnam marched down New York's Fifth Avenue for nearly three hours March 26. It was the biggest such wartime demonstration in the city's history.

The *Militant* was consistent builder of antiwar movement, as well as best source of news on its activities

MAY 17 COUNTDOWN



CARTER TOURS ST. LOUIS: Longtime Boston civil rights activist Rev. Vernon Carter toured St. Louis April 22-23 to build support for the May 17 march on Boston for desegregation.

Militant correspondent Barbara Bowman reports he blasted the racism of the antibusing forces at a well-attended news conference.

"If they took André Jean-Louis [a Haitian nearly lynched in Boston last fall] and said, 'Here, we now got a nigger. Let's beat him up,' that's not antibusing, that is antiracial," Carter said. "If, after a stabbing of a white student . . . a thousand whites stood on the outside of the school and trapped 132 Black students for that one stabbed, that shows you how cheap they think Black life is. That is not antibusing. That's racism."

Fifty people heard Carter and locally prominent supporters of May 17 at a community meeting during his tour. Rev. Sterling Belcher, who participated in the December 14 march on Boston for desegregation, said:

"You're not dealing with busing as an issue. What you're dealing with is equal education as an issue. I don't care if a person's school was being held on the sea. If it was, you'd have to use boats to get there. If it was in the air, you might have to use helicopters to get there. Busing is not the issue. It's equal education!"

Carter said the Boston situation is a national problem. "I urge all of those who love freedom to march in Boston on May 17. People are pouring into Boston for the bicentennial. Boston is now the cradle of injustice, the cradle of brutality, and the cradle of educational genocide. . . . The travesty of America's bicentennial is Boston. If we cannot be free in Boston, we cannot be free anywhere."

A speaker from Concerned Parents, an organization of Black parents, told the meeting about the legal challenge the group has launched against St. Louis's segregated public schools.

PORTLAND ANTIRACIST CONFERENCE: Fifty-five people attended a conference to plan a solidarity demonstration in Portland, Oregon, on May 17. Speakers at the gathering included Ellis Casson, president of the Portland NAACP; Rev. John Jackson, president of the Albina Ministerial Alliance (a coalition of Black churches); Nate Proby, head of United Minority Workers; Linda Haggs of the Joan Little Defense Committee; Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee; Judy Strenahan of Portland Student Coalition Against Racism; and a representative of Colegio César Chávez.

The Portland demonstration will assemble at the school administration building at 631 N.E. Clackamus at noon and will then march through the Black community to Irving Park, where a rally will be held at 1:00 p.m.

BUSING REFERENDUM: The Tufts University SCAR and the Tufts Black Student Union recently collected signatures to place a referendum on

the ballot at the university asking, "Should Boston schools be desegregated now?" A yes vote won 2 to 1.

DETROIT UNION BACKING: The Communications Workers of America Local 4002 in Detroit voted last week to endorse May 17 and to appropriate funds to send a busload of unionists from their local to Boston.

The Amalgamated Transit Union Division 26 has also endorsed the demonstration and has appropriated money to send representatives.

May 17 has also been endorsed by the metropolitan council of the Detroit AFL-CIO and the Detroit Federation of Teachers.



Luis Fuentes has toured campuses to explain link between community-control struggle and desegregation effort.

BLACK PRESS: When Maceo Dixon, one of the coordinators of NSCAR, toured Philadelphia recently, the *Philadelphia Tribune*, the largest Black paper there, printed a favorable piece on the May 17 action and Dixon's tour.

"Dixon pointed out that the situation in Boston is likely to get more tense, though," Len Lear wrote, "because of a court plan to force even more busing this fall."

In addition to the *Tribune*, other Black papers that have given May 17 coverage recently include the *San Francisco Sun Reporter*, *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Berkeley Metro-Reporter*, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and *Jet* magazine.

NEW ORLEANS FORUM: Members of the Young Socialist Alliance held a forum on the Boston demonstration at Louisiana State University in New Orleans on April 9 to which 100 people showed up, including Ku Klux Klansmen.

Militant correspondent Agnes Chapa writes, "The college chapter of the NAACP helped with defense to make sure that the meeting would not be disrupted. . . . One-third of the people at the forum were Black, the majority of whom were members of the NAACP college chapter."

Chapa said the response of people at the meeting was good, and some were interested in setting up a chapter of SCAR.

The Klansmen attempted no provocations, but prior to the meeting one said:

"A group of us from Louisiana went down to Boston to get a firsthand view of the situation there. We were greeted

by the cops, who followed us around the city. After they followed us around for a while we stopped and told them why we were there. They then gave us a tour of Boston taking us to the places we wanted to see. When our tour was completed we talked to them and recruited eighteen of them."

FUENTES & DIXON TOURS: The suspended superintendent of New York City's Community School District One, Luis Fuentes, spoke to 125 students at City College of New York April 17 as part of a tour for New York SCAR.

He related the community-control struggle in District One in the city's Lower East Side to the school desegregation struggle in Boston. He urged a big turnout for May 17.

Fuentes has recently spoken at New York University and LaGuardia Community College in New York City and at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.

In Philadelphia, Fuentes spoke in three public schools at the request of Aspira, a Puerto Rican group there, and at Temple University.

Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of NSCAR, also spoke in the Philadelphia area and received a good response from Black college students at Bloomsburg State College, Haverford College, and Cheney State College, a predominantly Black college. The student government at Cheney is interested in sending students to Boston for the demonstration.

Dixon also spoke on a WCAU radio talk show for one hour.

Philadelphia SCAR and the NAACP built support for May 17 at a tenth-anniversary celebration of the desegregation of Girard College, a private prep school in a Black neighborhood that was the scene of a drawn-out conflict.

SUPPORT GROWS IN MINNESOTA: A rally to build support in the Twin Cities for May 17 drew 150 people on May 3. It was sponsored by the Minneapolis and St. Paul NAACPs.

Speakers included the presidents of those NAACP chapters and the executive director and president of the Minneapolis Urban League. Joette Chancy, a coordinator of NSCAR, also spoke. August Nimtz, a professor at the University of Minnesota, spoke for the Twin Cities SCAR.

Recent prominent Twin Cities endorsers of May 17 include Black grid star Allan Page; Earl Craig, head of the Black caucus of the Democratic National Committee; and U.S. Rep. Don Fraser.

BUTTON SALES: New York SCAR reported selling \$40 worth of buttons in Harlem one recent Saturday. Boston SCAR sold \$120 worth of buttons at a pro-abortion rally of 1,000 people May 3.

Marcia Codling, a coordinator of the NSCAR, addressed the rally, linking the racist offensive against school desegregation to the attacks on women's right to abortion. She got a warm response.

NAACP TOUR: Rev. Charles Smith, a national coordinator of the NAACP's May 17 work, is on a national speak-

ing tour. So far the tour has taken him to the West Coast, where at a May 5 news conference he stated:

"In Boston, mob violence is the order of the day. We are calling May 17 because we want to say to America that the NAACP has no intention of being deterred or delayed in carrying out the constitutional rights of Black people in the United States."

HIGH SCHOOL REACH-OUT: SCAR activists in Pittsburgh report that 7:00 a.m. rousings and generally keeping their noses to the grindstone have paid off in high school work.

Teams have been going out in the mornings leafleting at eight high schools there, and now they have a functioning high school SCAR chapter.

Houston SCAR reports that high schoolers have found interest in May 17 in Texas too. On May 3 they held a teach-in that drew 100 people and was reported on a local television station. A Black high schooler from Galveston spoke.

Be the first in your school to form a SCAR chapter. Get information and materials on May 17 from the SCAR national office. Cut out the coupon below and mail it in today!

—Baxter Smith

Support the march on Boston

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

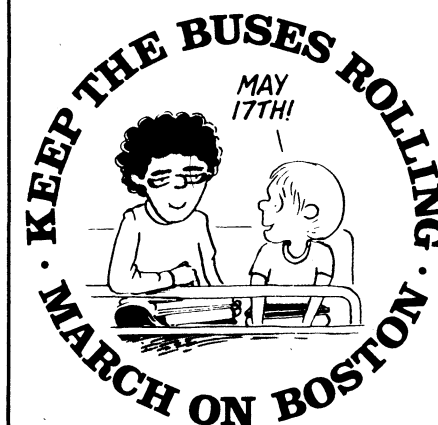
Enclosed is \$_____ for:
_____button(s)
_____posters
_____Student Mobilizers

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____



'Southies' battle demonstrators

PL leads march into violent confrontation

By Peter Seidman

BOSTON—A march organized by the Progressive Labor party to "fight racism" provoked a violent confrontation with South Boston racists May 3. Eight persons were arrested and at least ten injured as the PL march, led by a uniformed "strike team" armed with chains and clubs, left the Bayside Mall area of Columbia Point and passed by a section of South Boston on their way to a rally at Franklin Park.

Police estimated the size of the PL-led demonstration at 2,500. Most of the demonstrators, many of them Black and Puerto Rican, arrived at the demonstration on buses from New York, New Jersey, and East Coast cities.

Sharon Eaton, secretary of the Youth Affairs Committee of the Boston NAACP, was present at the march assembly area.

She told the *Militant* that skirmishes between the demonstrators and a small group of racists began almost as soon as PL organizers arrived at the mall to begin setting up their equipment and await the arrival of out-of-town buses.

According to Eaton, residents in Columbia Point, which has a Black housing project near the mall, asked the PLers to leave and assemble their demonstration elsewhere. Eaton said that Columbia Point residents feared that the PL demonstration might incite attacks on the Black community by racist forces in South Boston, an area notorious for its violent opposition to school desegregation. South Boston is separated from Columbia Point by a city park.

Last fall, snipers from South Boston drove through Columbia Point and fired rifle shots into the housing projects.

Eaton said that PL organizers told the Columbia Point residents that their requests to move the assembly area were "detrimental to the struggle" and "counterrevolutionary."

As the crowd of demonstrators grew, so did the number of racists—who gathered on a hill overlooking the

mall. The racists carried the flag of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), Boston's main antibusing organization.

When the PL march started off, led by the "strike team" dressed in white *Challenge* T-shirts (*Challenge* is the name of PL's newspaper) and wearing orange caps and thick leather belts, chanting "Death to the fascists," the ROAR group showered the marchers with a hail of rocks and bottles.

Fighting quickly broke out between the two groups.

Eaton, who had gone to the mall along with Leon Rock, the youth adviser to the Boston NAACP branch, to discourage people from embarking on such a dangerous march, told the *Militant* that most of the demonstrators had not been informed of the character and possible danger of the demonstration.

"Many people had brought babies and young kids with them," she said. "The PLers didn't tell people from out-of-town what they would be up against in South Boston." Eaton said that many of the demonstrators told her that they had been offered the trip to Boston for the low price of two dollars and thought it would be good to have an antiracist demonstration.

Eaton, Rock, and a number of Columbia Point residents did convince some demonstrators not to go on the march. However, PL organizers informed this group of about thirty that they had to join the march because they could only pick up their return bus at Franklin Park.

Eaton reported that the racist mobs did not restrict their attacks to the demonstrators, but attacked other Black passersby as well. "Some of them dropped rocks from an overpass onto cars carrying Black people on the Southeast Expressway," she said.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism issued a statement condemning racist violence against Blacks in Boston and criticizing strongly the tactics used by PL on the march. PL had originally proposed



March against racism in Boston May 3. Progressive Labor party uniformed 'strike team,' armed with chains and clubs, is at front of march. PL led many unsuspecting protesters into violent clash with South Boston racists.

such a march on South Boston at the founding conference of NSCAR held February 14-16 in Boston. After a discussion, PL's proposal was overwhelmingly voted down by the 2,000 people that attended.

"The May 3 demonstration called by PLP," the NSCAR statement said, "did not help the struggle by Boston's Black community for an equal education. While many of the demonstrators came to show their opposition to racism in Boston, the organizers of this march did a disservice to this cause."

"In Boston, it is the racists who use violence to oppose the law of the land that requires equal education for Black students. The desegregation movement must mobilize massive support for the demand that the government enforce this law. It must clearly expose the real perpetrators of violence in Boston—the foes of desegregation."

"The PLP demonstration, however, was organized in such a way—leading to numerous arrests and injuries as well as attacks on individual Black people—as to obscure this fact, and

thereby it hurt the desegregation movement.

"The Black community and its allies are now mobilizing for a demonstration in support of school desegregation on May 17. PLP's May 3 demonstration will only encourage the racists because they will attempt to use this confrontation to discourage participation in the May 17 demonstration."

"Supporters of desegregation must not allow this to happen. We should redouble our efforts to build massive participation in May 17. There will be no disruptions or violent confrontations on May 17. May 17 will be a peaceful, legal demonstration aimed at making a clear political point: 'Keep the buses rolling! Desegregate the Boston schools now!' To assure that our message is heard loud and clear, all permits for the march have been obtained by the NAACP, and hundreds of demonstrators are being recruited and trained to serve as monitors on the demonstration to ensure good order and complete safety on the march."

Teach-in hits racism in Cleveland schools

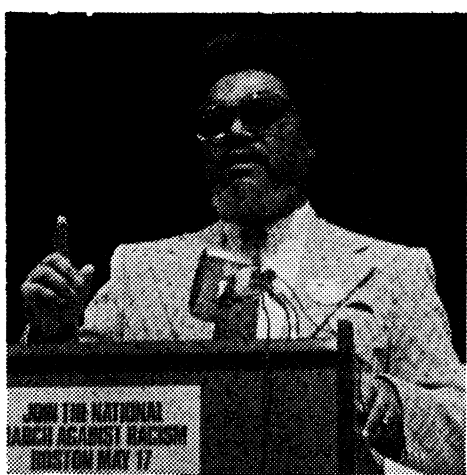
By Mindy Brudno and Judy Riley

CLEVELAND—Speakers representing more than twenty years of struggle for civil rights addressed a teach-in of 130 people at Cleveland State University April 25. The teach-in, hosted by the Cleveland Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), focused on the school desegregation fight in Boston and in Cleveland.

Longtime civil rights fighter Robert F. Williams, who still faces extradition to North Carolina for a trumped-up 1961 kidnapping charge, said, "I support this movement because I am opposed to racial discrimination in any form. And I know that the resistance to busing is not resistance to the inconvenience of busing Black students across town. It is racism; it is resistance to the advancement of Black people."

Black people, Williams said, "have the right to attend any school they desire. As a Black nationalist, I feel it is also a matter of race pride, and I hope that my support and my being here will be a symbol to other Black nationalists that we have to support anything that is going to advance the cause of Black people."

Williams recalled that the last time he had visited Cleveland was sixteen years ago to gather support for the defense of two Black youths, eight and



ROBERT F. WILLIAMS: 'The resistance to busing is resistance to the advancement of Black people.'

ten years old, who were charged with molesting a young white woman.

Rosa Parks, the Black woman who sparked the historic Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 by refusing to give up her seat to a white woman, sent greetings to the teach-in:

"It is encouraging to see a revival of the civil rights movement when it is sorely needed, and I hope that young people here continue to struggle for the freedom of our people. . . . The mass demonstrations and boycotts in Montgomery, Alabama, to end segregation on the buses in 1956 and the large numbers of people getting together can

be very powerful and impressive. . . .

"I would like to make public here for the first time my endorsement and wholehearted support for the national March on Boston May 17 called by the NAACP that you are working so hard to build. The best of luck to you."

The sentiment of defending the hard-won gains of Blacks was echoed by several of the speakers, including Rev. E. Randall Osburn, national vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; James Stallings, executive director of the Cleveland NAACP; and Auda Romaine, an executive board member of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 427. Romaine is also a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and was active in the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, which was set up around the frame-up of Williams and others.

Stallings reported on segregation in Cleveland schools. The NAACP here has launched a desegregation suit that is slated to be heard in the fall.

Ninety percent of Cleveland's Black students attend all-Black schools, and 85 percent of white students attend all-white schools.

In the past ten years, new schools have been constructed, but they have been used to maintain segregation, Stallings said. He said that the school board has gerrymandered the school

districts to keep the schools segregated.

Tony Harrington, a Black college student and a coordinator of SCAR here, told the audience what it was like attending the public schools.

Carol Banks, the vice-president of the Cleveland National Organization for Women, linked the racist antibusing movement to recent attacks on women's rights. She especially emphasized the need to support Joan Little, a Black woman who is charged with murder for defending herself against rape by a white prison guard.

Other speakers at the teach-in included Cleveland SCAR high school coordinators Don Salett and Dean Voytovich; Joyce Jefferson from the National Council of Negro Women; and Janet Thompson from the Society for Afro-American Unity at Cleveland State University.

The teach-in sent messages to the North Carolina governor demanding that he stop extradition proceedings against Robert F. Williams, and to Joan Little, supporting her defense effort.

Bus tickets and further information about the May 17 demonstration can be obtained from the Cleveland NAACP or SCAR at Room 307, Student Center Building, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, Ohio 44115. Telephone: (216) 621-4012.

Blacks take lead

New England students battle cutbacks

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Not since the height of the antiwar movement have New England campuses been so animated with protest.

The issue today, though, is not the war in Vietnam or ROTC, but the deepening cutbacks in higher education, especially the two-fisted blows against gains won by Black and other minority students during the 1960s.

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, two weeks of demonstrations and picket lines were capped by a two-day moratorium that virtually stopped normal functioning at the 20,000-student campus.

Nearly 1,500 students traveled 100 miles by bus and car for a demonstration April 30 at the state capitol in Boston. Their ranks were swelled by 500 supporters from other schools, including the University of Massachusetts extension in Boston.

'Education Before Profits'

The action protested Democratic Gov. Michael Dukakis's plan to cut the state's higher education budget by 10 percent. Signs demanded: "Low-cost, high-quality education for all"; "Dukakis: Cut the Crap, Not the Budget"; "Public Education Before Profits"; and "No Budget Cuts, No Cuts in Human Services."

Meanwhile, protests were sweeping across other campuses in the region:

- Thirty students, most of them Black, supported by hundreds more, occupied a building at Brandeis University April 29 to protest the slashing of \$60,000 from a program designed for Black and Latino students.

The students defied an April 30 court order to leave the building, and they ended their occupation on May 5 only after the administration agreed to restore at least part of the funds. As they left they were greeted by cheers from hundreds of students and faculty supporters outside.

- On April 28, sixty students at Boston College picketed to protest administration threats against the Black Talent Program, a project geared to recruit Black students. The program is staffed and partially run by Black students.

- On May 1, student leaders at the University of New Hampshire endorsed a march on the state capitol at Concord to protest an \$11 million budget cut.

- On May 2, nearly 500 students rallied to protest racist mismanagement of the yet-to-be-completed W.E.B.



Students rally in Boston April 30 to protest 10 percent cut in higher education budget

Militant/Jon Hillson

DuBois Institute. A brief sit-in took place at the college.

While these struggles continue, student leaders at Brown University are organizing a summer of preparation to press forward a campaign against cutbacks that scored a significant partial victory last month.

'Blacks Beat Brown'

Time magazine headlined its coverage of the Black student upsurge at this Ivy League school, "Blacks Beat Brown."

It was right on the mark. On April 21, virtually the entire Black and Latino student population of the campus mobilized for a massive picket line outside University Hall, which had been occupied by forty students. Their grievances ranged from financial aid cutbacks to the administration's refusal to implement promises made in 1969 to increase minority enrollment and faculty.

Brown had been shaken earlier in the month by a week-long student strike, including actions involving 3,000 of the school's 5,000 students, to protest fee hikes and financial aid slashes. The week after the campus-wide strike ended, the upsurge of minority students began. It was from the start supported actively by the Brown student population.

Round-the-clock picket lines surrounded University Hall, and several hundred white students marched in the driving rain in solidarity with the Black and Latino students.

In addition to amnesty for their actions, the protesters won commitments to increased enrollment, significantly more Black student and faculty voice in the Afro-American studies department, expansion of the department, and more Latino and Asian-American enrollment.

While certain key demands remain unmet—such as the allocation of sufficient financial aid to guarantee the increased minority enrollment—Black student leaders told the *Militant* that this spring's struggle was a "step forward."

'Students have to act'

Chris Robinson, a central leader of the fight, said the biggest gain was the "raising of the consciousness of the whole student body. . . . Now people know the [Brown] corporation, the administrators, can't be trusted or given faith. Students have to act to

gain or keep anything."

This spirit of fighting back is characteristic of the University of Massachusetts struggle as well. Cutbacks and a possible doubling of tuition threaten thousands of students and potential students. The militancy of the hundreds of new campus activists shows it.

This was apparent at the April 30 demonstration in Boston. One speaker was cheered as she denounced "the attempt by the government that is run by big business and the corporations to make working people and students pay the cost of its crisis."

Singing, chanting, and clapping, the students cheered another speaker who blasted cuts in the welfare budget by the Democratic party-dominated state government.

Virtually all of the speakers—while stressing the need to organize a broad, united resistance to the cutbacks—also condemned "a social system that puts profit before human need."

Others emphasized the connection between the anticutback drive and the fight for women's rights, campus child care, and affirmative action.

Busing & cutbacks

Mac Warren, coordinator of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, linked the fight for desegregation in Boston to the struggle against cutbacks.

"Cutbacks hit Blacks first," he said, "which is why they are racist. And racist, segregated education keeps Blacks out of college. That's why NSCAR [National Student Coalition Against Racism] says the struggle for equality in education—busing in Boston today—is part of the struggle against the slashing of programs and rising tuition."

Warren urged the students to form a contingent against cutbacks in the May 17 march on Boston for desegregation called by the NAACP.

Through the initiative of supporters of the Boston Student Coalition Against Racism, Black students from Brown, Brandeis, and Boston College attended the April 30 demonstration.

The solidarity among the various student struggles was also reflected at Brandeis, where 100 students demonstrated in support of the Brown student strike.

It was also the theme of a widely covered news conference of student leaders on May 2, called by local

activists with the help of NSCAR. Student leaders from Northeastern University, Hampshire College, and Boston University, along with Black student union presidents from Brandeis and Simmons College, backed the wave of protest. They also announced a May 4 planning meeting to further student struggles against cutbacks.

May 17 contingent

The May 4 meeting was attended by activists from thirteen schools in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, including Black student leaders from Boston College, Brown, and Yale.

It projected solidarity picketing from the Brandeis and University of Massachusetts students and endorsed the perspective of ensuring an anticutbacks presence in the May 17 march for school desegregation.

With the school year closing, the current protests have a limited span. But anticutbacks activists believe this spring is just the beginning.

This is the impression of Mike Ponoman, a leader of the Boston Young Socialist Alliance who was elected cochairperson of the University of Massachusetts at Boston student-faculty assembly on May 1.

The Boston campus was closing when the statewide cutbacks were announced. Nevertheless, Ponoman said, Boston students turned out for the April 30 action and began organizing immediately to "defend our right to an education."

"Our first step is a big show of force, especially on May 17," he said. "We need to continue massive actions, demonstrations, and picket lines to stand up to the state's attempt to make us suffer for their profits."

The momentum across the region recalls the way one campus set off another during the 1960s student upsurges. But today there is something new, something different.

One speaker on April 30 referred to the big AFL-CIO demonstration for jobs on April 26 in Washington, D.C. "Those were our allies in Washington, those workers," she said, and the 2,000 students cheered.

Another speaker talked of the "victory of the Vietnamese" and lauded the student antiwar movement, to big cheers.

"We here know that one war is just over," she said, "but another struggle is just beginning."



Militant/Jon Hillson

NSCAR's MAC WARREN: Urges formation of anticutback contingent in May 17 civil rights march on Boston.

Black workers hear Peter Camejo present socialist jobs program

By Debby Woodrooffe

NEW YORK—Black Economic Survival is a Brooklyn-based group that has been fighting for jobs for Black workers in the construction industry. Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was a guest speaker at the group's weekly membership meeting on April 24.

Moses Harris, the group's founder, introduced Camejo to the sixty Blacks in attendance by saying, "He's a fine brother, and he's been out there for years spreading the word about how we can change the system and about how the workers can begin to get a bigger piece of the pie."

Earlier that week, Mayor Abraham Beame had announced the firing of almost 4,000 city workers in an attempt "to balance the budget."

Camejo blasted this latest assault on working people in New York and pointed out that the entire discussion in the media and government on the economic crisis is "a fake discussion, couched in mystical terms so the average American will think there is nothing that can be done about it."

Beyond human control?

"They speak about unemployment and inflation," Camejo said, "as if they were beyond human control, like cold spells or tornadoes. Unemployment is rising, like the tides. Maybe it will decline. Who knows?"

"They talk about how the economy is 'sick.' I can get sick. You can get sick. But how," Camejo demanded to know, "can an economy get sick?"

"It's a trick to keep us from seeing that unemployment and inflation are human decisions, made by one social layer—the capitalist ruling class."

"When they decide where they are going to invest—or whether to invest at all—that decides whether you or I can get a job. That decides what prices we pay. That decides what is going to be produced and how it's distributed."

Camejo said that a massive, emergency program of public works to provide millions of jobs is urgently needed. He proposed paying for such socially useful programs with the money now spent for the military and for interest payments to rich bond holders.

"All you hear about is how our tax money goes to pay for welfare, but government officials don't talk about

NEW YORK—More than 500 people attended a May Day rally here to celebrate the victory of the national liberation struggle in Vietnam.

The May 3 rally, sponsored by the Socialist Workers campaign committee, was the final event in Peter Camejo's New York tour.

"What a historic defeat for American imperialism and its world strategy this is!" said Linda Jenness, who was the SWP presidential candidate in 1972. "What a confirmation of the power of the colonial revolution, and what a victory for all those determined to defeat the mighty power of American imperialism."

Speakers, in addition to Camejo and Jenness, included Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate; Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of Boston; Barbara Thornton, who presented greetings from the Young Socialist Alliance; and Clifton DeBerry, whose 1964 SWP presidential campaign was a target of FBI harassment.

Brazilian composer and guitarist Guadencio Thiago De Mello provided entertainment.

Greetings were brought to the rally by Gabriel Guzmán, a leader of

the \$37 billion given to the wealthy for interest on government bonds their great grandfathers bought."

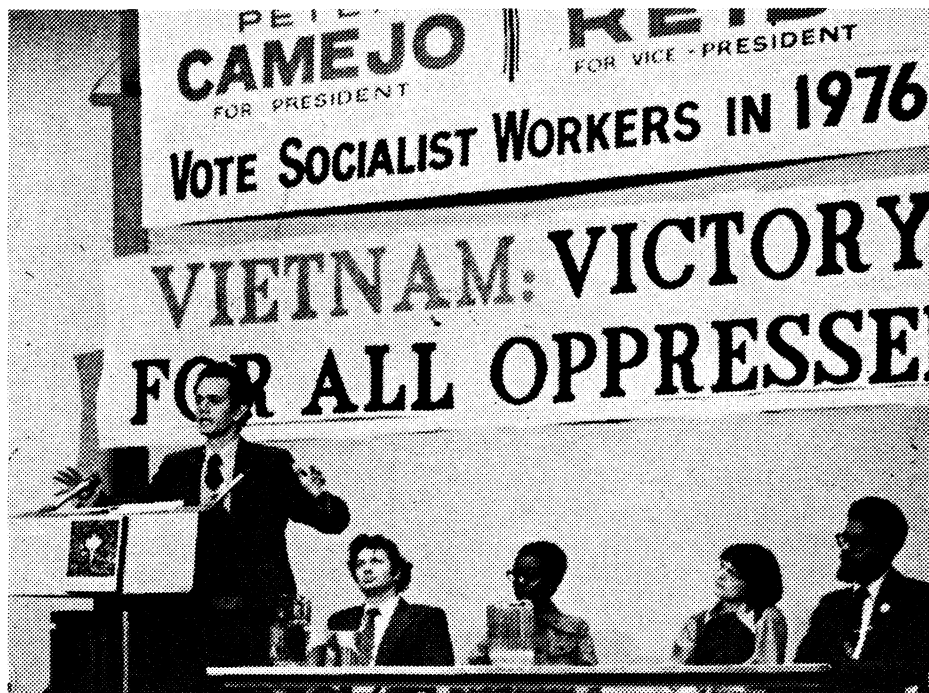
Rockefeller has enough!

The audience nodded agreement as Camejo continued, "Our tax money goes by the billions to these people, and then they tell us there's no money. We say human needs must come first. Rockefeller already has enough money!"

Camejo closed by urging workers to "send a message to the rulers of this country" by voting socialist in 1976.

"The biggest error that working people make," Camejo concluded, "is that they don't realize rich people have two parties, and we don't even have one."

"How much longer," he asked, "are we going to go on strike, picket against the bosses, and then turn around and vote for them? What we need to do is build a mass movement in this country



Camejo addresses May 3 rally in New York

Militant/Andy Rose

Comité Unitario, the coalition that organized recent actions commemorating the tenth anniversary of the Dominican revolution.

"The example of Vietnam should inspire us to go on fighting," Guzmán said. "U.S. imperialism has

only one way to go and that is down. I'm sure the SWP '76 campaign will be but another blow for the capitalist class."

A collection taken at the rally raised \$5,794 for the Camejo-Reid campaign.

Union College, and the State University at Albany.

Camejo urged the students to take action against the injustices of capitalist society. "One hundred and thirty years ago," he pointed out, "there was a small group of people in this country called the abolitionists. They said, 'In our epoch, the problem is slavery. We have two parties and they are both for slavery. Don't vote for either of them. Vote for the abolitionists.'"

"Today, you can go anywhere and ask people who they would have voted for in 1840—the Whigs, the Democrats, or the Abolitionists—and everyone says, 'the Abolitionists.'"

"One hundred years from now," Camejo continued, "when you ask people who they would have voted for in 1976, people will all say 'the socialists.' But we don't need people 100 years from now! We need them now."

"And just as the abolitionists began to fight against all odds, we have to start fighting now, because the problem of our epoch is whether this country is going to continue to allow a minority to run it on the basis of profit, or whether the majority is going to take it and start running it for human need."

Dozens of students in the New York area responded to Camejo's call for action by signing up to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Dominican action

During the time Camejo was campaigning in New York, Dominican groups held a series of activities commemorating the tenth anniversary of the constitutional uprising in the Dominican Republic, which was brutally crushed by the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo.

Camejo issued a statement to the news media urging "everyone who believes in the right of the Dominican people to control their own country" to support the activities.

Camejo participated in one of these actions, a march of 500 to honor the heroes and martyrs of the 1965 uprising. He was accompanied by campaign

Continued on page 26

Campaign literature in Spanish

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are taking the socialist campaign to Spanish-speaking workers and students across the country. They are demanding an end to racist deportations of undocumented workers and immediate independence for Puerto Rico. They support the right of Spanish-speaking students to bilingual, bicultural education and urge support for the farmworkers' organizing drive.

Camejo and Reid propose a Bill of Rights for Working People that includes the right of all workers to a job and decent housing and education, and would guarantee the right of Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed minorities to equality and control over their own affairs.

The Bill of Rights for Working People is available in Spanish as well

as English. Help distribute it at your workplace, at union meetings, at school, and in the Chicano and Puerto Rican communities. It should be read by all those looking for a way to defend themselves against the evils of this system.

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

() Please send me one copy free of charge () in Spanish; () in English.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

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

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to support the Camejo-Reid campaign.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Business Address _____

Occupation/School/Organization _____

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

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

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

All out May 17

May 17 marks the twenty-first anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in education. On May 17, in Boston and other cities across the country, marches and rallies will be held to press forward the fight for school desegregation. These actions, whatever their size, will mark an important stage in the continuing struggle against racist discrimination.

The rulers of this country fear that any advances for Black people will spur struggles by the entire working class. They stubbornly resist all efforts to break down inequality in education, housing, and employment.

All of the gains that were won by the civil rights movement that grew up following the 1954 court ruling are today coming under attack. The focus of this racist drive is on beating back attempts to desegregate the schools by busing Black students to predominantly white schools.

Cities all over the country—from Pasadena, California, to Brooklyn, New York—have become battlegrounds in this fight. But the battle right now is raging most fiercely in the city of Boston.

There the racists have brazenly mobilized their forces. Lynch mobs have attacked Blacks who drive down the wrong street. Reactionary scum such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis openly organize in the “cradle of liberty.”

To counter this, antiracist forces must develop a massive movement to demand the desegregation of Boston schools and implementation of busing. The May 17 actions, initiated by the NAACP and supported by the National Student Coalition Against Racism, will be an important step in achieving the countermobilization necessary to defeat the racists.

On the line in Boston are not only the rights of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, but also of women, students, and all working people. The conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin for performing a legal abortion and the disruption of a women's rights rally by antibusing hoodlums show that once reactionaries start an offensive the rights of all the oppressed come under attack.

The May 17 demonstrations in Boston and other cities will be a blow against reactionaries of all stripes. May 17 will be a step forward for labor, women, and the oppressed nationalities.

The time to beat back the racists is now—before more school buses are attacked, before more lynch mobs are organized, before more Dr. Edelins are convicted, before more cities become Bostons.

Desegregate the Boston schools!

All out May 17!

Free Joan Little

“Free Joan Little!” is a cry ringing out all over the country. People everywhere, especially in the Black communities, are championing the case of this young Black woman, whose only crime was to defend herself from a rape attack by a white jailer.

Today Little faces first-degree murder charges in North Carolina, a state that is infamous for its persecution and frame-ups of Black people.

If convicted, she faces a mandatory death penalty and will join the more than sixty other prisoners on North Carolina's death row. At least half of these victims are Black.

To halt this injustice, support groups for Little have sprung up in cities across the country. Benefits, rallies, and marches have been held by Black churches, community groups, and students.

Prisoners have taken up collections from their meager wages to aid her defense. Women's liberation groups have campaigned to free her, as have Black newspapers and radio stations. The National Student Coalition Against Racism, which is helping to build the May 17 desegregation march in Boston, has joined in the Little defense effort.

The *Militant's* coverage of the Little case has evoked a warm response among readers, particularly in the Black communities.

The broad interest in this campaign is a sign of the depth of sentiment against racial abuse, sexual oppression, and the degrading conditions in the prisons.

Those who have rallied to Little's defense have already helped win one victory—the moving of her trial to Raleigh, North Carolina.

Through more public meetings, picket lines, marches, and other support activities, thousands of people can be reached with the facts in this case. As Little's trial approaches this summer, such efforts can bring the strongest possible pressure on the courts to throw out this racist frame-up and set Little free.

At last

Tonight my heart is joyous. I hope yours is also. Vietnam is back in the hands of the Vietnamese. When the news came, my first thought was a portion of one of Rev. Martin Luther King's last speeches: Free at last, free at last, thank God almighty, we are free at last!

Choy Low

Los Angeles, California

Vets on Vietnam

The *Vietnam Vet*, the twice-monthly newsletter of the Wisconsin Veterans Union, recently reprinted Baxter Smith's column “Once again the brass is worried” from the April 11 *Militant*.

That same issue of *Vietnam Vet*, April 21, featured an article titled “Ford and the orphans,” which pointed out the hypocrisy of President Ford's “humanitarian aid” ploys of late. The article concluded, “WVU calls for the immediate end to all US aid to the Thieu regime. This, and only this, will solve the problems that Vietnam has had to face all of these years.”

“The people of Vietnam have a right to decide their own fate. The only honorable position that can be taken is to demand that the US get out. Get Out, Now!!!”

Mission accomplished.

C.B.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Sour grapes?

A resolution was recently introduced into the house of representatives of the state of Tennessee by four ultraconservative representatives. It shows how upset the reactionaries are about the victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces. It says in part:

“Whereas, the United States has, in effect, turned its back on Vietnam and consigned its posterity to life under an inevitable Communist Slave State; and

“Whereas, there is ‘no substitute for victory;’ and,

“Whereas, the ‘cut and run’ policy of the Legislative Branch of the United States government far exceeds the disgrace of the Bay of Pigs fiasco or any other act of the United States; . . .

“Be it resolved by the House of Representatives of the eighty-ninth general assembly of the state of Tennessee, That the spineless liberals in the Federal government be condemned for their failure to push for a complete victory in Vietnam. . . .

“Be it further resolved, That the Communist Party U.S.A. and the Young Socialist Alliance are requested to convey their appreciation to those persons.”

Copies of the resolution were sent to a list of individuals and organizations “with the assumption that the shoe of condemnation will fit the proper foot.” The list included the Young Socialist Alliance.

E.J.

New York, New York

Sales aid

The listing of the paper contents on the front page is very advantageous to sales. Keep it up.

M.M.

Logan, Utah

Women's place in Israel

In the past, pro-Israeli publicists have been known to argue that Israel's compulsory military service for women shows that women's liberation has triumphed there. A more accurate picture of women's place in Israeli society was given by the reaction of Knesset members of the Orthodox parties, one of which is in the governing coalition, to two bills proposing the legalization of abortion.

It was argued that this would mean “mass murder of Jews worse than that committed by Pharaoh who ordered only male Jews thrown into the river.”

D.F.

New York, New York

On Sergei Paradzhanov

And again it happens as I knew it would. In the May 2 *Militant* a voice speaks out in defense of the imprisoned film director Sergei Paradzhanov.

That Paradzhanov's frame-up at the hands of the Soviet authorities must be protested goes without saying. He is being repressed because he is a creative artist and dissident, and also because he spoke for and to the national identity of the oppressed Armenian nation.

In 1970 I saw his film *Color of Pomegranates* in Armenia, and I know the effects it had on the local viewers. They were dramatically transported into a highly imaginative and surrealistic world far less familiar than to us in the West. They were both shocked and excited by their experience. Intense conversations were provoked everywhere. At the same time the film was a contribution to the awakening national pride and self-confidence of an oppressed people.

That the *Militant* is publicizing Paradzhanov's persecution is admirable. Your consistent defense of these struggles is a source of inspiration and strength.

Haig Jamgochian

Southfield, Michigan

Jobs rally—I

I am writing to applaud your coverage of the disruption of the April 26 rally for jobs in Washington, D.C. Cindy Jaquith's account of the events was, I thought, a well-balanced one.

As one of the thousands who rode the buses from New York City to the rally and saw what happened there, I think it is fair to say that most people came away with a feeling that they had accomplished something with this rally, but also with a certain amount of frustration that it ended the way it did.

Most workers do not want to sit for hours listening to the empty mouthings of Hubert Humphrey or the other windbags and fakers who made up the speakers' list. But the small minority who disrupted obviously violated the wishes of the majority of workers and unemployed present, who expressed themselves by walking out.

The unions need a new leadership and a new direction, but anyone who hopes to provide that direction had better start by respecting the minds of the rank and file and winning their support before taking action in their name.

Clarence MacKay

Brooklyn, New York

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Jobs rally—II

I am writing in regard to the disruption of the April 26 rally for jobs in Washington, D.C. Those same forces that we have seen seeking to disrupt every mass action we have successfully built in the past decade have now gone from venomous to rabid.

Out of their sectarian, elitist, counterrevolutionary method, they become the ready tools of provocateurs no different from the antibusing forces in Boston. For the sake of their political tantrums, they think nothing of jeopardizing the political development of entire trade-union layers.

These same splinter groups, meanwhile, are unprepared to join in our fight against government disruptions of workers' organizations. Those forces who still consider themselves responsible participants in the struggle against oppression should demand an accounting from their leaderships in these tendencies of their complete political bankruptcy and prostration before right-wing provocateurs.

First of all, we must put our own house in order!

Michael O'Mara
New York, New York

Joan Little

Because I am in South Carolina, I am aware of the Joan Little situation in North Carolina and want to pass on to you a comment from a recent (April 23) article in the *Columbia Record*. State Bureau of Investigation Director Charles Dunn warns that Ms. Little's trial will attract a number of out-of-state people, including "various militant elements."

My hope is that Mr. Dunn's prediction is a correct one. Knowing what I know about North Carolina and South Carolina justice, Ms. Little has no chance of receiving a fair trial if those "militant elements" do not become actively involved in her "trial."

I sincerely hope Ms. Little gains her complete freedom from the "racist elements" in North Carolina.

A prisoner
South Carolina

Correction

The article in the April 11, 1975, issue of the *Militant* concerning the tour of Juan Carlos Coral was incorrect in reporting that Coral's speech in Dallas was cosponsored by Amnesty International.

The information about Coral's tour was sent to the Texas office of Amnesty International by the Houston chapter of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. This information was then forwarded to a Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee representative in Dallas. This was the extent of Amnesty International's involvement.

Patti Stone
Texas Coordinator,
Amnesty International
Fort Worth, Texas

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.

'Propping up the monster'

WASHINGTON—There are many thin-skinned people in Washington since Watergate, but Richard Helms, CIA-chief-turned-ambassador, has one of the thinnest skins of all.

Helms erupted in rage after coming out of a recent closed-door hearing before the Rockefeller CIA panel. He saw CBS news reporter Daniel Schorr and began yelling, "Killer Schorr! Killer Schorr!" It was Schorr who first exposed that the White House is afraid of leaks about CIA assassination plots.

Another reporter standing nearby tried to ask Helms if the CIA had ever discussed possible assassination attempts.

"That's like asking me when I stopped beating my wife or you stopped beating your wife," Helms replied bitterly. "In government, they are always discussions of everything under the sun."

"Of assassinations?" asked the reporter.

"Of everything under the sun!" Helms snapped.

"You didn't answer my question," the reporter persisted.

"I'm not trying to answer your question!" Helms snarled.

The Rockefeller "investigation" is supposed to be completed by June 6. No one is exactly holding their breath about the outcome.

But some placed more faith, at least initially, in the investigations launched by Congress.

Now that several months have passed, and these committees haven't even held a single open meeting, their real purpose is becoming clearer. As columnist Tom Braden wrote in *Saturday Review* recently, "the investigating committees will prop the monster up."

Braden, who is himself an ex-CIA agent, explained: "Various committees now investigating the agency will doubtless find error. They will recommend change, they will reshuffle, they will adjust. But they will leave the monster intact. . . ."

Not only will they leave it intact, but if they can get away with it, they will try to strengthen the CIA and the other repressive agencies in the United States.

Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), who heads the Senate

CIA investigation, spelled this all out in a speech he gave several months ago. "Properly done," he explained, "a congressional inquiry into the activities of these agencies can result in a strengthening of our law-enforcement and intelligence systems."

Church promised that his investigation "will be muted and restrained. I do not intend to preside over a legislative carnival, an investigative sideshow, or a television extravaganza."

He also threw in some get-tough language for would-be Ellsbergs who might slip onto his staff. The only people hired for his investigation, the Idaho Democrat said, will be "individuals of unquestioned loyalty." Anyone caught leaking CIA secrets "will be fired on the spot."

In a flurry of patriotism, Church ended his speech with the hopeful prediction that his whitewash will "serve the purpose of redeeming the reputation of prestigious agencies which find their honor in upholding the law."

The redemption mission has already begun. *New York Times* reporter Nicholas Horrock wrote April 16 that the Senate committee has made a series of compromises with the White House over secret documents. The deal that was arranged, Horrock reported, was for the committee to "accept some top secret material from the White House with deletions of certain paragraphs, and in other cases . . . to limit the distribution to protect national security. . . ."

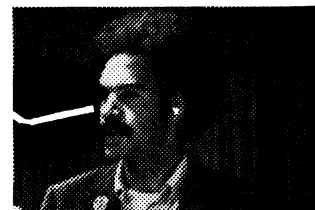
The material includes the report on domestic CIA spying given to President Ford by William Colby, as well as hundreds of presidential directives, spanning several administrations, to the CIA.

Which directives is Senator Church trying to cover up? Directives from John Kennedy concerning plots against Fidel Castro's life? Directives from Lyndon Johnson about disrupting the civil rights movement? Orders from Nixon to infiltrate the antiwar movement?

It would be interesting to see the directives to such a "prestigious" agency, which "finds its honor in upholding the law."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



A 'Jobs Now' weekend

A long "Jobs Now" weekend began early on April 26 for your humble columnist when bus number 256, rented by New York's United Federation of Teachers, pulled out of the Bronx, rolled across the George Washington Bridge, and started down the New Jersey Turnpike for the four-hour-plus trip to Washington.

Most of those aboard were UFT members, and the whole bus buzzed with excitement.

An affable, fortyish Black woman called Ellie said she was a paraprofessional at Public School 61 in the Bronx. She was going to the capital to help force the government to release enough money to keep all the paraprofessionals in her district on the job. There hadn't been any layoffs at her schools yet but there had been some transfers, so she was a little worried.

"Look at all those people," Ellie exclaimed, getting off the bus at the rally. Then she fussed with the string on the paper sign the union had printed to hang around her neck. "\$6 Billion for Jobs, Schools NOW!" the sign read. "I don't think that's enough money," Ellie said.

She saw in the morning paper where the Senate had just okayed \$6 billion for public service jobs for at most one million people. "And there's eight million unemployed, you said? Humph, that don't include the schools. No, I'm afraid that's not enough."

April 26 was not only the first national union demonstration held in Washington, D.C., against unemployment—it was also the biggest mobilization of Blacks since the 25,000-strong African Liberation Day action in the capital in May 1972.

The last-hired-first-fired, the 25 percent-unemployed, the lowest-paid-crummiest-job holders were out in force to let the government know something had better be done, and done soon. You couldn't help noticing that Black faces were predominant in the unions that had done the most to turn people out for "Jobs Now," and

it was no accident.

Willie Thompson, who had turned fifty-two the day before and who comes from Yazoo City, Mississippi, drives a cab in the capital. That night he gave me a lift.

"Yeah, I heard they had a big demonstration," he said. "In fact, I got caught up in traffic this afternoon because of it."

"That's what we need," he went on, "and maybe that'll make Ford take some time for this country instead of meddlin' in Vietnam."

"People need jobs. And that little money he's giving back, them tax breaks, is not going to do the job at all. And besides jobs it's other things. This city's getting worse."

He pointed to a big chunk of metal, the roof of a house, that had blown off in a hard wind a month ago. The city hadn't come to take it away and that was bad, he said.

"Look at that," he remarked, spitting tobacco juice toward two men across the street. One was making a drug buy. "That goes on all the time and the police don't do nothing."

Not every out-of-towner left the capital right after the demonstration. Some stayed over a day to sight-see, visit relatives, or just hang out.

Two men on the Sunday Amtrak back to New York had come down on a union train. They work for the board of education.

"There was a lot of people there and that was good," one said, talking around a fat cigar. "Those people who ran on the field, that wasn't no good and it wasn't what most people wanted to do."

I told him about the slanted newspaper coverage that played up the disruption. "Well, you can expect that," he said with a sour face. "But they know that folks are mad, and they'll be marching again."



Sounds like an emergency—Patients who sit around an emergency room complaining, "I've been sitting here for hours," or, "I want to see a doctor, not a clerk," or, "You wouldn't treat me this way if I had money," are usually just imagining things and are probably sick in the head, according to three University of Chicago doctors. It may be the result of steroid psychosis, a drug reaction, they speculated.

Especially him—Speech writers for President Ford say that he likes his speeches plain and simple. One explained: "He doesn't want people to have to look words up in the dictionary."

All in the family—Los Angeles City Council member Donald Lorenzen was charged with hitting his son in the head and kicking his pregnant



Ex-presidents club of San Clemente

daughter-in-law in the stomach. "It was just a family squabble," the city father responded. "If he did something wrong, he gets slapped." Lorenzen, who operates a mortuary, declined to comment on the charge of kicking his pregnant daughter-in-law.

On making do—"A good Scotch and a fine dinner complemented with a quality wine can go a long way toward easing the distress of not being able to afford a new car."—Howard Feldman, president of Schenley's liquor company.

Just don't practice or preach it—A group of Atlanta-based Methodist ministers declared against ordination of homosexuals. They cited a national Methodist statement assuring that "homosexuals no less than heterosexu-

als are persons of sacred worth." However, the statement adds, the church sees the practice of homosexuality as "incompatible with Christian teaching."

The crusaders—With the general consumption of coffin nails on the rise, and with sharp increases in smoking by teen-agers, the federal government has cut its budget for education against smoking to less than \$1 million a year—about what tobacco firms spend on advertising each day.

The devil you say—Rev. E.W. Angley warned an Atlanta Civic Center audience to keep a sharp eye on Lucifer. "The spirit of the devil so closely matches the spirit of man," he said, "that people come to the place where they follow him unaware."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



Puerto Rico's depression: the human toll

Last February I wrote a column in this space on "Economic lynching of a nation." It was on the effects of the current depression on the United States' island colony of Puerto Rico. Since that time, facts and figures have come out that paint an even more tragic picture.

In February I wrote that unemployment in Puerto Rico was 16 percent. On April 1, the Puerto Rican government admitted that unemployment had risen to 22 percent. But the real figure is much higher, because the official unemployment rate does not include the "voluntarily idle" or "discouraged"; that is, workers who have given up looking for jobs because there are none available.

Factory closings have become an almost everyday reality in Puerto Rico. Last year, 166 factories shut down completely, and the gross national product of the island declined 2.6 percent. Many enterprises are cutting back production and laying off workers. The total number of jobs is declining.

Prices on the island are higher than those in the United States, and Puerto Rico suffers from an

inflation rate twice that in the United States.

But the income of Puerto Ricans averages one-third of what people in the United States receive. Sixty percent of the island's families live below the official U.S. government poverty level.

What this means in human terms is hard to describe with words. Over the last couple of years I have had the opportunity to visit Puerto Rico several times, most recently a few weeks ago. The increasing misery of masses of people is everywhere to be seen.

Now there are many more children begging for nickels and dimes out in the streets. For the first time since I've been visiting the island, I saw children who were crippled begging for alms.

Everywhere you go there are stores boarded up, and more are being forced to close every day. I talked to one older man who until recently had owned a corner grocery store; now he sells fruits, candy, soft drinks, and cigarettes from a dirt-floor hut in front of his house.

The shantytowns of shacks made from tin, cardboard, and plywood are expanding. One, La Perla, is located on the beach beside El Morro castle, one of San Juan's most famous tourist attractions. North American visitors like to climb on the fort's walls to take pictures of La Perla.

Below, thousands of people live. The shacks are built on stilts above the beach, separated from each other by two or three feet and a walkway made of wood rarely more than one or two feet wide. Many of the shanties don't have running water or electricity. Garbage and human waste are dumped on the sand below, where the tide washes them away. The stench is awful.

There are many other shantytowns like this one in Puerto Rico, as well as many other indications everywhere of the brutal oppression the three million people of the island suffer. Despite this, Puerto Rican government officials in cooperation with their masters in Washington are implementing policies that can only make the situation worse. I'll write about this in my next column.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



The 'Black Scholar' on Black women

In 1787, Blacks in Boston petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for the right to an equal education. "The issue was that, although slavery was officially abolished in the state of Massachusetts by its constitution, the right to a decent education was being denied black people," writes Earl Smith, a professor at Empire State College in New York City.

In an article titled "Racism and the Boston School Crisis," Smith traces some of the history of the fight in Boston by the Black community for an equal education. His article appears in the March 1975 *Black Scholar*, a special issue on "The Black Woman 1975."

It is both timely and appropriate that an article on the Boston school crisis appears in an issue of the magazine that focuses on the role of women. Not only are Black and white women playing an important role in today's fight for Black rights in Boston, but they have done so historically.

Sarah Roberts and her father, Benjamin, took the Boston Primary School Committee to court in 1849 after Sarah had been rejected by the Boston public schools four times because she was Black. The court ruling in that case set the stage for Jim Crow in Boston when the judge ruled: "The law had not

created and could not alter the deep rooted prejudice which sanctioned segregation."

Earlier, in 1833, another woman—abolitionist Prudence Crandall—challenged segregation in New England by admitting a Black female into her school in Canterbury, Connecticut. When the town council objected to an integrated school, Crandall announced that the school would be exclusively for Black females.

Under a law forbidding the "harboring, boarding or instruction" of any person of color from out of state, Crandall was arrested and convicted. "The school was burned to the ground, one black student was almost given a public whipping, and having run out of energy, Miss Crandall was forced to leave town," writes Smith.

Smith traces the 1896 Supreme Court decision establishing "separate but equal" institutions; the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation; and the contributions of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Jonathan Kozol, and others.

"Brothers and Sisters," concludes Smith, "history has repeated itself. Our continued efforts to struggle against this blatant racism must be intensified."

An article by Charmeyne Nelson, a member of Black Women Organized for Action, entitled

"Myths About Black Women Workers in Modern America," is also included in the magazine. She answers those who claim that Black women have better jobs than Black men with a series of statistics showing that in all job categories Black women earn less than Black men doing the same work; that the unemployment rate among Black women is higher than any other adult category; and that their median income is the lowest.

Nelson cites U.S. Department of Labor figures showing that "75.5 percent of all black working women are in the unskilled work categories. Whatever slight 'advantage' or 'greater visibility' might accrue to the black professional woman, it only affects a minute segment of black womanhood."

In addition, "Black women need more education to get the middle pay jobs than do white women and/or they get less pay. . . ."

Other articles in the March 1975 *Black Scholar* include "Self-Defense Against Rape: The Joan Little Case," by Julian Bond; "The Role of Women in the Revolution," by Sékou Touré; and "Slave of a Slave No More: Black Women in Struggle," by Frances Beal.

Reed to debate male anthropologist in L.A.

By Michael Maggi

NEW YORK—Evelyn Reed, feminist, Marxist anthropologist, and author of *Woman's Evolution*, will appear with Prof. Walter Goldschmidt at the University of California at Los Angeles on Wednesday, May 14, at noon for a two-hour debate on her feminist challenge to academic anthropology.

Goldschmidt is the president-elect of the American Anthropological Association and a former editor of its journal, the *American Anthropologist*. He is also head of the UCLA departments of anthropology and sociology.

The debate signals a major recognition among professional anthropologists that Reed's theories and work warrant attention.

Although welcomed by feminists and their supporters, Reed's work has disquieted many academic anthropologists. *Woman's Evolution* challenges the antievolutionary assumptions currently popular in the field and champions the position that women—through the matriarchal stage of human development—led the transition from animal behavior to human civilization.

Woman's Evolution has proven to be very popular and warmly received. Published on March 8, 1975—International Women's Day—the book has already been scheduled for a third paperback and second cloth printing in

June. This will bring the total number of copies in print to almost 20,000.

The April issue of *KLIATT*, a prestigious publication oriented toward library selection, especially in high school libraries, comments that *Woman's Evolution* "is an outstanding effort to account for many of the discrepancies found in the patterns of social evolution as delineated by many traditional anthropologists." *KLIATT* concludes by stating, "*Woman's Evolution* is stimulating and readable, and important for anyone interested in the women's movement as well as anthropology."

The May 3 issue of *Majority Report*, a New York-based feminist newspaper with national circulation, carries a lengthy feature interview with Evelyn Reed reporting on the main line of her feminist reexamination of anthropological data and what this means for understanding women's role in prehistory.

The Los Angeles debate is the next leg of a five-month tour that has taken Reed to New York, Boston, Atlanta, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkeley, Los Angeles, San Diego, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Pittsburgh. From Los Angeles Reed will travel to Washington to appear in Cheney, Olympia, and Seattle.

Throughout the 1975-76 school year Reed will be touring major cities in the United States and Canada.

About 3,000 people have attended the lectures so far on Reed's tour. News articles and interviews have appeared in several metropolitan papers including the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Oakland Tribune*. A number of radio and television stations have broadcast interviews.

Pathfinder Press, the publisher of *Woman's Evolution*, is organizing Reed's tour and invites inquiries about future appearances. *Woman's Evolution* may be ordered by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or purchased at any of the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26. The book costs \$15 in cloth and \$4.95 in paper.



Evelyn Reed, author of 'Woman's Evolution.'

Mo. disclosure law suit

By Barbara Mutnick

ST. LOUIS—The Missouri 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee announced here April 15 that it has filed a suit challenging the constitutionality of the state's new Campaign Finance and Disclosure Act. Filed by the American Civil Liberties Union of Western Missouri in state court in Kansas City, the suit demands that the socialist campaign be exempted from disclosing the names and addresses of campaign contributors. The law requires such disclosure of any contributor of twenty-five dollars or more to a political campaign.

In demanding exemption, the suit asserts, "The SWP and its members, supporters, and persons associated or identified with it have been subjected to sweeping and systematic government harassment and surveillance for a period of nearly thirty years, up to and including the present."

The new law was put on the 1974 state ballot by initiative. In the wake of the Watergate revelations, it won by a 2-to-1 margin. The drive was spearheaded by members of Common Cause through the Missouri Committee for Honest Elections.

This committee is reported to be holding a \$7,000 "war chest" aside for the purpose of defending the law against any challenges.

Missouri voters were told that the act would clean up and democratize the election campaigns and would expose Watergate-type payoffs to politicians by big business.

The result, however, has been to hamper the ability of the Socialist Workers campaign committee, and any other group independent of the capitalist parties, to freely participate in the electoral process in Missouri.

A Missouri chapter of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws has been formed to publicize and gather support for the suit.

Few of the provisions of this law purporting to "clean up" politics are known or understood by the public. Aside from the disclosure aspect of the law, the act limits "mass collections" to 3 percent of total funds expended. This means that the Socialist Workers campaign committee, which gathers much of its support from small donations from working people and students, could raise no more than \$90 by "passing the hat" during a campaign that spent \$3,000.

Plaintiffs in the Socialist Workers suit are Barbara Mutnick, the SWP's 1974 candidate for U.S. Senate; Barbara Bowman, 1975, SWP candidate for president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen, and Paul Schmidlein of Kansas City.

Party Building Fund

SWP: internationalist in program & practice

By Barry Sheppard

As the scoreboard printed below indicates, more than \$40,000 has been pledged to the special tax rebate Party Building Fund the Socialist Workers party has launched.

One reader of the *Militant* pledged fifty dollars he will be receiving from his Social Security bonus. He writes: "The proposal to put the tax rebate to work for socialism is RIGHT ON! Only socialism can end capitalist depression and unemployment once and for all so that's where the tax rebate will do the most good."

"Now many senior citizens have no tax rebates to contribute because they have had no jobs. But they do have a \$50 social security bonus coming. So let's extend an invitation to those

War I.

Isolated and inheriting a backward economy, the new Soviet state suffered the growth of a parasitic bureaucracy. Stalin became the spokesperson for this new layer and articulated its deeply conservative moods and outlook.

Communist parties around the world were transformed. They no longer looked to the world revolution, or to revolution in their own countries, but saw themselves as advance guards for Kremlin diplomacy. They became pressure groups, seeking an alliance with a "good" section of the capitalist class in the vain hope that this would allow the Soviet Union to develop in peace.

Just as the Bolsheviks and others



Militant/Ron Payne

SWP puts principles of working-class internationalism into practice

oldtimers, who can, to add their bit to this great party building fund. We have never had a better time to build for socialism than RIGHT NOW!"

Expanding the work of the SWP in the United States is not the only field of SWP activity. A revolutionary party in any country, and above all here, must be internationalist in its outlook and practice.

Internationalism has been the central dividing line between revolutionary and reformist currents in the socialist movement. The Second International of socialist parties was destroyed as a revolutionary organization when it turned its back on international working-class solidarity during World War I. At that time, the big socialist parties of Europe each supported "their own" governments in the imperialist slaughter.

So you had the spectacle of the German Social Democratic party telling German workers to kill French workers, and the French party telling French workers to kill German workers, all in the interests of the capitalists who were fighting over the division of the world's markets.

But not all socialists fell victim to this national chauvinism. The Russian Bolsheviks, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht in Germany, the left wing of the American Socialist party, and others denounced the war and "their own" governments' participation in it and called on the workers of the world to unite and rise up to put an end to the madness the warring imperialists had plunged the world into.

Their internationalism was fundamental to the Bolsheviks' ability to lead the Russian working class to power in the world's first successful proletarian revolution.

After the Russian Revolution, the internationalists were able to relaunch the revolutionary socialist international, the Third International. This new international, however, was not able to overcome the disorientation introduced by the betrayal of the Second International in time to lead to further revolutionary victories after World

had resisted the degeneration of the Second International, the Left Opposition in the world Communist movement fought the degeneration of the Third. Although these "Trotskyists" were subjected to the greatest campaign of slander and vilification ever launched in history, they upheld the heritage of Bolshevism, founding the Fourth International in 1938.

In this country, the pioneer Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist party for believing in the principles of working-class internationalism. The movement they founded was later to become the Socialist Workers party.

Although it is barred from membership in the Fourth International by reactionary legislation, the SWP is in sympathy with its objectives. In keeping with its fundamental internationalist program, the SWP engages in many projects that aid the development of revolutionary parties around the globe.

Part of the special Party Building Fund is going to help the SWP carry out this central task.

Scoreboard

Area	Goal
Atlanta	\$3,000
Boston	1,865
Brooklyn	3,700
Chicago	2,500
Cleveland	2,000
Detroit	200
Houston	2,100
L.A. (Central-East)	1,385
L.A. (West Side)	3,000
Lower Manhattan	5,000
Milwaukee	820
Oakland/Berkeley	2,500
Philadelphia	1,000
Pittsburgh	900
Portland, Ore.	730
St. Louis	1,200
San Diego	425
San Francisco	1,400
Twin Cities	1,500
Upper West Side, N.Y.	3,000
Washington, D.C.	2,200
Total	\$40,425

SWP campaign conference

S.F. socialist hails victory in Vietnam

By Linda Nordquist

SAN FRANCISCO—One hundred twenty people attended a Socialist Workers educational conference held here April 18-19. The highlight of the weekend's events was a banquet and rally Saturday evening in support of the Socialist Workers party candidates in San Francisco.

Roland Sheppard, SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco, hailed the revolutionary victories in Southeast Asia.

"The capitalist class tells working people that we can't win," Sheppard said. "But in this week we have witnessed the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Cambodia and Vietnam."

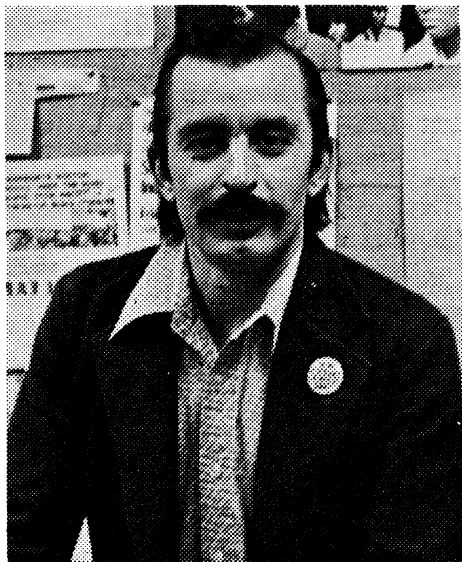
"The Democrats and Republicans try to undercut the power of our ideas by saying, 'These socialist candidates can't win.' Yet we are in the same position that the antiwar movement was in when it began—more and more people have a receptive ear to what we have to say."

"We may not win the vote this year but we will win more of the American people to socialism."

Sheppard, thirty-three, is a member of Painters Local 4 and a delegate from his local to the United Labor Action Committee. He was active in organizing labor support for major antiwar demonstrations on the West Coast.

Valerie Libby, SWP candidate for board of supervisors (San Francisco's city council), chaired the rally and introduced the full slate of candidates for the municipal elections. Running for board of supervisors on the SWP ticket are:

- Libby, twenty-six, San Francisco



Roland Sheppard, SWP candidate for mayor of San Francisco.

chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance and a member of Retail Clerks Local 1100;

- Juan Martínez, twenty-one, an activist in the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners;

- Jon Olmsted, twenty-five, member of Service Employees International Union Local 400;

- Julie Roberts, thirty-four, member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and

- Margery VanDerslice, twenty-one, student activist and leader of the YSA at California State University—San Francisco.

A featured speaker at the rally was Ed Heisler, a chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Cam-

paign Committee. Heisler had just completed a week-long speaking tour of the San Francisco area, where he spoke to 250 people on five college campuses, as well as to meetings of Painters Local 4 and of railroad workers. In nearby Fresno, an outdoor rally drew 150 people and two television stations to hear the socialist campaigner.

Twelve people joined the YSA during the week of campaign activities.

The weekend conference also included a panel discussion on FBI harassment and disruption programs. Sam Jordan, who was an independent Black candidate for mayor of San Francisco in 1963, was among the speakers.

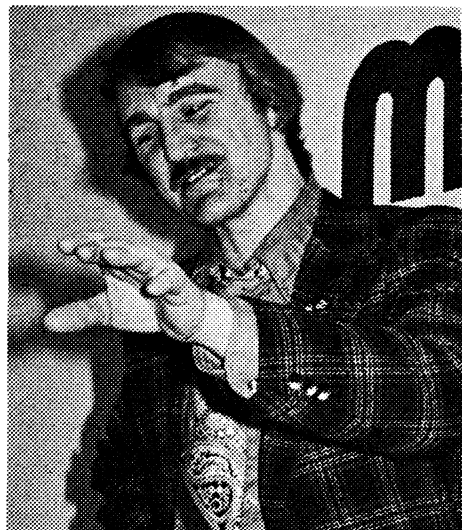
Recently revealed FBI documents show that FBI agents sent anonymous red-baiting letters to Jordan calling on him to "publicly denounce the SWP and completely cut them out of your campaign."

Jordan said he vividly recalled letters his supporters received designed to disrupt his campaign.

"We were just trying to present a humane program to the people of San Francisco," he said. "Their harassment went as far as election day, when people received phone calls saying, 'Don't vote for Jordan, he's not running anymore.'"

Bob Levering, a staff writer for the *Bay Guardian*, told of uncovering a police informer who admitted burglarizing and vandalizing the offices of San Francisco antiwar and political groups.

"When the informer, David Bronson, began to talk," Levering told the



Militant/Chris Smith

Ed Heisler, spokesperson for 1976 SWP campaign, addressed campus and union meetings in Bay Area.

conference, "he was immediately transferred from a minimum-security prison camp to San Quentin. Both the San Francisco Police Department and the FBI are obviously worried about what he might have to say."

Clifton DeBerry, SWP presidential candidate in 1964 and himself the target of a massive FBI harassment campaign, pointed to the likelihood of government involvement in the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

DeBerry also explained the growing challenges to U.S. imperialist rule—from colonial revolutions to the rise of the Black liberation struggle at home—that prompted the government's use of secret-police tactics.

30,000 Texas teachers rally for school aid

By Becky Ellis

AUSTIN, Tex.—About 30,000 Texas teachers gathered in Memorial Stadium here on April 26 for a rally sponsored by the Texas State Teachers Association. It was the first time teachers from every corner of the state had come together to demand more money for education.

"Where is Briscoe? Where is Briscoe?" was the chant as the rally began. Governor Dolph Briscoe, who opposes the teachers' demand for a \$10,000 starting salary, had ignored TSTA's invitation to attend the rally.

Briscoe claims that the teachers' demands will require new taxes for the people of Texas. In response, Larry Yawn, TSTA president-elect, said, "We can't afford a government which sees education as something that causes

new taxes."

Texas teachers receive an average salary of \$8,967, ranking them thirty-seventh in the country. Jewell Howard, president of TSTA, brought the crowd to its feet when she said teachers need a "fair salary so we won't have to resort to food stamps and moonlighting."

Although Texas is one of the wealthiest states in the country, it ranks very low in the amount of money spent on education. Several speakers called for taxing the corporations and large landowners in order to provide the needed funds for education. This received overwhelming approval from the crowd.

The proposal for a bilingual educational system in Texas was also met with a great deal of enthusiasm.

Several speakers pointed to the need to put equality into education.

Demetrio Rodríguez, a parent from San Antonio, was among the supporters at the rally. He is a leader in the fight against the inherent inequality of school funding based on local property taxes. Rodríguez pledged his full support to the demands of teachers.

A resolution from the University of Texas student senate was read at the rally. It gave its support to TSTA's "request for a living wage."

Other speakers at the rally included several teachers, two school board members, a representative from the Texas Parent-Teacher Association, the newly elected president of the Texas Student Education Association, the Texas commissioner of education, and

several state representatives and senators.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party campaign distributed 3,000 copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" to participants at the rally. A statement of support for the rally by Pedro Vásquez, SWP candidate for mayor of Houston, and Dan Fein, SWP candidate for Houston school board, was also distributed. In spite of harassment by police, campaign supporters were able to sell about 150 copies of the *Militant*.

Members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women attended the rally as did members of the Student Coalition Against Racism. SCAR activists distributed thousands of leaflets publicizing the May 17 national march on Boston to support school desegregation.

AFSCME unit endorses Por los Niños slate

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—The Por los Niños/Save the Children campaign to elect a pro-community-control school board in New York City's Community School District One moved into high gear as the May 6 election day approached.

On April 29, Victor Gotbaum, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, announced his union's official endorsement of the Por los Niños slate at a news conference.

Gotbaum's announcement received wide media coverage. An April 30 front-page headline in one of the country's largest-circulation Spanish-language newspapers, *El Diario*, read: "Líder Obrero Apoya Candidatos Pro Fuentas" (Workers' Leader Supports Pro-Fuentes Candidates). The Por los Niños candidates support the rein-

statement of Luis Fuentes, suspended superintendent of District One.

On April 24, columnist James Wechsler, discussing District Council 37's plans to support the Por los Niños slate, wrote in the *New York Post*: "Gotbaum's visible presence will not only help offset the material advantages UFT [United Federation of Teachers] provides for its slate. It should significantly defuse the spurious cry of 'anti-Semitism' that Shanker's forces have so fiercely exploited among Jewish residents in the district in the past campaigns. In these climactic pre-election days, it will be hard for UFT spokesmen to picture Vic Gotbaum, one of the city's most respected Jewish union leaders, as an ally of bigots."

Wechsler's column portrayed the District One struggle as "Shanker's Vietnam," and drew this conclusion:



Militant/Howard Petrick

AFSCME's GOTBAUM: Refutes charge that pro-community-control candidates are 'antiunion.'

"He can neither disperse nor pacify the diverse elements in the district that have long resisted and resented the UFT's power-plays. . . . To one who has followed events in District I closely for several years, it seems clearer than ever that this is a war Shanker cannot win, whatever happens on May 6."

The city's board of elections, made up of Democratic and Republican patronage appointees, treats the non-partisan community school board elections with thinly veiled contempt and drags its feet on counting the votes. In this electronic age where tens of millions of votes across an entire continent can be tabulated in a few hours, New York City will not begin counting the school board votes until two days after the election. The returns will be reported in the next week's *Militant*.

Feminists & Black leaders speak

Boston march supports Edelin, abortion rights

By Ann Teesdale

BOSTON—Hundreds of spirited demonstrators marched to the Massachusetts statehouse in Boston on May 3 chanting "Defend Dr. Edelin, defend abortion rights," and "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!"

The action was called to protest the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician accused of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion on a young Black woman. The demonstration and rally culminated a week of abortion-rights activities organized by the Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights (CDAR).

The rally swelled in size to more than 1,000 to hear the speeches of well-known feminist and civil rights leaders.

"When women were coming into hospitals in septic shock, with perforated wombs, and disemboweled by incompetent butchers, they made no fuss about abortion," Dr. Barbara Roberts told the crowd. "Only when abortions were safe and legal did the outcry begin. . . . And they wonder why the hand that once rocked the cradle is now clenched in a fist!"

"The trial of Dr. Kenneth Edelin," continued Roberts, a surgeon at Peter Bent Brigham hospital, "must be seen in the context of a nationwide campaign being waged against the right of women to abortion. Millions of dollars have been spent lobbying to outlaw abortions. Clinics have been harassed. What is at stake in this trial is not the fate of one outstanding physician but the fates of thousands of women who, for whatever reason, seek second-trimester abortions."

Marcia Codling, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against

Racism, pointed to the connection between the anti-abortion forces and the racists who are trying to prevent desegregation of the Boston schools. She urged those at the rally to join the Black community on May 17 in the demonstration called by the NAACP in support of desegregation of the Boston schools.

"The vengeance with which the jury shouted its verdict," said Pearl Shelton, speaking for Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, "shows this was no less than legislative lynching. I detect a strange coincidence between those who cry out for Dr. Edelin's blood on one hand and those who have been defying the federal court on desegregation on the other."

Florence Luscomb, an outspoken fighter for women's rights since 1892, hit the same theme when she told the crowd: "The most violent opponents of our cause call themselves ROAR. You know what that means? R-reactionaries, O-opposing, A-all, R-reforms. Reactionaries Opposing All Reforms."

ROAR, the racist, antibusing organization in Boston, broke up a rally for the Equal Rights Amendment at Faneuil Hall on April 9 and threatened the same for any future women's rights gatherings.

The May 3 abortion-rights rally, however, took place with no disruptions. This was due in part to the campaign by the organizers of the rally to gather statements from many individuals and organizations demanding that the city provide protection for the demonstration. CDAR activists also organized well-planned and visible marshaling of the demonstration.



Militant/Jon Hillson

May 3 demonstration culminated week of activities organized by Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights.

Other speakers at the rally included State Rep. Elaine Noble; poet Karen Lindsey; Vilma DiBiase from the Crittenden-Hastings House, an abortion clinic; and Lisa Ulry from CDAR. Greetings were read from Dr. Edelin; U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug; and Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president of the United States.

"It is no accident," said Reid's message, "that the assault on women's rights is being spearheaded here in Boston, because it is here in Boston that reactionary forces have mobilized against the rights of Black students to go to school. It is clear that the enemies of women and the enemies of

the Black community are one and the same. Women and Blacks can and will present a united defense of our rights. We can and will stand together and fight together."

Other activities in Boston during abortion-action week included a meeting of Black and other minority women to discuss their fight for abortion rights. This meeting was addressed by Dr. Edelin, who told those present, "You are not defending me. You are defending a woman's right to choose, and don't forget that."

A morning seminar on April 30 to discuss the special problems faced by high school women was attended by 125 people.

Protest FBI spying

N.Y. rally for Bill of Rights set for May 28

By Sandra Shapiro

Julian Bond, Leonard Boudin, and Anne Braden head the broad list of speakers scheduled for an "FBI vs. the Bill of Rights" rally set for May 28 in New York City. Called to protest recently exposed FBI attacks on the civil rights, antiwar, labor, and socialist movements, the rally is cosponsored by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the Political Rights Defense Fund. The event will be held at 8 p.m. in the Community Church of New York at Park Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street.

Since it was founded in 1951, the NECLC has sponsored many important civil liberties cases. The PRDF is gathering support and raising funds for a suit filed by the Socialist Workers

party and the Young Socialist Alliance to halt illegal government surveillance and harassment.

Julian Bond, a member of the Georgia legislature, was a founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which was one of the organizations in the forefront of the struggle against segregation in the South in the 1960s. The NECLC defended Bond against an attempt by racist legislators to deny him his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives when he was first elected in 1966.

Leonard Boudin, the country's foremost constitutional attorney, is representing the SWP and YSA in their case. Boudin successfully defended Daniel Ellsberg against charges growing out of the release of the Pentagon papers,

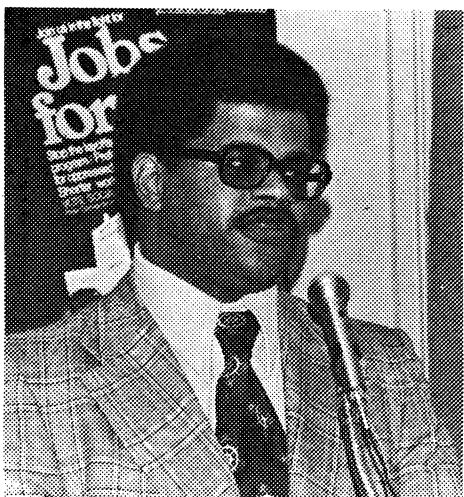
and he has handled a long list of other major civil liberties cases.

Anne Braden has long fought for civil rights in the South. She and her husband, Carl Braden, who recently died, first gained national prominence in 1954 when they were charged with attempting to overthrow the government of Kentucky after selling their home in an all-white section of Louisville to a Black family.

Mary Jo Cook, who has been in the news recently, will also speak. Last month Cook came forward to reveal that the FBI had recruited her to spy on the Attica Brothers defense committee. She denounced the FBI's violation of constitutional rights.

A highlight of the rally will be the appearance of two of the more well-known victims of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operation. Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta obtained files showing that the FBI had sent him an "anonymous" death threat while he was active in the civil rights movement in Mississippi. Socialist professor Morris Starsky was the victim of an FBI poison-pen letter plot designed to get him fired. He was subsequently dismissed from teaching positions at universities in Arizona and California.

Other speakers will include Henry Foner, president of the Joint Board, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers; Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association; and Paul Mayer of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, which recently endorsed the PRDF suit.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta (left) and civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin will be among speakers at May 28 rally in New York.



Order your tickets now

Plan now to attend the May 28 rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Rally speakers will host a reception preceding the program.

A ten-dollar ticket for both the reception and the rally is available. Both events are at the Community Church, located at Park Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street in New York. The reception is set for 7 p.m. and the rally for 8 p.m. All proceeds go to the NECLC and the PRDF.

Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ ticket(s). (\$10 for reception and rally, \$1.50 for the rally alone.)

Enclosed is a contribution of \$_____ to help the NECLC and the PRDF.

____ Please send me information about the projects of the NECLC and the PRDF.

Name _____

Address _____

City/state/zip _____

Clip and mail to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

The Cointelpro Papers (Part 7)

The FBI and Clifton DeBerry

By Nelson Blackstock

(This is the second half of an account of the FBI's attack on Clifton DeBerry.)

When Clifton DeBerry arrived back in Chicago in 1950, one of the first things he intended to do was to look up the Socialist Workers party. For several years he had belonged to the Communist party, and he had just returned from the founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati, where he had opposed the CP's attempt to derail the emerging Black caucus movement in the unions.

DeBerry was approaching an important turning point in his life. He would soon join the SWP. In 1964 he would be the party's candidate for president of the United States and would become a prime target of the FBI's Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") operation.

The recent court-ordered release of secret files concerning the FBI's attempt to wreck the SWP and its election campaigns publicly exposed the FBI's conspiracy against DeBerry. In an attempt to discredit his campaign, this country's political police sought to use the record of DeBerry's arrests for "labor trouble" during the trade-union battles of the 1940s.

Sensing that these arrests might do little to discredit him in the eyes of many working people, the FBI engineered a new arrest of DeBerry in 1963. What the Cointelpro papers reveal about this will be explained later.

International Harvester

DeBerry belonged to the CP unit at the International Harvester plant where he worked in Chicago. The CP led the United Electrical Workers local

there. Even before running into the SWP, DeBerry had already developed a number of political differences with the CP.

Nevertheless, DeBerry remained chairperson of the shop-steward body, which had more than 100 members.

As DeBerry moved closer to the SWP and began to raise political questions with the Stalinist leadership of the Communist party, the pressure on him mounted. The CP began to bring in "specialists" who tried to persuade DeBerry politically of the error of his ways. When that failed, the CP tried other methods.

"I ran into a couple of dudes from the neighborhood hanging around the gates in front of the plant," DeBerry recalled in a recent interview. "I happened to ask them what they were up to, and they told me they were there to 'educate' somebody. After a little probing I discovered they were being paid to 'educate' me."

"I convinced them that they should collect the money from the people who had put them up to this but there was no need to do the job."

Not long after this things came to a head. There was an impending strike, which the CP was desperately trying to avert. The stewards' body voted to go out, and since the CP-controlled leadership had made no provisions for a strike, the stewards were forced to assume organizational responsibility.

But the combination of a demoralizing scandal over the CP's misuse of union funds, a House Un-American Activities Committee visit to Chicago to red-bait the union, and a well-organized strikebreaking effort led to the defeat of the strike.

"After we went back I was fired," DeBerry said. "I've always thought the CP and the company got together to

get rid of me, partly because other CP members on the executive board were retained."

The country was in the grip of the McCarthyite witch-hunt, and years before the incidents documented in the Cointelpro papers, DeBerry became familiar with the way the FBI operates. "I would get a job, and it would only last three days. I would go from one job to another, and it would be the same story. The FBI would visit my boss, and I would be fired."

DeBerry finally managed to hang on to a job when a stubborn employer refused to fire him. Nonetheless, he was told that FBI agents continued to come around every three or four days to "check up" on him. DeBerry eventually got into painting, and he remains a painter by trade.

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court handed down its historic decision on school desegregation. Soon the country would witness a new Black civil rights movement and the opening stages of a new radicalization. At this time the

segregation. DeBerry threw himself into building the Woolworth boycott in Brooklyn.

In the early 1960s a Black nationalist mood was becoming visible in the ghettos of the North, and no one better articulated this new consciousness than Malcolm X.

"We began to make contact with Malcolm when he was still the main spokesman for the Nation of Islam," DeBerry said. "In late 1963 I went on a speaking tour. Malcolm was touring at the same time, and I would go to see him whenever I could."

It was during a tour stop in Chicago that the FBI arranged to have DeBerry arrested in order to create a scandal they hoped to use to discredit him. Just as DeBerry was about to address a socialist meeting, the Chicago police stormed into the building, hauled him to the station, and booked him on charges of nonsupport of his ex-wife.

There are many censored passages throughout the Cointelpro papers, but there are entire pages concerning this



Clifton DeBerry marching in antiwar demonstration while candidate for president in 1964. Lyndon Johnson was hailed as a peace candidate, but soon after elections, escalation in war began.

central arena of DeBerry's political activity shifted from the trade-union movement to another arena of the class struggle.

DeBerry was active in the Chicago chapter of the NAACP and in the Washington Park Forum, a Black community organization. In 1955, news of the lynching of Emmett Till, a Black youth from Chicago, jolted the Black community. Till was murdered by racists while visiting relatives in Mississippi. DeBerry was instrumental in organizing a mass meeting to protest the lynching.

The 1955-56 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott to end segregation on the buses signaled the beginning of the civil rights movement. In Chicago, DeBerry organized a Station-Wagons-to-Montgomery Committee, which raised funds to purchase vehicles for use by boycotters.

DeBerry personally delivered one of the station wagons to Montgomery, where he stayed at the home of E.D. Nixon. Like DeBerry, Nixon was a veteran of the union movement who brought his organizational and political know-how to the new Black civil rights struggle. Nixon was actually the central organizer of the boycott.

"I talked with Nixon about the boycott movement, how it originated, how it functioned, and what they expected to gain," DeBerry recalled. "For the first time I met Dr. Martin Luther King, who had been persuaded to enter the fight by Nixon."

In 1960 DeBerry moved to New York. That same year a sit-in movement to desegregate public accommodations began in the South. Supporters of the desegregation fight organized a boycott of the Woolworth chain in cities outside the South in a successful attempt to bring added pressure to end

operation that were totally blank when they were turned over to the SWP by the FBI. These blank pages obviously detailed the maneuvers the FBI engaged in to engineer DeBerry's arrest.

The FBI followed up this arrest by devoting enormous attention to trying to get the news media to report both this incident and DeBerry's earlier arrests for "labor trouble."

On January 7, 1964, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party announced the nomination of DeBerry as the SWP's candidate for president.

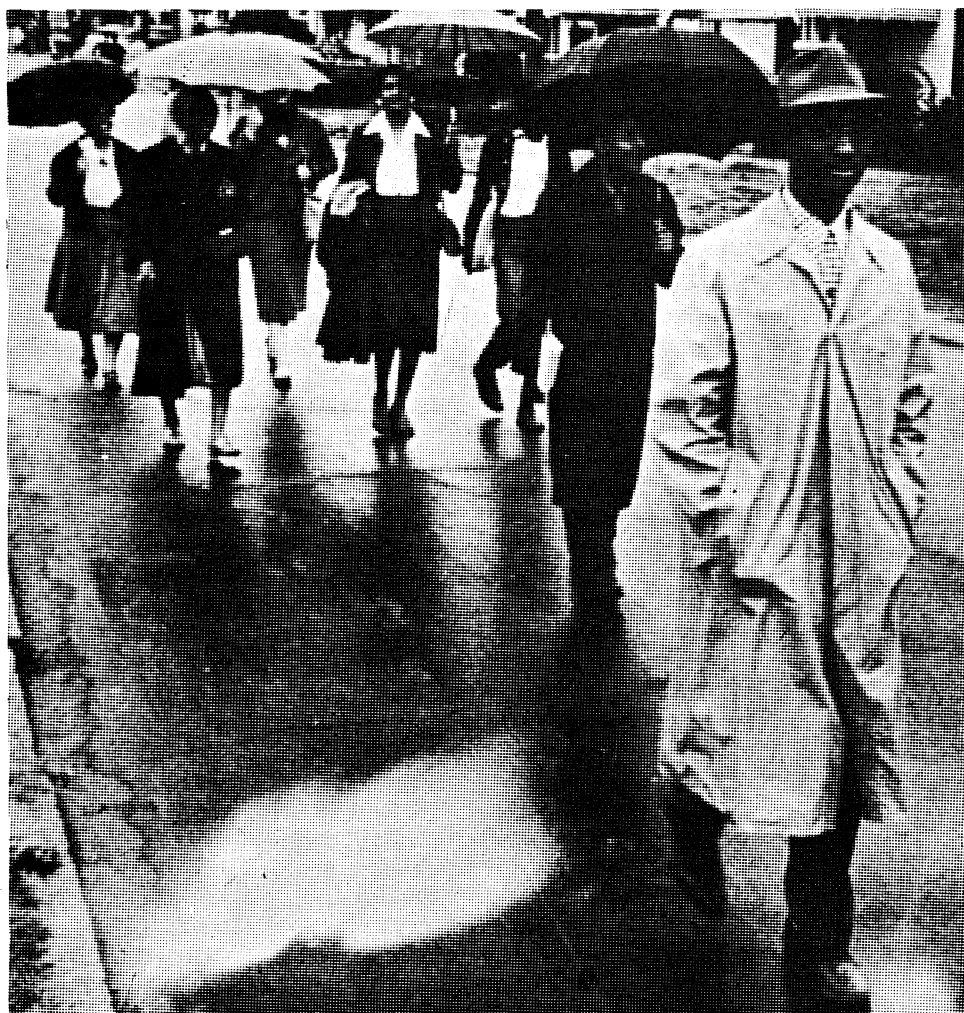
Lyndon Johnson was running for reelection, and he was opposed by Barry Goldwater. Johnson campaigned as a "peace candidate" who was opposed to escalating the war, while Goldwater favored increased bombing. Most Americans took Johnson's peace rhetoric for good coin, and he won a landslide victory.

Virtually the entire Left supported Johnson's candidacy. Among the most enthusiastic backers of the Democratic candidate were the members of the CP, whose attitude was summed up in the title of a pamphlet by Gus Hall: *The Eleventh Hour—Defeat The New Fascist Threat!*

The SWP, in contrast, clearly nailed Johnson as the imperialist warrior he was. The historical record now shows how right the SWP was.

Gulf of Tonkin

The Gulf of Tonkin incident occurred in August 1964. A supposed Vietnamese attack on U.S. ships off the coast of North Vietnam provided the excuse for rushing a special resolution through Congress. It was under the authority of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution that Johnson and the subsequent presidents committed the United



Montgomery, Alabama, Blacks walk to work during 1955-56 bus boycott. DeBerry organized Station-Wagons-to-Montgomery Committee in Chicago to aid boycotters in their fight to end segregation on buses.

States to a massive military intervention in Vietnam.

DeBerry charged that the whole thing had been set up by the White House and the Pentagon. "The incidents between the U.S. destroyer and the PT boats were the pretext, not the cause, of the U.S. air attack," DeBerry said at the time. Several years later the Pentagon papers would prove that he was totally correct.

"We of the Socialist Workers party say get all the troops, planes, and warships out of Vietnam—North and South," DeBerry demanded. "If as Johnson claims their purpose is to 'protect democracy,' then send them to Mississippi and let them do some protecting of Black Americans there."

While the FBI was secretly plotting against the Black presidential candidate, he was publicly blasting the FBI. After the disappearance of three civil rights workers slain by racists in Mississippi, DeBerry exposed the complicity of the FBI.

Local cops, who were involved in the murders, had held the three in jail before they were killed. "While the three kidnapped youths were in jail in Philadelphia, Mississippi, their co-workers became fearful for their safety, and telephoned the FBI in Jackson. The FBI agent . . . refused to help and told the rights fighters that he wouldn't have any more dealings with them," DeBerry said.

In July 1964 a group of major civil rights leaders, including Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, issued a call for a "moratorium" on civil rights demonstrations until after election day. The purpose was to make it easier for Johnson to hold on to the racist vote, which was threatening to go to Goldwater.

DeBerry condemned the move: "This is the surest way for Negroes to get nothing. . . . Black people must develop independent political force. That's the only way they can be a power and the only way they can defend themselves against the attacks of the racists which will come whether Johnson or Goldwater is elected."

When Malcolm X, who was in Egypt at the time, heard about the moratorium, he had a similar reaction. The Black leaders "have sold themselves out and become campaign managers in the Negro community for Lyndon Johnson," he charged.

Malcolm X

During this period DeBerry's relationship with Malcolm continued to develop. "After his break with the Nation of Islam, I used to meet with him almost every Saturday when he was in the country. We would have discussions about politics—often comparing notes and checking up on what each other had been hearing about the developing nationalist response among Blacks," DeBerry recalled.

At the suggestion of Malcolm and his collaborator, James Shabazz, DeBerry spoke at a couple of classes at the Muslim Mosque, Inc., which Malcolm headed.

"We were again touring at the same time, and our paths would often criss-cross. Whenever I could I would attend his speeches. While he was too busy to make it to mine, he would send someone over," DeBerry remembered. "We had that kind of relationship."

A few months later Malcolm would be assassinated. The FBI's role in that event is a story that is yet to be told.

Did DeBerry have any suspicion about the FBI's behind-the-scenes moves during his campaign? "One thing comes to mind. At the Chicago police station, when I was arrested on the nonsupport charge, I ran into a cop I knew. He had been on the labor squad during some of my earlier runs with the Chicago police. At one point while they were booking me, there was no one else around except the two of us. In a confidential tone he told me, 'Somebody who is high up is really interested in you.'"

The Cointelpro Papers

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Re report of SA RALPH D. HARMON at Chicago dated 11/10/63, captioned, "CLIFTON S. DE BERRY, aka, SM - SWP."

The 11/18/63 issue of "The Militant," page eight, column three, carried an article entitled, "Negro Socialist Opens National Speaking Tour." In summary, this article states that CLIFTON DE BERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn Councilman-at-large, has begun a coast-to-coast speaking tour. In the election last week which drew few people to the polls DE BERRY received 3,514 votes.

At the 1/17/63 Chicago Branch, Socialist Workers Party (CDSWP), meeting it was announced that, in connection with a national tour, DE BERRY would visit Chicago from 12/4 to 12/7/63. It was stated that during this time DE BERRY would speak at Wilson Junior College, Northwestern University, Roosevelt University and at Navy Pier (University of Illinois) on 12/4/63. DE BERRY was to attend a Militant Labor Forum on 12/6/63 and a social was to be held in his honor on 12/7/63.

FBI

Date: 12/19/63

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBuairtel, 12/17/63.

On 12/6/63, CLIFTON DE BERRY was arrested at Chicago on a non-support charge and placed on \$1,000 bond. DE BERRY's hearing was scheduled for 12/9/63. After a reasonable time Chicago will ascertain disposition of this case through established sources.

SAC, New York

9/14/64

Director, FBI

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reurlet August 24, 1964.

The Bureau has re-evaluated its contacts relative to the derogatory information concerning Clifton DeBerry. The Bureau, of course, cannot insist that such material be used; however, it is possible that through this additional contact the information may subsequently be used. You should consequently advise the Bureau of any information concerning the use of the material.

NOTE:

In April, 1964, the New York Office recommended and the Bureau approved the release to certain public sources information of a derogatory nature concerning Clifton DeBerry. DeBerry is a functionary of the SWP and is its candidate for President of the United States in 1968. The derogatory information referred to past arrests of DeBerry on nonsupport charges of his wife and children and also information relative to his living with the daughter of the National Secretary of the SWP.

The Crime Records Division released this information to a press source, however, there is no indication it has ever been used. Crime Records Division has advised that it has re-evaluated its contact to the DeBerry material and it is hoped something will now be done with it.

SAC, New York

5/7/65

Director, FBI

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reference is made to New York letters dated 4/22/65 and 3/25/64, and Bureau letter to New York dated 9/14/64.

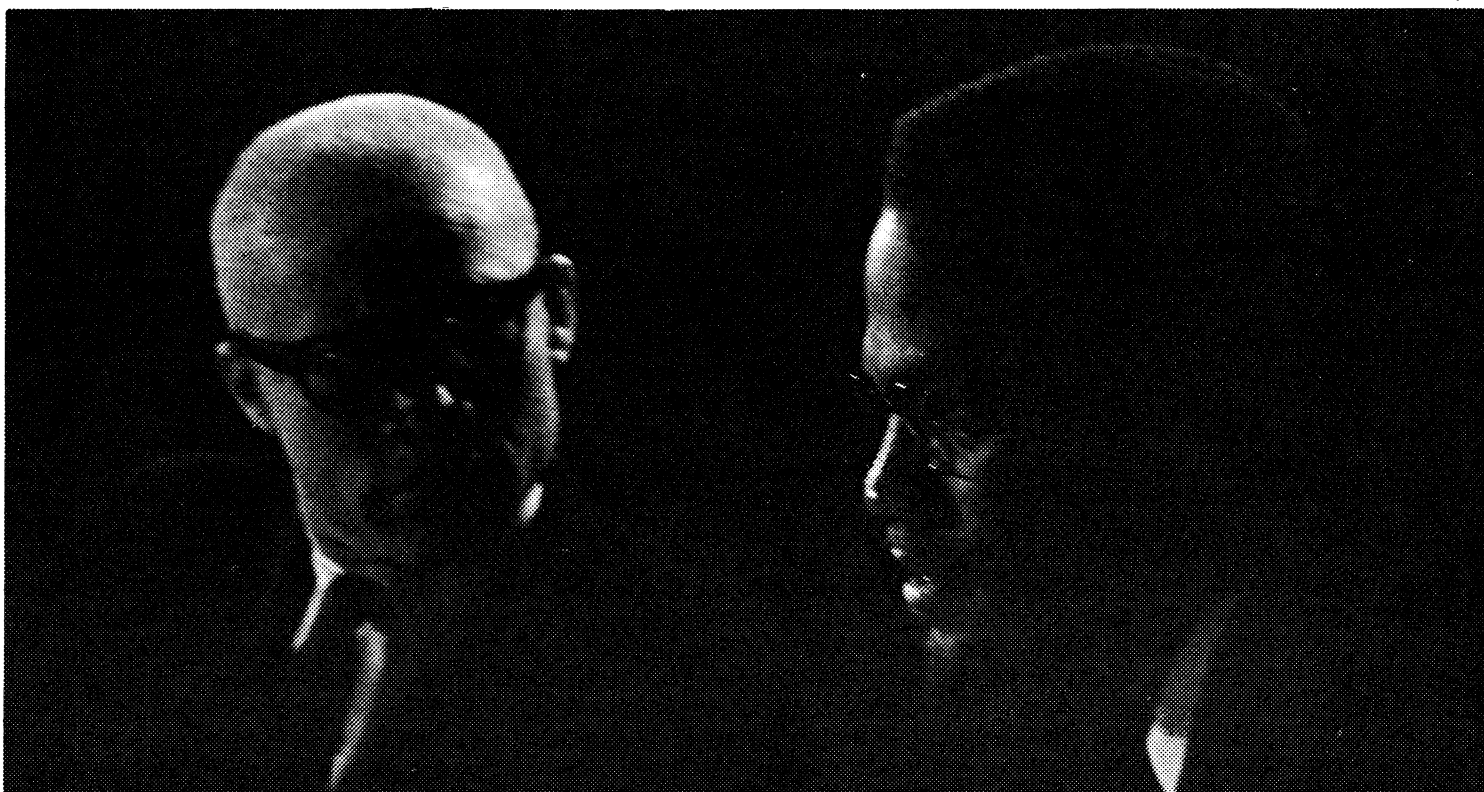
On two occasions the derogatory information concerning Clifton DeBerry has been brought to the attention of Bureau contacts. However, these contacts have not seen fit to use the information. Therefore, no further effort will be made to obtain a release of this information through these contacts.

New York is requested to submit a recommendation regarding the use of this derogatory material in an anonymous letter as set forth in referenced New York letter of 4/22/65.

NOTE:

On two occasions derogatory information concerning Clifton DeBerry was furnished to Bureau contacts for possible use in newspapers to discredit DeBerry's campaign for the President of the United States in 1968 on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. DeBerry is now running for the position of Mayor of New York City. New York has suggested this derogatory material be again brought to the attention of Bureau contacts. Inasmuch as this material was not utilized by Bureau contacts on two previous occasions, no effort is being made to again bring the information to the attention of these contacts.

Document 1: FBI noted DeBerry's tour schedule in Chicago in first page of group of documents. Following pages of this memo were almost totally censored, but evidently contained proposal to have DeBerry arrested while in Chicago. Document 2: Chicago FBI reports DeBerry's arrest to FBI director. Document 3: Nine months after arrest, FBI appears exasperated at failure of press to print its slanders. Document 4: In May 1965, FBI decided to mail 'anonymous' letter to get dirt into media.



Clifton DeBerry with Malcolm X. Cointelpro papers reveal secret FBI moves to wreck Black socialist's campaign for president. FBI role in murder of Malcolm remains a mystery.

Warm response at N.Y. rally

Coral winds up successful U.S. tour

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral successfully completed his two-month speaking tour of the United States with an April 30 city-wide meeting here of more than 300 people at the church of St. John the Divine.

As has been the case at many of his meetings, there was a sizable percentage of enthusiastic young Latinos in the audience who interrupted his talk several times with applause even before the interpreter had a chance to translate into English what Coral was saying.

Coral, a leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), spoke on repression and right-wing terror in Argentina. He not only denounced the right-wing violence that has taken several hundred lives in the past year in Argentina, but he also explained the real causes of this violence and his opinions on how it can be combated.

He said that the capitalist press and ruling classes of Latin American and imperialist countries systematically cover up not only the facts of repression and violence in his country but also the roots of these antidemocratic attacks.

He pointed out that the repression and right-wing terror are intended to silence those who fight against the imperialist exploitation of semicolonial countries. "It is the last desperate resource of the capitalists," he said, "when they can no longer fool the workers with propaganda." These remarks were met with warm applause.

But the loudest and most sustained wave of cheering and applause came when he pointed to the example of the Vietnamese as proof that the working and oppressed people of semicolonial countries would be victorious despite government repression, right-wing violence, and U.S. military intervention.

Role of USLA

Since it was his last appearance in this country, Coral used the occasion to thank publicly the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which had organized the tour as part of its ongoing work in defense of democratic rights in Latin America.

He also appealed for further international protests around Argentina, pointing to the example of Chile as proof of the effectiveness of such activities:



Militant/Tom Bias

Annette Rubinstein, active in civil liberties causes since 1930s, introduced Coral at New York meeting.

"When the brutality of the Chilean junta temporarily succeeded in crushing all resistance within that country," he said, "it was only the activities of international solidarity carried out by groups like USLA and Amnesty International that led to such important victories as the freeing of hundreds of political prisoners."

Coral denounced the growing danger of a right-wing coup in Argentina and said this "even more somber and tragic possibility" necessitated a redoubling of international protests.

Coral also used his last meeting to offer some personal impressions of the country gathered while he was on tour. He pointed to the Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Latinos, saying that the upsurge of nationalist consciousness among them was part of a continent-wide phenomenon.

"The Latin American masses," he said, "have begun to lose the old inferiority complex imposed for centuries by the ruling classes and have exchanged it for a new feeling of national pride and affirmation in being Latin American."

He also said he had been pleased to find a wide layer of people in the United States who were interested in Latin American politics and willing to protest events such as those occurring in his country today.

Coral finished his remarks by saying he would be returning to Argentina now that the tour was over, despite the fact that he is one of the few remaining survivors of the original list of several dozen "sentenced to death" by a right-wing terrorist gang, the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance.

He said he was doing this "not because I am unconscious of the danger and much less because I am a hero," but because he felt it was his duty to participate in the struggles of the Argentine working class, and because he was convinced the working and oppressed people in Argentina would win.

Coral was introduced at the meeting by Annette Rubinstein, a member of USLA's National Executive Board who first became active in support of civil liberties around the issue of Spain in the 1930s.

Gloria Waldman, a professor of Latin American and women's studies at York College in New York City, spoke about the frame-up of several feminists in Spain. She had just returned from Spain, where she interviewed the women.

Ramón Leonardo, a protest singer from the Dominican Republic, had also been scheduled to appear at the meeting, but the U.S. government refused to allow him to enter the country.

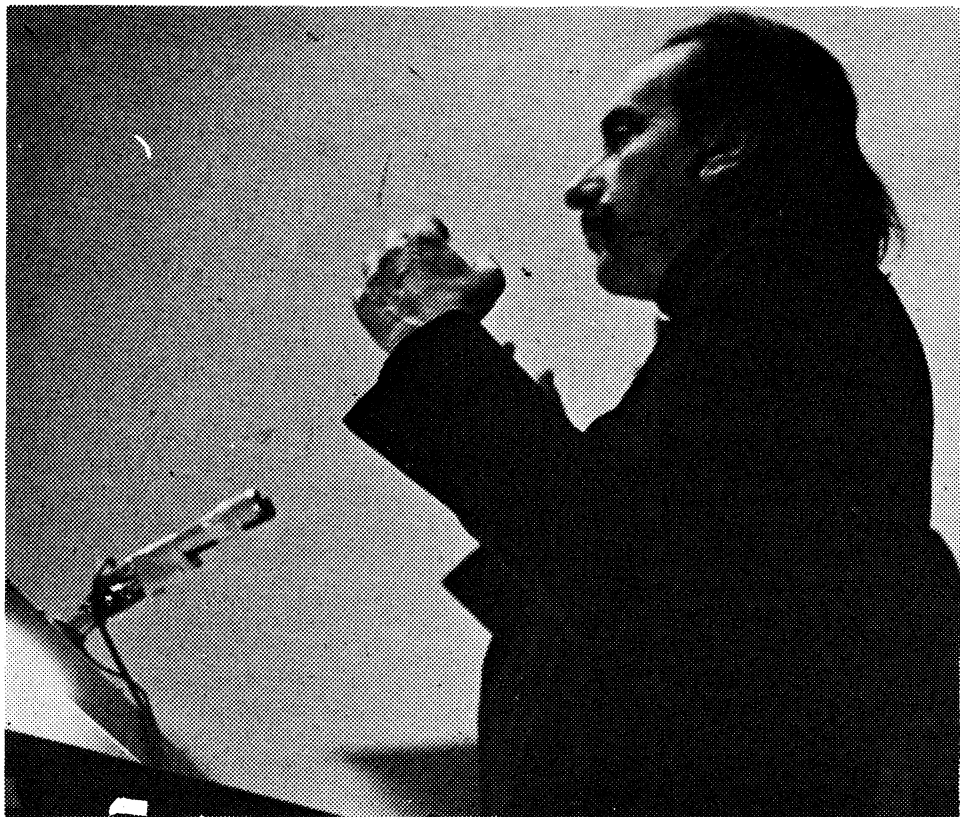
Other meetings

Coral arrived in New York after visiting cities across the country.

- In Denver he spoke to eighty-five people at the International House and at a campus meeting on the Metro State College campus, where nearly all the students and faculty members in attendance were Chicanos.

- A quick tour through Atlanta April 3 and 4 included campus meetings at Emory University and Georgia State University, as well as several news interviews.

- In Washington, D.C., he spoke at an April 11 city-wide meeting of 200 people at All Souls Church. About half of the audience were Latinos, including a number of Argentines. During the question-and-answer period after Coral's presentation, there was a lively discussion on the role of the Peronist



Militant/Bill Lerman

Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral addressing University of Minnesota meeting. During two-month tour, Coral spoke to audiences totaling more than 6,000 people.

movement in Argentina.

- In Boston, he spoke to a city-wide forum of about 200 people held at Boston University April 16. Messages of solidarity were read by Guerdes Fleurant of the Haitian Action Committee, Maria Morrison of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, and representatives of the Movement for a New Dominica and the Chile Action Group.
- In Minneapolis, Coral spoke April 18 to 200 people at the University of Minnesota. The meeting was preceded by a reception attended by faculty members from the university.

- Coral gave two speeches during a brief stop in Ohio April 21 and 22. One was at Cleveland State University and the other at Kent State University. People came from as far away as Pittsburgh to hear Coral at Kent State.

- Finally, before beginning his week-long visit of New York, he stopped in Philadelphia for an April 23 forum at the International House of the University of Pennsylvania. The event was cosponsored by thirty prominent individuals and organizations and was attended by 100 people.

No disruptions

An important part of the preparations for all the meetings was the organization of sizable marshaling squads. This was necessitated by an attack on one of Coral's first appearances in the United States, in Chicago, by fifty ultrarightist Cuban exiles.

It later became known that the Chicago cops had known about the planned disruption beforehand, but they didn't have any police visible at the meeting nor did they warn the organizers of the threat.

USLA organized large groups of monitors for all meetings and demanded police protection for all subsequent meetings. Thanks to these efforts, there were no more attempts at disruption.

Among the most enthusiastic meetings were those with Chicano and Puerto Rican audiences. In Denver, Coral's tour was highlighted by a visit to a school operated by the Crusade for Justice, Escuela Tlatelolco. There he spoke to a school assembly and was given a tour of the building by Crusade for Justice leader Corky Gonzales.

Coral told this reporter he had been

surprised by the degree of radicalism of both the students at Tlatelolco and at Crystal City High School, in the Rio Grande Valley, where he spoke to 500 Chicanos in mid-March.

Coral was given a very warm reception also by 100 Latino students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst. The campus Latino organization, Ahora, had brought Coral in as the keynote speaker for Latin American Week.

Another example was an April 25 New York meeting of 175 cosponsored by USLA and the Comité Unitario 24 de abril. The 'Comité Unitario is a coalition of Dominican civil liberties and left-wing groups, formed to commemorate the 1965 uprising in Santo Domingo, which was crushed by an invasion of U.S. Marines.

At many of his meetings, but particularly those in which Latinos were predominant, there was an extensive discussion during the question-and-answer period of revolutionary strategy and tactics in Latin America.

Coral not only opposed the so-called peaceful roads to socialism, which he called "utopian," but also the strategy of guerrilla warfare isolated from the masses, which he classified as "suicidal." He explained that history had shown both by positive and negative examples that the only strategy that really works is the organization of the workers and all the oppressed under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

News coverage

In addition to speaking directly to more than 6,000 people, Coral reached countless others through numerous radio, television, and newspaper interviews.

The newspapers that interviewed him ranged from the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, which interviewed him in Washington, D.C. Many campus newspapers carried coverage of his meetings.

One of the more interesting radio shows resulting from Coral's tour was put together by Paz Cohen of Pacifica radio's Washington bureau. The program counterposed excerpts from a speech given by the Argentine ambassador to the United States to comments by Coral on the same issues.

World Outlook

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

MAY 16, 1975

Cover-ups & laundered money in 1917

New facts on U.S. secret war against the Bolsheviks

By David Frankel

Secret wars, cover-ups and laundered money, according to some U. S. liberals, are aberrations of the Vietnam era and Watergate. But researchers at Auburn University in Alabama have unearthed a conspiracy dating from 1917 whose script would require only minor alteration to bring it into line with more recent scenarios.

The Auburn scholars, in the course of studying State Department records on microfilm, found documentary proof that United States intervention against the Bolshevik revolution did not begin in July 1918, as was previously thought, but was initiated almost immediately after the Bolsheviks came to power.

By December 1917, one month after the revolution, the government of President Woodrow Wilson had begun to secretly finance the formation of counterrevolutionary armies and to set up an espionage apparatus as a preliminary step along the road to more open intervention.

According to a report on the Auburn research in the January 12 issue of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, on December 10, 1917, U. S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing "proposed to Wilson that the United States inform the anti-Bolshevik group led by Cossack chief Alexey Maximovich Kaledin of its nonrecognition of the Bolsheviks and its readiness to recognize a government capable of restoring order in Russia and carrying out Russia's role in the war against Germany. Lansing said Kaledin must be given hope of moral and material aid from the United States. Financing was not to be done openly, but through loans to the British and French. President Wilson approved of this approach.

"Treasury Department representative Oliver T. Crosby was directed to consult with British and French authorities, but he was instructed to stress the importance of secrecy concerning the American role."

110 Tons of Silver

That same month Washington authorized the use of government funds to finance the printing of 3.9 billion rubles—the equivalent of \$1 billion in 1917 dollars—for the deposed Provisional Government. Also in December 1917, the U. S. government transferred 110 tons of bar silver to the White forces through the British.

Crosby sent Treasury Secretary William McAdoo and Lansing a telegram from London on February 14, 1918, according to the Auburn historians. The cable reported that "3,668,652 ounces bar silver purchased out of funds advanced by the United States government was handed over by Rus-



Soldiers of Red Army facing counterrevolutionary firing squad. Washington paid for the bullets.

sians to British in San Francisco." After being minted into coins, the silver was to be sent to southern Russia to pay troops who would not accept paper rubles.

The U. S. money going to the White Guards was laundered by having Russian counterrevolutionaries in the United States handle all aid. This was done by cycling the money through a \$60 million account set up in a U. S. bank by the Provisional Government before its overthrow.

While these financial maneuvers were going on, U. S. diplomats in Russia were busy setting up a full-scale intelligence network. Lansing asked the U. S. ambassador in Petrograd "for detailed political, military and military-political information from all parts of Russia" in late December 1917, the *Journal and Constitution Magazine* reported.

In March 1918, "the secretary of state in effect bypassed the ambassador and put Maddin Summers, the American consul-general in Moscow, to work on the intelligence-gathering task. Lansing told Summers to employ National City Bank and International Harvester representatives already in Russia 'as far as practicable' and to 'spare no reasonable expense' to keep the State Department regularly and fully informed of what was going on in Russia."

The intelligence network was established, and it prepared the way for the open intervention of 7,000 U. S. troops on the side of the counterrevolution. The first American troops arrived in Siberia in August 1918, but as the State Department's own records reveal, the policy under which they were sent had really been formulated in secret eight months earlier.

This fact allows us to appreciate the full hypocrisy of Wilson's "Fourteen Points," written in December 1917. The first of these proposals called for "open covenants of peace, openly ar-

rived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

Although the pretext for intervention against the Bolsheviks was the necessity to counter German war plans in northern Russia, American troops were not finally withdrawn until early in 1920. The U. S. contingent was part of an invading force of about one million foreign troops. The U. S. force together with 72,000 Japanese troops and about 30,000 British and French, held the main Siberian ports. On the southern front, the governments of France and Britain each had 140,000 troops; Rumania, 190,000; Italy, 40,000; Greece, 200,000; and Serbia, 140,000.

However, the main imperialist powers generally followed a policy of leaving the fighting to the White armies. As E. H. Carr explained in Volume III of his *History of Soviet Russia*:

"In January 1919 when the allied statesmen, assembled in Paris for the peace conference, discussed the occupation of Russia by allied troops, the British Prime Minister bluntly assured his colleagues that 'if he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for that purpose, the armies would mutiny', and that, 'if a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks, that would make England Bolshevik and there would be a Soviet in London'."

'Serious Mutinies'

Carr says: "Serious mutinies in the first months of 1919 in the French fleet and in French military units landed in Odessa and other Black Sea ports led to an enforced evacuation at the beginning of April. Of the troops of several nationalities under British command on the Archangel front the Director of Military Operations at the War Office reported in March 1919 that their morale was 'so low as to

render them a prey to the very active and insidious Bolshevik propaganda which the enemy are carrying out with increasing energy and skill'."

There was also opposition in the United States, despite the anti-Bolshevik witch-hunt whipped up by the Wilson government. Harvey O'Connor describes one example in his book *Revolution in Seattle*:

A Curious Export

"Early in October [1919], came a mysterious shipment by rail, a trainload of 50 freight cars, destination Vladivostok, and labeled 'sewing machines.' It seemed a curious export to a country in the throes of civil war. A longshore crew, suspicious of the cargo, allowed a crate to crash on the dock. Out spewed stacks of rifles, bound for the Kolchak counter-revolutionary government. Upon inquiry it became evident that this was no mere private shipment of 'hardware.' The United States government, no less, had chartered a ship, inappropriately named the 'Delight,' to take this cargo of munitions consigned by Remington Arms to Kolchak. The longshoremen's union announced that its members would not touch the hot cargo and that any dock that attempted to move it would be under permanent boycott."

The extent of the counterrevolutionary intervention can be gauged by Prime Minister Lloyd George's admission in the House of Commons that Britain alone spent the equivalent of \$500 million in aid to the White armies.

Although more modest CIA "destabilization" efforts were later to prove successful in overthrowing regimes such as Allende's in Chile and Mosaddegh's in Iran, the imperialists did not succeed in their attempt to strangle the first workers state. They did manage to inflict incalculable human anguish and cause millions of deaths,

Continued on next page

On eve of elections

Reformist parties in Portugal compete in servility to military

By Gerry Foley

LISBON, April 25—The electoral campaign here culminated in a dramatic competition in the streets between the Communist and Socialist parties, with each trying to out-mobilize the other in giant rallies and demonstrations. At least here in the country's main center, this rivalry has overshadowed everything else.

The walls are dominated by CP and SP posters. The great majority of the political emblems the people in the streets wear are those of these two parties. CP and SP car caravans have been roaming the streets, with horns blowing and red flags flying from their windows.

The street vendors specialize in trinkets bearing the hammer and sickle of the CP and the clenched, raised fist of the SP.

As far as outward signs go, the bourgeois forces seem almost out of the contest. Probably their support at this stage is mostly passive—waiting to be expressed at the ballot box. In any case, they have not yet shown the capacity or the desire to mobilize large numbers of people. At the same time, both the conservative and liberal-bourgeois parties have apparently taken advantage of the campaign to accelerate the formation of goon squads.

The rightist Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center) had distinguished itself for some time by such activity. On April 17, the liberal Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party) staged a commando raid against students in the Padre António Vieira High School here, a center of left-wing activity.

The SP Rally April 20

In the last week of the campaign, the SP effort picked up momentum and appeared to catch up somewhat with the CP activity. The SP's last spurt of energy culminated Sunday, April 20, in a march through the city ending in a rally in the Estádio Primeiro de Maio. This is the huge soccer stadium on the outskirts of the city that was the focus of the vast demonstration held a year ago to celebrate the fall of the Salazarist regime. The organizers of the SP demonstration estimated the number of participants at more than 100,000. The bourgeois papers in Lisbon, which no longer try to give definite estimates of the size of crowds at political affairs,

said only that "tens of thousands of persons were present."

The slogans started up by party activists left no doubt that the SP, like the CP, was intent on making a show of strength: "Assim, se conhece a força do PS" (So, you see the power of the SP), "Aqui vai só um, o PS e mais ninguém" (We're all SP here, there's nobody else).

Like the CP demonstration at the Palácio de São Bento a few days before, the SP rally was billed as a demonstration of gratitude to the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) for the latest nationalizations.

In his speech closing the rally, the party's general secretary, Mário Soares, said: "Today comrades, we dedicate this demonstration to our comrades in the MFA, to tell them that we are with them in freedom, with the revolution, with the progress of our country, with the socialist reforms—but in tranquillity, in order, in peace, and above all in liberty."

'Order' a Theme

The theme of "order" has been an undertone in the SP campaign. In fact, at times SP leaders have said that the greatest danger to the country is not dictatorship but "anarchy." However, "liberty" has apparently been the party's biggest drawing card. The SP cars touring the city for the last few days have been broadcasting the slogan "Vota PS, vota liberdade."

The friction between the MFA and the SP has not been discussed as much or as openly in the Portuguese papers as it has in the international press. But there has been an undercurrent of rumors and oblique references to this. It was widely believed on the left, and apparently by some members of the party itself, that the official report on the March 11 attempted coup would implicate some SP members. The report, which was released two days before the elections, did not do so, however. Instead, it reestablished the SP as a "party of the revolution" by saying that the plotters had intended to liquidate the two main SP leaders, Mário Soares and Salgado Zenha.

The CP Outdoes the SP

In any case, the SP could hardly outdo the CP in adulation of the MFA. The CP final rally on April 23 was completely dedicated to showing (1) the strength of the CP; (2) the CP's

dedication to the MFA. The most popular chant was "O povo 'stá com o MFA!" (The people are with the MFA!). I could hear this refrain being beeped out by thousands of car horns as the bus I was on came near the Estádio Primeiro de Maio.

The CP had brought out an immense crowd. It was impossible to estimate the numbers of such a multitude with any hope of accuracy, especially after dark. But the soccer stadium was entirely filled, and the crowd stretched out into the street. People kept streaming in until about 10:30, an hour after the rally was scheduled to begin.

After the chants hailing the MFA, the most popular one was just "PCP" (Partido Comunista Português, Portuguese CP), followed by "Assim, se vê a força do PC" (This shows the strength of the CP).

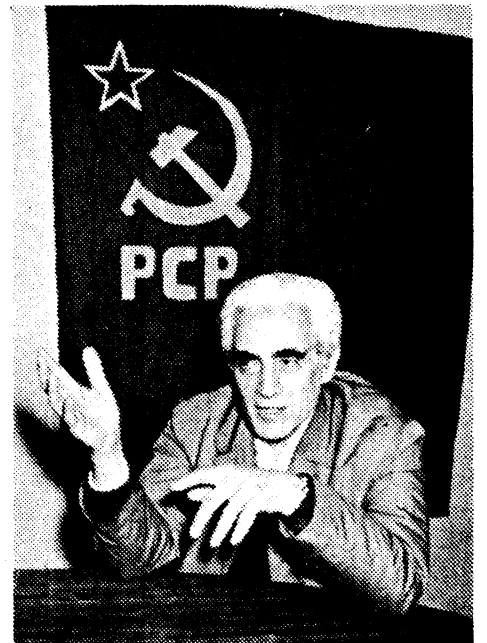
The sight must have certainly had its effect on the Portuguese bourgeoisie and the conservative-minded. To these, some of the crowd's slogans may have sounded challenging and threatening: "Crush reaction!" "Fascista, escuta, o povo está em luta" (Listen Fascists, the people are fighting), and "People's Vigilance." The SP, on the other hand, has stressed its peaceful nature.

No Action Slogans

As I was leaving the stadium later, I noticed some persons in the neighborhood who seemed upset at the sight of so many Communists. The Portuguese bourgeoisie cannot help but be nervous as it watches what it long viewed as a shadowy threat transformed into great masses of people. On the other hand, the more astute of the bourgeois strategists must realize how soft the CP is, how easily it could be smashed at the decisive moment.

The CP is in a deadly contradiction. It poses as a great proletarian army, while in reality using semimobilized, loose aggregations of people as a means of pressure within the framework of the capitalist system. The rally in the Estádio Primeiro de Maio did not project a single slogan or directive for struggle.

Instead, one speaker after another got up to hail the Portuguese people, the workers, the women, the youth, the progressive intellectuals and artists, etc. The speaker just before Cunhal did raise the idea that the workers should participate in the administration of the nationalized enterprises, but only in the vaguest way.



CP LEADER CUNHAL: Urges masses to trust 'patriotic military.'

The CP press has said in fact that the workers in the recently nationalized industries must work harder because most of these were operating in the red (in the capitalist sense) and their deficits had been made up by state subsidies, which the government can now ill afford to pay.

As for Cunhal himself, he projected the idea that under the patriotic military, assisted by the CP, Portugal is advancing toward a free and equal society and that the main danger on the path ahead is from the ultraleft.

Spontaneous Celebrations

The constant adulation of the MFA in such mass rallies clearly had its effect on the spontaneous celebrations that swept Lisbon after midnight April 24. The crowds that started to gather in the central square chanted the CP's slogans. The example was carried throughout the city. Everywhere, crowds were chanting "O povo está com o MFA," "MFA," "Abaixo a reacção!"

They gathered in the squares and in the parks. Lines of cars honked their horns in unison, while people leaned out of the windows giving the clenched-fist salute or the victory sign. Youths rode in the open trunks of cars, shouting and waving. In the Belém park area, near the national palace, soldiers and civilians danced together in rings, chanting the praises of the MFA. The crowds were celebrating the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship and the atmosphere of freedom and hope that exists in Portugal today.

The spontaneous outbursts were reminiscent of May 1, 1974. They continued almost all night throughout the city. The outburst of popular feeling was genuine and deep, but it was not inevitable that this would focus on adulation of the MFA. That was the work of the opportunist workers parties, above all the CP.

...secret war

Continued from preceding page

however, in addition to crippling the Soviet economy. In his book *The Cold War and Its Origins*, D. F. Fleming described the conduct of the imperialist-supported armies:

"Systematic pillage, murder and incendiaryism constituted the plan of campaign of Semenov, one of Kolchak's chiefs. On August 19, 1919, Colonel Stephanov's command

slaughtered fifty-two car-loads of prisoners. . . . In another district 'women were ripped open, children bayoneted, and men flayed alive. Brutality made Bolsheviks where none had been before.'"

Fleming concludes: "Until the Nazis made wholesale murder a scientific business, the campaign of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia resulted in the most gigantic tragedy of all recent times."

Fleming leaves out World War I, which the same imperialist governments bear responsibility for. But other than that, he is probably right.

Coming in the May 19

Intercontinental Press

"A Discussion With Trotsky on Latin American Questions."

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nent revolution to Latin America and the importance of the struggle for democratic demands in colonial and semicolonial countries.

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

Less radical image preferred

European Stalinists uneasy over Portugal upsurge

By Dick Fidler

The situation in Portugal has naturally aroused widespread interest in the left throughout Western Europe. This is especially true in Italy, France, and Spain, where the Communist parties have hopes of being called on in the near future to serve in bourgeois coalition governments. The entry of the Portuguese CP into the government a year ago was hailed by these parties as a model of what should be done in their own countries.

Lately, however, the CP leaders have become more reserved, even defensive, in their public statements on Portugal, and in the case of the Italian CP at least, openly critical of their Portuguese cothinkers.

This unease has intensified with the rapid evolution of the situation in Portugal since March 11, when Spínola attempted his coup.

One incident that attracted much attention was the banning of the right-wing Christian Democratic party, on the grounds of its complicity in the putsch. The ban was supported by the Portuguese CP and sharply criticized by the Socialist party.

In other West European countries, the banning of the Christian Democrats was seized on by some commentators as "proof" that the Communists had no intention of collaborating with bourgeois forces, despite their promises to the contrary.

This propaganda barrage has no doubt embarrassed the Spanish Communist party, which in July 1974 announced the formation of a "Democratic Junta" with some Social Democrats, monarchists, and even former officials of the Franco regime.

The junta recommends the "restoration of a democratic regime in Spain." Its program, which includes such demands as "political neutrality and purely professional operation of the armed forces," and Spain's "integration within the European community," is strictly limited to the framework of bourgeois property relations.

Italian CP Embarrassed

Although it had not been intended that way, the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal was a major issue at the congress of the Italian Communist party (PCI) which opened March 18. As its answer to the problems of Italian capitalism, the PCI is campaigning for a "historic compromise," a class-collaborationist coalition between the PCI and the parties of the existing governmental alliance, in the first place the Christian Democratic party.

PCI General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer spelled out the party's proposal in an opening speech to the congress. The historic compromise, he said, offered Italy "a new phase of democratic development" that "would introduce some elements of socialism into the structures of society." It would enable Italy to "leave the capitalist system gradually."

There was no substantial opposition from delegates to this reformist proposal, which is now being presented as a "strategy and a method."

On the day the PCI congress opened, however, the Portuguese military rulers banned the Christian Democratic party. The Italian Christian Democrats saw an opportunity to embarrass

the PCI. How could Berlinguer propose collaboration in the government, when in Portugal his cothinkers refused to tolerate even the existence of the Christian Democrats? their leaders indignantly asked.

In his introductory report to the PCI congress, Berlinguer took his distance from the Portuguese CP. Italy is not Portugal, he emphasized. That country is going through "a rather complicated political process, part of the difficult task of building and consolidating a truly democratic system."

This disavowal failed to placate the Christian Democrats. Their observers—it is traditional in Italy for the parties of the "constitutionalist arc" to send observers to each other's congresses—staged a walkout and did not return. It was their action, not Berlinguer's arguments for coalition, that captured the headlines.

In his closing speech to the congress March 23, Berlinguer protested the "inconsiderate and rude gesture" of these bourgeois politicians. Then, referring to the ban on the Portuguese Christian Democrats, he said:

"We Italian Communists do not agree with some decisions in which correct and necessary actions aimed at punishing persons directly involved in reactionary attempts at a coup were confused with other actions restricting the parties those persons belonged to. . . ."

In Italy the CP, with its 1.6 million members, dominates the reformist left; in France this is not the case.

The Portuguese events have served to aggravate strains in France's Union of the Left. This electoral coalition, which includes the Communist party, the Socialist party, and the Left Radicals, is based on wheeling and dealing in the electoral arena on a program of class collaboration.

The Socialist party sees its alliance with the CP as a means of increasing its voting base in the working class, and thereby its credibility as a candidate for government.

The Communist party needs its identification with the SP to give it an opening to the middle classes and to certain layers of the working class, and to show its readiness to cooperate with other forces in running capitalist society.

Both the CP and SP have actively sought the collaboration of the bourgeois Left Radicals as proof of their

determination not to go beyond capitalist property relations.

Within this electoral framework, the parties compete for members and votes. And in recent months, as the SP showed signs of increasing its electoral standing at the expense of the CP, the competition has become considerably sharper. While the SP continues its efforts to build an "all-inclusive" Social Democratic party, opening its ranks to elements on both its left and its right, the CP leaders have been obliged to adopt a more militant stance in order not to lose their audience and support among their traditional trade-union base.

At a news conference in La Trinité March 18, the day the Portuguese Christian Democrats were banned, French CP leader Georges Marchais defended the Portuguese CP as "the only ones who led the struggle against fascism for fifty years." The Portuguese Socialist party, he pointedly recalled, was a latecomer on the scene, having been reconstituted only recently.

Mitterrand Scores a Point

François Mitterrand, first secretary of the Socialist party and the Union of the Left's presidential candidate in 1974, has been especially fearful that the current campaign by the bourgeoisie against the leftward trend in Portugal might carry over into attempts to red-bait the French SP. Besides, he saw another opportunity to score some points against the Stalinists by appearing as a defender of democracy.

In a March 20 television interview, Mitterrand noted that the Portuguese SP had protested the ban on some political parties. The PSP, he said, "is a party of the revolution. All its leaders were imprisoned for a long time, and in any event were excluded from political life. . . . They are participating actively in this revolution. But they want this revolution to be democratic, heading toward democracy, a revolution for democracy. . . ."

In the SP's weekly *l'Unité*, Mitterrand went so far as to suggest that Portuguese CP leader Alvaro Cunhal opposed free speech, a multiparty system, and even "universal suffrage."

The CP leaders reacted defensively to these attacks. The March 28 issue of *l'Humanité*, the French CP's daily, suggested that Mitterrand should "take account of the special situation that exists in Portugal. . . ."

Political democracy is not necessarily a guarantee that a country can avoid oppression or torture, "especially during colonial wars," the newspaper said. Mitterrand was a minister in the governments that carried out the Indochinese and Algerian wars.

Referring to the Italian CP leader's implied criticism of the Portuguese CP's policy, Marchais said in an April 7 television interview, "I do not agree with Berlinguer. Each [Communist] party is completely free to determine its own policy. . . . That is what the Portuguese CP is doing, in abnormal conditions."

The difference in the respective stances of the Italian and French CPs is only superficial. Both parties agree with the general orientation of the Portuguese CP. The cornerstone of the latter's strategy is to adhere as closely as possible to the policies of the Armed Forces Movement and the military rulers, resisting all tendencies to go



Italian Communist party election rally. PCI hopes to join capitalist government.

beyond the framework of bourgeois legality in the direction of dual power and the establishment of a workers state.

This has meant supporting the regime's nationalization of banks and some industries, enacted under the pressure of a mass upsurge, even when those measures were not in the CP's program. The Portuguese Stalinists have been forced to adopt some demagogic "left" rhetoric in order to preserve their credibility—and to retain the possibility of strangling the revolution.

The basic framework of the CP strategy in Portugal, as in Italy, France, Spain, and elsewhere, is to strive to preserve the détente between Moscow and Washington by doing nothing to upset the relationship of forces between imperialism and the workers states.

Socialism? Not Interested

Here is how *Le Monde's* Moscow correspondent, Jacques Amalric, summarized what the Kremlin leaders are telling the Portuguese Communists. "The Soviet Union is not presently interested in the establishment of a Communist regime in Lisbon, at least unless you were to win a 75 percent majority in the elections. . . . Not only would such a development lead to civil war, but it would also be a considerable setback to détente in the world in general and especially in Europe. From that standpoint, it could lead to a grave defeat of the 'peace policy' defined by the last congress of the Soviet Communist party."

The Portuguese CP understands this perfectly. In the March issue of *World Marxist Review*, the Stalinist monthly magazine, Cunhal described the present "crucial stage" of the revolution as "the first steps toward the goals of the national-democratic revolution." He defined these as "democratic freedoms, liquidation of the big monopolies, agrarian reform, development of culture, substantial improvement of living standards, an end to imperialist tutelage, independent economic development and realization of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples formerly under Portuguese colonial rule."

And socialism? It is not in Cunhal's list. Portugal, if he has his way, will not achieve socialism in the foreseeable future. The Stalinist leaders in Italy, Spain, and France can agree wholeheartedly with that.



FRANÇOIS MITTERRAND: French reformist leader has attacked his Stalinist partners over events in Portugal.

Palestinians in Israel protest police persecution

[The following appeal was issued in February by the Arab Students Committee of Tel Aviv University. It was reprinted in the April issue of *Palestine Digest*, from which we have taken the text.]

There are approximately 300 Arab students (Israeli citizens) studying at Tel Aviv University. As a national minority the Arab students for the past five years have been represented by an elected committee. Its function is to deal with Arab students' problems emanating from the fact that they are a national minority in Israel.

During that period the Arab Students Committee received from the official Students Association of Tel Aviv University and from the University the use of halls for social and political activities.

The beginning of the current academic year saw a drastic change in policy: The University administration and the official Students Association refused to allow the Arab students to organize a symposium concerning the Palestinian question. The immediate policy is to refuse accommodations for any social or political activities initiated by the Arab Students Committee.

In the daily paper, *Yediot Achronot* (27/1/75), the Prime Minister's Advisor for Arab Affairs, Shmuel Toledano, said: "It is not desirable that independent Arab student's committees shall be formed on campuses."

We regard the existence of national minorities students committees, or organizations, in every university in the world, as one of the corner-stones

of democracy.

The numerous attempts of the Israeli establishment to violate and circumscribe the basic and elementary rights of the Arab students to elect their own representative committee, whose purpose is to deal with their specific problems (a result of the establishment's policy), is added verification of the Government's overall policy to snuff out the Arab voice.

In addition to the mentioned above, the Arab students face various problems:

The policy of quotas enables only about 20 Arab students to inhabit the University dormitories (it is worth mentioning that the quota system similarly applies to certain Faculties such as: Medicine and Geography).

After repeated outcries from the Arab students, the University administration helped to rent several rooms in the Tel Aviv area for fifty Arab students, who could not, by their own means, find Jewish landlords willing to have Arab tenants.

During the last two months, these fifty students were faced with a new problem: Members of the Israeli Police Force started and continue to make regular "house calls" in the late hours of the night.

The police justify their recurrent visits at such hours with the groundless and absurd claims: 1) That the Arab students must continually identify themselves. 2) That the premises must continually be searched.

Below are listed a number of "incidents":

A. Within a period of six weeks the



Harassment of Palestinians is standard procedure for Israeli police

Israeli Police Force "visited" six times, sixteen Arab students living in their rented rooms at Jabotinsky Street 50, Ramat Gan. When the police were asked what were the lawful grounds for their visits, they responded: "The law is not intended for your protection, force is the sole language which you (Arabs) understand."

B. On the 18/11/74 at 3:00 A.M. the police "called" on the Arab students residence, Pincas Street 9, Tel Aviv.

C. On the 16/1/75 three Arab students were arrested while taking a walk on Ben Yehuda Street. They openly underwent a body-search in the street. The students were then taken into custody and brought to the police station. Once there, interrogations were accompanied by beatings and cursing. The accusation brought against them was "the theft of various personal articles from girls on the nearby beach." After some hours the students were released, and the police expressed their "deep regrets" regarding the "tragic mistake."

D. The most recent "house call" with which the above mentioned Arab

students were faced occurred on 30/1/75 at 3:00 A.M. Two students were arrested and held in custody for six hours, without any formal accusation.

In light of the above, we have decided to approach various organizations in Israel and abroad for support of our struggle against the premeditated maltreatment undertaken against us by the Israeli government, Police, University administration and the official Students Union.

These actions are:

A. Refusal to recognize the Arab Students Committee

B. The unlawful searches

Both of which clearly negate the most elementary right of organization, and the action of the police clearly infringe elementary human rights of a democratic state.

Solidarity with our struggle could best be manifested by sending protests to: Tel Aviv University; Minister of Police; The Prime Minister's Advisor for Arab Affairs; and the Israeli Student Union.

*The Arab Students Committee
Tel Aviv University*

A stab in the back

Moscow and the Kurds

By David Frankel

One of the more sordid aspects of Soviet policy in the Middle East has been Moscow's support to the crushing of the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq. In view of the repercussions, the U.S. Communist party ran three articles in a row this March in order to explain why knifing the Kurds in the back was really a service to humanity.

In the March 21 issue of the American CP's *Daily World*, Tom Foley, unwilling to admit that people in the CP have been asking questions, wrote:

"Many people in the U.S. are confused about the Kurdish problem in Iraq. They remember the long (1961-70) Kurdish war waged earlier in Iraq, in which the Kurdish forces were also led by [Mustafa al-] Barzani. During that war, there was a certain sympathy for just Kurdish aspirations among progressive people here and abroad."

Indeed there was. For instance, the Soviet news agency Tass issued a statement on June 15, 1963, saying:

"No honest person in the world and no state that stands for respect for UN principles can fail to raise their voices in resolute protest against the brutal policy and actions of the present Iraqi

leaders with regard to the Kurdish people."

As far as the Kurds are concerned, not much has changed since then. Although Kurds make up 20 to 25 percent of Iraq's population, less than 7 percent of the university students in Iraq come from the Kurdish areas. The percentage of Kurds in Iraqi secondary schools is half that of Arabs.

The Iraqi Ministry of Education published more than 100 books in 1972, but not one of them was in Kurdish.

Only 3 percent of Iraqi industry is located in Kurdish areas. Oil refineries and iron and steel plants have been built outside Kurdistan, although the raw materials for them come from Kurdish areas.

For the Stalinists, all this can now be forgotten. What counts in their eyes is that the Iraqi government signed a fifteen-year treaty with Moscow in April 1972 and that two members of the Iraqi CP were brought into the cabinet the following month.

Foley's clincher is that "in April 1974, President Bakr appointed a well-known Kurd . . . as Vice-President of Iraq."

The essence of the Stalinist argument is that previously Iraq had a reactionary government. Now, they say, a leftist regime has come to power,

and the Kurdish struggle is therefore playing into the hands of imperialism; in fact, they claim it is directly inspired by imperialism.

Foley cites an article by the head of the Iraqi CP that argues, "The attempts of the imperialist oil monopolies to retain their hold on our country have been frustrated; so international reaction is now pinning its hopes on the right wing of the Kurdish movement. The latter, as we know, are hostile to the progressive political line of the national authority, resist social changes, especially the agrarian reform, and are openly anti-Communist. The anti-Soviet tendencies of the Kurdish rightists gladden reactionaries of all hues."

According to the Stalinists, the Barzani leadership initiated the Kurdish revolt "due to its exploiting interests and in response to imperialist and reactionary pressures."

But Barzani has been the recognized leader of the Kurdish fight against national oppression for decades. In 1932 he led a revolt that was put down with the help of the British air force. Iraq at that time was still virtually a colony of British imperialism, and there was no "agrarian reform" or "imperialist and reactionary pressures" to explain Barzani's action.

Was Barzani acting as an agent of imperialism and international reaction when he led the army of the Kurdish Mahabad Republic against Iranian, Iraqi, and British troops in 1946? If so, why was he welcomed in the Soviet Union and given asylum there for eleven years?

The Kurdish movement supported the overthrow of the proimperialist Iraqi monarchy in 1958 and Barzani returned to Iraq from the Soviet Union. Although not a Marxist, Barzani has been in the forefront of a struggle against oppression.

In disowning this struggle by using the pretext that it has a right-wing leadership, the Stalinists are violating the elementary democratic right of the Kurds to self-determination. They are subordinating the rights of the Kurds and the interests of the Arab revolution to the governmental relations between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Iraqi Baathist regime.



BARZANI: Kurdish leader slandered by Stalinists as imperialist agent.

Unionists buy 1,649 copies

'Militant' welcomed at April 26 rally for jobs

By Pat Galligan

"Where do we go from April 26—socialist proposals in this week's issue of the *Militant*." Steve Craine from Boston hawked the paper to people as they poured out of buses for the Rally for Jobs Now in Washington, D.C. He sold forty-six copies.

On buses and trains bound for D.C., on the march, and at the stadium rally site, a total of 1,649 *Militants* were sold to working people looking for a solution to the economic crisis.

New York socialists had already sold 213 *Militants* when they arrived in Washington for the demonstration. At one Manhattan departure site, Dan Styron sold fifteen copies, most of them to bus drivers.

Passengers on one train chartered by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, were impressed with the *Militant's* extensive coverage of the labor movement.

District 1199 is one of the few unions to support the rights of undocumented workers. Ike Nahem, who sold twenty-five papers on that train, tells us that the *International Socialist Review* supplement feature on this question and the reprint of "Blaming the Victims" from 1199 *News* accounted for a number of his sales.

There was also considerable interest in the May 17 march against racism in Boston among 1199 members. "People wanted to read the 'May 17 Countdown' to see how the demonstration is building around the country," explains Nahem.

Social Service Employees Union members in New York City, who are faced with massive layoffs, were especially interested in the *Militant's* analysis of the city's "budget crisis" and the socialist solution to the problem.

Cappy Kidd sold six subscriptions on

one of the SSEU buses. He reports: "People subscribed not only because of the *Militant's* coverage of this issue, but for its overall coverage and analysis of the country's economic situation."

On a District 65, Distributive Workers train, Marcia Gallo sold the *Militant* to five Teamsters on the basis of Farrell Dobbs's article. "They were familiar with the leading role Dobbs played in Teamster organizing," comments Gallo.

"They want to learn more about the history of their union and the labor movement as a whole," she said.

Washington, D.C., supporters sold 402 out of the 1,406 *Militants* sold at the demonstration. The youngest D.C. salesperson that day, eight-year-old Alexander Rottner, sold twelve copies.

Total sales of the May 2 *Militant* (headline: "Funds for jobs—not for war!") were 8,022 copies. This is 87 percent of the national goal.

The *Militant* has also been well-received by people attending showings of the documentary *Hearts and Minds*. In Houston, fifty-five moviegoers bought the May 2 *Militant*. In Seattle, fifty copies were sold. Other areas have also had good success with sales at theaters showing this film.

Because of the *ISR* feature "To Myself, So I'll Never Forget. . .," an account of life as a telephone operator, several areas organized sales at local phone company facilities. Socialists in Central-East Los Angeles sold thirty *Militants* at the phone company there.

Our supporters are always finding new opportunities to sell the *Militant*. After returning from Washington on April 26, three New York socialists were traveling home on the subway with what appeared to be stacks of newspapers under their arms.

A man inquired from the opposite

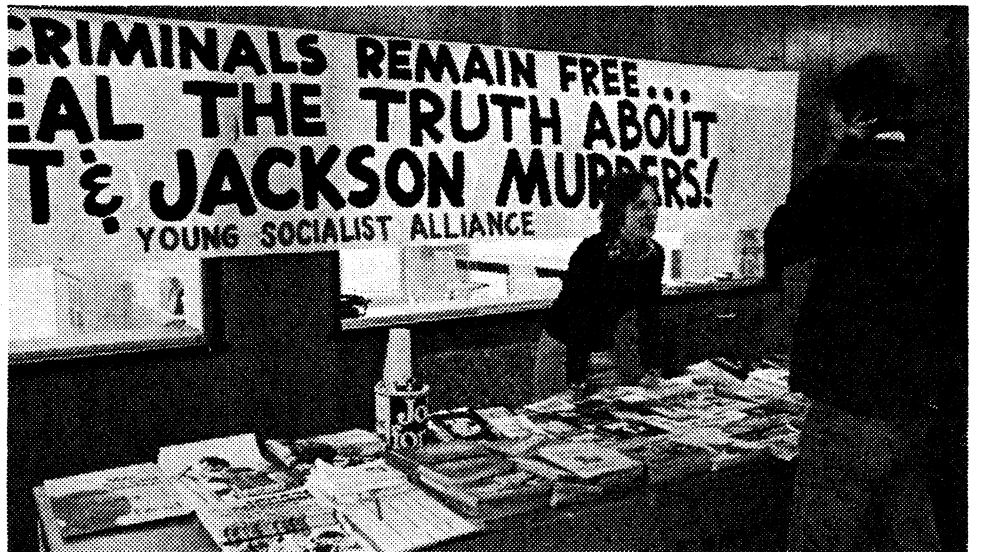
platform: "Do you have the *Militant*?"

Unfortunately, they were carrying Sunday editions of a New York paper that claims to give its readers all the news that's fit to print.

The *Militant* really does give its

readers—working people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, women, students—all the news. It tells the truth.

The lesson of the story is clear: be prepared.



Militant/Herman Kirsch

'Militant' got good response at memorial meeting of 1,000 at Kent State University, commemorating 1970 murders of antiwar students.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%	San Diego	275	249	91
Tucson, Ariz.	25	50	200	Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	371	87
Washington, D.C.	400	526	132	L.A. (West Side)	375	310	83
Cleveland	350	419	120	Atlanta	475	387	81
Milwaukee	200	237	119	Philadelphia	400	323	81
St. Louis	400	427	107	Oakland/Berkeley	600	450	75
Denver	350	374	107	Twin Cities	350	259	74
Houston	500	502	100	Portland, Ore.	325	235	72
San Francisco	450	452	100	Pittsburgh	375	258	69
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	401	100	Detroit	550	370	67
Logan, Utah	45	45	100	Brooklyn	400	268	67
Chico, Calif.	25	25	100	Chicago	600	386	64
Champaign, Ill.	5	5	100	Boston	300	177	59
Seattle	275	260	95	L.A. (Central-East)	450	250	55
				Mankato, Minn.	20	6	30
				Total	9,200	8,022	87

Printers discuss layoffs, shorter workweek

By Paul Colvin

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent developments in Local 21 of the International Typographical Union here shed some light on the discussion of unemployment and the shorter workweek that is going on inside the ITU and many other unions.

Automation and cold-type printing processes have been making very rapid inroads at the San Francisco Newspaper Printing Company, the outfit that makes up the merged printing plants of the *Examiner* and *Chronicle*. The company has served notice that by June or July of this year hot metal will be completely out of the composing room and both papers will be entirely produced by cold type. That eliminates the stereotypers. It is already hard for substitutes in the composing room to get work. Large numbers of subs show up at the beginning of each shift, but only a few are hired.

Last January one of the workers posted a suggestion on the chapel bulletin board to the effect that all situation holders (full-time workers) consider laying off from work one day a month to give more work to the substitutes. A blank sheet of paper was attached for signatures, and several names appeared immediately. A month later the list had grown to more than sixty.

This is testimony to the fact that everyone feels concern over the plight of the subs, both for their sake as well as for the health of the union.

Some of those on the list take off more than one day a month, some in fact are working a four-day week right

now. No pressure of any kind was exerted to sway people into making this move—just the notice and list of signatures. Those freely making this decision were husband-and-wife teams or persons without families to support. Sole supporters of families couldn't do it.

Things were going smoothly under this arrangement even though everyone realized that this was obviously no solution to the problem of growing unemployment and that the union leadership wasn't making any progress when raising the idea of a four-day week with the company.

Then someone's enthusiasm got the better of their good sense. At the February meeting of the local a motion was put forward to establish the four-

day week at four day's pay throughout the jurisdiction of Local 21. What had been regarded approvingly as long as it had been on a voluntary basis now ran into a storm of opposition.

The issue was to be decided at the March meeting. Adherents of both sides urged everyone to attend, and instead of the usual 60 or 70, some 450 showed up.

The executive committee reported that the motion was out of order because the ITU law says there shall be no reduction in the five-day week. After the executive committee report, the maker of the motion withdrew it.

Everyone was disappointed that they hadn't gotten to debate an issue that had caused such strong feelings, the issue that they had turned out to

hear discussed. Sensing this frustration, the local president ruled he would allow discussion, even though the outcome was predetermined.

Several speakers took advantage of the opportunity. The vice-president made a pertinent speech from the podium. He said that while he and perhaps a majority were in favor of a reduction of the workweek as a means of keeping our members employed, this particular motion was wrong because it signified to the employer that the union was willing to share the unemployment. If we accepted this logic, why stop at four days? If the economy slows down further, as it shows signs of doing, why not three days, or two days, or even one day to keep us all employed?

He pointed out that there would be no objections from the employer; in fact, an editorial in the *Examiner* had already pointed approvingly in that direction.

He got a round of applause when he finished.

Unfortunately, the question was called before anyone got a chance to clearly put forward the concept of fighting for a reduction in the workweek at no reduction in pay. This is the only way to shift the burden of unemployment from the workers to the employers.

Had the original question come to a vote, it would have been overwhelmingly defeated. People cannot sacrifice 20 percent of their income, given the current rate of inflation, for any reason. But I believe a majority would support a four-day week with no reduction in pay.



Automated typesetting is wiping out jobs in printing trades

Call new guidelines a fraud

L.A. citizens blast cop surveillance

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—At an April 26 public hearing called by the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners, protesters blasted proposed new guidelines on police spying and demanded the arrest of right-wing terrorists in this city.

The hearings had been intended to offset some of the damage being done to the liberal image of Mayor Tom Bradley by recent events here. But the meeting did little, if anything, to improve the Bradley administration's credibility on this issue.

Outside the hearings, seventy-five people picketed, demanding police action to halt a wave of ultrarightist bombings in Los Angeles.

A Nazi group, the National Socialist Liberation Front, has publicly boasted that it carried out the most serious attack, the February 4 bombing of the Socialist Workers party headquarters. Yet Police Chief Edward Davis, a strident right-winger, has stubbornly refused to arrest a single member of this outfit.

The result has been to embolden the terrorists here, encouraging them to launch a new wave of assaults in recent weeks. (See story on back page.)



Militant/Della Rossa

Cops refuse to arrest self-confessed Nazi bombers, but have plenty of time to spy on radicals.

The scandal over the failure to arrest the Nazis was compounded when it was learned that the Los Angeles Police Department has been conducting a massive spy program against liberal and radical dissidents.

Cop complicity

The secret files underscored the fact that while city officials refuse to move against the right-wing terrorists, they are carrying out a massive surveillance program against the victims of these terrorists. The bombing victims have repeatedly charged that the cops are acting in complicity with the reactionary hoodlums.

Art Kevin, an investigative reporter for radio station KMPC, first disclosed the cop spying. He revealed that secret dossiers have been kept by the L.A. cops. Files on thousands of antiwar, Black, Chicano, labor, and socialist activists date back decades.

Radicals were not the only targets, however. Among the victims of the surveillance was the wife of a member of the city's civilian police commission. She was active in Women For, a liberal grouping including numerous supporters of the mayor.

Because of the embarrassment this has caused Bradley, the new guidelines were issued to give a "civil liberties" cover to the surveillance operations. The commissioners' report also notes concern with "litigation" in other illegal spying cases.

The guidelines purport to regulate activities of the Public Disorder Intelligence Division of the L.A. Police Department. The PDID is a political police agency charged with collecting and maintaining secret files on individuals and organizations whom the cops arbitrarily decide are a threat to "public order."

The proposed new guidelines offer the following definition: "Disruptive" or "disruption of the public order" shall mean *ideologically motivated* illegal acts. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

However, the police commissioners hasten to assure, "The Department recognizes that special care and precaution must be taken in this area to avoid interfering with or impairing the constitutional rights of citizens to maintain their privacy, to speak and freely dissent, to write and publish, and to associate privately and publicly for any lawful purpose whatever."

The meanest police chief

LOS ANGELES—As pressure has mounted for the arrest and prosecution of Nazi bombers here, Police Chief Edward Davis has become increasingly bellicose.

In an April 23 speech to the National Rifle Association, Davis declared that the police could no longer protect people, so they should arm themselves against politically motivated "hoodlums." He added that such vigilantes could also protect the California coastline in the event of war.

Davis, an ultrarightist, also recently had the entire L.A. Police Department undergo training to deal with "food riots."

On April 25, describing himself as the "meanest police chief in the history of the United States," Davis vowed vigilant prosecution against victimless crimes, including pot smoking, prostitution, and homosexuality.

True to his word, he ordered the L.A. cops into action at a rock

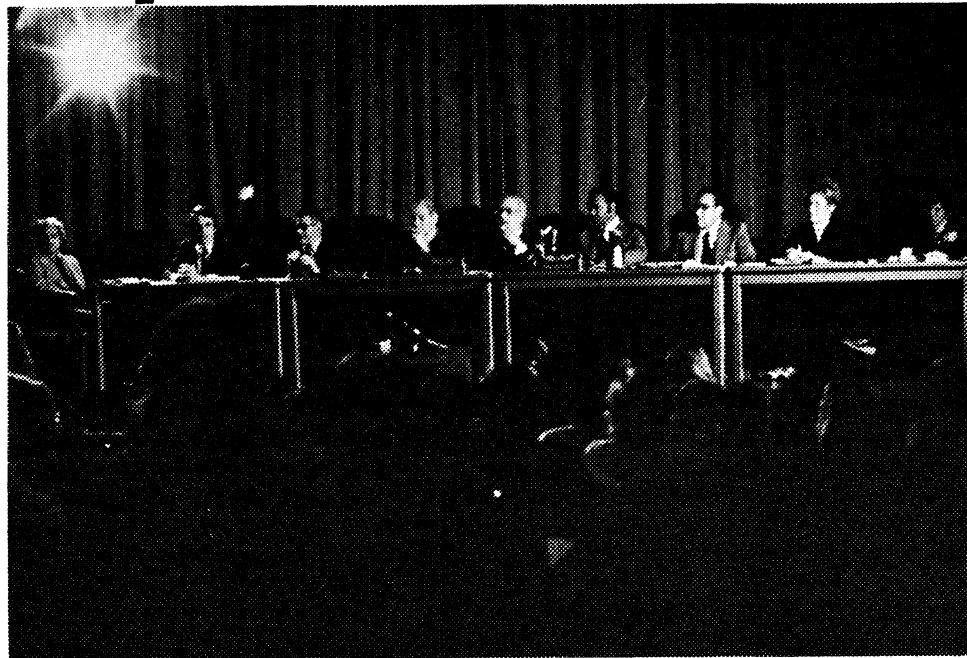
concert that week, arresting a total of 511 persons, most on marijuana charges.

Davis claimed the concert was "a dope festival." He vowed he would "never allow mass wholesale violations of the law in the city of Los Angeles."

But "wholesale violations of the law" by Nazis and other right-wing scum don't pose a problem for Davis.

Davis's statements and actions have been embarrassing for Mayor Tom Bradley, however. After the sweeping raids at the rock concert, Bradley said he thought the pot busts posed "a serious question about the priorities in assignment of personnel" by the police.

But Bradley's own inaction on the right-wing terrorists poses some "serious questions." Despite his liberal image, the mayor, too, has refused to take action to put the terrorists behind bars.



Militant/Dave Wulp

Citizens bombard police commissioners with questions about phony spy guidelines

Despite this high-sounding liberal verbiage, however, the guidelines simply provide a license for the cops to continue their illegal spy efforts. Although the commissioners assert that the cops have observed a "flat prohibition against the use of illegal or improper methods of information gathering," the facts say just the opposite.

Four years ago, Louis Tackwood disclosed that as a paid secret agent for the LAPD, he carried out provocations against the Nation of Islam and the Black Panthers. He testified that the L.A. cops had advance knowledge of the 1970 Marin County Courthouse shoot-out in which Jonathan Jackson and others died and the 1971 escape attempt at San Quentin prison in which George Jackson was slain.

"The LAPD is not simply concerned with compiling secret dossiers on groups and individuals," warned Jeff Berchenko at the April 26 hearings. Berchenko is the SWP candidate for Los Angeles City Council in the special election in the Thirteenth District.

'Infiltrate, disrupt, destroy'

"The real purpose of this secret police operation—and that's why it's bound to be secret—is to infiltrate, disrupt, and if possible destroy political groups which the police happen to look upon with disfavor," he charged.

Berchenko pointed out that the intentionally vague definition of "threat to the public order" gives the cops a free rein to attack all kinds of groups. "It could be because they're composed of Blacks and Chicanos, or because they're socialists," he said.

"It could be because, like the American Civil Liberties Union, they defend individual rights against police snoopers and others. It could be, simply, a group like Women For, devoted to worthy causes."

Also testifying was Ramona Ripston of the Southern California ACLU, who scored the commissioners for their "purported destruction" of files. A report by the commissioners claims that in 1974, 850,000 index cards were "reviewed and destroyed" and that in the first two weeks of 1975, an additional 1,040,000 cards were shredded.

Ripston noted that press reports have said the ACLU was one of the groups spied upon. "We, and other organizations, would naturally like to know what is being said about us in order to protect ourselves from abuse," she explained.

In their report, however, the commissioners have tried to fend off the demand for opening the files. In

typical Catch-22 style they argue, "To state publicly that a person was not or is not the subject of a file could be taken as some form of official approval."

Abolish PDID

At the hearings, Rosalyn Cooperman, a representative of Women For, also sharply criticized the spy guidelines. The guidelines are not the answer to the problem, she said. The answer, she declared, is to end political police surveillance and abolish the Public Disorder Intelligence Division.

Speaking for the Political Rights Defense Fund, Byron Ackerman asked the commissioners which of them had been involved in the shredding of files and how they determined who would

A dubious distinction

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles has won the dubious distinction of leading the nation in bombings. According to a press account of statistics compiled by the National Bomb Center, the city apparently has held the record for several years.

In 1974, the report said, Los Angeles had a record of 152 bombings, almost three a week.

remain on the surveillance list. The commissioners declined to respond.

Donald Freed of the Citizens Research and Investigative Committee spoke on the department's long history of spying against dissidents.

A broad array of other speakers detailed the anti-civil-liberties record of the L.A. cops. These included Frank Wilkinson of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Rose Chernin of the Los Angeles Committee to Protect the Foreign Born; Marilyn Katz of the Citizens Committee of Inquiry on L.A. Law Enforcement Practices; and Mae Churchill of the Urban Policy Research Institute.

Also, Manuel Rodriguez of La Raza Unida party of La Puente; Rev. Peter Christiansen of the Unitarian Church; Morris Kight, a prominent gay activist; and Lake Headley, a private investigator retained by families of several of those slain in last summer's LAPD shoot-out against entrapped Symbionese Liberation Army members.

Wave of bombings

Chronology of L.A. terrorism

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles has a record of right-wing terrorist activity going back almost two decades. This year there has been an ominous escalation of these attacks. During the past three months there have been at least a dozen bombings and attempted bombings. The following are the ones that have been reported.

- **February 2.** Several thousand people are forced to leave a rally of the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case at the Santa Monica Civic Auditorium when a powerful tear-gas canister explodes directly above the stage of the auditorium.

A Santa Monica police official is reported as saying that the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front has taken credit for the attack.

- **February 4.** A lethal fragmentation bomb is exploded at the entrance of the Socialist Workers party Central-East campaign headquarters. Fortunately, someone witnesses the bomb being thrown and twenty-five campaign workers in the building are able to escape by a rear exit just as the bomb explodes.

Later, the City News Service reports an anonymous call crediting the Nazi Liberation Front with the bombing.

Several hours after the bombing of the SWP headquarters, a pipe bomb is hurled through the window of the Unidos Bookstore, operated by supporters of the October League, in East Los Angeles. The store is closed at the time so there are no injuries.

- **February 5.** A threatening notice is posted on the door of the Westside campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers party in Santa Monica. It reads: "The future belongs to the few of us still willing to get our hands dirty. POLITICAL TERROR. It's the only thing they understand. Build the national socialist revolution through armed struggle." Signed by "Venice provo, National Socialist Liberation Front," it bears a drawing of a gun and a Nazi swastika.

- **February 13.** A noxious chemical is sloshed on the floor at the entrance to a classroom at UCLA where the Cuban film *Lucia* is being shown.

- **February 19.** A securely wrapped package is placed in the entryway to the Socialist Workers party Westside campaign headquarters. The Los Angeles County bomb squad cordons off the block and dismantles the package. It proves to be a dummy bomb.

- **February 22.** A bomb explodes in an air-conditioning duct in the studios of Public Broadcasting Service station KCET, which has announced a showing of the film *Lucia*.

The *Los Angeles Times* receives an anonymous call crediting counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles with the attack.

- **February 26.** A building manager finds a package sitting outside the entrance to the offices of the *Palestine Voice*, a community newspaper published in Hollywood. It is carried to the street and, after the area is cordoned off, removed by the Los Angeles Police Department bomb squad. Police report it is a lethal dynamite bomb that could have destroyed the office.

Later, an anonymous caller tells United Press International the bomb had been planted to "serve as a warning to all enemies of the Jewish people."

- **March 23.** Police receive a call stating a bomb had been placed on the roof of the building then housing the offices of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation. Police are unable to find the bomb. Two days later, workmen searching for a leak in the roof find an unexploded pipe bomb.

- **April 2.** A pipe bomb is exploded on the roof of the building that until a few days previous had housed the offices of the Rosenberg committee and the committee on repressive legislation.

- **April 5.** A powerful bomb is exploded at night at the Hollywood office of Iraqi Airways, doing extensive damage.

An anonymous caller tells UPI he planted the bomb, declaring, "No longer will Arabs suppress the Jews."

Later, Phillip Goodman, allegedly a member of the Jewish Defense League, is arrested and charged with the

bombing. He is also charged with an earlier bombing of a pro-United Nations information center and bookstore at the time of Yasir Arafat's appearance at the UN. So far this is the only arrest made in the current wave of bombings.

- **April 10.** An explosion sinks a cruise ship, the *Carib Star*, in Los Angeles harbor. There had been reports that the ship was to be sold to an Arab businessman.

A phone call is received by a local paper declaring the ship was sunk as a warning not to do business with Arabs. The ship is refloated and police investigators say it was probably sunk by a bomb.

- **April 13.** In a second night attack, an explosive is dropped through the roof of the Unidos Bookstore, ripping a hole in the ceiling.

An anonymous caller tells UPI it was the work of Cuban counterrevolutionaries.

- **April 30.** A firebomb is hurled into the Yeshiva Torah Emeth, a Hebrew school on Fairfax Avenue. The principal says the damage is so extensive they will have to find a new location. He says he has no idea who did it but that there have been several previous attacks on the school.

- **May 2.** A pipe bomb is exploded outside the Socialist Workers Westside campaign headquarters. The exploded bomb receptacle is later found on the roof.

Associated Press reports that an anonymous caller said it was the work of the "Cuban Action Commandos."



Militant/Harry Ring
Socialist Workers campaign supporters narrowly escaped February 4 bombing by Nazis.

Cleveland socialists denounce right-wing vandalism

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—The Young Socialist Alliance held a news conference here at Cleveland State University April 30 to protest right-wing attacks against socialists and antiracist activists.

The news conference was called after the offices of the Cleveland State YSA were ransacked by ultrarightists sometime during the night of April 23. Leaflets and literature were strewn about the office, and messages scrawled on the posters read: "White Power," "Nazi Power," "Hitler Was Right," "Africa for Blacks," and "Communism is Jewish."

During the same week, the campaign headquarters of Robert Bresnahan, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, received phoned death threats, as did the Cleveland office of the Ohio Student Coalition Against Racism. The coalition also received a threat from the National Christian White People's party, which has a headquarters here.

At the news conference Bresnahan said the attacks are not the first. "Last fall there was a long series of vandal attacks on the SWP's gubernatorial campaign. These culminated in an extremely serious incident, when an incendiary flare was thrown through the window of our offices. Luckily it did not ignite."

In March, campaign supporters discovered bullet holes from a .38-caliber pistol in a wall and window of their headquarters.

Philip Lazar, YSA candidate for Cleveland State student body president, told reporters that police harassment has accompanied the right-wing attacks. "In March, the Case Western Reserve chapter of the YSA discovered that the city police had planted an agent, Robert Denton, in its ranks. Just last week, Philip Norris, a member of the YSA, was illegally arrested by Cleveland Heights police and required to post fifty dollars bail for selling the *Militant*."

Lazar and Bresnahan demanded that the cops press an active investigation of the right-wing attacks and turn over all secret files on the SWP and YSA. They also demanded that the Cleveland State and Case Western Reserve University administrations take action.

Also speaking at the news conference was Thomas Buckley, an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union. Buckley stated that the harassment of the socialists strengthens the ACLU's request for exemption of the Socialist Workers campaign committee from disclosure of its contributors. The socialists contend that turning over these names to the government would victimize contributors.

Others appearing at the news conference were Dr. Curtis Wilson, director of Black Studies at Cleveland State, and Mark Friedman, Ohio coordinator of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Messages of support were read from Earl Emerua, Cleveland State student government president; Dr. Nelson Pole, associate professor of philosophy; and Laurel Brummet, chairperson of CSU Women's Liberation.

Racists assault rally in L.A.

LOS ANGELES—An organized gang of white racists attacked participants in a May Day demonstration here May 3 sponsored by the Progressive Labor party.

The demonstrators had marched to city hall where they were holding a rally. A group of about ten thugs appeared, wearing T-shirts inscribed with the slogan "White Power" and the initials "KKK."

The goons attacked someone on the edge of the crowd, and security monitors responded. Three of the right-wingers were reportedly hospitalized.

Police then intervened and tried to arrest some of the demonstrators, but then apparently decided to let the matter end there.

A similar attack occurred in Houston

the same day. A May Day demonstration called by the Revolutionary Union, a Maoist group, was assaulted by members of the Ku Klux Klan and the United Whites of America.

The attackers sprayed demonstrators and onlookers alike with chemical Mace. After a fight in which several people were injured, the demonstration regrouped and proceeded as planned.

Although the attack was shown that evening on Channel 11 television news, the police have yet to make a single arrest of the right-wingers. This is despite the fact that Scott Nelson, local leader of the Klan, publicly stated, "I'm looking forward to the next time around when we can do better."

Sonny Carlisle, a spokesperson for

the United Whites of America, made a similar threat of further violence.

On May 5 Houston Police Chief Carrol Lynn admitted that his department knew beforehand that the attack was planned. "A real mess would have occurred if the police intervened," he claimed.

At a news conference the same day, Mayor Fred Hofheinz defended Lynn's decision not to protect the demonstration.

Several months ago, Klansmen wearing hoods and sheets appeared outside the Houston Socialist Workers party headquarters. Some brandished shotguns. The police later admitted that they knew about this attack in advance also, but took no action to prevent it.

Calendar

DENVER

CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Joyce Tally, Denver SWP mayoral candidate; Jack Marsh, SWP candidate for Denver School Board; others. Fri., May 16. 7 p.m., social hour; 8 p.m., rally. 1203 California St. Donation \$2.50. Ausp: SWP '76 Campaign Committee. For more information call (303) 266-9431.

LOS ANGELES

TEACH-IN ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speakers: David Cunningham, member, L.A. City Council; Gilbert Garcia, Chicano professor recently fired at Cal. State; Henry Dotson, president, L.A. NAACP; and Charles Johnson, president, Southern Calif. regional conference of NAACP. Mon., May 12, 8 p.m. Music Bldg., Aud. 124, Cal. State Univ. Ausp: Student Coalition Against Racism. For more information call (213) 295-3648.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND THE WITHERING AWAY OF THE STATE. Part of class series. Tues. May 13, 7:30 p.m. Room 203 Sarratt Student Center, Vanderbilt Univ. Admission free. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

SAN FRANCISCO

CINEMA AND REVOLUTION. Panel of Bay Area film makers. Fri., May 16, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 5

issue of *Time* magazine.

According to *Time*, Nixon had decided in April 1973 to order bombing raids against Khe Sanh in the liberated area and "possibly against the North. The raids were to have been more intense than the Christmas 1972 bombings."

"After Nixon had given his final, formal approval to resume the bombing, however, he learned that his counsel John Dean had begun to talk to the Watergate prosecutors. . . . Loath to deal with simultaneous severe criticism on two major fronts, he rescinded his approval of the raids."

This revelation, along with publication of the letters, clears up a number of points. For example, Thieu's reference in his resignation speech to "untrustworthy" allies in the White House meant the Pentagon's failure to return with B-52s.

That failure is ascribed to legislation passed by Congress. But Congress voted for the restrictions because of the

pressure mounted by the antiwar movement. The American public had served notice on *all branches of government* that it would not stand for renewed escalation of U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Another item cleared up by the publication of the texts of two of Nixon's letters is the reason for Ford's bizarre behavior in the final weeks before Saigon's collapse. Ford kept insisting in statement after statement that the United States had "commitments" in South Vietnam. He said that America's "credibility" would be undermined if Congress refused to vote for an additional \$722 million in "emergency" military aid to Thieu and for permission to use American troops.

Congress, unwilling to pour more millions down the rat hole in Saigon and to OK the use of American troops, especially with an election year coming up, claimed it couldn't understand the request. Just what "commitments" was Ford talking about?

Hadn't Kissinger solemnly declared at the time the Paris accords were signed: "There are no secret understandings"? How could Washington's "credibility" be affected? This of course was precisely the question Ford could not answer in public, as every important figure in Congress undoubtedly already knew.

Ford could only repeat the lie that a stepped-up flow of weapons would help stabilize the Saigon regime.

Even after Hung released the two letters, the White House continued to deny that any secret "commitments" had been made to Thieu. On the day of Hung's news conference, Press Secretary Ron Nessen blandly repeated Ford's earlier statement that "nothing was promised to Thieu in private that wasn't said out loud."

The White House appeared to be arguing approximately as follows:

Were the letters secret?

Yes, but they contained no "secret agreements."

How is that possible?

Well, there are public quotations from Nixon that go even further than the language used in the letters to Thieu. Therefore it is correct to say that there were no "secret" agreements.

Then why not make all the letters to Thieu public?

No. That would destroy "confidentiality" of exchanges between governments.

Were the letters genuine? No one

tried to argue that they were forgeries, even after a New York handwriting expert said that Nixon was not the one who had signed them, that it was probably his secretary Rose Mary Woods. The only response to that revelation was cynical laughter. Where were the eighteen-and-a-half-minute gaps?

Ford's attempt to continue the cover-up even after the letters were exposed merely showed how faithfully he was following the routine White House procedure—repeat the lie as long as possible. In this Ford lived up to the recommendation given him by Nixon:

"... in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands."

...Camejo

Continued from page 9

supporters who distributed Camejo's statement, as well as the Spanish edition of his campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Camejo's news release on the Dominican activities was reprinted in *El Diario*, New York's most widely circulated Spanish-language newspaper.

Another newspaper that gave major coverage to Camejo's New York tour was *Newsday*, Long Island's major daily. *Newsday* reporter Ernest Volkman accompanied Camejo as he campaigned at a Manhattan unemployment center and spoke at an outdoor rally at Columbia University. The result was a feature-length article entitled "Spelling Socialist With Optimism."

Volkman noted that, because of the economic crisis, Camejo's criticisms of the capitalist system are "beginning to score some political points." He cited Camejo's "powerful performances on speakers' platforms."

Volkman continues: "It is a style that was very evident during a recent appearance at Columbia University, where an open-air rally was dampened by the chilly weather. About 150 students gathered as Camejo launched into a catalog of American social ills. . . . Camejo talked about Vietnam, racism, and a few other topics, looking for the key to the audience.

Finally he found it: economics. 'You are now being trained to become the world's best-educated unemployed,' he said. The line drew heavy applause."

The *Newsday* article, along with an article on Camejo that appeared in the *New York Times*, prompted dozens of phone calls to Camejo's New York campaign headquarters. Many callers said they shared Camejo's ideas but hadn't realized there was a group that was doing anything about them.

...bombing

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Attorney Walter Heller. There they met with Michael Kenny, an aide.

Earlier, ACLU attorney Mark Rosenbaum had written the U.S. attorney requesting a federal investigation of the bombing of the SWP campaign headquarters on the basis of violation of federal civil rights statutes.

Heller had responded that the bombing was under active investigation by the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms division of the Treasury Department and that the investigation was sufficiently broad in scope to cover possible civil rights violations.

At the meeting, Kenny reiterated that the federal probe was being actively pressed. He said he would check with the agencies involved, and it was agreed that the delegation would return in two days for a progress report.

(In the meeting, the delegation also expressed concern for the safety of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee, who is due in Los Angeles for campaign appearances May 14. They were told that the SWP should contact the Secret Service to arrange for protection.)

With the latest murderous attack, the Political Rights Defense Fund said special urgent efforts would be made to mobilize the broadest public demand that the bombers be put behind bars.

Concerned individuals and organizations, locally and nationally, were urged to send messages to Mayor Bradley calling for action against the terrorists.

Such messages should be sent to Mayor Tom Bradley, City Hall, Los Angeles, California 90012. Copies should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 57031, Los Angeles, California 90057.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512, YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918, YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

Greeley: YSA, c/o Barbara Jaeger, 712 15th Ave. Court, Greeley, Colo. 80631.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA,

Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (210) 828-4710.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books (212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, P.O. Box 27, University Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43431.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

Shippensburg: YSA, c/o Mark Dressler, Box 214 Lackhove Hall, Shippensburg State College, Shippensburg, Pa. 17257.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Arnold Rodriguez, 901 Morrow, Apt. 303, Austin, Tex. 78757.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

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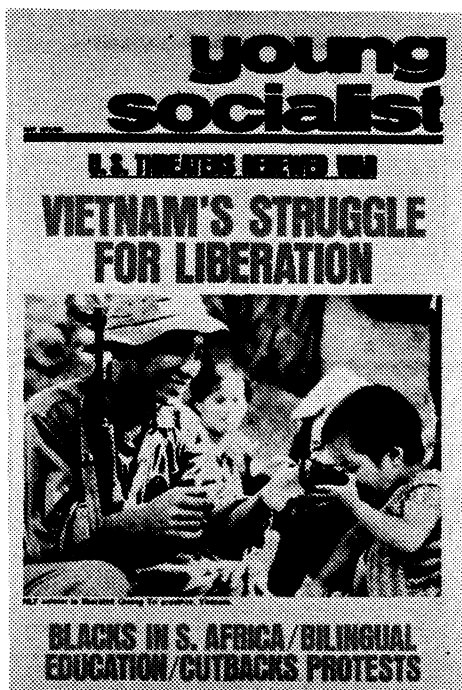
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New rightist bombing hits L.A. socialists

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Encouraged by police inaction, right-wing terrorists have carried out a new bomb attack on the Socialist Workers party.

A pipe bomb was hurled at the Westside campaign headquarters of the party in Santa Monica about 12:30 a.m., May 2. Luckily, it exploded in midair and there were no injuries to the campaign workers still in the building or damage to the headquarters.

On February 4 a fragmentation bomb was exploded at the party's Central-East campaign headquarters, doing extensive damage.

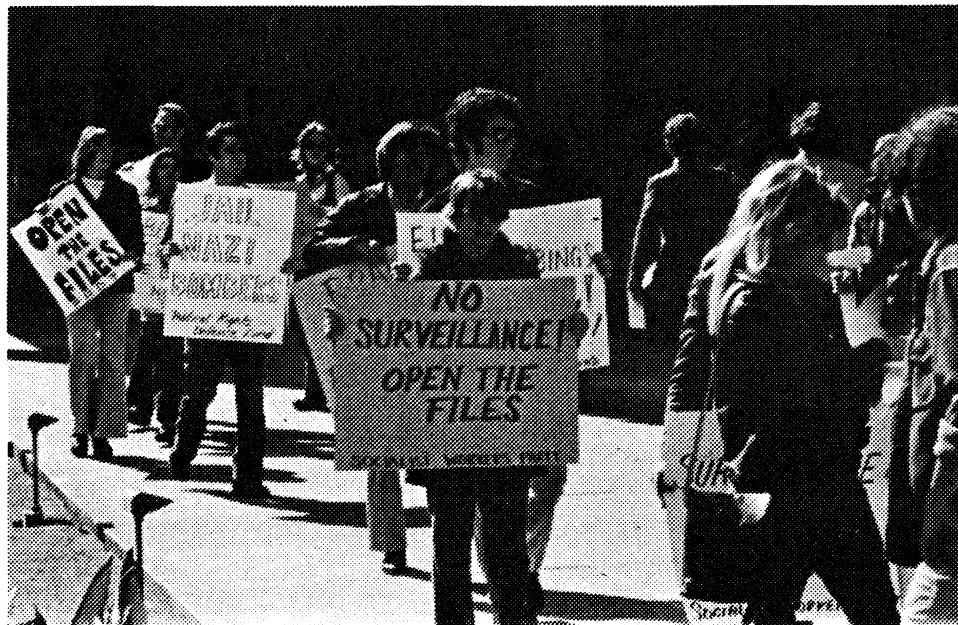
Nazis boasted publicly of that attack, and the police have refused to act against them. According to the Associated Press, an exile Cuban counterrevolutionary group calling itself "Cuban Action Commandos" has taken credit for the latest bombing.

Although it was past midnight, about ten campaign activists were still working in the headquarters when they heard and felt the impact of a loud explosion and then saw heavy black smoke outside the windows.

They immediately evacuated the building. A Santa Monica cop who had heard the blast and had seen the smoke a couple of blocks away arrived on the scene at the same time.

Additional police were summoned and they made a search of the building, including the roof.

They found nothing and said they were filing a report that what had been exploded was "a large firecracker, designed to harass."



Picket line at hearing on police spying demands cops arrest right-wing terror bombers in Los Angeles. For story on hearings, see page 24.

A Socialist Workers campaign representative requested that they summon the bomb squad. The cops refused to do this, saying that since they had found nothing, there was no basis for such a request.

The next day, campaign activists searched the roof by daylight. They found an exploded pipe bomb. It was about eight inches long and almost two inches in diameter.

The police were summoned again. They described it as a sulfate bomb. They indicated that the occupants escaped injury and the building was undamaged because the bomb had

exploded in midair.

With the building lit up at the time and clearly occupied, it was plain that whoever threw the bomb was intent not on "harassment," but murder.

On May 5 a delegation went to the office of Mayor Tom Bradley to demand that now, with this latest terrorist attack, his administration finally take action.

The delegation included American Civil Liberties Union attorney Allan Cohen; Jeff Berchenko, SWP city council candidate; Andrea Baron and Steve Schmuger of the Los Angeles Political Rights Defense Fund; writer

Donald Freed; and Jan Tucker, Los Angeles chairperson of the Peace and Freedom party.

The delegation met with James Scott, an aide to Bradley. Although there have been a dozen bombings in the city in the past three months, Scott told the delegation he didn't really know much about it. But, he said, he was confident the police were doing their job.

He asked the delegation to understand that while there was an investigation, each new bombing complicated the situation and therefore the investigation took longer.

Queried about a promised report on the bombings that was to have been submitted by the police commission in mid-March, Scott said such a report had been prepared, but because of continuing bombings the report had to be scrapped. He didn't say when it would be ready.

While the city hall meeting produced little in the way of establishing that the administration is doing anything meaningful to halt the bombings, it did help to inform the public of that reality.

Two TV stations covered the meeting and then interviewed the participants when it ended.

The previous day, another station featured the new bomb attack on its nightly news program, interviewing the person who found the bomb on the roof and recapitulating the facts of the earlier attacks.

After the city hall meeting, the delegation went to the office of U.S.

Continued on page 26

Joan Little wins new trial site

By Cindy Jaquith

A major victory has been won in the Joan Little case. On May 1, Judge Henry McKinnon ordered the murder trial of the young Black woman moved from Washington, North Carolina, to Raleigh.

Defense attorneys had argued in pretrial hearings that Little could not receive a fair trial in Washington, where she is accused of murdering a sixty-two-year-old white jailer, Clarence Allgood, in August 1974.

Little was imprisoned in the Beaufort County jail at the time. She says that Allgood entered her cell with an ice pick and tried to rape her. She stabbed him with the pick and fled.

As defense attorneys established at the hearings, Allgood's death met with a sensationalist, racist campaign by Beaufort County media. Television cameras zeroed in on Allgood's body being wheeled out of the jail, while the *Washington Daily News* praised Allgood as "a man who gave his life in the line of duty," failing to even mention his rape attack against Little. Washington is a town of about 8,000,

surrounded by other rural communities in Beaufort County. Blacks in the county are outnumbered 2 to 1.

Surveys entered as evidence by the defense showed that the attitudes among white residents of the county are more racist and conservative than in other parts of the state. "The surveys asked questions like, 'Do you think people on welfare get too much money?' and 'Do you feel that Black people are more dishonest?'" explained defense attorney Marvin Miller.

The defense also demonstrated that the county's jury selection method excludes many Blacks.

In the Raleigh area there are greater numbers of Blacks and students, which will make it easier to mobilize support for Little.

The trial will probably not begin before July 4, according to Miller.

Despite the more favorable trial site, Little still faces the charge of first-degree murder, which in North Carolina carries a mandatory death penalty. State authorities appear determined to add Little to North Carolina's death row, which already houses one-third of

all the death-row prisoners in the country.

Miller stressed that activities aimed at getting out the facts on Little's case are very important now. "We're trying to get as many people as possible to become aware of what's going on," he said.

The wide publicity already focused on the case, particularly in the Black communities, helped win a change in the trial site, Miller believes. "Whenever there's a large number of people showing their concern, it always helps, it makes a difference," he said.

Numerous benefits, rallies, forums, and marches have been held in Little's behalf since her arrest last fall. The National Student Coalition Against Racism has been among the groups active in defending Little.

On April 28, NSCAR cosponsored a picket line in Boston with the Joan Little Defense Fund, Incorporated, and other groups, demanding "Free Joan Little!" Joining the picket line were Florence Luscomb, well-known women's suffrage leader, and Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston.



Joan Little's trial has been moved to Raleigh, North Carolina.