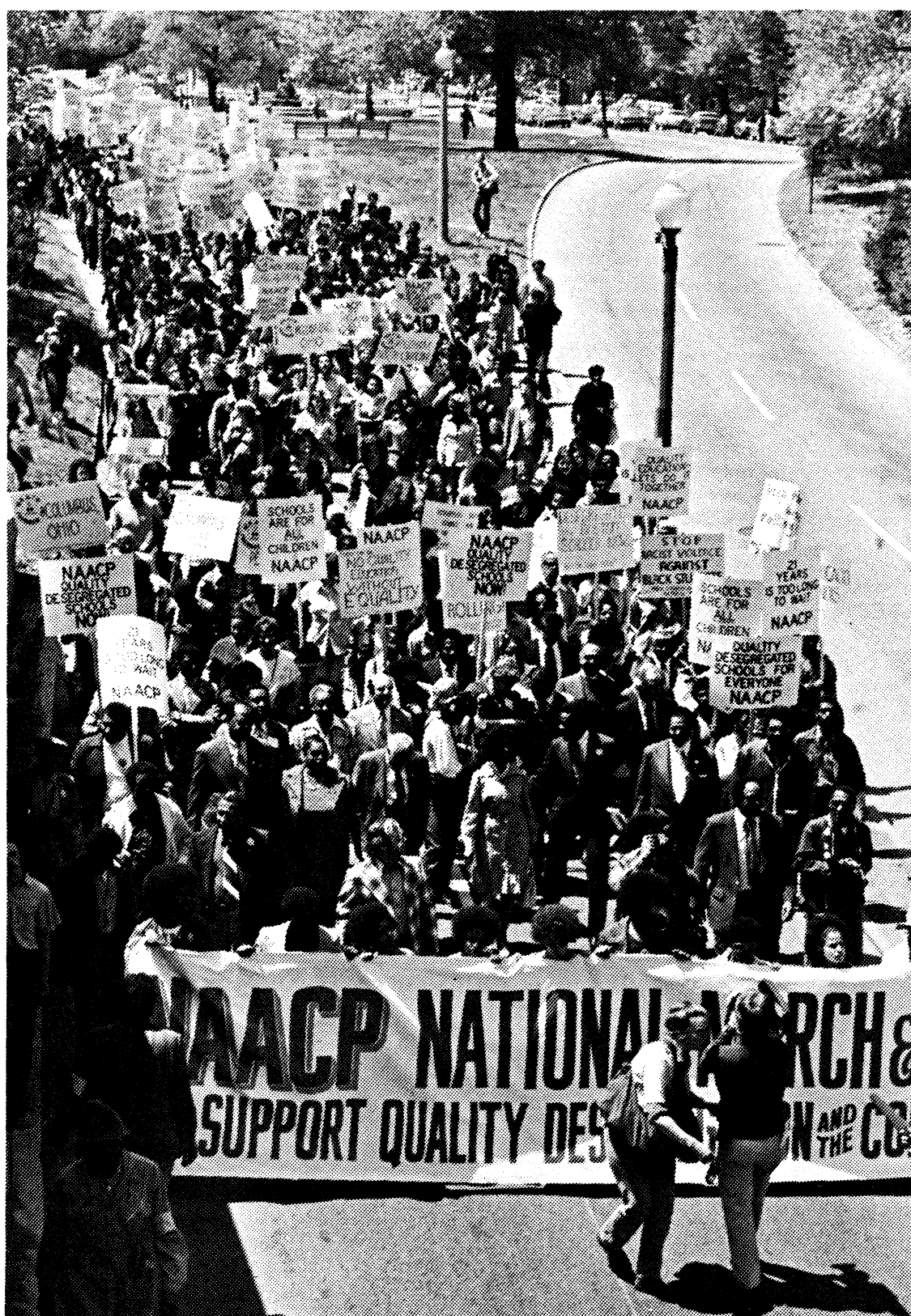


# THE MILITANT

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

## Defends school busing

# NAACP march: blow to racists



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Boston, May 17. Fifteen thousand spirited demonstrators demand enforcement of school desegregation. For reports on actions in Boston and around the country, see pages 3-6.

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## THE MILITANT

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**MAJORITY IN U.S. SUPPORT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT:** A strong 59-28 percent majority in this country now support "most of the efforts to strengthen and change women's status in society today," compared with the slim 42-41 percent plurality that backed women's rights four years ago. This is one of the outstanding results of a survey carried out by the Louis Harris organization in mid-April.

The poll also revealed that support for the Equal Rights Amendment has the backing of a decisive 51-36 percent majority of the population. In addition, the hostility toward women's liberation organizations that had been whipped up by the capitalist press several years ago has undergone a steep decline—from a 54-34 percent majority that opposed the women's groups in 1971 to a plurality of 47-43 that back them today.

Sentiment for equal rights is strongest among young people and among Blacks. Two-thirds of each of those groups support passage of the ERA. A majority of union members also back the amendment.

## Bond, Boudin to speak at N.Y. teach-in on FBI

NEW YORK—A teach-in on the FBI versus the Bill of Rights will be held here Wednesday, May 28, at the Community Church of New York. The teach-in is sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee to protest recently disclosed FBI "disruption" campaigns against the civil rights, antiwar, labor, and socialist movements.

Among the featured speakers will be Georgia state legislator Julian Bond, noted constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, and Anne Braden, a longtime fighter for civil liberties in the South.

In addition, two recent victims of FBI "Counterintelligence Programs" will explain how they were harassed. These are Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta, target of an FBI death threat while working for civil rights in Mississippi, and Dr. Morris Starsky, a socialist professor witch-hunted out of a teaching post in Arizona.

Other speakers include Kathy Kelly, president, National Student Association; Henry Foner, president, Joint Board, Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers union; Paul Mayer, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Frank Donner, author; Dave McReynolds, War Resisters League; and Annette Rubenstein, critic.

The meeting will begin at 8 p.m., Wednesday, May 28, at the Community Church of New York, Thirty-fifth Street and Park Avenue. It will be preceded by a 7:00 p.m. reception. Admission for the teach-in is \$1.50; reception and teach-in, \$10.

**CLUW FORUM DISCUSSES APRIL 26 RALLY FOR JOBS:** "Women have a big stake in the fight against unemployment, because the gains we've made in the past few years are being wiped out," remarked Eileen Berlow of the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women at a May 15 report-back forum on the Washington, D.C., jobs-for-all rally. The Cleveland chapter of CLUW organized the meeting, which was held at the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 707 hall.

Berlow explained how the April 26 protest was organized, noting that more than half of the participants had been women and that CLUW had supported the rally and had urged its members to attend.

Other speakers at the meeting included Jackie LaValle, an unemployed steelworker and a member of the Ohio Citizens against Inflation and Unemployment, and Barbara Winslow of the American Federation of Teachers.

The meeting was concluded by IUE Local 707 President Joe Janor. In discussing the mood of many unionists at the rally, Janor stated that the widespread feeling among the crowd toward speakers such as Sen. Hubert Humphrey was: "We want you to listen to us. We came to Washington to bring you a message!"

**MENOMINEE INDIANS WIN 'SMALL VICTORY':** Circuit Court Judge Henry Gergen of Dodge County, Wisconsin, dismissed misdemeanor charges May 13 against twenty-four Menominee Indians who had participated in the repossession of an Alexian Brothers novitiate near Gresham, Wisconsin, earlier this year. The novitiate is located on tribal land.

The trespassing and disorderly-conduct charges were dismissed because the complaints were drawn up improperly, but Special Prosecutor Donald Zuidmulder has already announced his intention to seek new complaints. In addition, the case of five Menominees who have been charged with felonies in the wake of the repossession are still pending.

Karla White, spokesperson for the Menominee People's Committee-Milwaukee Council, said that group viewed the dismissal of the charges against the twenty-four as a "small victory."

**AMERICAN RACISM IN PANAMA CANAL ZONE:** A life-size gallows was recently erected at the entrance of an army compound in the U.S.-occupied Panama Canal Zone.

The gallows was built under "urgent" army orders, at a cost of \$314 to American taxpayers, to serve as an "incentive sign" directed at 700 Panamanian workers employed by the army at the Corozal compound.

The racist incident was reported in the May 21 *Federal Times*, a weekly newspaper published in Washington, D.C. The Canal Zone reader who reported the incident to the *Federal Times* noted that "one black man was actually hanged in this very compound for rape during Canal construction days." The unnamed reporter added, "This may have fertilized the perpetrator's thinking."

"The fact that these recent gallows were painted black was taken by many black workers as a direct affront to them. A further resentful undercurrent exists because [the U.S. government] is bearing down on the 85 percent non-U.S. work force with an intensity heretofore not experienced at this location."

The Panama Canal Zone has been under U.S. military occupation since the beginning of this century, when Washington forced Panama to cede control of the zone "in perpetuity." In recent years, Panamanians have been fighting to regain the occupied territory.

**TAX TIPS FOR GRAFTERS:** Kickbacks, bribes, and other illegal payments have become such a cherished American institution that the Revenue Code allows them to be deducted from federal income taxes whenever these payments constitute an "ordinary and necessary" business expense.

Such deductions are disallowed, however, in any state where the laws against them are "generally enforced." Fortunately, the felonious taxpayer is not required to prove the laws are *not* enforced; on the contrary, it is up to the feds to prove the laws *are* enforced if they want to take away the deduction.

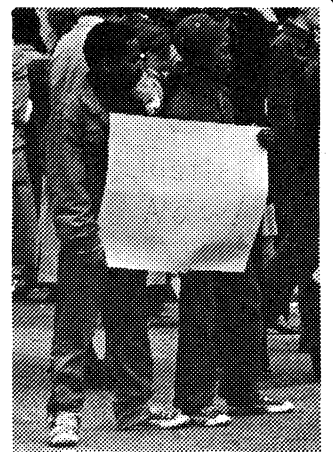
Since the anticorruption laws are only so much window dressing, the Internal Revenue Service is in an understandably difficult position. So now the government is trying to resolve the problem by redefining "generally enforced" to mean there has been at least one normal "enforcement action" of the applicable law. Prosecutions for "infamous" or "extraordinarily flagrant" bribes don't count as normal "enforcement actions."

All of which means, we assume, that if you get caught bribing a public official because you listed it on your income tax form, you can still get away with claiming the deduction.

—Nelson Blackstock

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# 15,000 in May 17 march on Boston demand: 'enforce desegregation now!'

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Thousands turned out here May 17 in a march and rally to salute the twenty-first anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation and to demand that it be implemented in Boston and other cities today.

The event, initiated by the Boston NAACP last February, had as its theme, "Twenty-one years is too long."

Marchers responding to the NAACP call converged on this city from across the Charles River and from across the Mississippi River. But most came from Boston, a city that in the past year has seen the stiffest resistance to school desegregation of any Northern city.

Estimates of the size of the demonstration varied. An NAACP official announced at the rally that 50,000 people were present. Boston police originally indicated "some 30,000" were present, but they later trimmed the figure to between 12,000 and 15,000.

Militant reporters estimate there were from 8,000 to 9,000 people on the two-mile march and about 15,000 attending the two-hour rally on the Boston Common, making it the largest demonstration for desegregation yet held here. Last December 14, about 12,000 people turned out for a march against racism.

Nearly half the gathering was Black. Overall, it was a youthful crowd, but many middle-aged people also marched.

Since the opening of school last fall, activities of the antibusing movement have consumed nearly all the media's attention and created the impression that supporters of desegregation are few.

The May 17 demonstration, however, stirred confidence among Blacks and other supporters of desegregation and illustrated once again that the racists don't own the streets of Boston.

The authority of the NAACP was a major factor in inspiring a large turnout. Not since the 1963 civil rights march on Washington has the NAACP supported a major demonstration.



Rally was show of force against racist attacks on school desegregation

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, a newly formed student and youth group, contributed tremendous resources and effort in building the demonstration. Since NSCAR was founded last February its focus has been on the desegregation struggle here, and through its efforts to build May 17 it has quickly earned respect.

The success of the efforts of the NAACP, NSCAR, and others who built the action was evident from the broad range of groups marching: community, civic, religious, union, and political organizations, ranging from long-established organizations such as the National Urban League and the Americans for Democratic Action to more radical groups.

## Desegregation suits

Many people across the country have been looking to Boston as the focus of the battle between forces seeking to roll back the gains of the civil rights

movement of the 1960s and those forces favoring extension of those gains.

Many people, therefore, responded to the May 17 call and came to be counted in the struggle to extend Black equality.

Volma Overton, a middle-aged Black man, stood at the assembly point holding an Austin, Texas, NAACP sign. He is president of Austin's NAACP. He stated that a carload of people had driven up from Austin to demonstrate their solidarity with the struggle in Boston.

"If we don't show a force and only just pass it off, they are watching and will see us," Overton explained, referring to right-wing forces that are gearing up to defeat a school desegregation lawsuit in Austin.

Other NAACP officials interviewed reported similar right-wing offensives or judicial foot dragging.

The state president of the Delaware NAACP told of the progress of the Wilmington desegregation suit.

A district court judge in Wilmington has recently upheld approval of a metropolitan school plan for that city involving city and suburban busing. A city/suburban busing plan for Detroit was overturned by the Supreme Court last year.

"The court told the school board to submit a plan for the fall," the Delaware NAACP president said, but so far they haven't. He believes the school board is banking on the Supreme Court overturning the proposal. White groups in the suburbs are against the plan too.

"Nobody wants it," he said, shaking his head, except the NAACP, which filed the original suit on behalf of Black parents.

Most of those from out of town came from New York, New England, and the Central-Atlantic states. There were also people from as far away as Portland, Oregon; Racine, Wisconsin; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Logan, Utah; Birmingham, Alabama; and Atlanta, Georgia.

Around 12:30 in the afternoon people began lining up for the march.

At the front were red-and-gold-uniformed Shriners, Syria Arab Patrol Band Number 31. Some were on full-dress Harley-Davidson motorcycles. Others, on foot, carried horns and drums.

Women in blue uniforms, the Antler Guard Elks Club, queued up behind the Shriners.

"Mark time, march!" the Shrine leader, in a high fez and carrying a shiny baton, called out.

The drums rolled. The horns belted out a martial flourish. The baton carrier danced a classy cakewalk jig, and the procession moved out.

For the next forty-three minutes, according to one observer, the march route was nothing but a stream of people in support of school desegregation.

There were young people on bikes and on roller skates, women wheeling strollers, hounds on leashes, toddlers being towed, two soft-pretzel vendors peddling three-wheel vehicles side-by-side, and one vendor pushing an ice-cream truck.

"Oooh, a parade," a boy on a man's shoulders squealed as the march twisted down Park Drive towards Commonwealth Avenue and the Common. The pair stepped from the curb and melted into the crowd.

"Keep the buses rolling. Desegregate the schools now," the first contingent of marchers cried out.

"Two, four, six, eight, Boston must desegregate," another contingent replied.

## Bystanders cheer

People along the march route greeted the demonstrators with waves of approval. Some cheered and applauded. Others joined the march.

Passing motorists would honk in support of the march.

There were thousands of banners and placards on the march, giving it lots of color.

Groups formed contingents by area or group and carried banners identifying themselves.

A banner carried by the Indiana Student Coalition Against Racism said: "Desegregate Boston Schools. Desegregate Indianapolis Schools Now."

People from the Northwest Philadelphia NAACP carried a long banner, and some wore gauze blue-and-gold NAACP caps.

"Desegregate All Boston Schools Now. Norman Oliver for Mayor," a banner carried by supporters of the campaign of Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, read. Oliver was the only mayoral candidate to be seen on the march.

The Boston chapter of the National Organization for Women had a banner, as did the Committee to Defend Abortion Rights, which has helped defend Dr. Kenneth Edelin.

Other groups with banners or contingents included American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930, Library Guild, New York; American Friends Service Com-

Continued on next page

## A well-organized action

BOSTON—To those who had participated in previous civil rights or antiwar demonstrations, it was evident that the marshaling of the May 17 action here was carried out with a high degree of efficiency and political good sense.

The volunteer marshals were organized by the NAACP and the National Student Coalition Against Racism. The bulk of the marshals had been recruited by NSCAR. Many were students—Black and white—from campuses in the Boston area, with some coming in on buses from other cities.

The front rank of the march was guided along the route by monitors wearing easily identifiable yellow armbands. At key intersections along the line of march, rows of marshals were stationed to avert any possible disruptions. None occurred.

The demonstrators were in no mood for any ultraleft provocations, and this fact, along with the visibly well-organized marshaling team, would have discouraged any group thinking about trying to disrupt the line of march or seize the stage.

The discipline of the marshals would also have dissuaded any

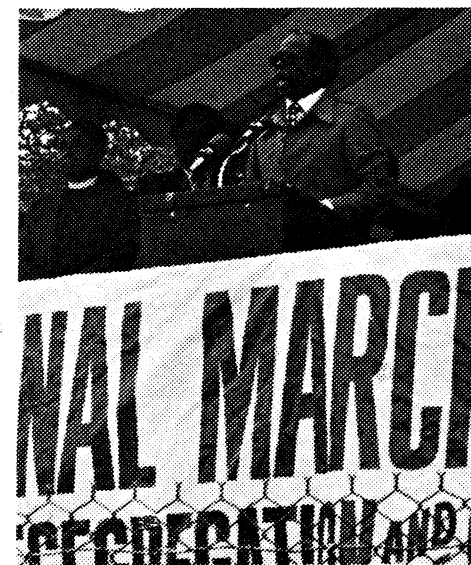
right-wingers who may have been contemplating an attack on the demonstration.

In virtually the only incident, a group of nine men tried to provoke a fight as the rally started. The group was identified in the *Boston Globe* as from the National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party. They were not in uniform.

Standing at the top of the hill on the Boston Common, they were obviously spoiling for a battle, threatening several people. As the speeches started, they unfurled a sheet with the words "NAACP = Communism" scrawled on it. They also set fire to some papers, including a copy of the *Militant*.

Quickly and calmly, marshals moved around the small group, surrounding their sheet with probusing banners and signs. Within minutes, more than fifty people had the would-be disrupters completely encircled.

The Nazi toughs began to look around nervously. After a few minutes, a squad of police arrived. The hoodlums quickly folded up their banner and—visibly relieved—allowed the cops to escort them away.



Crowd cheered for Boston NAACP president, Thomas Atkins.

# ...thousands in Boston march

Continued from preceding page

mittee; Eritreans for Liberation; Boston Socialist Feminist Organization; Episcopal Clergy and Laity; and Unitarian Universalist Association.

Radical groups such as the Young Socialist Alliance, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, New American Movement, and Young Workers Liberation League also carried prominent banners.

Upon arriving in the Common, many marchers sought shade or cool drinks as relief from the sun. Others devoured bag lunches and some could be seen guzzling beer.

"We have come today," Rev. Charles Smith, who chaired the rally, opened by saying, "to say to all of America . . . in the words of that old spiritual, 'I will never turn back, no more.'"

The theme of not turning around from the drive toward full Black equality was conveyed in other speakers' remarks.

Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, recalled that gains were won in the 1960s through the sustained pressure of the civil rights mobilizations. He urged continued demonstrations.

"Today's demonstration is a big step forward in the struggle for Black equality. This demonstration is part of the process in which Black people will secure our rights," Dixon said.

Dixon was warmly applauded when he said, "If Ford can send bombers, troops, and ships to attack Cambodia in violation of the Cambodian people's human and political rights, . . . he should be able to send troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law."

"Send those troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law and to protect Black children from racist lynch mobs!"

"James Baldwin has said that we live in an age when silence is not only criminal but suicidal," began Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association, "And that is why students from across the country are here in Boston today. Because we refuse to remain silent in the face of injustice and inequality."

There were frequent references to the civil rights days, the obstacles that were encountered, and the victories that were won. The demonstration, itself, had much of the flavor of a

1960s civil rights rally. There was gospel singing and hand clapping, the staccato of bongo drums and tambourines, and warm camaraderie.

## 'Bigotry with Boston accent'

"We will not yield one word or one bit of our constitutional rights to hypocrites, who talk about law and order and desecrate the law and order they don't like," Joseph Rauh, vice-chairperson of Americans for Democratic Action, said. "George Wallace stood in the schoolhouse door in Alabama to bar Blacks from entering. Those who bar the schoolhouse door here are not different from George Wallace just because they speak with a Boston accent. Bigotry with a Boston accent is still bigotry."

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, spoke briefly on the durability of the NAACP and the job it has to face.

"I pledge to you that we will be here as long as it is necessary. We're not going out of business. We've been here sixty-six years. And if the Boston bigots can last that long—I doubt it—we'll be here sixty-six more years," the elderly civil rights leader declared.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, who was described by several of the speakers as "a fighter," got a warm welcome when he was introduced, a recognition of the respect for his contributions.

He spoke on the effect of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling.

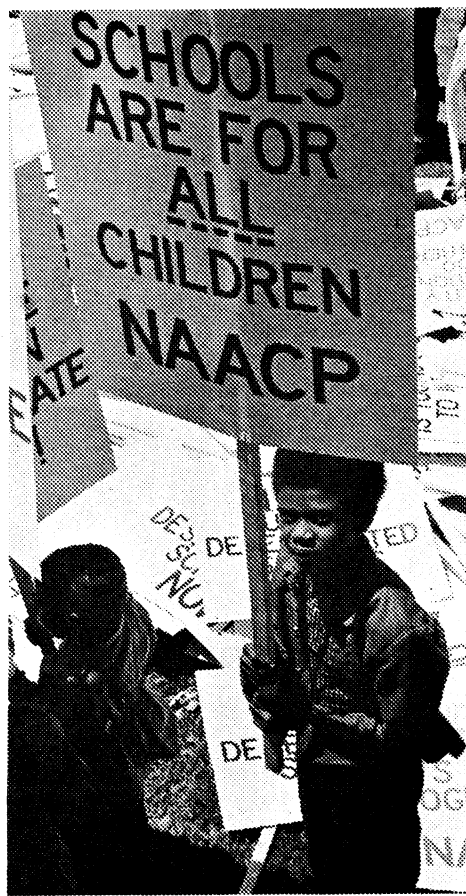
"We took that ruling," he said, "and carried it all over the South. We used it to brush away the crowds gathered outside Little Rock High School to prevent a handful of Black children from going to school."

"And we used it to remove obstructions from the doorways at 'Ole Miss.'"

"We used that decision to reverse the entire system of Jim Crow laws across the South. Not just in education. But in voting rights. In housing. In public accommodation. In public services. And in employment."

And we're using that decision in Boston, Atkins declared.

Other speakers included Cynthia Wade, a Black student attending South Boston High School; Margaret Bush Wilson, chairperson of the national board of directors of the NAACP; and NAACP general counsel Nathaniel Jones.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Veteran civil rights activist Dick Gregory wound up the rally with a militant, enthusiastic speech. Gregory ripped the U.S. attack on Cambodia with sharp, homespun wit that the crowd just loved.

## Attempted exclusion

The breadth and solidarity exhibited on the march and rally were exactly the prescription needed to build the movement in defense of Black rights.

People from different groups, with different backgrounds and varied political beliefs marched arm in arm, to defend desegregation.

This unity faced a potentially serious obstacle in the days just before the demonstration when the NAACP at a news conference here said that "Communists were not invited" to the march and rally. The national NAACP maintains a formal position of not working with the "extreme Right or extreme Left."

The National Student Coalition Against Racism, which has a policy of being open to all supporters of desegregation, whatever their political affiliations, sharply disagreed with this exclusionary position.

The coordinators of NSCAR immediately sent off telegrams to the Communist party and to the Young Workers Liberation League, inviting them to participate in the demonstration. The student leaders said that they believed the NAACP policy "is a political error" that "can only cut across the number of desegregation supporters than can be mobilized."

In their telegrams, they "welcome[d] the YWLL and the Communist party and all groups to bring their banners and slogans and be a part of the student contingent. . . ."

On the march and at the rally, the spirit of unity and determination to see the desegregation of Boston's schools was overwhelming. There was no attempt to exclude supporters of desegregation from participating, and any efforts to do so would have met with a hostile reaction from the crowd.

Reaction to the demonstration was highly favorable. Participants were jubilant. Everyone interviewed felt rewarded by the turnout.

"It was really great. I thought it was terrific and just what we needed," Kathy Kelly said.

"It was a good day," a volunteer Red Cross medic simply replied when asked his opinion. Only a couple of cuts and scratches, and one bee sting.

# Socialist candidates join march

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo and hundreds of his campaign supporters marched in Boston on May 17. As Camejo circulated through the crowd at the Common, many demonstrators recognized him, came up to shake his hand, and expressed support for his campaign. Campaign workers passed out almost 4,000 copies of the SWP campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

A familiar figure to many marchers from Boston was Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of that city. His supporters passed out 3,000 copies of Oliver's platform. The Black candidate is demanding desegregation of all Boston schools by any means necessary.

The marchers were receptive to socialist ideas. A total of 742 copies of the *Militant* and 210 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold. Evan Siegal from Boston was the top *Militant* salesperson, selling 41 papers. A literature table set up by Pathfinder Press attracted a lot of interest.

Later that evening, 150 people jammed into the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in Boston to hear Camejo and Oliver speak and to celebrate the success of the May 17 action.

Infuriated by the massive antiracist countermobilization that had taken



Militant/Jon Flanders

SWP Boston mayoral candidate Norman Oliver campaigning among May 17 marchers.

place that day, four uniformed Nazis tried to break up the campaign open house.

Shortly before nine o'clock, the four strolled past the headquarters, then turned around and made a rush for the door. Marshals stationed at the door locked and barricaded it with chairs. The Nazis attempted to break down the door, screaming, "We're going to kill you, you commie filth. Keep out of South Boston." When they saw other campaign workers coming to the aid of the marshals, they ran off. The celebration proceeded without further incident.

The attempted Nazi assault was the latest in a series of incidents involving right-wing attacks and threats on socialists in Boston and in other cities across the country. Despite the serious nature of the attacks, the cops have refused to make any arrests.

A picket line has been scheduled for Friday, May 23, at 12:00 noon in front of Boston's city hall to demand that Mayor Kevin White order the cops to open up their picture files on the Nazis so that those involved in the assaults can be identified and prosecuted.

## Racists vow resistance

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The chief racist organization here, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), chose the weekend of May 17 to hold a national convention and stage an antibusing rally.

ROAR has been trying for some time to pull together local reactionary groups into a nationwide organization. So far they have had limited success, but some local ROAR chapters have been set up. One such group, in New York City, recently ran a big ad in the *New York Daily News*.

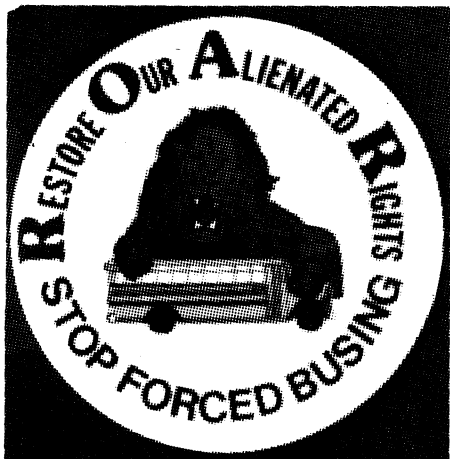
About 125 people attended the convention. Among them were the book-burning bigots from Charleston, West Virginia; antibusing leaders from Prince Georges County, Maryland; and a swarm of John Birch Society members.

The focus of the national organization will be a drive to get an antibusing amendment added to the U.S. Constitution. ROAR says it hopes to open an office in Washington, D.C., soon.

At the rally, held on Sunday, May 18, more than 2,000 whistling,

cheering racists made crystal clear their determination to continue to organize resistance to desegregation in Boston. The reactionary theme of the rally was sounded by Avi Nelson, a local right-wing radio commentator. "Between what we did in Cambodia last week and today's rally," Nelson proclaimed, "it feels good to be an American!"

The racists whooped with delight.



ROAR's EMBLEM: A fitting symbol of their campaign of violence against Black schoolchildren.



## Student leader's speech

# Dixon: 'Twenty-one years is too long!'

One of the most enthusiastically received speeches at the May 17 rally in Boston was delivered by Maceo Dixon, who spoke on behalf of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Portions of Dixon's speech were included in the network television coverage of the May 17 demonstration. Following are major excerpts from the speech.

Brothers and sisters: Today's demonstration is a big step forward in the struggle for Black equality. This demonstration is part of the process in which Black people will secure our rights.

It is a racist school board that has helped to mobilize right-wing forces in an attempt to turn back Black rights.

Today is the kind of answer we have to give. Massive countermobilizations to secure and extend Black democratic rights in this country, which is the only method of struggle to successfully end the injustices that we suffer as an oppressed people.

There are many different kinds of people here today to show our support for school desegregation.

There are many Black elementary, middle, and high school students here who are right out there on the front battle lines. It is you Black students who are the main troops for this struggle to get an equal education. You are here to demand that the government defend your right to attend any school of your choosing.

Parents are here today. They are here in support of their Black children to take the lead and fight for desegregated education and busing.

College students are here today. College youth are here to fight against university cutbacks and tuition hikes. You are here to fight against those cutbacks and tuition hikes and for desegregated education because the government and campus administrations don't want to allocate funds for higher education or equal education.

Women are here today. Women are here because you have seen that the forces that have thrown rocks, bottles, and racist epithets at Black students being bused into Hyde Park, Roslindale, and South Boston are the same

people who initiated the conviction of a Black doctor, Dr. Edelin, for performing a legal abortion on a Black woman.

These anti-abortion people say they are for the right to life. Well, if these right-to-life bigots, who are also anti-busing racists—the same folks—were really for humanity, they'd stop their boycotts and violence and allow Black youth a chance to some rights in America.

Working people are here today. Working people who want their children to have a good education, which is not possible as long as the racists run the schools. They are also against cutbacks and unemployment that hits Blacks and Puerto Ricans the hardest.

There are many other people here who believe in justice and democracy. And there are people from cities like Detroit, Cleveland, New York, Atlanta, Houston, Philly, Chicago, and others. Many of these cities are also faced with struggles to get rid of segregated education.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is a broad-based student and youth organization. We are open to all youth who want to fight all forms of racism. All youth can join us no matter if you are a student or not. Whether you are religious, Democrat, Republican, Socialist, Commu-

nist, or whatever.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism is engaged in struggle against racism all across this country.

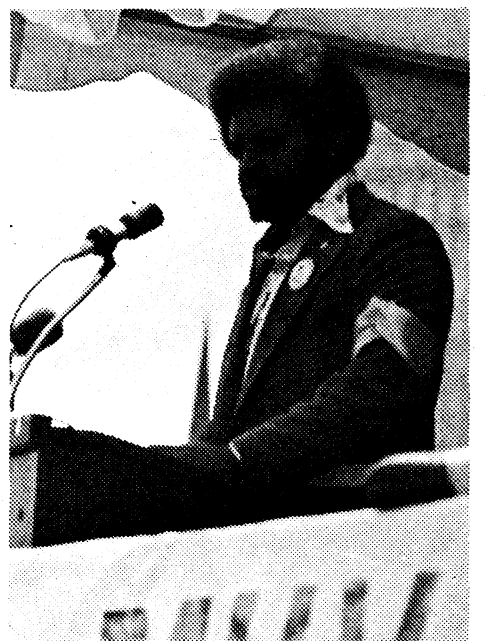
We helped organize movements against cutbacks in education in San Francisco and in the state of Washington in the public school system. We are involved in the struggle in New York City's university system against cutbacks in open-admissions programs.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has mobilized support for Sister Joan Little in Washington, North Carolina—Sister Joan Little who is being charged with murder of a white racist prison guard who attempted to rape her.

We are for the maintenance and extension of Black studies, special programs for Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities, and women's studies programs.

We are for affirmative-action programs and we demand that they be implemented to the fullest.

We're composed of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Chicanos, and white youth. Anyone who supports these struggles can be a part of our movement. But we make a special appeal to Black youth, particularly students. Blacks have to take the lead in this struggle because we are the primary victims of racism.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
Maceo Dixon, speaking for National Student Coalition Against Racism.

So we have to fight back the hardest because it's in our interest and we have nothing to lose but our chains of oppression.

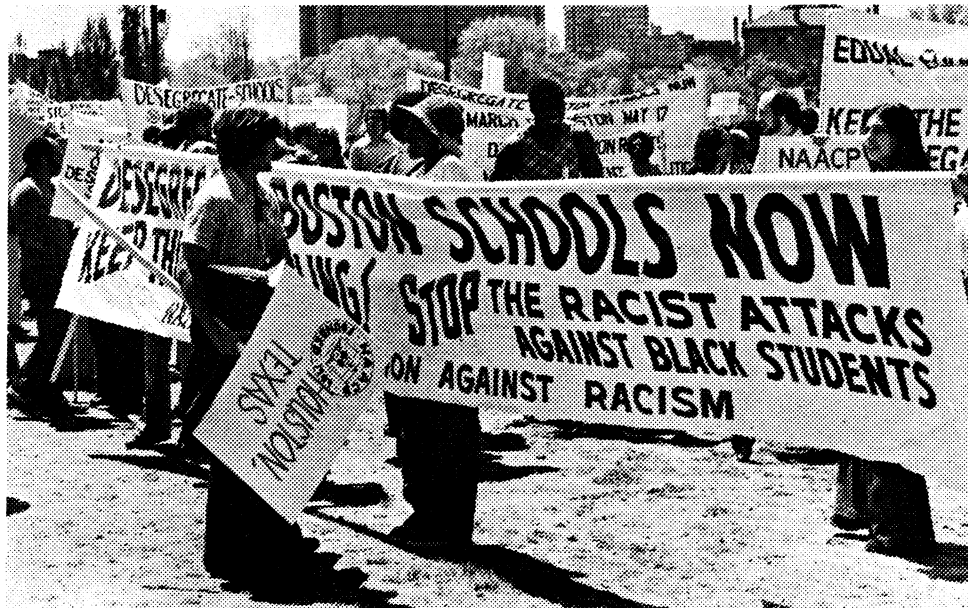
We have to continue this fight until every vestige of racism is eliminated from American society. The center of this fight against this social disease is here in Boston. To win we need force and power.

If Ford can send bombers, troops, and ships to attack Cambodia in violation of the Cambodian people's human and political rights, which we should all strongly oppose, he should be able to send troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law.

Send those troops and tanks to Boston to enforce the law and to protect Black children from racist lynch mobs!

We have to build, build, build this movement to tell the racists that school desegregation has to be enforced here right now. It's been twenty-one years since the United States Supreme Court ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

We say twenty-one years is too long!  
Desegregate the Boston schools now!  
Stop the racist violence!  
Keep the buses rolling!



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
Marchers line up behind student coalition banner on May 17

## Where CP and Maoists stood on May 17

By Wendy Lyons

When the December 14 march against racism took place in Boston last year, in response to the campaign of violence against school desegregation, the Communist party and the Young Workers Liberation League boycotted the event. The YWLL held a national convention in Philadelphia on the same weekend as the historic march, and the organization's national chairperson, James Steele, branded the demonstration of 12,000 a "routine exercise in left sectarianism."

The recent May 17 demonstration was much broader than the December 14 march, and the Stalinists found it impossible to oppose it openly. Their newspaper, the *Daily World*, gave a moderate amount of coverage to the event, shortly before it took place, and the CP and YWLL organized modest-sized contingents.

But the Stalinists did not throw their energies into building support for the action. Just the opposite—their main effort was aimed at undercutting it.

The call for the march was originally announced by Thomas Atkins, presi-

dent of the Boston NAACP, at the February founding convention of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). It was enthusiastically endorsed by the gathering of 2,000.

Shortly after the convention, the *Daily World* ran a lengthy series of articles by YWLL organizational secretary Matty Berkelhammer. These articles were aimed at reducing the authority of the call for action by red-baiting NSCAR as being "dominated" by the Young Socialist Alliance.

The *World's* major coverage of the action prior to May 17 was through Berkelhammer's slanderous attacks on the organization that was doing the most to mobilize young people across the country to respond to the NAACP call.

To top it off, three weeks before the demonstration, the YWLL distributed a letter withdrawing from any participation in NSCAR on the basis that the YSA, which they characterize as "racist and opportunist," "dominates (and always has) NSCAR from top to bot-

tom." They called NSCAR a "caricature of the struggle against racism."

A caricature of the struggle against racism? Thomas Atkins didn't think so when he saluted NSCAR from the podium on May 17 for its role in bringing out the thousands of students who marched in Boston that day. The 15,000 people who participated in the demonstration didn't think so when they cheered NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon's address to the rally.

The pro-Peking Stalinists had even greater difficulties with the May 17 action.

When the busing struggle broke out in Boston last fall, the Maoists were divided over whether or not to support busing. The Revolutionary Union and its youth group, the Revolutionary Student Brigade, opposed busing.

Other Maoists, such as the *Guardian* and the October League, correctly accused RU of capitulating to racism. The *Guardian* and the OL participated in the December 14 march.

Now it appears that these groups have caved in to the pressure of RU. None of the major Maoist organiza-

tions participated in the May 17 march.

In the May 21 issue of the *Guardian*, Jeff Winbourn, a spokesperson for OL, explained why. He said that the May 17 march "represents the assimilationist wing of the Black bourgeoisie, led by the NAACP, whereas the December march represented more of the nationalist wing, exemplified by [Democratic Black state] Rep. Bill Owens!"

Winbourn added, "The NAACP busing plan is forced assimilation and denies the democratic right of third world people to attend the schools of their choice."

Evidently, the OL now clearly opposes the right of the Black community to desegregated schools through the use of busing.

The same *Guardian* article reports that the February First Movement "has not taken a position on busing" and therefore would not participate in the May 17 march.

The *Guardian* itself took no position on the May 17 action, although it had supported the march last December.

## Solidarity with Boston

# May 17 actions held across country

By Wendy Lyons

While 15,000 marched in Boston on May 17 to proclaim their support for desegregated schools, solidarity demonstrations were taking place in several other cities.

In Los Angeles, in response to a call by the NAACP, 350 spirited demonstrators marched through the Black community to a rally in Exposition Park. Chanting, "Jim Crow must go," "Education yes; segregation no," and, "What do we want? Freedom! When do we want it? Now!" protesters were joined by neighborhood residents at the start of the march.

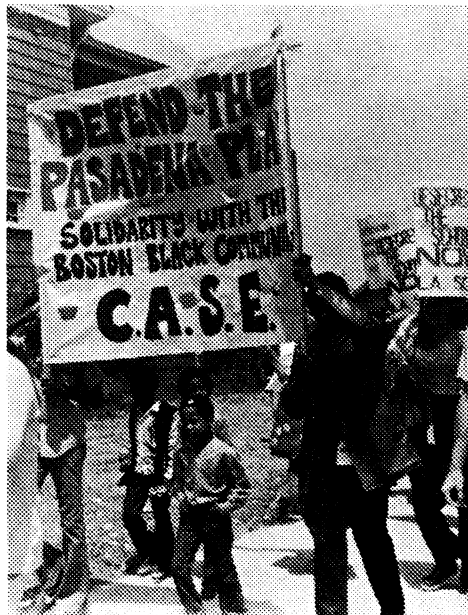
Speakers at the rally included Henry Dotson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP; Dr. H. Clark Hudson, vice-president of the chapter; Rev. James Lawson of the Holman Methodist Church; Dr. Thomas Kilgore of the Second Baptist Church; Florence Perry of the Committee Against Segregation in Education, which has been leading the fight for school desegregation in Pasadena; and Laura Moorhead and Dennis Richter of the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism.

Lawson scored the Los Angeles Board of Education for failing to desegregate the city's schools twenty-one years after the U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring school segregation illegal. There is "more segregation in Los Angeles," he said, "than in any of the cities of the Southeast United States—and that's deliberate."

In concluding the rally Dotson praised the role of the student coalition in building the march.

### 400 at Oakland rally

Oakland Technical High School was the scene of a Bay Area rally of 400 people on May 17. NAACP leader David McCullom opened the rally by



Militant/Harry Ring  
May 17 protest in Los Angeles demanded desegregation of Boston and Los Angeles schools.

reading proclamations from the mayors of Berkeley and Oakland in support of school desegregation.

Mary Jane Johnson, Berkeley school board member and president of the Northern California NAACP, urged a determined "fight against racism in education whether it appears in Boston, Richmond [California], San Francisco, or Vallejo."

Rashaad Ali of the Student Coalition Against Racism received an enthusiastic response when he called for a new civil rights movement to defend the Black schoolchildren in Boston.

Keynote speaker of the afternoon was Samuel Sheats, former Pasadena School Board member, who has been a leader of the desegregation fight in that city. "I implore you," he said, "to

take more action in the future. The time for segregation is past."

Called by the NAACP, the rally was endorsed by SCAR, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), and others.

Two hundred fifty demonstrators in Portland, Oregon, marched from the Portland school administration building to Irving Park.

At the park the marchers heard Rev. Ellis Casson, president of the Portland NAACP, condemn the violence aimed at Black students in Boston, and Arthur Bennett, a leader of Portland SCAR, talk about the need for an ongoing student organization to fight all forms of racist oppression.

Other speakers included James Brooks, executive director of the Urban League; Robert Ridgley, chairman of the Portland School Board; Evelyn Crowell, a Black studies instructor at Portland State University; Rev. John Jackson, president of the Albina Ministerial Alliance; and Linda Haggis of the Joan Little Defense Committee.

In addition to the Portland protest, the NAACP also held a rally in nearby Vancouver, Washington, attended by 100.

### Funds for schools

In Seattle, 150 people marched through the Black community to Garfield High School for a rally on May 17. In addition to demonstrating their solidarity with the desegregation struggle in Boston, the marchers demanded state funding for Seattle schools, which face massive cutbacks that will hit hardest at the schools in the Black community.

Roscoe Bass, principal of predominantly Black Garfield High, said that a recent meeting of parents and

teachers had pledged to shut down the school if the state doesn't come up with the money to maintain the school's educational programs.

Buzz Jackson of the Washington Education Association pledged that the WEA would fight to maintain the gains made by affirmative-action programs, which are now threatened by teacher layoffs. He said that unless the seniority system is modified it could become a means of maintaining the "last hired, first fired" conditions of minorities and women.

Gene Peterson, chairperson of the Central Area School Council, said that the racist attacks on Black education in Boston and other parts of the country are part of an attempt to do away with the gains made by Blacks during the civil rights movement.

### Clenched fists

A Boston solidarity demonstration of 100 was held in San Diego in front of the federal building. Every window at the new federal prison next door was filled with the clenched fists of prisoners showing their support for the antiracist action.

In Denver, Mayor William McNichols declared May 17 "Support the Constitution Day" in response to a request by that city's NAACP. A meeting heard Joe Edie Roy, president of the state conference of the Colorado-Wyoming NAACP; James Reynolds of the Colorado Civil Rights Commission; and Phil Drew of Colorado SCAR, among others, speak about the fight against segregation in Boston and Colorado.

In Salt Lake City, Utah, 300 people, half from the Black community and half students from the city's campuses, marched on the Federal Building on

*Continued on page 26*

## Sets summer actions

# Student coalition to continue struggle

By Ginny Hildebrand

BOSTON—For about 450 young demonstrators May 17, the day's events did not end with the rally for desegregation at the Boston Common. Some of them had come by bus or car from as far away as Minnesota and Utah. Many had arrived at 8:00 a.m. to join marshaling teams for the demonstration. All of them had marched a couple of miles and chanted and cheered in the sun all day.

Still, they jammed into the basement of the University of Massachusetts, Boston, downtown campus at 7:30 p.m. for the National Student Coalition Against Racism national steering committee meeting. Their exhaustion was lost in their excitement.

Maceo Dixon gave a report for the five NSCAR coordinators that opened the discussion on summer and fall perspectives for the student antiracist movement. He began by reviewing the work of the sixty student coalition chapters since NSCAR's founding conference just three months ago.

Along with organizing thousands of student and community activists to come to the demonstration in Boston, Dixon reported that SCAR chapters had been active in protests against campus and high school budget cutbacks; in defense of Joan Little and the Attica Brothers; in support of Dr. Edelin and the right of women to abortion; in protests against police brutality in Texas; in support of Puerto

Rican, Black, and Chinese community control of the schools in Community School District One in New York City; and in support of the April 26 national demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C.

A proposal from the coordinators urged local chapters to "organize a week of antiracist activities from July 28 to August 3, focusing on the school desegregation fight in Boston but also taking up other struggles going on across the country—desegregation fights in Detroit and Los Angeles; fights against cutbacks in minority studies and affirmative-action programs; and struggles to win more jobs for youth."

The week's activities, the proposal suggested, can include teach-ins, picket lines, demonstrations, and other actions and educational events. The proposal also urged SCAR chapters to be ready to respond to any racist attacks on the Boston Black community that might occur over the summer, and it called for prodesegregation activities in the weeks just before schools reopen in September.

The coordinators proposed that NSCAR's second national conference be held in October, in Boston.

During the discussion, students applauded Chris Robinson when he spoke about the protests against campus cutbacks and tuition hikes in New England. Robinson, a leader of the struggle at Brown University, helped organize New England students to

support the desegregation efforts in Boston and the May 17 march.

Hattie McCutcheon from Detroit SCAR talked about the impact of the Boston desegregation fight on desegregation efforts in the Detroit schools.

A Cleveland SCAR coordinator reported on that chapter's success in organizing high school students in fourteen schools in his city.

After a full discussion, the meeting unanimously adopted the coordinators' proposal.

The enthusiasm and spirit of the

meeting was captured in the cheers and applause that greeted Dixon's comment that "we (NSCAR) are the youth and militant wing of the antiracist, prodesegregation forces around the country."

The students who boarded the buses, cars, and subways to return home were proud of the role they had played in building May 17 and in organizing hundreds of student marshals at the demonstration. They felt a new confidence—they felt like leaders. And that's exactly what they are.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson  
NSCAR coordinators Marcia Codling (left) and Joette Chancy on Boston march



## Socialist candidate on tour

# Reid joins protests in L.A. against war, racism

By Linda Jenness

LOS ANGELES—Willie Mae Reid went from picket line to demonstration to rally while on tour here as part of her campaign for the vice-presidency of the United States.

Upon arriving in Los Angeles on May 15, Reid went directly from the airport to join antiwar protesters on a picket line at the federal courthouse. The protesters were demanding that the U.S. government remove its troops from Thailand and Cambodia. The picket line was part of the national response to President Ford's renewed aggression in Southeast Asia under the guise of "rescuing" the ship Mayaguez.

On Saturday, May 17, Reid joined hundreds of Los Angeles activists in an antiracism demonstration called by the NAACP. The marchers wound through South Central Los Angeles chanting "Education, yes—segregation, no" and "Two, four, six, eight, we want to desegregate."

After the demonstration, Reid and many of her supporters went to the Socialist Workers Central-East campaign headquarters for a campaign rally. Although both of the Socialist Workers party headquarters in Los Angeles have been bombed recently by right-wing terrorists, and no arrests have been made, the Los Angeles Police Department has refused to provide Reid with individual police protection while she is in this city.

The Secret Service, which was also asked to provide protection for Reid during her stay in Los Angeles, refused on the lame excuse that they have not yet met to decide "who is a major candidate in the 1976 election campaign."

At the campaign rally, Reid pointed to the arrests in Los Angeles the day before of 500 undocumented workers, primarily Mexican, by the Immigration Service to show the hypocrisy of the U.S. government's "concern" about "opening the doors" to the Vietnamese refugees.

"Where is the open-door policy for these brothers and sisters from Mexico who want to come here to work?" Reid asked. "Yesterday at nine o'clock in the morning the Immigration Service rounded up 500 workers, mainly women, in a clothing factory here and immediately deported six busloads of these workers to Mexico. It was done so fast that by the time I got down there, which was as soon as I heard about it, it was practically all over."

Reid had immediately gone to the factory to express support for the undocumented workers and then to the federal courthouse to find out what was being done with those people who had not yet been deported.

Also speaking at the campaign rally was Jeff Berchenko, SWP candidate for city council in Los Angeles.

At Granada Hills High School, Reid spoke to more than 400 students at an



Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president, joins Los Angeles NAACP march for desegregation May 17.

assembly. The students at Granada Hills are almost all white and come from upper-middle-class families. About half of the students and teachers at the assembly were openly hostile to Reid's socialist ideas, some of them

even applauding when Reid mentioned the Ku Klux Klan or the Nazis.

Others jeered when Reid called on the students to defend Joan Little, a Black woman from Washington, North Carolina, charged with murder for defending herself from a white jailer who tried to rape her.

"Are you on the commies' side in Vietnam or ours?" asked one student. When Reid said she believed in the right of Vietnam to self-determination and that the U.S. government had no business in any part of Southeast Asia, part of the audience booed at her response.

When asked if she was surprised at the response to her talk, Reid told the *Militant*, "I've talked to high school students with racist ideas and anti-communist prejudices before—but usually not to so many all at once! Of course, there were lots of students here today who did not agree with the hecklers, but they've been intimidated and didn't speak up."

Following the assembly, a group of fifteen to twenty students and student teachers gathered around to thank Reid for coming to the school.

## How a Black veteran was won to socialism

LOS ANGELES—James Harris is a twenty-five-year-old Black veteran who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance in Los Angeles. An activist in the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism, Harris helped build the May 17 antiracist demonstration here. After the demonstration he came to the socialist campaign rally to hear Willie Mae Reid speak.

"Everyone told me not to miss this rally," he said later, "and I'm glad I didn't. I'll catch her again, too, when she speaks at Cal State."

How had Harris first heard about the YSA, and what made him decide to join?

"I bought a *Militant* at City College and I loved the *Militant*. So I came to a Friday-night forum, where

Ed Heisler spoke, that was listed in the paper. He was great, and I decided 'this is for me.'"

Ed Heisler is one of the cochairpersons of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee and was on tour in Los Angeles in March.

Harris spent eleven months in Vietnam in 1969 and 1970 in the infantry. "When they first get you, you don't know what's going on," he said about his tour in Vietnam. "We'd read the *Stars and Stripes*, and it was totally one-sided. Then all of a sudden we'd get a paper from the United States telling about the antiwar movement, and a lot of us would think, 'I should be there, not here.'"

Harris came home toward the end of 1970 and went to school for three semesters at Los Angeles City College. He dropped out because he was short on money and is now working for United Parcel Service trying to save enough to go back to school. "I can get the GI Bill benefits, and that helps. But the amount you get hasn't gone up with the cost of living, so it's not enough just by itself."

What did he like so much about that first *Militant* that brought him to Ed Heisler's talk and then into the YSA. "The FBI documents," he said. "Then there was the big article about Joan Little. And I always loved May 17, and there was a lot of coverage on May 17." —L.J.

## Black activist beats frame-up

# Lawton wins acquittal after four-year struggle

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The May 12 acquittal of Black activist Gary Lawton was a wonderful victory against a racist frame-up.

Lawton has been for many years a militant community activist in Riverside, a small city about sixty miles east of Los Angeles. In May 1971 he was charged with the murder of two cops who had been ambushed a month earlier.

He was accused despite the fact that he in no way fitted the police description of the man seen leaving the scene and despite the fact that he had voluntarily submitted to—and passed—two police lie detector tests.

Later, two young Black men, Nehemiah Jackson and Zurebu Gardner, were also arrested and charged, but ultimately the charges against them were dropped.

But racist Riverside authorities were absolutely determined to railroad Lawton. In the first trial, they obtained a

change of venue to Indio, a desert resort and agricultural town sixty miles beyond Riverside.

Lawton sat in the Indio jail for nearly a year until mounting public pressure finally forced the judge to set bail for him.

At the trial the prosecution's case consisted of a string of witnesses who told conflicting stories.

The prosecution's case was so bad that an all-white, middle-class Indio jury voted 9 to 3 for acquittal.

Despite that hung jury the prosecution pressed ahead with a second trial.

Held in Riverside, that one too ended in a hung jury.

The prosecution tried again.

The third trial, also held in Riverside, lasted more than two months. It ended with the jury staying out for three days and then coming in with the verdict of not guilty.

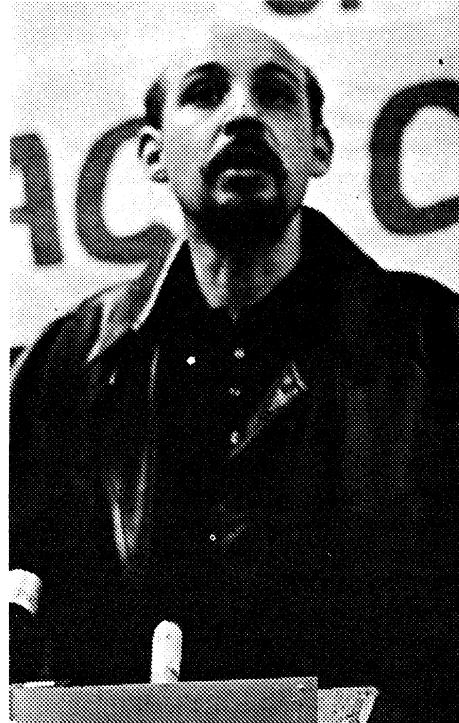
When the frame-up machinery was first set in motion against Lawton, few people outside of Riverside knew what

was happening. But Lawton was truly fortunate. His wife Chukia, also a militant liberation fighter, was determined that he would not be railroaded. She set about persistently, and at the beginning virtually single-handedly, to make the facts of the case known and to win support.

Largely through her stubborn efforts, the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee was established.

The victory that was finally won is particularly gratifying because it demonstrates that even a handful of people pitted against a powerful racist force can win if they stick to the issue and work to mobilize the support that can and must be won in such cases.

Following the acquittal, Chukia Lawton told the *Militant*: "The only thing that I can say is that if it hadn't been for each and every one of us, it would not have been possible. We want to thank our many friends and we want them to know we haven't stopped."



LAWTON: victory Militant/Harry Ring

## Nuclear saber-rattling

# U.S. threatens renewed Korean war

By David Frankel

Having finally been driven out of Vietnam and Cambodia, Washington has begun to raise the ominous threat of a new war in Korea. The latest statements have come around the *Mayaguez* incident.

Bernard Gwertzman reported in the May 16 *New York Times* the warning of "leading Administration officials" that the *Mayaguez* operation "had been undertaken in part to alert North Korea and other Communist countries that the United States was ready to meet force with force to protect its interests."

Gwertzman notes that "there have been no overt signs that North Korea is preparing to attack South Korea. . . ." But in an interview in *U.S. News & World Report*, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger stresses that in the event of a conflict in Korea, "the U.S. would take more vigorous action than we were inclined to take during much of the Vietnamese war."

The most chilling threats have been those concerning the use of nuclear weapons. John Finney, writing in the May 18 *New York Times*, mentioned that in addition to the 40,000 U.S. troops in Korea there are also "untold numbers of tactical nuclear weapons."

Only one week before, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Sam Jameson had written from Seoul: "The United States would consider using tactical nuclear weapons in case of an outbreak of war in the Korean peninsula, a top American military commander said here Monday."

"The U.S. officer, who asked not to be named, made it clear in an interview that he did not expect . . . an all-out attack upon South Korea at this time."

"But he also indicated that if such an attack should occur, a recommenda-



Marines in Korea in 1950. Washington is threatening stepped-up intervention in Korea, where U.S. already has 40,000 troops and nuclear weapons stationed.

tion urging the use of tactical nuclear weapons would most likely be made by the U.S. command here to the White House."

The U.S. commander explained to Jameson, "I'm an 'attack nuke' man myself."

Just as it did in Vietnam, Washington is trying to paint the war danger in Korea as coming from "aggression from the North." The danger to the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee, however, comes from within South Korea. Park has put into effect no less than nine emergency decrees on "safeguarding of national security and public order" in less than a year and a half.

"There has been a steady erosion of popular support for Mr. Park's Government similar to that leading, in the eyes of many observers in Asia, to the downfall of the South Vietnamese

regime," reported Richard Halloran in the May 6 *New York Times*.

As the sole protector of capitalism in South Korea, Washington is undoubtedly worried about the effects of the victory in Vietnam on the political situation there, especially since a recent poll indicated that 65 percent of the U.S. population would oppose any U.S. intervention in a new Korean war.

U.S. imperialism's original effort to halt the advance of the Korean revolution in 1950-53, during the height of the cold war, cost an estimated four million dead and wounded on both sides.

Korea had been artificially divided between U.S. and Soviet occupation forces following World War II. When fighting later broke out between the two opposing governments, the capitalist dictatorship in the South did no better than its counterpart in Saigon

last month. Alfred Crofts, a former member of the U.S. military government in Korea, explained the military reverses of the southern regime in an article in the June 25, 1960, issue of *The Nation*.

Within weeks, he wrote, "three-fourths of South Korea was overrun. . . . millions of South Koreans welcomed the prospect of unification, even on Communist terms. They had suffered police brutality, intellectual repression and political purge. Few felt much incentive to fight for profiteers or to die for Syngman Rhee. Only 10 percent of the Seoul population abandoned the city; many troops deserted, and a number of public figures . . . joined the North."

Washington's intervention saved the capitalist regime. In its June 29, 1953, issue, *Time* magazine summed up the other accomplishments of the counterrevolutionary war there:

"The war to save Korea has also killed 400,000 [South] Korean civilians, left 500,000 homes wrecked beyond repair. One-fourth of all Koreans are homeless, and 100,000 are orphans; all are underfed. In North Korea, 40 percent of all habitations are destroyed, and of military targets—factories, power plants, etc.—UN airmen agree there is not much left to destroy . . . South Korea, likewise, is a war-wrecked shell: 75 per cent of its mines and textile factories are out of action, two-thirds of its schools unusable. But out of disaster has grown a tough army of 16 divisions, and a sense of manhood."

Participants in the movement against Washington's war in Vietnam can be proud that one effect of their activity has been to make it more difficult for the U.S. imperialists to "save" Korea a second time.

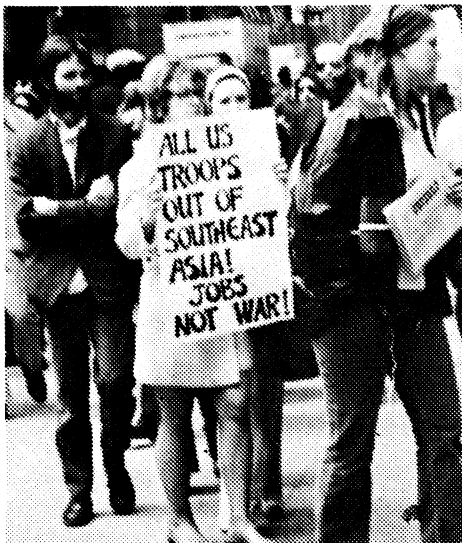
## Thais, Americans blast Ford's attack

By David Russell

Washington's murderous attack on Cambodia to "rescue" the *Mayaguez* and its crew sparked an immediate protest in both Southeast Asia and the United States.

Demonstrators greeted the new U.S. ambassador to Thailand when he arrived in Bangkok May 14. They protested Washington's use of Thailand as a staging area for the attack. The signs they carried read, "American go home" and "Bastard Ford, get your troops out."

The National Student Center of Thailand, which organized the



May 15 picket in Chicago against Pentagon's 'Mayaguez' provocation. Emergency actions in many cities demanded 'Hands off Southeast Asia.'

massive protests in October 1973 that toppled the military regime, accused Washington of using the *Mayaguez* incident as a pretext to intervene again in Indochina.

About 10,000 demonstrators marched on the U.S. embassy in Bangkok May 17, demanding that Washington apologize for launching its attacks from Thailand. According to a dispatch in the May 18 *New York Times*, the demonstration was organized mainly by student activists, including Seksan Prasertkul, a well-known student leader during the 1973 upsurge. Labor groups also participated in the action.

The protesters hanged Uncle Sam in effigy and replaced the American eagle seal on the embassy with a drawing of a vulture, bearing the inscription "Bandit's Hideaway." Some of the placards at the protest read, "Ford, how many wars did you start today?" and "Go to hell, bad Americans. This land is not for you."

About 300 demonstrators picketed the embassy compound throughout the night. The next day the crowd grew to 2,000. The students held a mock trial of Ford and Kissinger and burned Kissinger and Uncle Sam in effigy.

After meeting with a student delegation, Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan informed Washington that he would recall the Thai ambassador if the White House did not make a formal apology within two days. After receiving a U.S. note expressing "regret" over the incident, he said on May



Thai students burning President Ford in effigy. Protests forced Thai government to publicly demand U.S. withdraw marines.

19 that "bygones should be bygones."

The mass sentiment among the Thai population against becoming involved in Washington's military adventures has forced the weak regime in Bangkok to publicly condemn the use of Thai bases by the Pentagon and to threaten the removal of all U.S. forces

from the country. At the same time, the regime knows that it may have to turn to Washington for help against its own people at a later date.

Daniel Southerland reported the opinion of a Thai journalist in the May 16 *Christian Science Monitor* in this regard. "Some people," explained the Thai, "especially among the privileged classes, feel the U.S. action proved the U.S. still has the power to block communist influence in this area."

The demonstrations in the United States were held on very short notice, with many being initiated by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. Although most were small, the speed with which antiwar forces moved into action served notice on the Ford administration that larger protests would soon be mobilized if the attack on Cambodia was not halted immediately.

On May 14, the day the Pentagon announced the assault, about 150 protesters rallied at the University of California at San Diego. Fifty people turned out for an emergency picket line in Boston on one hour's notice.

The next day more than 500 demonstrators marched in a picket line at Times Square in New York City. Four hundred rallied at the University of California at Berkeley, 150 in San Francisco, and 200 in Chicago; and 150 turned out for a second protest in Boston. Demonstrations also took place in Cleveland; Ann Arbor, Michigan; and Bloomington, Indiana.



# Aggression against Cambodia

## The Mayaguez: Washington's big lie

By David Frankel

The casualty figures are still jumping around, but it looks as if President Ford has succeeded in getting fifteen to eighteen U.S. servicemen and an unknown number of Cambodians killed in order to rescue thirty-nine sailors who were already being released.

The result is being hailed as a great victory for U.S. foreign policy. "On balance," opined the sober voice of the *New York Times*, "the risks proved worth the taking and the gains outweighed the losses."

Ford "acted with prudence, deliberation, and courage," wrote the upright moralists of the *Christian Science Monitor*.

"A man who knows how to act," was the verdict of one Republican leader. Richard Nixon, who had already proved himself in this category, phoned congratulations to his protégé.

Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill.) declared: "Let no one mistake the unity and the strength of an America under attack."

### Pyramid of lies

But despite the elation of the capitalist rulers and their employees, there can be little doubt that the whole *Mayaguez* affair was a conscious, bloody provocation built on a pyramid of lies.

The first lie was that Washington was provoked by "an act of piracy" without any justification.

Since the liberation of Pnompenh, the Pentagon has carried out daily reconnaissance flights over Cambodia. The same type of harassment that was directed against the Cuban Revolution after its triumph has been instituted. Small boats carrying Thai and Cambodian agents with bombs and radio equipment have been discovered in Cambodian waters.

The Cambodians have denounced these activities and have made clear that they would stop ships



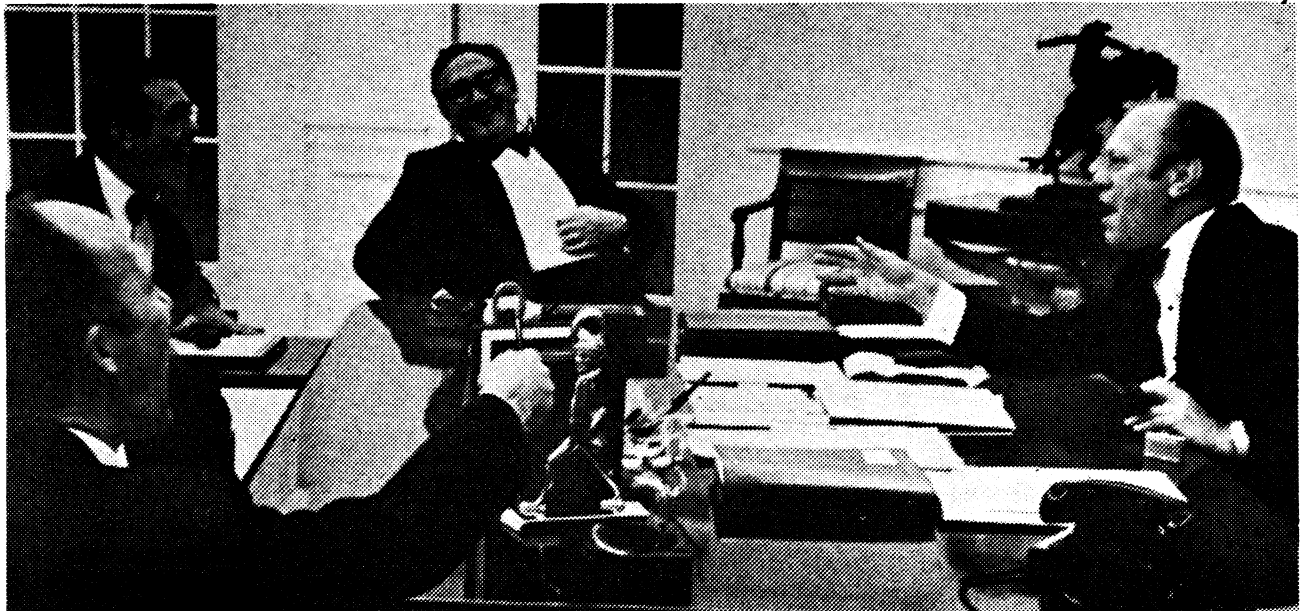
U.S. troops get off of Tang Island—not everybody made it. Official toll was increased from one dead to fifteen, others are missing.

cruising in their waters. *Time* magazine reported in its May 26 issue that in the ten days before the capture of the *Mayaguez*, the Cambodians "had fired on or captured—but presumably released—25 ships and fishing boats in the same area with no warning or explanation."

Washington knew the explanation. Nevertheless, reported Philip Shabecoff in the May 20 *New York Times*, the government "did not issue a special warning to mariners, which is standard procedure in time of apparent danger."

The statement of the Cambodians that they had no intention of detaining the *Mayaguez* permanently but only wanted to "examine it, question it, and make a report to higher authorities" was confirmed by the captain and crew of the *Mayaguez* after they were released. They reported that they had been asked whether they worked for the FBI or CIA, and whether they were carrying bombs, arms, or ammunition in their cargo.

The second big lie in the *Mayaguez* affair was the claim that the administration was acting to save the lives of the captured sailors. White House press secretary Ron Nessen found it necessary to insist



Kissinger and Ford yuk it up with aides after proving they could bully Cambodia

that speculation that Washington had welcomed the crisis was untrue. He said the decision to use force "was based 100 percent and entirely on a single consideration—to get the crew and the ship back."

This story is false on the face of it. According to the testimony of Captain Charles Miller of the *Mayaguez*, it was only by chance that a Thai fishing boat that the crew members were on was not blown out of the water before a U.S. pilot saw them on it. Three other boats were sunk by U.S. planes and four were damaged. Some Pentagon sources said at the time that they were confident that there were no Americans on them—and others said they were not completely confident.

The attitude in the White House was expressed by Henry Kissinger, who was said by one participant to have told the National Security Council that the lives of the crew "must unfortunately be a secondary consideration."

Smarting from the humiliating defeat handed them by the people of Indochina and the international antiwar movement, the statesmen in Washington decided they needed a "success" to counteract the bad publicity.

The act of sending in the marines and bombers was aimed at dispelling the belief that Washington would hesitate to get involved in any more wars because of the massive domestic opposition to the intervention in Indochina. As Henry Kissinger explained it in a May 16 news conference:

"The impact ought to be to make clear that there are limits beyond which the United States cannot be pushed, and that the United States is prepared to defend those interests, and that it can get public support and congressional support for those actions."

James Reston noted that "the Administration almost seems grateful for the opportunity to demonstrate that the President can act quickly despite the recent efforts by Congress to limit his authority for military action. Officials here have been bristling over a lot of silly taunts about the American 'paper tiger' and hope the Marines have answered the charge."

### Better dead?

From this point of view, the crew might even have served the White House purposes better dead. According to a report in the May 15 *Washington Post*, "Senior administration officials hinted privately . . . that if the crewmen are killed or held hostage by the new Communist government of Cambodia, then 'punitive' military action may be undertaken. . . ."

Indeed, the recovery of the crew unharmed after the military had been called in was generally viewed as a stroke of pure luck. Far from being a race against time to rescue the crew, the Pentagon's assault was a race against time to get its military operation going before the crew was released without recourse to force.

"Statements by officials," reported the May 16 *New York Times*, "indicate that there is good reason to believe that the whole operation would have been carried out earlier if the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* and other fleet units had not been diverted by the South Vietnamese refugee operation."

"On Tuesday a senior Defense Department official said: 'We know what we have to do, we just have to wait until the means to do it have arrived on the scene.'"

In keeping with this perspective, Washington went through the motions of seeking a diplomatic solution to the problem only for as long as it took to prepare its show of force. On May 18 it was revealed that Washington had planned to make its point with B-52 bombers if the *Coral Sea* had not arrived in the area by May 14.

Further proof of Washington's real intentions came from the military assault itself. Marines stormed ashore on Tang Island, supposedly to search for the *Mayaguez* crew, although air force pilots had verified the previous day that the crew had been moved to the Cambodian port of Sihanoukville.

U.S. planes bombed an oil refinery near Sihanoukville nearly an hour after the *Mayaguez* crew were safely on board a U.S. destroyer. The refinery, in any case, could hardly be considered a military threat to the Pentagon operation.

### Trigger-happy Strangeloves

From the accounts of the crew it is clear that it was the trigger-happy Strangeloves in Washington who were the main obstacle to their safety. The captain of the *Mayaguez* told reporters what the boat taking them to Sihanoukville went through.

"If we were strafed or bombed once, we were bombed a hundred times by our jets. Ten foot forward of our bow light. Rockets and machine gun fire. . . . A couple of men were struck by shrapnel."

All of the crew agreed that they were well treated by the Cambodians. "I hope any time any prisoners get taken they get treated as well as we did," said one crewman. "They fed us their food, then ate what was left."

Moreover, the Cambodians had offered to let Captain Miller and some of his crew return to the *Mayaguez* the night before the marine assault to send a message to the U.S. forces to call off the attacks that had already begun. Philip Shabecoff reported in the May 21 *New York Times* that the crew member he interviewed "seemed to believe that the offer had been part of a plan to free the crew."

In fact, there is no reason to believe that the *Mayaguez* would not have been released, just as all the other ships that had been stopped, once it had been established that it was not a spy vessel. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger's statement that the military assault in the Gulf of Siam "represents a firm and measured response to the high-handed and crude use of force" and his cant about "international order and civilized communication" were only window dressing for Washington's arrogant bullying of a small and ravaged country.

A more accurate assessment of the incident was made by the Cambodians, who said, "Because they have all types of modern weapons the U.S. imperialists think they can threaten, intimidate and kill other people at will inside other people's territories and waters, without allowing other people the right to self-defense or to investigate their espionage, intelligence and encroachment activities."

That, indeed, is the real story of Washington's role in Indochina and the world.

## 'Doves' into hawks

With more than 2,000 military bases abroad, with troops stationed on five continents, and with ships in every ocean, the United States remains the strongest military power in the world. It also remains the chief threat to world peace.

That fact was demonstrated once again by Washington's brutal gunboat diplomacy in the *Mayaguez* affair and by the later revelation that the Ford administration was considering the use of B-52s against Cambodia.

Not a single member of Congress, no matter how liberal, was willing to stand up and tell the simple truth. Not one of them told the American people that Washington was responsible for escalating the incident begun by the stopping of a U.S. ship for violating Cambodian waters—a wholly justified action—into an international confrontation of major proportions.

The liberal politicians joined wholeheartedly in the orgy of jingoism and flag-waving. "It's good to win one for a change," said Carroll Hubbard, chairman of the House Democratic freshman caucus.

"Let no one mistake the unity and the strength of an America under attack," said Sen. Adlai Stevenson (D-Ill.).

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) insisted that Ford "had no other choice" and that the United States "simply cannot permit flagrant violation of international law."

Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) found the outcome of Ford's military action "welcome," but added, for future flexibility, "We do not yet know whether there was an alternative in diplomatic efforts to the U.S. military action."

Similarly, Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) commented, "I thought it was precipitous. . . . Fortunately, it seems to have worked."

The general mood in Congress was most clearly revealed in the report of one columnist who wrote May 16, "When Ford entered the Cabinet Room yesterday to inform the assembled congressional leaders of his decision to use force to free the Mayaguez, the legislators—all veterans of similar sessions held by Presidents Johnson and Nixon during the Vietnam years—rose to their feet and applauded before Ford opened his mouth."

None of the liberal "guardians of the law" saw fit to mention the fact that there is a law on the books—one that has been reenacted in each military appropriations bill since 1973—that says:

"None of the funds herein appropriated may be obligated or expended to finance directly or indirectly combat activities by U.S. military forces in or over or from off the shores of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos or Cambodia."

The reason behind the performance of the liberals is simple: they support the continuing effort of U.S. imperialism to dominate the globe.

This was reaffirmed in a May 13 statement signed by fifty-six congressional Democrats, including Representatives Ronald Dellums (Calif.), Walter Fauntroy (D.C.), Michael Harrington (Mass.), Ralph Metcalfe (Ill.), Parren Mitchell (Md.), and Andrew Young (Ga.).

Falling all over themselves in their haste to establish their patriotic credentials, these well-known "doves"—taking note of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and Cambodia—proclaimed: "But these events do not affect our strength as a nation and should not affect our reliability as an ally. Let no nation read the events in Indochina as a failure of the American will. . . .

"The U.S. does have continuing interests and commitments elsewhere in Asia and the world. It would be tragic if anyone—friends or adversaries—misread recent events as a portent of an American retreat around the world."

A week later, the "doves" in the House of Representatives showed exactly what they meant by voting overwhelmingly against reducing the number of American troops overseas or cutting in any substantial way the military budget. The House approved a bill providing for a 27 percent increase over last year in new weapons procurement and development programs—voting to place new and "better" instruments of death and destruction in the hands of the Pentagon.

Socialists have always said that liberal politicians cannot be relied upon to prevent war. The liberals' false commitment to peace—so handy for election speeches and empty gestures to the gallery—dissolves as soon as the real military action begins.

The *Mayaguez* confrontation proves once again that the way to fight against the threat of new imperialist wars is to support candidates such as those of the Socialist Workers party, who are willing to expose the lies of the U.S. government and lead the American workers in struggle against it. Only a party that tells the truth about the need to disarm the imperialist war makers can lead an effective fight against war.

### How to make enemies

Every one of the Vietnamese babies has cousins, aunts, or perhaps grandparents searching for them. Kidnapping those innocents and bringing them to the United States exhibits barbaric callousness similar to Hitler's plot against the orphans of Lidice. Those children represent a sprouting supply of menial servants to our privileged caste of warmongers.

This administration might estimate a thousand million new enemies throughout Asia.

W.D. Hackney  
Santa Barbara, California

### Kent State

On May 4, 1970, thirteen students were shot by the National Guard at Kent State University as they peaceably protested the invasion of Cambodia. This deliberate act of violence resulted in the deaths of four of my classmates. Justice has yet to be served on those in authority responsible for these murders.

I am somewhat dismayed that the *Militant* has failed to acknowledge the memorial service recently conducted at the university. Also there has been a paucity of coverage given to the subsequent civil damage suits filed by concerned students and organizations against Governor [James] Rhodes and the commanding officers on the scene, Sylvester Del Corso and Robert Canterbury.

I trust that this was an oversight and that it will be rectified in the future.

Richard Glance  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

[In reply—An article on the memorial referred to appeared in last week's *Militant*.]

### Good reasons

I am renewing my subscription to the *Militant* for a number of reasons. One is because the *Militant* is the most informative newspaper in the radical movement today. The *Militant* also has the best printing composition I have yet seen.

The excellent coverage on the Washington, D.C., "March for Jobs" rally is the second reason I am renewing. I think the fact that the *Militant* was at the Washington demonstration being distributed gave participants, perhaps for their first time, an alternative news source to the bourgeois press.

Keep up the good work and keep the presses rolling.

Gary Yost  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

### Maoist provocations

At a meeting sponsored by the D.C. Anti-Imperialist Coalition on May 4, two members of the Young Socialist Alliance were physically prevented from distributing literature and were subjected to harassment and intimidation.

The meeting was broadly publicized and open to the public. Numerous groups attended and distributed their literature.

Outside the meeting hall, two members of the YSA who were passing out leaflets for the May 17 march against racism were surrounded, intimidated, and verbally threatened by Maoists from the Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Revolutionary Union, and the Iranian Students Association.

After shouting numerous epithets, including "All Trotskyists should be shot," RSB members attempted to physically prevent them from distributing the leaflet. The RSB opposed the May 17 demonstration, held in Boston to counter the racist attempts to block school desegregation.

Later, the two YSA members were prevented from further distributing the leaflet by organizers of the meeting on the pretext that it was "creating a disturbance."

This type of conduct must be roundly condemned by supporters of democratic rights. Provocations and physical intimidation have no place among organizations on the Left and can quickly lead to outright physical violence.

Threats of physical violence and intimidation must be repudiated as a means for settling disputes and political differences within the radical movement.

Sara Smith  
Washington, D.C.

### Sensible

I have read the *Militant* off and on for some time now. What you say and what the Socialist Workers party is doing make a lot of sense to me.

Could you send me information about the SWP—its platform, positions, etc., and information about membership? Thank you!

R.P.  
Kansas City, Missouri

### Getting better all the time

I have been wanting to write you people at the *Militant* and tell you how much I think the coverage has improved over the last four or five months. The *Militant* is one of the few ways we have of keeping in touch with the outside world.

Clinton Smith  
Amarillo, Texas

### PLP marches in Boston

I write this letter in response to some inaccuracies in your reporting of the May 3 march against racism in Boston held by the Progressive Labor party, reported in the May 16 issue of the *Militant*.

The article seemed to stress the point that the PLP march should not have gone into the South Boston area because it would have and indeed did lead to a violent confrontation.

PLP did not organize the march with the intention of causing violence, but we were not going to let ourselves become victims of a massacre. It was with this in mind that we formed the squad of fighters to prevent violence and not to cause it.

Pacifism does play an important role in building large support, but is that where the battle against racism and fascism ends? Are we to fight back the crowds of racists calling for "nigger blood" with a dove or an olive branch? I think not! We must at no time underestimate the enemy. We must realize that he is strong and has the politicians and police force on his side.

We must be prepared to quench this trend *now* before it is too late. This can be accomplished in part with mass demonstrations as planned by the [Socialist Workers party], but this is not all; it must be backed with a quick, strong arm.

I did not write this letter to denigrate your attempts on May 17. Quite the contrary, I wish it success and hope it will be another step in destroying





## A pyrrhic victory for Shanker?

The May 6 community school board elections in New York City raised more questions than were resolved, and these questions will remain to plague the United Federation of Teachers and its president, Albert Shanker.

Shanker took a big hand in the school board elections, spending more than \$100,000 of union money to elect 192 UFT-backed candidates, who will fill two-thirds of the 288 seats in the thirty-two school districts of the city. Shanker's candidates will be a majority on the nine-member boards in twenty-seven districts. He claimed greater success than these figures show because some who were elected without UFT backing "are people who are not opponents of the union and will work with us on many matters." What those "many matters" are will be revealed in the UFT's contract negotiations this summer.

Two days before the election, Shanker wrote in his weekly paid advertisement column in the *Sunday New York Times* that "once again, the question is whether the voters will turn out or stay at home." They stayed at home.

Less than 10 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls. This contrasts with a 10.4 percent turnout in 1973, and 13.9 percent in 1970, when the first elections were held under the school-decentralization law.

The constantly declining vote indicates, for one thing, that parents know the district school boards have little to say about the education system, which is directed and controlled by the central board of education.

The issue in the election was not whether the voters would turn out, as Shanker claimed. The real issues were community control of the schools by Black and Puerto Rican parents, bilingual education, the hiring of Black and Puerto Rican teachers, and basic education for children of the poor. Those were the things Shanker and his allies campaigned against.

Those issues will not go away.

On May 13, the day the final tabulations were announced, the United States Civil Rights Commission, in a 141-page report, recommended bilingual and bicultural education for children of the barrios and

ghettos, "handicapped by poverty and discrimination before they even enter school."

But Shanker seeks to weaken and eliminate bilingual and bicultural programs. In the present round of severe cutbacks in all educational programs, he hopes to preserve the remaining jobs for the older, tenured white teachers for whom he speaks.

The district boards elected with UFT money are certainly not advocates of strong unionism, or decent salaries for teachers, or smaller class sizes. They sought election to their nonsalaried jobs for what they expect to reap for services rendered to the central board of education, the political power structure, and the financial oligarchy that is in control.

The city budget director has announced that after July 1 no funds will be provided to keep 849 full-time jobs with the city university and 4,907 jobs with the board of education. Schools Chancellor Irving Anker says the central board will select which employees to lay off in consultation with the thirty-two community school boards. This "consultation" is about the same as that between an army general and a corporal.

All teachers—the newest and the oldest—will need to look elsewhere than to local school boards for protection and for defense of education. Their first weapon is their own union, but it is badly weakened by Shanker's hostility to young teachers and to Blacks and other minorities.

Even if the UFT were solidly organized and in fighting trim to demand more money for education from city, state, and federal governments, it would need to find allies in this fight. And these will not be found in administrative agencies or in the clubhouses of the Democratic party. The only allies of teachers are other workers, parents, and students.

Shanker's latest caper in the community school board elections has further alienated these potential allies. This is something for teachers everywhere to think about, do what they can to repair the damage to their union, and prepare to protect their jobs in joint actions with other public workers, parents, and community organizations.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## Boston: white hatred on the rise

BOSTON—White hatred is on the rise in this city and it's getting harder to be Black and stay in good health.

An antiracist demonstrator who came to town for the May 17 demonstration and stayed overnight made the mistake of going to a white beach with a natural suntan. He was beaten for it.

Natives here point out that this rise in racist assaults is connected to the increasing shrill opposition, from many white politicians and community "leaders," to school busing ordered by a federal court here. Desegregation notwithstanding, white fear and hatred hangs thicker in the air of this city than the fog from the bay.

In my several trips up here since last fall, the random incidents—the insults and obscenities, the assaults, and racist brushes—have multiplied.

Here are those from the past week:

- While I was standing outside the downtown building where a national steering committee meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism was in progress, a car full of young whites drove by and yelled, "You fucking niggers suck."

- While I was watching a tennis match in the Boston Common one afternoon, an old white bum wandered over and began taunting one of the Blacks playing on the court. "So you want to be a tennis player, huh, nigger? You can't be a tennis player. You're a nigger. Get a shave, nigger. Get a haircut. Who do you think you are?"

The man went off hollering something about white people, God, and the army. He had obviously lost his senses, but still, I thought, old bums in New York and elsewhere don't go around vocalizing hatred like that.

- While I was eating at McDonald's one evening, a

white man came in to get a meal. He was shirtless and the counter attendant refused to serve him.

The man didn't appear to be intoxicated or in need of professional help. But he spun around and charged toward the exit, bumping into two small Asian-American children who were practicing karate in the aisle beside their mother who sat beside me.

"It's because of you fucking Chinese and niggers," or something like that, the man cursed aloud in our direction before he left.

The fear and hatred of Blacks is apparent in other ways.

There appears to be more racist graffiti in the city. On many of the cars of the Orange Line subway that stops at Dudley Station in Roxbury, the largest Black neighborhood here, whites have scribbled "nigger-town," or "niggerville," beside the words "Dudley Station" on the large subway maps on the cars. Others, apparently less imaginative, have simply written "niggers."

In the mornings, inbound Orange Line subways start out at Forest Hills. When they arrive at Dudley Station all the seats are taken by whites who live in the outer areas.

As the doors open at Dudley Station, people get on who think different, act different, and dress different—fewer suits and ties, more khaki pants and work boots—than those already aboard.

The entire complexion of the train has changed as it proceeds downtown, and it is evident in the faces of the whites who cower and wince, who clutch their bags tighter, and who cast furtive and suspicious looks up at the people with the natural suntan who tower, unmindful, above them.

racism. But I also contend that such demonstrations cannot be the final step. As well as spreading our message we must be willing to defend it even if this defense must be a violent one.

Alan Perchick  
New York, New York

[In reply—It is precisely because the *Militant* does not "underestimate the enemy"—the racist antibusing forces in Boston—that we stand for organizing the largest, most powerful actions possible to defend school desegregation. That requires involving and mobilizing masses of people, not just the relative handful who are ready to respond to the PLP's sectarian and adventurist calls to action.

[The violent confrontation engineered by PLP on May 3 cut across this aim and gave a handle to those who are working to discourage people from joining future antiracist marches. To assert that this brawl dealt a setback to the racists is a delusion, and a dangerous one. On the contrary, the confrontation gave the racists a political advantage by taking them off the hook as the ones responsible for violence in Boston.

[The racist groups, such as ROAR, have been systematically organizing assaults against Blacks, to intimidate them and to "prove" that busing leads only to violence. The capitalist politicians and the bourgeois press have covered up this organized terror, claiming that the Black community and other supporters of desegregation share responsibility for the violence that has occurred.

[In this situation, one of the jobs of the Black community and its allies is to put the blame for the violence squarely where it belongs: on the racists.

[Whatever the views of some participants in the demonstration, including reader Perchick, the organizers of the PLP march clearly failed to understand this elementary political point.

[The PLP newspaper, *Challenge*, in reporting on the event in its May 15 issue, boasts that a PLP leader "took the mike on the sound truck and alerted the gathering Fighters Group: 'Attack! Attack!'" The account continues: "The PLP fighters in uniform . . . charged up the hill. The marchers defending the sound truck boomed out 'Death to the fascists, death to the fascists.'"

[The *Militant's* opposition to this kind of ultraleftism has nothing to do with pacifism. We believe that the Black community has the right to defend itself against all racist attacks. We also believe that leaders of demonstrations have a responsibility to organize an effective marshaling system and to be prepared to defend demonstrators from violent attacks or disruptions.

[This is exactly what was done at the NAACP-called march and rally in Boston on May 17.

[Massive, militant actions like the May 17 demonstration can deal genuine setbacks to the racists and lay the groundwork for broadening and strengthening the antiracist struggle.]

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.



**Rocky beds down**—The Veep has purchased an "apparatus for dreaming" for the official D.C. residence. It has tinted mirrors and lithographs at each end, a seven-foot mink coverlet, and space in the headboards for lamps, telephones, and stereo controls. The list price is \$35,000 but a spokesperson assured, "That isn't what he paid for it."

**We'll try to remember**—"If we assume the fight against inflation is over, we are grossly mistaken."—Alan Greenspan, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

**Junior Mace**—In addition to depleting the ozone and having certain cancerous effects, those aerosol cans are creating a new problem. Children are sniffing them. But the industry has a solution. They're considering discouraging the sniffers by adding an ingredient similar to mustard gas.

**Rebate suggestion**—Roger Hedgecock, a San Diego Republican, returned his tax rebate, branding it "a mockery of good sense, sound government, and traditional Republican virtue." He urged others to do likewise. For those few who decide not to return their



'I can't stop smoking'

checks, an alternative is to contribute it to the Socialist Workers party tax rebate fund.

**The welfare state**—Currently, low-income senior citizens are entitled to free fishing licenses in California. The state legislature is now weighing an amendment that would permit *all* the aged to fish for free.

**Not everybody**—Betty Ford said the president was "very upset" by the Vietnamese victory in Vietnam. "I'm sure everybody in the country is very upset," she said.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

## Miguel Pendás



# Racist stereotypes in children's books

The Council on Interracial Books for Children has undertaken what is undoubtedly the most comprehensive and systematic study to date of children's literature on Chicano themes.

The results of this survey covering 200 books is published in the council's *Bulletin*. It documents with authoritative evidence what Chicano students, educators, and parents have been loudly protesting for years: the overwhelming bulk of this literature is racist.

The council prepared a detailed questionnaire to determine the books' effect on a Chicano child's self-image, their accuracy in presenting Chicano culture and tradition, and their relevance to Chicano experiences and interests. "Viewed as a body of literature," the council concluded, these books "fail woefully."

They preach the inferiority and helplessness of Chicanos and their culture, and the glories of assimilation into Anglo culture and society. Although poverty is a recurring theme in many of the books, its causes are never analyzed. On the contrary, poverty is presented as the natural condition of the Chicano people.

Most books depict the typical Chicano as a rural peasant. This flies in the face of reality, since 85 percent of all Chicanos are urban. The stereotypes, of course, extend below the border; Mexico is

presented as "a country of grinning, pajama-clad peasants, on their happy way to or from a fiesta or siesta."

*The Nicest Gift*, a book dedicated "to the boys and girls of East Los Angeles," glorifies the poverty that exists in this most oppressed of Chicano communities. "The Barrio is quaint and picturesque," it reads. "The brightly painted houses cling to the steep slopes of the hills. . . ."

Chicanos are depicted as incapable of solving even the simplest problems, and it is only when the benevolent Anglo intervenes that they can get ahead in life.

Related to this theme is the idea that the reason Chicanos can't get ahead is that they can't read English. In *Trina's Boxcar*, the idea comes across this way: ". . . it happened that Trina couldn't speak English. . . . And so Trina never had a friend."

*Citizen Pablo* has the same message: "'Learn the language,' Juan said simply. 'This is most important. Then learn the funny American ways. Wear their clothes. And when you have done this long enough, no one will know you are a wetback. You could even pass for a citizen.'"

The Spanish language is systematically maligned through misuse and stupid inaccuracies that even the shoddiest U.S. publishers would never permit if

the language were English. In one book purportedly about a teen-age Chicana's search for identity, the title itself has a jarring error: *Chicano Girl*. Another book, *Buenos Dias, Teacher*, includes the following sentence: "*No est importa!*" instead of "no importa," or, "no es importante."

That same book uses another common way of demeaning Spanish-speaking children. In the English that is translated from Spanish, the author has one of the characters say, "My mother believes it is better for me to learn the English after school than to pick the grapes." A correct translation would read, "learn English," and, "pick grapes," but, of course, that would not be as "quaint."

It is not surprising that the bulk of these books about Chicanos have a racist point of view, are illiterate in Spanish, and depict a totally mythical Chicano people. Nearly all of them were written by Anglos! Only a few books, written by Chicanos, were singled out for praise by the council.

The study is worthwhile reading. It is available as a special eight-page section of the council's *Bulletin* (vol. 5, nos. 7 and 8, 1975) for \$1.95. But the entire issue, devoted to Chicano education and literature, is very useful and is available for \$1.95. Write to: Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, New York 10023.

## Women In Revolt

## Linda Jenness



# Insulting ads are bad business

A little self-criticism by the National Advertising Review Board has resulted in a report documenting just how offensive the portrayal of women in advertising really is. The report, prepared by a "Consultative Panel on Advertising Portraying or Directed to Women," also gives an indication of the pressure from changing attitudes being felt by the multi-billion-dollar advertising business.

Objections to the sexist stereotyping of women in television commercials, on billboards, and in magazines and newspapers apparently are coming in fast and furious, and the panel's job was "to examine the basis for complaints."

Under a section of the report titled "Scope of the Problem" the panel says that "advertising considered sexist is resented by a growing number of men and women in various walks of life. New points of view toward women and toward women-related advertising are gaining acceptance in colleges, high schools, and in labor, church, and social groups in all parts of the nation. . . ." They conclude that "the problem . . . is real and will not go away by itself."

What is it that so many people are complaining about? The most frequently voiced complaint about advertising is that it portrays women just as housewives and mothers—and dumb ones at that.

Next comes the complaint that advertising portrays women as sex objects.

The report shows advertising guilty on all counts. A study called the "The Image of Women in Network TV Commercials" in 1972 showed that women were most often seen either as a piece of decoration or doing some kind of housework. Men were twice as frequently shown in outdoor or business settings as were women.

When not in the home, women were shown in a limited number of jobs, such as secretaries or stewardesses. Only eighteen different occupations were shown for women in contrast to forty-three for men. In the sample of television commercials, there were no women lawyers, doctors, business executives, scientists, engineers, athletes, professors, or judges.

The report also backs up the complaint that women are portrayed as creatures with subzero IQ's. "It is especially true," reports the panel, "that in the advertising of household products, women too often are portrayed as stupid—too dumb to cope with familiar everyday chores, unless instructed by children, or by a man, or assisted by a supernatural male symbol."

The panel concludes that whereas the "scene is

changing too rapidly" to offer hard-and-fast rules to advertisers, a few words of wisdom are in order. Avoid humor, the panel recommends: "It is healthy for people to laugh at themselves, but usually this is a luxury only the secure can afford. . . . The Panel suggests extreme caution in making fun of efforts to improve the status of women. . . ."

Finally, the panel offers a "checklist" for advertisers to ask themselves about their ads. The list itself shows what a long way we have to go. The questions include: "Do my ads portray women as more neurotic than men?" "Are the women portrayed in my ad stupid?" "Do my ads feature women who appear to be basically unpleasant?" and "Do my ads portray women actually driving cars and showing an intelligent interest in mechanical features, not just the color and upholstery?"

For those who wonder why the advertising business is going through these exercises in consciousness raising, here's the answer in their own words: "The principal reason the advertising industry wants to do what is right is that its people—men and women—are decent and fair. It also happens that in the portrayal of women, it is good business to be decent and fair. You don't sell to people by insulting them."



## Where SWP stands

# Why socialism in U.S. will be democratic

From time to time the Militant will feature the responses Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are giving to various important questions facing working people.

The following is excerpted from the question-and-answer period following a recent speech by Camejo.

**Question:** How can you predict that a socialist United States won't end up with the same problems the Soviet Union has?

**Answer:** We are confident that we can build a democratic socialist society in the United States because here we have the abundance necessary to create such a society.

In the early nineteenth century, before the time of Marx, there were many people who said, "It would be much better if we could all live equally, not have a few rich people and everyone else living in poverty."

Some of these people started farms or communes based on everyone sharing equally, but it just didn't work. What people were doing was sharing poverty. There simply wasn't enough to go around for everybody to live well.

The productivity of society at the time was so low that the only way you could have equality was by everybody being poor together.

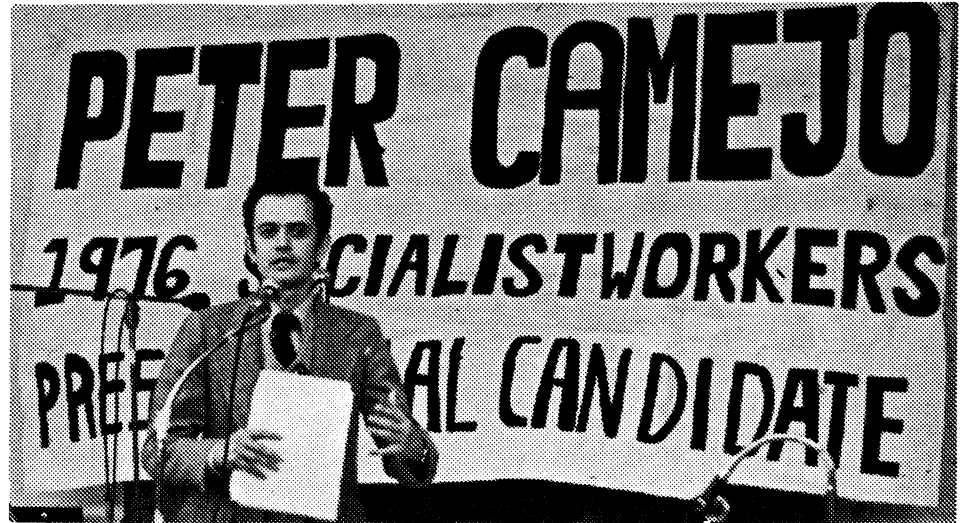
Then Marx pointed out that capitalism is different from previous economic systems. Capitalism has revolutionized the means of production, he said. It has greatly increased the productivity level, making it possible for the first time in history to create a society based on sharing prosperity.

But capitalism will never meet that potential, Marx explained, because the capitalists make their decisions on the basis of profits, not on the basis of human needs. These two things—profits and human needs—continually conflict with one another under this system.

We can see this in practice. Capitalism has made it possible for us to split the atom and go to the moon, but it cannot end slums in the United States.

Marx said a socialist revolution would be necessary to build a society where we produce for our needs and treat each other as human beings. He predicted the revolution would come first in the advanced industrialized countries because they are the ones most capable of creating socialism.

He never dreamed that because of



Militant/Sylvia Zapata

CAMEJO: "We have the abundance necessary to provide basic needs of all. There will be no drive for privilege as in the Soviet Union."

certain political problems—the exploitation of the colonial world—the revolutions would occur first in the most backward countries, such as Russia and China.

This is exactly what happened. The revolution came first to Russia, but when the socialists came to power, they were unable to meet the most fundamental needs of the people because of the extreme poverty of the country.

There was one pair of shoes for every three people, and there's no way you can divide that equally. There was a famine. Twenty-two capitalist nations surrounded Russia and invaded. After a heroic defense by the Soviet people, driving out the invaders, the capitalist world put up an economic blockade.

In spite of all this, the Soviet Union was able to recover and become the second industrial power in the world. But because of the extreme hardships, a struggle for survival gripped the Soviet Union from the beginning. This was reflected inside the Communist party by a current led by Joseph Stalin, which reflected the emergence of a privileged stratum.

Communists, led by Leon Trotsky, fought against this bureaucratic tendency. What is not taught in our school books is that these communists were

driven underground in the Soviet Union. Thousands upon thousands of communists were killed in Stalin's concentration camps.

What happened in the Soviet Union is that they made a socialist revolution before they could make socialism. They ended up with some aspects of socialism—a planned economy—but also with remnants of Russia's backward past. So today in the Soviet Union, while education is free, medical care is free, and unemployment is not a problem, you have a dictatorial bureaucracy and no civil liberties whatsoever.

Why won't that happen here? Because we are an advanced industrial society that can solve the basic needs of food, clothing, and housing immediately. We already produce enough to give every person in this country a decent standard of living. So there will not be the same drive for privilege as there was in the Soviet Union.

And once we have a socialist transformation in the United States, the greatest barrier to building socialism on a world scale will have been removed. Then the working masses will sweep away the remaining capitalist tyrants and bureaucrats and construct a world where human needs, not profits, are placed first.



Russian factory workers (shown voting on resolution) set example of socialist democracy, but privileged bureaucracy arose and usurped political power.

## Oregon state employees prepare to strike

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—Chances are "90 to 1" that a statewide strike by 25,000 Oregon state employees will erupt this spring, a staff member of the Oregon State Employees Association told a Militant Bookstore forum here May 9.

"OSEA used to be characterized as a hat-in-hand organization," said Harry Ward, a strike organizer and vice-president of the Portland NAACP, "but state employees will no longer consider themselves as second-class citizens. We have moved to active militancy to win our demands."

In preparation for a strike, OSEA has set up a strike headquarters and divided the state into strike units, with radio communication between key offices. Picket captains have been selected to organize picketing at all work centers throughout Oregon.

State employees, whose current contract expires July 1, are demanding a 27 percent wage increase over the next two years. Oregon Gov. Robert Straub is offering 22 percent, up from an original offer of 12 percent.

Following an 11-to-1 rejection of Straub's first offer by state workers, a fact-finding board reported that OSEA had justified a request for increases totaling 31.5 percent over the next two years, but the board recommended

increases of 27 percent. The report was accepted by OSEA but rejected by the governor's office.

A strike vote was taken the week of April 21, after mass meetings called by OSEA in Eugene, Salem, and Portland. The meetings were held to report on negotiations, urge a "no" vote on the governor's offer, and authorize a strike.

"The meeting in Portland was very noisy, very enthusiastic," Rita Moran, a bookkeeper at the University of Oregon Medical School, told the Militant. "The sentiment in favor of a strike was obvious. Of the 1,000 people who attended, I was most impressed by how many women there were—and how vocal they were in trying to change the image of state employees from 'civil servants' to working people who had rights just like other workers."

A strike would affect Oregon's three major universities, Portland State University, Oregon State University in Corvallis, and the University of Oregon in Eugene, as well as the University of Oregon Medical School in Portland. It would shut down all state departments functioning in the state capital of Salem, along with unemployment, food stamp, and welfare offices throughout the state.

Starting salaries begin as low as

\$375 a month for food service and laundry workers. The OSEA estimates that as many as 6,000 to 8,000 state employees are eligible for food stamps or welfare. Salary levels one through five fall below federal poverty levels for a family of four.

State officials have been maneuvering to curb the strike's effectiveness by arbitrarily increasing the number of "excluded" employees, those who are forbidden to strike. OSEA has initiated legal action against increasing the "excluded" lists.

In addition, students in the federally funded work-study programs at state universities have been told they will be summarily fired if they do not assume increased job responsibilities—in other words, scab—during a strike. Discussions have begun at Portland State University between students and state workers on how best to organize student support for the expected strike.

The Teamsters union has informed OSEA that their members will not cross a legal picket line. In addition, the railroad union has promised to halt delivery of liquor to state-owned warehouses in the event of a strike.

OSEA organizers speaking at the Militant Bookstore forum expressed their surprise at the determination of state workers to strike. "If you had

asked me two years ago whether I thought there could be a strike by state employees, I would have said maybe, in six years. But it's all happening very fast. They are pushing us," was one comment.

Cliff Wolf, a PSU employee addressing the forum, blasted the role of the Democratic state government. "It's really ironic to have a Democratic governor and a Democratic legislature who came into office on the back of organized labor taking such an anti-labor position," he said. "They proclaim themselves as the friends of the working person, but it's really interesting to see what they come up with."

Paul Ward, another OSEA staff member, explained during discussion at the forum, "I think what we are doing in the state of Oregon is history. I notice you have a lot of literature here having to do with the labor movement and labor figures. Well, government employees have been bypassed in that history."

"What is occurring has never occurred previously: a concerted action by state employees to demand the rights of equality in collective bargaining. We don't want to be in a second-class status anymore. We don't want collective begging. We want collective bargaining."

# The Cointelpro Papers (Part 8)

## FBI's disruption of antiwar movement

By Nelson Blackstock

Now all the American forces are finally out of Vietnam, and the people there are free at last to decide for themselves how to run their country. It is an appropriate time to examine the government's secret attempts to derail the movement against that war.

The Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") papers recently acquired by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance reveal several instances of behind-the-scenes FBI maneuvers to block the development of a mass, visible protest movement against the war. A variety of techniques were employed to achieve this task.

These included promoting splits among antiwar forces, encouraging red-baiting of socialists, and pushing violent confrontations as an alternative to massive, peaceful demonstrations. In our next installment of the Cointelpro paper series we will look at several FBI plots designed to accomplish these aims.

This week we are printing documents exposing one of the more unusual Cointelpro schemes uncovered to date. The Socialist Workers party, one of the first forces to grasp the potential and importance of the budding antiwar movement, threw much of its resources into the struggle. The FBI wanted the SWP to direct its attentions elsewhere.

The FBI mailed out an anonymous "Open Letter to Trotskyites." That and related documents are reproduced on the facing page. The letter was designed to create dissatisfaction within the party over its participation in the new movement. In particular, the FBI sought to create dissension within the SWP and YSA over their role at a November 1965 antiwar conference in Washington, D.C.

### SDS March on Washington

The mass movement against the war in Vietnam dates back to the Students for a Democratic Society call for an April 1965 March on Washington.

SDS in 1965 possessed a cloak of "respectability." Officially, it was still the youth group of the League for Industrial Democracy, a longtime meeting ground for conservative social

democrats and union bureaucrats. Consequently, the SDS National Council's decision to call the march, made at its meeting over the December 1964 school break, carried some authority.

Doug Jenness joined the staff of the YSA national office that January. I talked with him recently about how the YSA responded to the SDS call for the demonstration.

"We met with Clark Kissinger, the SDS national secretary, to discuss what we could do," he recalled. "The YSA organized three national tours—one on the West Coast, one in the Midwest, and I toured the Eastern states." YSA locals across the country quickly began to help organize student participation in the march.

During that winter, Lyndon Johnson escalated the war, and the impact helped to turn out 20,000 people, more than anyone had expected.

"The day after the march I attended an SDS National Council meeting there in Washington," Jenness said. "Surprisingly, they failed to follow up on their original initiative." SDS pulled away from the antiwar movement and never again focused its energies on a national level toward the war.

### Continued to grow

Nevertheless, the antiwar movement continued to grow. The teach-in movement was born on March 24 at the University of Michigan and spread spontaneously from campus to campus.

In late May, the Berkeley, California, Vietnam Day Committee, in which the SWP and YSA played a role, brought out 30,000 people for a thirty-four-hour marathon teach-in and protest against the war.

Meeting in Washington, D.C., August 6-9, a national antiwar gathering, the Assembly of Unrepresented People, as it was called, drew some 2,000 participants. There a much smaller meeting of antiwar activists from around the country decided to set up a National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The NCC scheduled a convention during the Thanksgiving weekend in Washington, D.C.

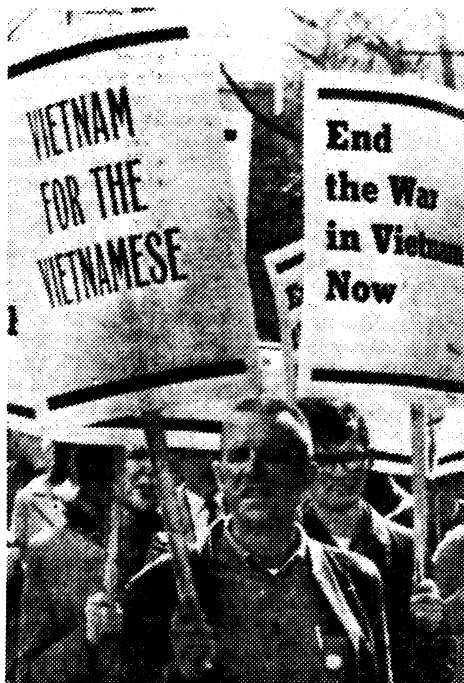
The socialist assessment of the

antiwar movement is contained in *Revolutionary Strategy in the Fight Against the Vietnam War*, a collection of articles and documents recently published by the SWP National Education Department. (This publication can be ordered for \$2 from SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.)

It contains a transcript of a June 25, 1965, SWP Political Committee discussion that envisioned the main lines along which the movement would develop.

Jack Barnes, who is today the SWP national secretary, described the main divisions that would emerge within the movement. "They'll be over the question of exclusion versus non-exclusion and the question of unconditional opposition to the war. They'll take place over the question of subordinating the demands of the antiwar movement to the demands of 'progressive' politicians."

Drawing their initial inspiration from preparations for the April 17 march and then spurred on by the continuing escalation of the war and antiwar activity, there was a proliferation of "Committees to End the War in Vietnam," or "CEWVs." They looked to the upcoming Thanksgiving conference as the first real opportunity to meet on a national level, compare



April 17, 1965, March on Washington

notes, and chart future activity.

The gathering was marked by a major dispute, one that was confusing to most of the people there. The form of the fight was over a seemingly simple organizational matter, but in the background loomed two entirely different perspectives for the future of the new movement. In reality, a fundamental question was involved—whether the antiwar movement would remain and grow as an independent force in American political life or whether it would be channeled into Democratic party politics, a graveyard for social protest movements.

From the new independent antiwar committees had come a number of people, including many SWP and YSA members, who were interested in discussing the possibility of forming a national organization composed of committees standing for immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The NCC did not purport to be such an organization—its purpose being to coordinate activities of all sorts of organizations opposed to the war, most of which at that time favored calling for a negotiated settlement.

The SWP and YSA did not propose eliminating the role of the NCC. They recognized a place for an organization that drew all opponents of the war together for common action, but they also saw a place in the coalition for a formation of independent committees favoring immediate withdrawal.

A proposal to add a workshop to the conference agenda for participants interested in setting up such an organization was met by an almost hysterical

response from the conference steering committee. To the thousands who have over the years attended subsequent national antiwar conferences, where the right to hold the workshop of one's choice was accepted as a matter of course, this may seem hard to believe.

But the steering committee, in which the Communist party had a major influence, steadfastly refused to allow a "thirteenth" workshop. Those upholding what they saw to be their democratic right to meet on a question of mutual interest were forced to hold a "caucus" to discuss the subject.

Charges of "Trotskyite splitters and wreckers" were hurled left and right in order to obscure any rational discourse on the matter in dispute. The "splitter and wrecker" chorus continued for some time in several periodicals and in radical circles around the country.

### 'Peace candidates'

Among the most vocal was the Communist party. Their perspective for the new movement was to send it out to ring doorbells for various Democratic party "peace candidates." The Stalinists correctly saw a national organization of independent committees calling for immediate withdrawal as an obstacle to that goal. The CP's insistence on the negotiation slogan, which violated the right of the Vietnamese to settle their own affairs, was tied into their Democratic party orientation, since it was a demand that many liberal Democratic candidates found acceptable.

The political questions in dispute would be widely discussed in the coming months and years. Over time the antiwar movement would be won to support immediate withdrawal, the demand most in line with the sentiments of the American people.

Supporters of an organization of independent committees favoring withdrawal were among the founders of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam in 1966.

Without the eventual clarity over the course of the antiwar movement that resulted from the political fight that erupted at the Washington conference, it is safe to say that this country would not have seen the mass movement that, combined with the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese, forced the United States out.

The FBI, of course, was unable to get the SWP and YSA to pull out of the movement. Without the aid and encouragement of the FBI, there were discussions and evaluations within the SWP and YSA on the meaning of the conference.

Among the most enlightening was the contribution made by SWP founder James P. Cannon before the Los Angeles branch of the SWP in December 1965. His remarks are also published in the publication mentioned above.

The NCC conference marked the first head-on confrontation between the new generation of SWP members and the Communist party. Cannon thought this was significant. Referring to the "Bring the Troops Home Now" slogan, he said, "I think our comrades were correct to adopt that slogan and their militancy at the conference and their refusal to be bluffed or bulldozed is quite admirable. All the more so that they were perhaps taken by surprise and hadn't had previous experience with what the perfidy of Stalinism and the Social Democracy is really like. I will guarantee you that they will never be taken by surprise again."

"These are permanent assets which speak well for the future," Cannon observed.

In summation he made an observation that seems even more true ten years later. "Out of [the antiwar movement] I think we can see the beginnings of a new radical movement which raises great perspectives of world-historical significance for America."



Goal of FBI disruption effort was to drive SWP and YSA out of antiwar movement and thus weaken fight against war.



# The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 1-3: The New York FBI, which in a previous memo had notified Washington that it was on lookout for disruption around antiwar conference, proposes mailing anonymous letter. Dick Fraser and 'split of the Seattle Branch' refers to a group in Seattle branch of SWP who decided to leave party after developing a number of political differences over several years. Note last sentence, which reveals FBI's objective of weakening antiwar movement.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

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

DATE: 3/20/66

ReNYlet to Director, 1/17/66.

On 11/25-28/65, the National Committee to End the War in Viet Nam held a convention in Washington, D.C. The SWP and the YSA's efforts to dominate and control this convention by forcing the issue of "Immediate Withdrawal of US Troops from Viet Nam" as the basic slogan for anti-war work was soundly defeated at this conference. In addition, the YSA received considerable unfavorable publicity for its tactics and attitude at this convention.

It is felt that the above defeat by the party and youth can be of significant nature in regard to captioned program. This is pointed out by the fact that DICK FRASER, a National Committee member of the SWP from Seattle, recently directed a denunciation of the policies of the party and its youth in regard to anti-war work in writing and also at the recently concluded SWP National Committee Plenum held during February, 1966.

In all probability, the recent split of the Seattle Branch from the party together with the possible future splits of other branches and/or individual members is based in part on disagreements with the party leadership on anti-war policy.

Viewed in the light of the party's unsuccessful endeavors in various fields during the past decade, this recent venture appears to culminate a series of leadership policies which have caused dissension and rifts within the party.

To exploit this, an anonymous letter has been prepared which could be directed nationally to selected party members who have some misgivings in regard to the leadership and direction of the party; however, to date, have not definitely made a break.

This letter would subsequently be directed to representatives of outside groups, particularly anti-war organizations after the original distribution. This distribution would contain an attached anonymous note, which would read:

"Understand this had wide circulation among Trotskyites. Have you seen it?"

It is felt the original distribution to selected party members be mailed from the Boston, Mass., Chicago, Ill., and San Francisco, California, areas where no particular party factions exist, however, areas which embrace a considerable number of party members. This would preclude immediate blame on any particular party member or group and lend credence to the possession of addresses of party members in these geographical areas. The subsequent mailing to anti-war committees and opposing radical groups would then be mailed 4 days hence from NYC. It is felt that many individuals from the NYC area would have access to addresses of these organizations on a national basis.

Within 10 days, the receiving offices are requested to furnish the NYO the names and addresses of approximately 20 per cent of the membership of the respective SWP membership, including those who have expressed some degree of past dissatisfaction with party policy.

-2-

Documents 4-5: FBI tries to paint SWP's participation in antiwar movement as merely most recent in series of supposedly ill-fated ventures. Previously published documents revealed FBI's extensive efforts to disrupt defense of Black frame-up victims in North Carolina. Berta Green (now Berta Langston) is SWP member who was active in both defense of Cuban Revolution and Monroe defense case. Document 6: FBI's claim that conspiracy was successful because of supposed decrease in antiwar activity shows FBI aim to destroy antiwar movement, but its 'success' is belied by subsequent growth, and ultimate victory, of that movement.

Receiving offices are also requested to furnish the NYO the names and addresses of local or national anti-war committees that exist within their respective territories.

One copy of a sample of the anonymous letter is attached for receiving offices. If Bureau authority is granted to implement this suggestion, the anonymous letter will be mimeographed and prepared on commercial paper. The letter and addressed envelopes will then be afforded the Boston, Chicago and Los Angeles Offices for mailings from locations which would not bring suspicion to the Bureau.

It is believed that the above action will definitely create disruption within the ranks of the SWP, particularly on local levels and eventually cause considerable unrest in National Headquarters. Moreover, this action should seriously hamper the party's total occupation at this time, that is, its anti-war actions and objectives.

-3-

"AN OPEN LETTER TO TROTSKYITES"

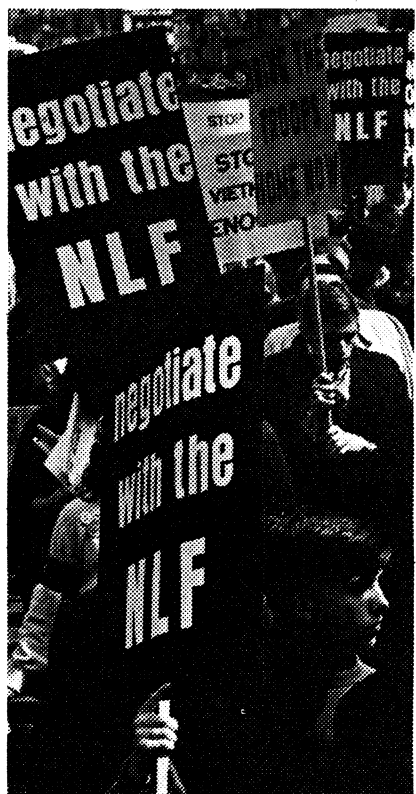
You're a Trotskyite.

You've struggled through the years attempting to influence others with your particular line of revolutionary socialism. You've seen your Party's membership cut time and time again by a seemingly endless series of splits, to the point where, historically, the SWP has become known as the "party of splits".

During the late 1950's, you entered, with your party, into a regroupment effort with dissident ex-CPSU's who were disillusioned over the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and the Khrushchev Revelations of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. You watched as your party shunned the true principles of regroupment on a common ground and unsuccessfully attempted to dominate and recruit, thus gaining the reputation as "spoilers".

You then picked up your chipped marbles and plunged into the support of the Cuban Revolution by taking dead aim on the Fair Play For Cuba Committee. Your party succeeded in placing its "professional secretary", Berta Green, into the FPCC leadership. You didn't have to wait long, however, before your party's "raiding" operation within the FPCC on a national basis became evident. So, it wasn't too much of a surprise when Berta was bounced from the FPCC and your party once again was accused of a crude attempt to "take over" rather than provide constructive assistance to a most worthy cause.

Far from dismayed, you next created the "Independent" Committee To Aid The Monroe Defendants, with the expectations of reaching the Negro with the party line. Naturally, you placed Berta Green, now available, as secretary of this committee. Your party then proceeded, under the cloak of pseudo-respectability, to implement its ultimate aims of domination and recruitment. This activity necessitated considerable effort on your part, but eventually incurred nothing but the wrath of honest independents. To make it worse, you had to absorb the responsibility for the loss of funds and the creation of actual public harm to these victims in Monroe, North Carolina ----- to the end that you were made to suffer public attack and disavowal by no less than the defendants themselves. A most disheartening episode on behalf of the oppressed victims of the racist state, but still, the SWP was the only existing Trotskyist party, wasn't it? So you hung on.



Militant/Claude Beagarie  
SWP and YSA argued for 'Bring The Troops Home Now' slogan at time when most in antiwar movement favored call for negotiations.

In recent years, your party has taken a page from the book of Stalin by its purges of party members who have attempted to present for discussion alternative viewpoints of current situations. Thus, your party was responsible, in effect, for the creation of additional splinter groups including the "Spartacist" movement which has attained considerable renown in the radical community.

Presently, you've been struggling with your party in its efforts to become part of the greatest ground swell of opposition to this country's imperialist policies that has ever existed. To this end, you had high hopes as the party's youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance, was dispatched to Washington, D. C. last Thanksgiving to participate in anti-war conferences and a massive demonstration of protest to U. S. intervention in Vietnam. Surely, this was an unprecedented opportunity to militate against Washington and Wall Street. But, true to the SWP's history of sectarianism, you witnessed the young "Trots" promote a divisionary and undermining line of "immediate withdrawal" at these conferences.

Prophetically, you saw your party and its youth soundly defeated at this conference in yet another attempt to recruit through division and domination. Your attempt to "save face", following this debacle, was the promotion of a Caucus of "independent" anti-war committees based solely on immediate withdrawal of U. S. forces in Vietnam. And you justly suspect now that this tactic is viewed by radicals and independents alike as a "paper front" composed of committees hastily formed and led by YSA members throughout the country. The people publishing and contributing to "The Newsletter" of this Caucus only too well confirm this fact.

Your ultimate dismay was recently realized when your party and its movement was bitterly attacked by Fidel Castro as "splitters and agents of imperialism". Thus, you have been made to suffer the final irony. Your party, which has posed as one of the leading defenders of the Cuban Revolution, now finds itself in the most ironic position of defending itself from a scathing attack by Castro himself!

Such is the state of affairs and mind in which you now find yourself ----- sick with the realization that your party and its youth have finally achieved utter disrespect by all those whom it has strived to influence.

Your humiliation in the public and radical press is now complete as you sadly observe your FORMER party press on.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
MEMORANDUM

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

DATE: 8/30/66

ReNYlet to Director 7/6/66.

The reported reactions of the SWP and actions taken as reported to date, regarding the anonymous mailings referred to in relet have been afforded the Bureau.

During recent months the SWP, particularly in the NYC area, has noticeably decreased its emphasis on activity within local anti-war committees. Party emphasis in this regard at this time amounts to the placing of one comrade in each committee in the event something of interest to the Party occurs in regard to any one of these committees. This slackening of emphasis in the placing of many comrades in these committees has not been explained to the general Party membership to date.

In a recent confidential memorandum prepared by the Political Committee of the SWP, the Party referred to a condition of dichotomy as existing within the various anti-war committees and organizations and considered itself as the left organization participating in these committees. It is felt, therefore, that the Party has experienced considerable difficulty in achieving its aims and objectives within these committees which may in part have resulted from information furnished these committees through the anonymous mailings.

It is further noted that a Party leader recently stated that the SWP must, under all circumstances, not "antagonize" any elements in the anti-war movement inasmuch as the Party "has always been accused of splitting", which accusation greatly upsets the Party. In this regard the above confidential memorandum also sets forth that the Party should make certain concessions with other radical organizations in order that they will not be accused of diversionary tactics. This is considered by the Party as its "new political tactic". In view of the above, it is felt that the Party's influence and prestige within the anti-war movement is of a tenuous nature at this time.

## City on debt row

# Behind the New York 'budget crisis'

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—"Carefully orchestrated" is a cliché, but in this case it is the only fitting description.

Since late last year the major New York banks have conducted a carefully orchestrated campaign in the newspapers and on TV, in city hall, in the state capitol in Albany, and in Washington, D.C., to slash services in New York City and to fire thousands of municipal employees.

The bank campaign began last fall. "New York City is in a budget crisis and too few people believe it, Mayor Beame. . . sa" at a luncheon of 200 business leaders," the *New York Times* reported October 18.

Today nearly everybody believes New York is in a financial crisis.

On May 19 the big New York banks refused to lend the city money. City Controller Harrison Goldin met behind closed doors with representatives of First National City Bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the investment banking firm of Salomon Brothers. These are the most powerful banks in the capitalist world.

They refused to float a \$280 million loan for New York. The city is supposed to pay \$3.4 billion in bills due by the end of June. Its tax income will only be \$2 billion. This leaves the city more than \$1.4 billion short of funds.

Where is the money going to come from? In fact, what is actually going on?

### The bond business

In order to untangle the financial web the city appears to be trapped in, it is first of all necessary to understand the centrality of municipal bonds in the banking business.

From the standpoint of the average citizen, city hall is supposed to administer the services of the city. In New York this is no small matter.

In mass transit, hospitals, schools, libraries, and other city services there are 330,000 municipal workers—more than the populations of many American cities. Fairly or poorly, this is what city hall is supposed to run.

*From the standpoint of the banks, however, city hall is the source of a vast income that is a vital artery of the American financial system.*

For the city is always in debt (as are most governments). It does not raise sufficient funds through taxes to pay all the expenses. A considerable portion of these expenses are paid for by issuing municipal bonds.

*Purchasing New York municipal bonds, which are repaid at tax-free interest, is one of the major investment arenas in U.S. finance.*

*New York Times* reporter Soma Golden wrote last November 25 that "the city, which traditionally issues 20 per cent of the country's short-term tax-free debt, is expected to gobble up some 30 per cent of the \$25-billion to be issued this year."

She quoted an unnamed "bond dealer at a major New York commercial bank" in a remark that would



WALL STREET BANKER: 'We make a hell of a lot of money off this city.'

Militant/Ed Weaver

probably not be featured by the same newspaper today:

"We make a hell of a lot of money off this city," the bond dealer said. And he didn't bother to add that at the high interest rates prevailing, the full value of initial investments is returned every six to ten years. Long-term bondholders make and remake their original outlays many times over. In fact the city must borrow money just to pay the interest on money it has previously borrowed!

These bonds, which normally are issued at face values of \$25,000 and up, are obviously not purchased by working people. They are held by the wealthy rulers of this country and by the banks themselves.

The debt service on these bonds—the amount of interest and principal repayment that has to be paid in fiscal year 1976—is \$2 billion, averaging \$228 per New York resident.

No matter how much municipal services deteriorate, city hall keeps paying these interest charges off the top of its tax revenues. Little accident that the present mayor is a former con-

troller of the city as well as a former bank director. Beame's main expertise is in filching from New Yorkers to pay off the capitalist rulers he works for.

### Is New York bankrupt?

And this being the case, we must take with more than a grain of salt the proposition that New York is on the verge of bankruptcy.

The May 19 refusal of the banks to float Goldin's loans was supposed to underline this danger.

But the argument was answered back in November in a letter to the *New York Times* by two men who should know. "It should be clear," they wrote, ". . . that the Constitution of the State of New York makes our New York City bonds and notes a first lien [claim] on all revenues—which include the real-estate tax, all other city taxes, fees and permits, all state aid and all Federal aid. . . ."

"The full value of our taxable real estate this fiscal year is now \$82-billion, whereas our net funded debt on Aug. 31 was \$6.8 billion, or 8.3 per cent. . . ."

"This picture should be very reassuring to all city investors."

The November 11 letter was signed by Abraham Beame and Harrison Goldin. All that has basically changed since then is the propaganda in the capitalist press.

Moreover, the official real-estate valuations are far below the real wealth of the city. New York is the financial center of the capitalist world. Its skyline of corporate headquarters has been partially subsidized by the deliberate undervaluation of real estate in order to give the corporations a tax break.

These actual and potential tax sources are not about to dry up.

Still, viewed from the standpoint of the financiers, there is a fiscal crisis in New York. It foreshadows crises that they fear will develop in all of the major U.S. cities.

This is the erosion of the tax base in the inner cities as they are more and more transformed into ghettos for the oppressed national minorities. "In two decades," A.H. Raskin wrote in the May 18 *New York Times*, "a gigantic population exchange introduced 2 million newcomers, mostly poor and unskilled, while 2 million New Yorkers, most rich, middle-class and white, moved out to the suburbs and beyond."

With the white exodus are the "flight of capital," the decline of industry within the central cities, and the massive deterioration of living conditions that inevitably accompany this process.

When the conditions of economic depression are superimposed on the critical conditions of inner cities, bringing a sharp increase in unemployment for the most-oppressed sectors, the results become unbearable.

Necessary social services should increase when communities are blighted by poverty and economic depression. But at this very moment the tax base is at its minimum. A city hall run for the private profit needs of the banks is stretched beyond its capacity.

*The rulers of this country hope to confront this crisis in the central cities by shrinking the service for the poor, eliminating municipal jobs, and reducing real wages and union benefits that have been won by municipal employees. New York is the test case.*

The cynical aims beyond the escalation of bank pressure were clearly spelled out in a series of editorials in the *New York Times*. Especially significant was the May 12 editorial entitled: "State of the City: Fiscal Shock."

"This city has spent more per capita on public services than most other cities," the *Times* editors complained.

"The result has been a relentless rise in city expenditures . . . in the face of a much slower increase in the city's tax base. . . ."

*"The only realistic course is to cut spending to levels that the city can afford—and that means reducing personnel and services far more drastically than the Mayor has so far suggested, and clamping a lid on civil service wages and fringe benefits. The essential first step would be to put a freeze on all new hiring and to suspend negotiated pay increases. . . . The only—but less desirable—alternative is wholesale firings."* (Emphasis added.)

This is the bankers' solution. It certainly is not in the interests of working people.

### Workers' needs

The May 12 *New York Post* presented a more detailed breakdown of the May and June financial problems facing city hall. According to the *Post*, the city will collect \$2 billion in taxes in this six-week period, but it will have expenses totaling \$3.4 billion, as follows:

• About \$600 million to meet three major payrolls between today and June 30.

• \$220 million to pay off holders of bond anticipation notes maturing on May 30.

• \$757 million to redeem various note issues which come due on June 11.

• \$250 million to pay off notes due on June 25 and another \$375 million to redeem notes due on June 30.

• Perhaps \$400 million to repay the

*Continued on page 26*

Fiscal Budget	Total Budget	Debt Service	% Debt Service To Total
1972	\$ 8.566-bil.	\$843.6-mil.	9.9
1973	9.407-bil.	899.0-mil.	9.6
1974	10.160-bil.	1.141-bil.	11.2
1975*	11.104-bil.	1.798-bil.	16.2

Source: N.Y.C. Budgets, Controller's Office

\* Expected

Chart from District Council 37 leaflet shows growing proportion of tax payments that goes to banks and other wealthy bondholders as 'debt service.' Figure for fiscal 1976 will be \$2 billion.



## Challenge to city unions

# What strategy to fight Beame's layoffs?

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—The call by municipal labor unions for a mass protest on June 4 (see story on back page) will be welcomed by thousands of city workers who have been looking to their unions to take action against the threat of layoffs and wage cuts.

It's time to serve notice to Mayor Beame and to the Wall Street bankers, who are openly calling the shots at city hall, that municipal workers will not sit idly by while vital city services are slashed and thousands of city employees are thrown onto the unemployment lines.

The June 4 action can tap the enthusiasm and fighting spirit that were so evident among union members at the April 26 demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C. And it can offer a ray of hope for millions of other New Yorkers—because we will all be the losers if Beame's "austerity plan" is not stopped.

There have been cutbacks and dire warnings of layoffs before, but everyone senses that there is something different this time. It's more than just shadowboxing between city hall and Albany. Today the rulers of this city are out for blood.

The showdown now looming is a crucial test for all the municipal employees' unions, and especially for District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employ-

*Ray Markey is a member of AFSCME Local 1930 and a delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly.*

ees, which represents the bulk of city workers.

What is at stake in the long run, I believe, is the very survival of AFSCME as a union that can protect the livelihood of its members.

New York City is becoming a national test of strength. If the city bosses can break the union's power here, in AFSCME's stronghold, big business will be emboldened to go after AFSCME and other public employee unions across the country.

### Beame's cynical game

We all know by now the kind of cynical game Beame is playing with our jobs. We've been through it before. Tens of thousands must be laid off, he announces (weeping plenty of crocodile tears), in order to balance the budget.

Then Beame holds out the bait: maybe some of the layoffs can be averted, if . . . if the unions will just reopen their contracts, accept a 20 percent cut in pay (the "four-day week"), give up raises, take payless vacations, "defer" city payments into the pension funds, and give up any control over work rules.

Well, we made some concessions that "saved" most—not all—of the jobs Beame threatened last winter. And where are we now? Faced with thousands more layoffs and demands for further sacrifices. Already the city is holding the line on wage increases in new contracts at 5 percent—lower than under government wage controls. This kind of blackmail is nothing other than union-busting on a slice-at-a-time basis.

### Program for disaster

*Hospitals and schools closed . . . kindergarten eliminated . . . less fire protection, street repair, and garbage pick-up . . . higher bus and subway fares for less service . . . day-care centers shut down . . . free tuition ended at the city university while aid to poor students is cut off—these*



Union members want actions at which our voices will be heard—massive mobilizations that unite working people against Wall Street and city hall.

"austerity" measures will spell disaster for New York City residents, and the worst hurt will be the poverty-stricken Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

Is Mayor Beame really fighting to stop this disaster? He makes a big show of his pilgrimages to Washington and Albany to seek aid. He even loses his temper and swears at the Republicans for disregarding the city's needs.

But, as a *New York Times* "news analysis" on May 16 admits, it's all part of the game. With the refusal of state and federal aid, the *Times* said, "the Mayor has been shown to be boxed in a corner, and this public demonstration of his impotence is going to make it easier for him to force the necessary spending cuts on the leaders of the municipal-employee unions."

Not that the charade is over yet. The same article pointed out that "the Mayor must continue to fight for help right up to the last minute [because] the municipal-employee unions must be convinced that there really are no alternatives to dismissals or rollbacks in their pay and benefits."

Are there really "no alternatives"? Only if you take it for granted that the profits of the banks are sacred and must take priority over the lives and welfare of working people in New York.

Not surprisingly, that's where Ford, Rockefeller, and the bankers stand. It's also where Beame stands, which came as a shock to some union members because their union officials always told them he was a "friend of labor." But Beame's loyalty is to the Democratic party, which answers only to the bankers, real estate sharks, and owners of industry.



Public Employee Press

'Beame makes a big show of his pilgrimages to Washington and Albany, but still puts bank profits above human needs.'

The June 4 demonstration will point to a totally different perspective. We will be demonstrating, thousands strong, to say, "Human beings must come first, and if the city can't provide the basic services people need and still make exorbitant interest payments to the banks, then let the banks sacrifice for a change!"

Who are these people who decree that the city "can't afford" the present level of services? They're people who ride limousines to work, not subways; who send their children to private schools; and who wouldn't be caught dead in a city hospital. They have reaped millions in profits off the suffering and poverty of working people in this city, and still they demand more.

When they say we "can't afford" our schools, child-care centers, and hospitals, our answer is that we can't afford to keep lining their bank vaults!

### What we need

In this time of economic crisis, inflation, and unemployment, the city's duty is to expand and improve services, not cut back. Today there are more people who need welfare, more who need public health care, more unemployed who need assistance, more young people who need an education, more mothers who need child care so they can look for or hold onto a job.

Instead of freezing new construction, the city should launch an emergency program to provide low-rent housing, rebuild the ghettos, repair dilapidated schools, and modernize public transit.

That would be great, some will say, but it's just not practical. We'll do well to hang onto our jobs at all, much less go crusading for more.

I think it's just the other way around. What is unrealistic is to keep retreating from one crisis to another, looking for a "better" austerity program, giving up a little here and a little more there until we are too weakened to resist at all.

Now is the time to make a stand and to throw all our forces and resources into the fight. On June 4 we should mobilize the largest possible outpouring of city workers, with contingents from every union, every local, and every part of the city.

A special appeal should be made to the United Federation of Teachers, now entering contract negotiations under the threat of losing thousands of jobs, to participate in this united protest.

The June 4 demonstration can be the springboard for a massive campaign of education and action to put the blame for the budget crisis where it belongs and to rally support for our program of

more jobs and more services.

One of the union-haters' favorite tactics is to portray city employees as just another narrow-minded "pressure group," while city hall supposedly speaks for "the public."

Nothing could be further from the truth. *We speak for the majority.* We stand for the welfare of the working people who built this city and keep it running, while Beame stands only for the banks.

When our unions begin to put up a fight against the whole idea of cutbacks and an austerity program—when we champion loud and clear the interests of *all* working people, unemployed, welfare recipients, and students in the city—we will quickly win powerful allies in our struggle.

Students, hospital workers and patients, and even the retarded and mental-health patients have taken to the streets in recent weeks to protest the cutbacks.

All these groups, all the victims of the cutbacks—especially the organizations of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities—should be invited and urged to join in the June 4 protest.

While this campaign will build upon the success of the April 26 jobs demonstration, we all recognize that action had shortcomings, and we can learn from them.

The conservative AFL-CIO sponsors of the April 26 rally organized it in a slipshod way that invited the disruption that ended the rally early. Workers who had come for a militant protest against unemployment were treated as passive spectators. Rally speakers were dull and failed to put forward a program of action.

Union members want actions in which *our voices* will be heard, actions that welcome and encourage the fullest participation of the union ranks.

Our fight for jobs and against the cutbacks should be based on massive, militant mobilizations that unite the working people of this city against our common enemy: the Wall Street parasites and their servants in city hall.

Through rallies, through mass meetings, through protest marches, and, if it comes to that, through united strike action, we will say:

*"No cutbacks! No layoffs! Not one penny to the bankers at the expense of human needs!"*

They say you can't fight city hall. But the working people of New York have the power to stop Beame's plans cold and reorder the city's priorities from top to bottom. With June 4 as the starting point, we can fight city hall—and we can win.

# 15,000 Chinese protest N.Y. cop brutality

By Chan Lin

NEW YORK—In the largest outpouring of protest ever among New York City's Chinese community, 15,000 demonstrators marched through Chinatown to city hall on Monday, May 19. They were demanding an end to police brutality and an end to the discrimination faced by Chinese and Chinese-Americans.

The demonstration took place one week after a march by 2,500 Chinatown residents protesting the arrest and beating of Peter Yew on April 26. Yew had objected to the mistreatment by police of a Chinese motorist involved in a traffic argument with a white man. Police responded by beating Yew and dragging him to the police station, where he was stripped and beaten again.

At a May 13 court hearing, attended by 300 of Yew's supporters, the original charges of felonious assault and obstructing governmental administration were reduced to misdemeanor charges. Trial is set for June 3.

The incident has sparked a protest movement aimed not just at Yew's case and the police brutality it represents, but also at discrimination faced by Chinese-Americans in all spheres of life.

"This is something that should have been done a long time ago," one Chinatown resident said after the first demonstration on May 12. "So far, the Chinese always keep their mouths shut, and they are always oppressed by other people. Now the young people cannot take any more, and the old people join them. It's really amazing."

The May 19 demonstration was sponsored by the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), a



Militant/George Basley

May 19 demonstration was broadly backed by Chinese community. Demonstrators expressed outrage at police brutality, job discrimination, and other forms of racism.

well-established group of Chinese merchants, and by the Asian Americans For Equal Employment, a relatively new organization formed to fight job discrimination.

Articles in the Chinese press, leaflets distributed by the AAFEE and by student committees organized in support of Peter Yew at City College of New York and Queens College, and a sentiment that spread word of the action throughout Chinatown brought the demonstrators into the streets on less than a week's notice.

The protesters included all sections of the Chinese community, from young

mothers carrying their children to elderly men and women. Most of the stores in Chinatown were closed during the morning hours so that shopkeepers could attend the protest, and a large section of the march was made up of women with placards identifying the shops and factories where they work.

Some marchers carried signs saying "Jobs for all—not welfare."

Despite the well-organized marshaling of the march, the police managed to provoke a brief confrontation early in the day by trying to push the demonstrators from the street onto the

sidewalk. At least two march participants were injured, and one was arrested, although he was released later without charges.

At one point the protesters passed a city correctional institutions bus filled with Black prisoners. The prisoners banged on the side of the bus in solidarity and shouted, "Chinese power! Chinese power!"

The marchers chanted in both English and Chinese. English chants included "Police brutality—No!" "Oppression—No!" "Discrimination—No!" "What do we do? Fight to win!" In Chinese they chanted, "All Chinese united against police brutality! Against discrimination!"

When the march arrived at city hall, representatives of the CCBA went inside to present their demands to the first deputy mayor and the police commissioner. Those demands included suspending the cops who beat Peter Yew, ending the cutbacks in city funding to Chinatown, and construction of more housing for Chinatown residents.

Protesters also demanded an end to discrimination in employment, education, and all social services, and an end to the harassment by police supposedly on the lookout for "illegal aliens."

City officials agreed to "look into" their complaints and to meet again with CCBA representatives by the end of the week.

CCBA President Man Bun Lee told the crowd after the meeting, "The demonstration today is the first one in a hundred years. We will fight to the end until all our demands are satisfied."

## Puerto Rican unionist opens U.S. tour

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Puerto Rican trade-union leader Pedro Grant addressed a May 17 forum of 200 people at the New York University Law School, launching a two-week tour of the United States.

The purpose of the tour is to focus attention on repression against the Puerto Rican labor movement by the government of the island and its masters in Washington. Grant is appealing for solidarity in the United States against these attacks.

Grant has been a leader of the Puerto Rican labor movement for more than two decades, currently serving as secretary-treasurer of the Puerto Rican local of the Boilermakers union, an AFL-CIO affiliate with 3,500 members on the island.

He is also the coordinator of the Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU—United Workers Movement), a coalition of thirty-seven unions, primarily independent unions but also including a few AFL-CIO organizations. The MOU has as its goal the development of mutual support and solidarity between all the different sectors of the Puerto Rican labor movement.

In addition, Grant is a member of the Central Committee of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, the most active and visible proindependence organization in the U.S. colony.

Grant's tour is being organized by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, which grew out of the massive October 27, 1974, proindependence rally in Madison Square Garden here.

### Role of AFL-CIO

Speaking in Spanish with English translation, Grant began his talk by explaining that the Puerto Rican union movement is divided into two broad currents. The first is composed of organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO, whose officials, with a few

exceptions, "could care less about the welfare or future of the Puerto Rican people." The second is composed of newer and more militant independent unions that have no ties to the U.S. federation.

For many years, Grant reported, the North American unions dominated the island's labor movement. But in the last several years there has been developing what is known as the "new trade unionism," as younger, more militant leaders launched new organizations or disaffiliated their unions from the AFL-CIO.

It has been these independent unions that have organized many previously nonunionized workplaces and conducted the most militant strikes of the recent past. About half of the island's organized workers now belong to independent unions, Grant said.

### United Workers Movement

"The United Workers Movement," Grant said, "is essentially a product of this new trade unionism." The MOU coordinates island-wide support for strikes, supports organizing drives in previously unorganized shops, and takes up many different political issues—such as the plan to build a deep-water "superport" and massive petroleum refining complex in Puerto Rico and the application of the United States' antilabor Taft-Hartley Act to the island.

Although the MOU carries out some of the same activities a central labor federation would, it is not and does not pretend to be one. It includes only about one-third of organized labor in Puerto Rico, even though it is open to all unions, and the MOU's structure is loose.

Nevertheless, Grant expressed the hope that the activities of the MOU would "lay the basis for and develop the conditions which could lead to the

establishment of a labor federation."

Grant explained that the escalated repressive drive against the labor movement is a relatively recent phenomenon, due mainly to the deepening economic crisis and to the rising militancy of workers' struggles.

In recent years, he reported, the government has mobilized the national guard twice to break strikes by employees of semipublic corporations. Police mobilize against strikers' picket lines to such a degree that sometimes there are two cops for every worker on the line.

One aspect of this campaign has been a red-baiting witch-hunt against the participation of socialists in the labor movement. Alarmist reports of "communist infiltration" that could "paralyze the whole country" have become the daily fare dished out by capitalist media.

This campaign is aimed particularly at the Puerto Rican Socialist party and the MOU. Grant said this showed that the North American imperialists were becoming more and more scared of what he described as a developing alliance between militant trade unions and the various left-wing political organizations in the country.

### Puerto Rican Cement strike

The MOU leader cited the example of the strike at Puerto Rican Cement company's factory in Ponce to illustrate the stepped-up repressive drive. That strike has lasted almost four months and is directed at one of the most powerful native capitalist groups on the island, clustered around ex-governor Luis Ferré.

Grant reported that "not only have they used strikebreakers from a company dedicated to recruiting professional scabs, but these have been protected by the police tactical squad."

Grant denounced the frequent police arrests of the leaders of the Operators and Quarry Workers Union, noting



Claridad/Luis Castro

Puerto Rican trade-union leader Pedro Grant is touring U.S. to appeal for solidarity against government repression.

that several of them had been framed up by the government on phony explosives charges. He explained that the frame-up of Efraín Fernández, president of the union, was so transparent that the judge hearing the case ordered all charges dropped May 12 even before the trial had begun.

Grant also said that, for the first time in the history of Puerto Rican labor struggles, twenty FBI agents had been assigned full time specifically to harass the leaders of the strike.

Another example cited by Grant is the telephone workers' strike, which began during the last week of April. The 3,200 workers of the recently nationalized telephone company are fighting the biggest employer on the island: the government.

But in addition, the workers are

*Continued on page 26*



# World Outlook

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

MAY 30, 1975

## The forced evacuation of Cambodia's cities

By Joseph Hansen

Pnompenh fell to the People's National Liberation Armed Forces of Cambodia on April 17, but accounts of what happened did not become available in the world press until May 8. The journalists who witnessed the take-over were barred from sending out dispatches. After reaching Thailand in a convoy of refugees May 3, they agreed to hold up their reports until several hundred additional refugees had crossed the border.

The accounts of the more responsible journalists must be taken as generally accurate, particularly in view of the fact that neither the new Cambodian authorities nor the governments in Hanoi and Peking have issued specific denials.

First of all—and this strengthens their credibility—the reporters deny that any “bloodbath” occurred. They also deny finding any evidence, or being able to locate any eyewitnesses, of the “executions” that the Ford administration claims to have learned about through “hard intelligence,” i.e., the CIA.

### Atrocities Denied

A sensationalistic account of atrocities presumably witnessed by Bernard Piquart, who was chief surgeon at the French-run Calmette Hospital in Pnompenh, was denied within a day by the doctor.

There were two take-overs on April 17. The first was carried out early in the morning by a small force led by one Hem Keth Dara. For a few hours he ruled the city as Lon Nol's troops laid down their arms, and the populace, at first fearful, poured into the streets to celebrate the victory.

The holiday mood evaporated when the main forces arrived about noon. They disarmed Hem Keth Dara. In the May 9 issue of the *New York Times*, Sydney H. Schanberg offers a vivid eyewitness account of what happened next:

“Using loudspeakers, or simply shouting and brandishing weapons, they swept through the streets, ordering people out of their houses. At first we thought the order applied only to the rich in villas, but we quickly saw that it was for everyone as the streets became clogged with a sorrowful exodus.”

“In Phnom Penh two million people suddenly moved out of the city en masse in stunned silence—walking, bicycling, pushing cars that had run out of fuel, covering the roads like a human carpet, bent under sacks of belongings hastily thrown together

when the heavily armed peasant soldiers came and told them to leave immediately, everyone dispirited and frightened by the unknown that awaited them and many plainly terrified because they were soft city people and were sure the trip would kill them.

“Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied, right down to the last patient. They went—limping, crawling, on crutches, carried on relatives' backs, wheeled on their hospital beds. . . .

“A once-throbbing city became an echo chamber of silent streets lined with abandoned cars and gaping, empty shops. Streetlights burned eerily for a population that was no longer there.”

Traveling across the country on the way to Thailand, Schanberg noted that other cities and towns had been similarly evacuated. He came to the following conclusion:

“The victorious Cambodian Communists . . . are carrying out a peasant revolution that has thrown the entire country into upheaval.

“Perhaps as many as three or four million people [out of a population of seven million] . . . have been forced out of the cities and sent on a mammoth and grueling exodus into areas deep in the countryside where, the Communists say, they will have to become peasants and till the soil. . . .

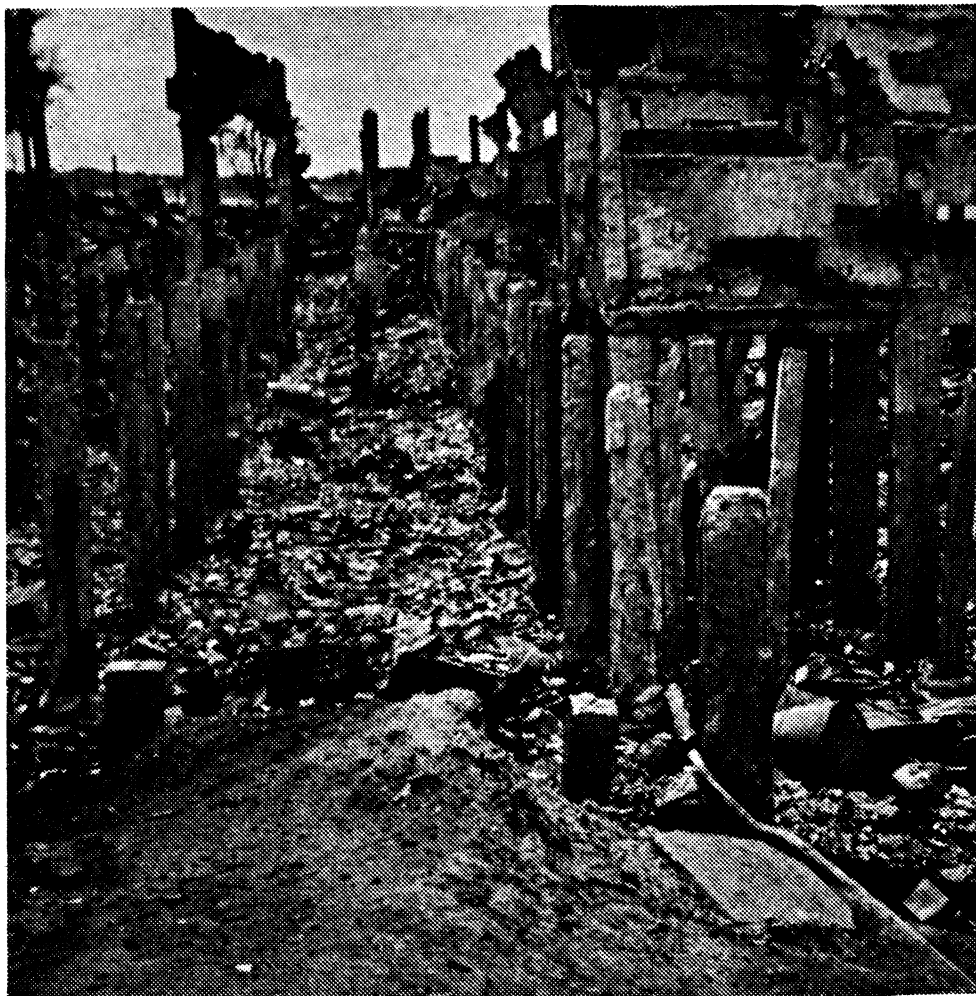
“The old economy of the cities has been abandoned, and for the moment money means nothing and cannot be spent. Barter has replaced it.”

For the Washington propagandists, Cambodia's “peasant revolution” was a windfall. They pounced on it. The reactionary columnist William Safire, for instance, said, “. . . this is no Cambodian aberration, but the path always taken by new Communist parties as they take power.” Calling it the “decapitation of a capital city,” he averred that “Communism is by its nature anti-city, anti-civilization, anti-freedom.”

### U.S. ‘Civilizing Mission’

And what precipitated the process that led to these results? It was Nixon's incursion in 1970. B-52s carpet bombed Cambodia. The countryside was cratered. About 600,000 Cambodians were killed. Another 600,000 were wounded. This was the “civilizing mission” directed from Washington, the capital city of the United States.

Is it any wonder that the peasants of Cambodia came to view cities as evil incarnate? Behind those untouchable pilots in the giant bombers who showered their country with fiendishly destructive devices, they saw the city of Washington. And within closer



After devastating Cambodia for years and killing hundreds of thousands of its people, imperialists are trying to whip up anticommunist campaign with atrocity stories.

reach they saw the cities and towns where dirty puppets did everything they could to help Washington destroy them and their families.

Despite this completely justifiable hatred of the foreign power that sought to bomb them back to the Stone Age, one of the leaders in the new Information Ministry told Schanberg: “We would like you to give our thanks to the American people who have helped us and supported us from the beginning, and to all people of the world who love peace and justice. Please give this message to the world.”

Evidently the liberation forces are able to distinguish between the White House and the antiwar movement that played such a key role in bringing the imperialist aggression to an end.

The Cambodian people have a right to determine their own fate. This applies just as much after their victory over the foreign imperialist invaders as before. Everyone who has fought for this right must continue to uphold it. We must be particularly alert to any new imperialist attempt to intervene in the internal affairs of the Cambodian people. The slogan remains, “Hands off Cambodia!”

Nonetheless revolutionary Marxists are duty bound to voice their concern over the program that is being followed by the national liberation forces in Cambodia. It is not a communist program.

Consider the class composition of the cities and towns. The very thin layer of capitalists, or would-be capitalists, left Cambodia before the collapse of Lon Nol. About 5,000 or 6,000 persons were involved. While a few individual trai-

tors decided to remain and take their chances, they no longer constitute a serious danger. The fact is that the bulk of the city population in Cambodia consists of workers and artisans and their families.

### Not a Marxist Position

To view them as potential, if not actual, class enemies is not Marxist. And to drive them into the countryside for “reeducation” does grave injury to the Cambodian revolution. The same layers, in alliance with the peasants, constitute the key force required to move toward a socialist society.

It cannot be excluded, of course, that the new authorities had good reasons for deciding that the first major action following the victory should be the evacuation of the cities. Perhaps they will eventually say that a forced march was required to plant crops, or that transport was not available to feed the cities. But this would not explain why the evacuation was ordered in such a summary way on the very day of the victory, or why it was undertaken at such high cost in human suffering. Why wasn't it explained to the populace? Why weren't they given more time? Why weren't they consulted and brought into the planning? Why were they handled like enemies?

The answers are tied in with the pattern of the Cambodian revolution. As in China, the most massive force is composed of rebel peasants. Again as in China, this force created an army in the countryside. The peasant army, in turn, created a command structure.

*Continued on next page*

## Argentine actors and writers join fight against right-wing terror

[The following article appeared in the May 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina).

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

On Friday, April 25, at 6 p.m. a bomb exploded in front of the offices of Abril Publishers at Paraguay and Leandro N. Alem streets. When it exploded, a huge number of leaflets flew into the air. The leaflet demanded that a long list of actors, playwrights, journalists, writers, and three members of the Civita family, which owns Abril Publishers—Carlos, César, and Mina—leave the country. If they did not follow this "order," the "Alianza Antiimperialista Argentina" [AAA—Argentine Anti-Imperialist Alliance or Argentine Anticommunist Alliance]—the Triple A, signer of the note—threatened to execute those it had listed.

In addition to the owners of Abril, the list included actors David Stivel, Carlos Carella, Juan Carlos Gené, Sergio Renán, María Rosa Gallo, Luisina Brando, Mabel Manso, Alfredo Alcón. Also the Uruguayan writer Mario Benedetti, along with the journalists and writers Roberto Cossa, Ricardo Halac, Tomás Eloy Martínez, and Carlos Somigliana. Finally there was Osvaldo Granados, who just a few days earlier had resigned as director of the official news agency Telam.

On Saturday, a special office was set up in the federal police building to aid "the condemned" in getting their passports rapidly.

In the afternoon the Comisión Integral [joint committee], led by the Asociación Argentina de Actores [Argentine Actors Association], voted to stay in permanent session. It also declared the union on a state of alert and called for a work stoppage in theaters, movie houses, radio, and

television to run from 8 p.m. that day until 7 p.m. Monday, April 28. In addition, the committee sent a telegram to the president of the nation requesting a meeting.

Several groups of actors went to different theaters, ensuring the carrying out of the work stoppage in all theaters where there were members of the organization.

This did not occur in several establishments with members of the Unión de Artistas de Variedades [Union of Vaudeville Artists]—the nucleus of a sector of the casts of variety shows. Their leader, José Marrone, stated that before stopping work in solidarity, "we have to ask ourselves why those persons are being threatened."

### Massive Work Stoppage

On Sunday a massive work stoppage took place. The Asociación de Actores announced that it would negotiate with the national authorities.

On Monday several meetings took place. The bloc of Radical senators [members of the UCR—Unión Cívica Radical] voted to condemn the threats by the Triple A and to request that parliament investigate them. The CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] issued a press release signed by recording secretaries Abalberto Winer and Casildo Herreras. It pointed out that in a meeting with leaders of the Asociación de Actores "the leaders of the CGT indicated their approval of the condemnation of any type of violence."

Later, statements of condemnation from the Frejuli [Frente Justicialista de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Front for Social Justice, the Peronist parliamentary bloc] and the APR [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria—People's Revolutionary Alliance, a center-left parliamentary bloc] were made public. A press release from the Partido Justicialista [Justicialist party] signed by press chief Demetrio Vázquez said: "The Justicialists condemn the threats that various Argentine artists have re-

ceived, and the party wants to express its most unqualified solidarity with these individuals."

In the afternoon a big assembly of the Asociación de Actores took place. About 500 persons were in the hall when the board of directors reported that the threatened artists had decided to remain in the country. Deeply moved, those present applauded. The applause turned into a standing ovation when it was announced that María Rosa Gallo, whose name was on the Triple A list, was present.

Senator Stecco, who was present, stated that "as a member of the Justicialist party I condemn threats of this type, made by organizations acting outside the law."

Also present were Congressmen Montenegro and Martijena of the Frejuli, Senator Samanillo of the UCR, and Nicéforo Castellano of the APR.

Messages of support from the Agrupación Gremial de Escritores [Writers Union], the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, the Communist party, and the Asociación de Directores Teatrales [Theater Directors Association] were also read. The Asociación de Actores made public an extensive communiqué.

Finally, it was reported that at 8 p.m. the work stoppage would end and that the actors would remain on a state of alert.

### Writers Kidnapped

Shortly after the meeting ended, the Sociedad Argentina de Escritores [Argentine Writers Society] reported that three of its members—Berta Solana Macías, Jorge Reboledo, and Juan Carlos Higa—had been kidnapped from a house in Gerli April 25.

On Tuesday, April 29, statements from two newspaper owners' groups were made public. They condemned the threats and made a special point of the fact that the AAA list included three directors of Abril Publishers.

The minister of the interior issued a

press release, commenting on the meeting held between several actors and Undersecretary of Institutional Affairs Dr. Héctor Millán, who voiced "the concern of this ministry, as shown in measures directed at the immediate investigation of this type of threats, to prevent them from happening again."

In addition, according to the April 30 issue of *Cronista Comercial*, Raúl Lastiri, president of the Chamber of Deputies, met twice with different artists, advising them not to leave the country "because it would harm the republic."

On the same day, delegations from the Asociación de Actores were received by the general commanders of the army and navy.

### Journalists Condemn AAA

An assembly called Tuesday, April 29, by the executive board of the shop stewards committee of the Asociación de Periodistas de Buenos Aires [Buenos Aires Journalists Association] was attended by 150 compañeros. They voted to carry out two-hour work stoppages Friday, May 2, to condemn Triple A threats against various personalities, among them well-known journalists.

In addition, they reported the kidnapping of Ana Buzzetti, editor of the daily *El Mundo*, which had been closed by the government. In view of this fact, the assembly voted to carry out a twenty-four-hour work stoppage the same Friday if there was confirmation of a rumor that her corpse had been found.

The assembly also voted solidarity with the struggle in Villa Constitución\* and with compañeros from different unions who had been threatened. A petition for formation of a parliamentary commission to investigate these facts was approved, as was a demand that a doctors committee investigate the report that Dardo Cabo, former editor of *El Descamisado*, and Emiliano Costa, a journalist, had suffered illegal oppression since their recent arrests. Cabo is reported paralyzed and Costa unrecognizable as the result of the punishment they received.

\*Several thousand metalworkers have been on strike in Villa Constitución since March 20. They are striking to win the release of their leadership, who were imprisoned on the basis of an alleged "subversive plot to halt industrial production" in the region.

## ...Cambodia

Continued from preceding page

Here we find the key element.

In former times, the commanders led similar peasant armies against a corrupt, decayed regime. Toppling the old regime and carrying out a number of progressive measures permitting a new expansion of agriculture, the army command would mark the beginning of a new dynasty.

This ancient Asian pattern helped shape the revolutionary process that brought Mao to power.

In modern times, of course, the command structure of a peasant army created in this way is subject to international influences that block the old pattern from being merely repeat-

ed. In the case of China, it placed in power a Chinese variant of Stalinist bureaucracy. What the outcome will be in Cambodia remains to be seen.

The degree of influence Hanoi and Peking may have with the new authorities in Cambodia is not clear. Moscow's standing is very low. A rocket was fired through the Soviet embassy in Phnompenh, the building was looted, and the seven Russians there were ordered to leave the country with the final convoys of foreigners.

On May 11 the Phnompenh radio said: "The victory of the Cambodian people is the same as the victory of the Chinese. The strategic unity between Cambodia and China, which is the base of our friendship, will last forever. We warmly respect each other's cause both internally and internationally."

The decision of the Cambodians to evacuate the cities may have been done in emulation of the Maoists, who

have sent hundreds of thousands of dissidents or potential dissidents, particularly among the youth, into the countryside for "reeducation." Does Peking consider the Cambodians to have been overzealous? So far the writers for Hsinhua have maintained a

discreet silence.

The lineaments of the Cambodian revolution are beginning to emerge. It should not take long until a more concrete assessment can be made. However, it is still too early to accurately forecast its coming stages.

Coming in the June 2

## Intercontinental Press

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# West European women meet on abortion rights

By Estelle Cordano

PARIS, April 20—About 250 persons attending a two-day meeting here to discuss the fight for abortion and contraception in Western Europe voted unanimously to organize picket lines on June 21 at British embassies in solidarity with the demonstration called for that day by the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) in Britain.

The Paris meeting was sponsored by the French abortion-rights organization Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception (MLAC—Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception). Delegations from Britain, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal reported on developments in their countries.

Although the campaigns for an end

strated in Berlin to protest that decision, and demonstrations were held in other West German cities as well.

In Italy, "decriminalization committees," which are waging a campaign to remove abortion from the penal code, have organized in response to the government's attack on a Florence abortion clinic. The large demonstrations on International Women's Day, including a demonstration of 10,000 in Milan, had abortion rights as a central theme.

A referendum campaign in Switzerland to win passage of a liberalized bill met with a stormy and well-organized "right to life" opposition. On March 7 the Swiss parliament rejected a bill that would have legalized abortion for other than medical reasons. In demonstrations commemorating International Women's Day March 8, 900 persons



French women demonstrate for abortion rights

to reactionary abortion laws are different in each place, one clear pattern emerged from the reports and discussion: Throughout Western Europe, as in Canada and the United States, women fighting for abortion rights are meeting stiff resistance from reactionary forces, including the Catholic church, fascist organizations, and governing political parties. Even in those countries where partial abortion rights have been won, as in Britain and France, women must wage campaigns to defend liberalized laws and to win their implementation.

In Britain, NAC is waging a vigorous campaign in defense of the 1967 abortion law, now under attack in Parliament. The June 21 demonstration has wide support, including support from women in the Trades Union Congress. Several large meetings have been held; the most recent one was a mobilization last week of 800 women who attended an abortion hearing in the House of Commons.

MLAC representatives reported on their fight to win the new abortion law in France and their continuing campaign for its implementation. The law, passed on November 29, 1974, permits abortion on demand during the first ten weeks of pregnancy. Many hospitals, however, still refuse to permit abortions. MLAC is also organizing a campaign to extend abortion rights to minors, who cannot obtain an abortion without approval of their parents.

Representatives of German women's groups reported that they were discussing ways of forming a national coalition to win back a liberalized law that was overturned by the West German Supreme Court on February 25. More than 1,000 women demon-

strated in Tessin and 300 in Bern protested the parliament's decision. Women from Switzerland reported that further campaign plans are under way to win abortion rights.

Two women from the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—International Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, reported that not only is abortion illegal in Portugal, but the law still permits a husband to divorce his wife if she practices contraception.

Abortion and contraception are both prohibited in Spain. High fines are imposed on doctors who give women birth-control information. The Spanish delegate told of cases in which women paid up to \$250 to get illegal intrauterine devices.

One of the major questions discussed at the meeting was whether women should put their energies into fighting their governments for abortion rights, or into developing alternative abortion clinics and new methods of pregnancy termination. Some women from MLAC proposed that the meeting support their project to set up a clinic in Toulouse, where women from other countries could get abortions and where those performing abortions could be trained in new methods. This proposal was rejected in favor of the resolution that included support for solidarity picket lines at British embassies on June 21.

Other motions passed at the meeting included a call for a Europe-wide demonstration for abortion rights in Italy in October, and a meeting in Portugal during the summer to help women there begin their work.

## World news notes

### No medical treatment for dissidents

Yelena Bonner Sakharov, the wife of dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, has been refused a visa to travel to Italy for vital eye treatment. She has already lost sight in her left eye because of glaucoma. She expects to lose the remaining sight in her right eye within six months unless she is allowed to receive the specialized treatment.

An official at the Moscow visa office told her that the visa request had been turned down because no Soviet citizen could travel to a Western country without an invitation from a relative. He then suggested that she reapply in one year.

### 300,000 Greeks protest NATO

About 300,000 Greek youths demonstrated against NATO and the presence of U.S. military bases in their country April 21, the eighth anniversary of the 1967 military coup. The demonstration, which was called by the youth groups of left political parties, began peacefully. It was attacked by police in front of the U.S. embassy, however, when some demonstrators burned the U.S. flag. Police reported that twenty-six demonstrators were injured.

### 'Like the British in India'

Sarah Webb Barrell, a special correspondent of the New York *Daily News*, reported from Saigon April 27 that many of the Americans "regret that they are leaving this life behind forever." She quoted Dennis Simpson, a former petty officer in the navy.

"I have an apartment with three bedrooms, a patio and a maid—it costs me 30 U.S. dollars a month. Food? I shop at the market. Costs only about 100 U.S. dollars a month—and I have filet mignon every night.

"I guess we were sort of like the British in India. If you're not Vietnamese, you're all of a sudden the upper class."

### The holdouts

The new government of South Vietnam and the government of North Vietnam were seated as members of the World Health Organization May 14. Eight governments abstained rather than vote for admitting the North Vietnamese representatives. They included the United States, Israel, Chile, and Spain.

### Chilean junta plans 'shock treatment'

The Chilean junta called April 25 for "renewed sacrifices" on the part of the Chilean people to stem the country's economic crisis. The program, which the government calls "shock treatment," includes an additional 10% income tax, an increase in property taxes, and a new cut in government jobs. Public spending is to be reduced 15 to 25%.

Chilean workers are already making steep sacrifices. Inflation hit almost 400% last year and averaged 20% a month for the first three months of this year. According to official figures, unemployment is reaching 15%.

A limited number of public-works jobs—mostly digging ditches and cleaning streets—have been made available on an emergency basis, but so far there have been few takers. The jobs pay less than the \$23 a month minimum wage.

The number of beggars in the streets of Santiago has risen dramatically. The government has attempted to dismiss this sign of economic stagnation as a conspiracy of "political origin, destined to create a general sensation of poverty."

### 'Subversive' book a best seller

An instruction manual prepared by the Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec, the Québec teachers union, for use on May Day has been assailed as "subversive" by the province's education minister—and has become a best seller as a result.

The introduction to the manual says that teachers should ensure that "the majority of pupils, who are children of workers, come to understand the interests of the working class.

"With such an understanding they will be prepared, once they are on the labor market themselves, to organize to defend their own interests."

The projects described in the manual have been scaled for use by different school grades. Grade 1 and 2 pupils, for example, would make up lyrics for a song celebrating May Day. They might also visit a picket line of a nearby strike.

A sample problem for a mathematics class is the following: The net profit of a copper mine in 1972 was about \$25 million. The company employs 300 workers. If the company had been content to realize a net profit of \$10 million in 1972, how much of a wage increase could have been given to each worker?

The manual quickly became the center of controversy when Education Minister François Cloutier rose to denounce it in the National Assembly.

Meanwhile, the teachers union has announced that a first printing of 30,000 copies sold out, and that after Cloutier's attack a second press run had to be ordered.

## Britain: taxes, prices & unemployment to rise

# Labour gov't tries to make workers pay for crisis

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—"The best chancellor we have." That was the glowing verdict of the *London Times*, Britain's most prominent capitalist newspaper, on April 17, two days after Labour Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey announced tough austerity measures in a speech to Parliament unveiling the Labour government's new budget.

Healey's package of antilabor, pro-business policies was a sure sign, in the opinion of the *Times* editors, that the reformist Labour chancellor had the virtue of standing for "responsible government." "Until we get a better champion of responsible government in a position of power we shall all do well to support him," they advised.

For workers, the consequences of this budget are crystal clear. Taxes, prices, and unemployment will soar.

The standard rate of income tax has been increased by 2% so that it now stands at 35%; and Healey warned that the Labour government would oppose any attempt by trade unionists to offset these increases through wage rises. He said such action was "wrong, damaging and in the end self-defeating."

### Workers Hit Hardest

Sweeping increases in indirect taxes will hit working people the hardest, particularly the low-paid. The Value Added Tax (VAT) on so-called luxury items like washing machines and televisions, formerly 8%, is now 25%. Duties on cars and motorcycles have been jacked up to 60%. Steep new tax rates have been imposed on alcohol and tobacco.

By Healey's own admission these tax increases alone will raise the Retail Price Index by 2.75%. Already, prices are more than 20% above their level a year ago. Three days after Healey's speech, the government announced that retail prices in March were 2% higher than in February and 21.2% higher than in March 1974.

Two other budget measures promise further price increases in the months ahead. Government food subsidy cutbacks of £150 million [£1 equals about US\$2.35] and the axing of £65 million from housing subsidies will mean higher food prices, rents, and rates.

In addition, the government's decision to reduce subsidies to nationalised industries from £550 million to £70 million by the end of this year and to phase them out altogether by next April means further increases in gas and electricity charges, rail fares, and postal rates. Right after the budget announcement, British Rail announced a 15% hike in rail fares starting in May, and further increases at the end of the year.

### Pushing Up Inflation

John Palmer, business editor of the *Guardian*, said in the April 16 issue that "the effect of Mr Healey's measures in the short run could be to push up the annual rate of inflation later this year to more than 25 per cent." In Palmer's opinion, "the Chancellor made no attempt to disguise the fact that if the Budget strategy works living standards will fall this year and maybe next."

Those put out of work by Labour's budget will suffer the worst. Healey



British coal miners picket. Working class in Britain has militantly resisted attempts to drive down its standard of living, despite obstruction by trade-union officialdom and Labour party leaders.

himself predicted at least 20,000 more workers would lose their jobs as a direct result of the budget, and that by the end of the year unemployment "could be touching one million."

Healey also announced a cutback of £1,100 million from government expenditure, knocking off £86 million from education and £50 million from the housing programme. While the budget means further deterioration in the quality of welfare services, the billions wasted on armaments have been left virtually untouched.

By contrast to its harsh consequences for working people, the budget gave the go-ahead for yet more handouts to business, to the tune of £1,200 million.

The capitalist class broadly welcomed the budget, because it accorded with their aim to cut into the living standards of the British working class in order to improve their competitive position in the world capitalist market. In Palmer's view, the budget was essentially a gamble that trade unionists would agree "to allow prices to overtake their money wage increases over the next 12 months or so" and to tolerate the "sharpest cut in average living standards for about 30 years."

### Perennial Problem

The perennial problem facing British capitalists and their governments in recent years has been how to discipline workers to accept such a decline in their standard of living. All attempts so far (the compulsory wage controls of the 1970-74 Tory government and the voluntary wage controls of the "social contract" between the Labour government and the union bureaucrats) have largely failed because workers have consistently refused to shoulder the burden of the crisis facing British capitalism.

Healey's budget reveals that the Labour government—and its capitalist well-wishers—now hope that the rise in unemployment will dampen rank-and-file militancy and make real wage cuts possible.

As Colin Chapman put it in the April 20 *Observer*: "Mr Healey reckons that his toughness will lead to unemployment rising to about a million, and that this will result in moderation in wage claims. The CBI (Confederation

of British Industry) believes that unemployment could rise higher."

The *Guardian* in an editorial published on April 11 said that "the main restraining force on wage claims in the year ahead will not be the widely ignored Social Contract but the fear of rising unemployment. Fear of driving an employer to make redundancies already appears to have had a moderating effect on some private sector pay claims."

Furthermore, "when the Government is forced to prune public sector spending drastically—as it is likely to be at some stage this year—unemployment will afflict public sector employees just as badly as those in private firms."

### Public Workers Threatened

Healey directly threatened public sector workers with the risk of losing their jobs if they fight for "unreasonable" wage claims.

It was this underlying theme of the budget that most appealed to the bourgeois papers, Tory leaders, and representatives of industry. The April 20 *Observer* remarked that "business has given this Budget a friendlier reception than that accorded any previous post-war Labour effort." The City of London's immediate response was the biggest recorded one-day rise in share values.

A former Tory chancellor of the Exchequer, Reginald Maudling, congratulated Healey. "Not only did he identify the nature of Britain's problem—galloping inflation—and its underlying cause, excessive wage increases, which his political and union colleagues have stimulated or at best not resisted, he actually did something about it."

Labour members of Parliament and trade-union bureaucrats were cautious in their response to the Labour government's new attacks on working-class interests. While seeking to avoid challenging the government, they had to respond to the discontent of trade-union activists. In some cases, they sought to warn the government that the new austerity measures might increase class-struggle moods rather than dampen them.

Norman Atkinson, a former chairman of the left-Social Democratic "Tribune" group of Labour members of

Parliament, lamented, for example, that "the cumulative effect of this Budget is to firmly tip it (the social contract) over the edge."

Labour MP Sydney Bidwell complained that "this budget will be looked at with dismay by working people."

At a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour party on April 16 a post-budget report by Healey was received in a friendly tone, indicating that no serious opposition to the government's policy would be mounted by the Tribune "left."

The attitude of many trade-union leaders was expressed by Eddie McGarry, joint chairman of the British Leyland shop stewards, representing 165,000 workers in the car industry. He said that "it will be much more difficult to persuade our members to stay within the social contract. They will want to protect themselves against these further inroads into their living standards."

Ray Buckton, general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, which has been fighting for a 30% pay rise, announced that his union would expect to get 2.75% more in view of Healey's admission that the budget would push up prices by that amount.

### Workers Hostile to Budget

Workers' hostility to the budget was also reflected in an emergency motion passed nearly unanimously at the conference of the Scottish Trades Union Congress (STUC) in Aberdeen one day after Healey's speech. The delegates said that they were "appalled" at a budget which "constitutes a serious attack on the standard of living of working people, as it will increase their cost of living and, at the same time, will have a disastrous effect on employment prospects."

The trade-union leadership has not, however, charted any course of struggle against the government's economic policies. In fact, at a meeting with Labour government ministers on April 21, leaders of the Trades Union Congress once again confirmed their support for the social contract. Healey was glad to tell reporters outside the meeting that the social contract was "in good repair."



# 'Saving Metroville From The Militant'

By Ed Morris

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—“I don't care who you are. We got a complaint from the manager and they ain't gonna sell those papers here.”

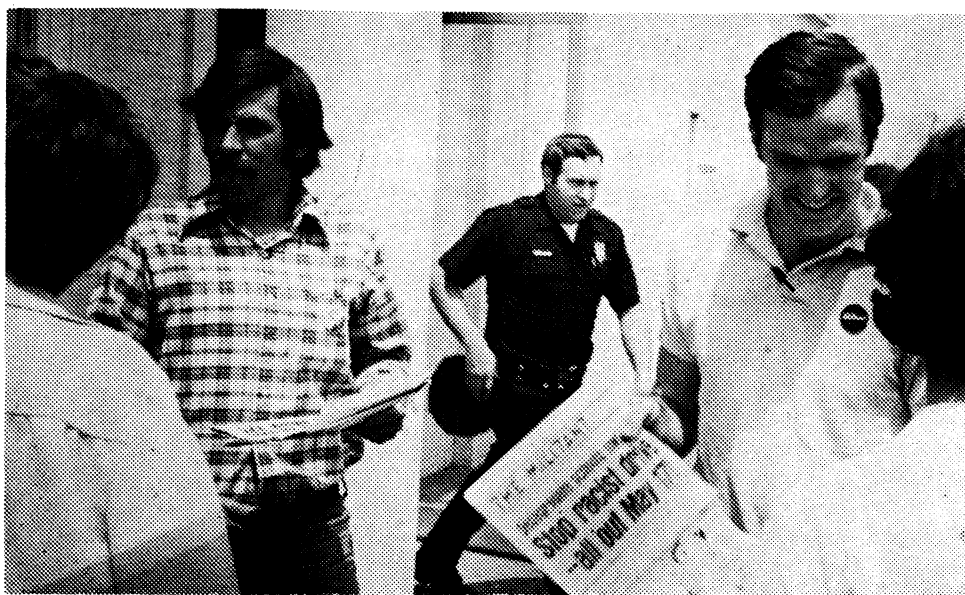
Thus responded a Nashville cop when questioned by Dolph Honicker, news editor of the *Tennessean*, about the cop's harassment of two *Militant* salespeople outside a neighborhood theater on the evening of May 11.

Honicker happened to be passing by the theater during a Sunday night stroll with his family. He described the ensuing arrests of Ben Harris and Warren Duzak in an article headlined “Saving Metroville From The Militant” in the May 15 *Tennessean*, a statewide daily.

“I was simmering. Heavens to Betsy, I thought (the actual words were closer to those on the Nixon tapes), I don't have to have a cop tell me what paper I can buy or not buy. I decided to break the law,” wrote Honicker.

He proceeded to purchase a *Militant*, and the cops “swooped” in. Harris and Duzak, both members of the Nashville Young Socialist Alliance, were led away in handcuffs, booked, and later released on their own recognizance.

General Sessions Court Commissioner Ralph DeMarco issued warrants for their arrest after studying a city ordinance requiring permits for sales of religious, educational, or charitable papers. Admitting that the *Militant* is



Nashville YSA members Warren Duzak (left) and Ben Harris resume selling 'Militant' outside courthouse immediately after charges against them for selling without permit were dismissed.

primarily political, and therefore exempt from the ordinance, DeMarco nevertheless “decided to charge the two and let a Metro General Sessions Court Judge make the determination at a 1 p.m. hearing tomorrow,” reported the *Tennessean* in a front-page article the morning after the arrests.

Reaction was immediate and sympathetic. In addition to the two articles mentioned above, the *Tennessean's*

editorial on the day of the hearing branded the arrest “a stupid police action, or worse.”

If the ordinance “is to be used to prohibit the sale of published material—including political publications or even political tracts—it violates the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and every other state and federal constitutional guarantee of a free press, free speech and a citizen's

right to engage freely in political activity which may not be to the liking of the police or the established authority,” the editorial concluded.

Statements of support were received from a representative to the state legislature, who is also president of the Young Democrats; from the coordinator of the Tennessee Valley Socialists; and from a former editor of two local underground newspapers.

The court appearance on May 13 lasted only fifteen minutes. As it turned out, the ordinance, inapplicable to begin with, had been repealed in 1973. After a lame and anticlimactic warning to Harris and Duzak not to obstruct the sidewalks while selling the *Militant*, the judge dismissed the charges.

An interview with Duzak was carried on WSM-TV after the court appearance. The interviewer noted that Duzak was back on the street selling the *Militant* within minutes after the hearing had concluded. The *Tennessean* again gave front-page coverage to the *Militant* salespeople's fight for the right to sell.

Sales of the *Militant* at the University of Tennessee were unusually brisk the day following the hearing, with a number of people saying they had heard about the cop harassment and expressing support for the right to sell the paper.

## Cleveland Bell workers hit 'productivity' drive

By Robert Bresnahan

CLEVELAND—Five hundred angry members of the Communications Workers of America rallied here Sunday, May 11, capping off a week of job actions in defense of a telephone installer who had been demoted by Ohio Bell Telephone officials. The company claimed that his “production is too low.”

The demoted man, fifty-eight-year-old Julius Golden, was introduced to the crowd by Gene Gilbert, president of CWA Local 4307. “Julius has been a Group I worker for seventeen years,” Gilbert said. “It's sure taken them a long time to figure out that he can't do the work.”

The phone company has been reducing the work force through attrition and carrying out a drive to increase “productivity”—in other words, a speedup campaign. According to Gilbert, the real reason behind the move against Golden is that “Bell claims to have a problem of ‘surplus workers,’ and their solution for this so-called problem is to harass older workers like Julius Golden out of a job.”

Support for Golden among his fellow workers is strong and widespread. During the week following the demotion, CWA workers on the East Side of Cleveland walked off the job in increasing numbers as word spread. On Friday, May 9, a meeting of 500 strikers was held at the CWA hall to discuss further action. The Sunday rally was planned as both a public protest and a method of gauging the breadth of support from Bell workers in other areas.

The rally was attended by representatives from CWA locals from as far away as Youngstown, and there was a substantial contingent from locals on Cleveland's West Side.

The workers face some major obstacles in their struggle.

The union officials face court fines if they take the leadership of the strike movement. Gilbert cited an example of a CWA local president in Pennsylvania who had led an unauthorized walkout and had been slapped with a \$10,000 court fine.

When one young worker asked Gilbert what the CWA international office

had advised him to do, Gilbert replied: “Go back to work.”

Bell officials have refused even to begin negotiations on Golden's demotion until every striker is back on the job.

Gilbert said that it would take at least a month to take a strike vote, which would then have to be submitted to the international for approval.

While Gilbert and other CWA officials at the rally expressed their support for Gilbert and for the strike movement, they found themselves in the position of telling the workers to go back to work and wait until the cumbersome grievance procedure is exhausted. The officials failed to even project a campaign to win public support in order to prepare for further action.

One cable splicer interviewed suggested such a course of action: “The public knows about Bell because the company screws them almost as much as they screw us. We could get them on our side if the truth about Julius would get out.”

There was a lot of discussion at the

rally about what action should be taken. One young union member gave an impassioned speech, expressing the frustration at the failure of the union leaders to take the movement forward that was shared by many of those present. His remarks were punctuated by cheers and applause.

“The union ain't these guys up here,” he said. “The union is us. We've got to start standing ground somewhere. . . . We're not sheep, we've got to be leaders. We've got unity. . . . Let's put up a picket line around Bell, something they've never seen before. Then maybe they'll want to talk about Julius.”

Gilbert took the microphone from this young worker as he finished talking and proclaimed, “The law prohibits me from calling for a strike.”

Law or no law, the workers are unwilling to sit by while they are under attack. Gilbert and the other officials are likely to find themselves under increasingly heavy pressure from the ranks to take some effective action.

## Goons, cops attack antiracist protest at CCNY

By Cecil Lampkin

NEW YORK—The City College of New York north campus was the scene of a violent confrontation May 14 between 200 goons brought by officials of some building-trades unions and 60 members of the Manhattan North Coalition, supported by 500 student demonstrators.

The Manhattan North Coalition is a group of organizations representing Black and Puerto Rican workers, including Harlem Fight Back and Black Economic Survival of Brooklyn. They had shut down a construction site on the campus to protest the refusal of the contractors and the unions to live up to an agreement calling for the hiring of 50 percent minority workers and for 25 percent of all contracts to go to minority contractors.

Violence erupted when the goons, who were armed with chains and bats, began pelting members of the Manhattan North Coalition and sympathetic students with bolts, bricks, and other projectiles from the construction site.

Two hundred cops were sent in to keep the opposing sides apart, but they made no attempt to stop the barrage of missiles. Rather, when students began to defend themselves by picking up materials and tossing them back, the cops charged into the crowd with clubs swinging.

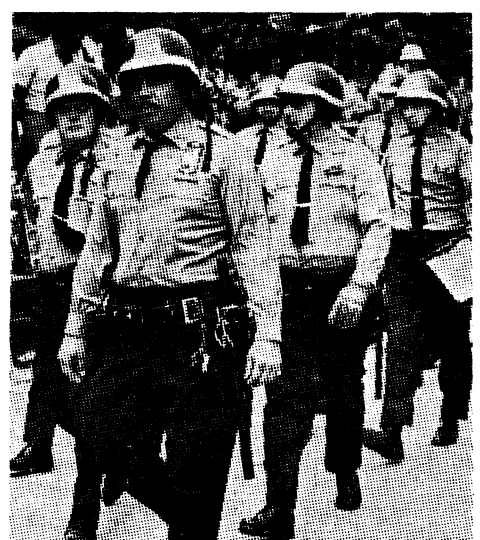
So vicious was the assault that twelve students and four minority workers were hospitalized, and one of the injured remains on the critical list. The only person arrested was Billy Hatcher, a leader of the Manhattan North Coalition.

After the attack, students and coal-

ition members were driven away from the construction site to the north end of the campus, where a rally was held and picket lines set up. Speakers noted the collusion of the cops, contractors, and union bureaucrats in provoking a confrontation.

The confrontation was the latest in a series of efforts by the contractors and the building-trades union officials to divide the workers and pit them against one another for the too few jobs available.

The struggle began in October 1974, when the Manhattan North Coalition first shut down the construction site in a protest to demand more minority jobs. At that time an agreement was wrested from the contractors and the unions. However the agreement has yet to be implemented.



Two hundred cops marching into city college of New York, purportedly to keep the peace.

## The fight against racism in N.Y. District 1

The Struggle for Community Control in N.Y. School District 1 by Ethel Lobman and Katherine Sojourner. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York 10014. New York, 1975. 16 pp., \$.35.

This pamphlet presents an excellent introduction to the community-control fight in Community School District One in the Lower East Side of New York. It outlines the history of that struggle and explains the major political questions of strategy and tactics that activists in the district have had to confront.

The bulk of the pamphlet consists of two articles that originally appeared in the *Militant* a year ago. "The Struggle Against Racism in the Schools," by Ethel Lobman, briefly explains the social characteristics of the Lower East Side that set the stage for the struggle. Then Lobman draws a sketch of the history of this fight, starting back in 1967.

Lobman's contribution is particularly valuable because she has been a longtime resident of that neighborhood and has been a leader of the antiracist fight since its inception. For a time in 1972-73 she was chairwoman of the pro-community-control coalition in District One.

Sojourner's article, "Campaigning Against Racism in New York's District 1," written at the time of the May 1974 community school board elections,

### Pamphlets

is a summary of the outstanding political lessons of the fight. Sojourner is also a veteran political activist, having been involved in the civil rights movement in the South during the 1960s and also in the antiwar movement as a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

Among the key points she makes are the following:

- The demand by oppressed minorities that they control their own affairs is a response to a whole range of specific problems; consequently, the demand for community control also tends to be expressed in a very concrete way.

For example, in District One this has taken the form of fights for bilingual education, mobilizations against the firing of pro-community-control superintendent Luis Fuentes, and election campaigns for



Militant/Michael Baumann  
Sign at July 1973 District One rally: 'Forward with Fuentes, we won't take one step back!'

seats on the school board.

- Unity of different oppressed minorities can be forged around a common struggle against racism in education. This unity has been facilitated in District One by the fact that each minority has

participated with its own organizations in the various coalitions that have been established.

- Unity in the struggle is also made possible by a policy of nonexclusion. This means that all who support the fight are welcomed to become a part of it, despite other political views or affiliations.

- The key to the sustained drive for community control has been the orientation toward winning mass support, not only on the Lower East Side but throughout the city. Sojourner points out that this has been particularly important because the groups spearheading the racist campaign against the community, in particular the Shankerite bureaucracy of the United Federation of Teachers, are powerful forces organized on a large scale.

- The winning of mass support is only possible through use of a wide variety of methods of struggle, from court suits through school boycotts. The principal weapons have been various forms of direct action, such as rallies, picket lines, marches, and mobilizations for school board meetings.

- The independence of the coalitions both from government-funded agencies and from the machinery of the Democratic and Republican parties is the only guarantee that the activists themselves will decide, on the basis of what will advance the struggle, what should be the next steps to take.

These are rich lessons for antiracist fighters not only on New York's Lower East Side, but throughout the country. The struggle by the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities for control of the education of their children has been as sustained as it has been only because many leading activists in the struggle have assimilated these lessons and applied them on a day-to-day basis in the Lower East Side.

The value of the pamphlet is enhanced by an up-to-date introduction by the editors that summarizes recent developments in the struggle, particularly the racist purge launched by the Shankerite majority of the school board after the May 1974 elections. Those interested in the fight in District One will also find Luis Fuentes's *The Fight Against Racism in Our Schools* helpful (Pathfinder Press, 1973. \$.25, also available in Spanish). There Fuentes provides a more detailed explanation of the denial of equal education to children of the oppressed minorities in New York, and he discusses some of the gains achieved by pro-community-control forces when they briefly held control of the school board in 1972.

—José Pérez

## A personal memoir of Spanish Revolution

The Forging of a Rebel by Arturo Barea. Translated by Ilsa Barea. Viking, New York, 1974. 751 pp., \$15.

This is not a new book. It originally appeared in English separated into three parts. *The Forge*, *The Track*, and *The Clash* were published in England in 1941, 1943, and 1946 respectively. Subsequently the books were translated into nine European languages, and a Spanish-language edition finally

### Books

came out in 1951. It is still banned in Spain. With the current edition, *The Forging of a Rebel* is again available to the American public.

Barea is best known for his radio broadcasts from Republican Spain. He was the "unknown voice from Madrid" who for many around the world embodied the Spanish Revolution. A Spaniard by birth, he fled to France in the last months of the Republic, and from there to England in 1939. He died in 1957.

The book is much more than the autobiography of one Spaniard. Born in 1897, Barea grew up in the midst of poverty that surrounded Madrid and reached out into the countryside of Spain. The imperial Spain that had conquered half the Western Hemisphere a few centuries before was dead by then. Spain was deeply in debt to the rest of Europe, majestic only for a dwindling few.

The child Barea searches out and sees everything.

Nothing escapes his gaze, and the ugly reality of the life of the toiling Spanish masses is laid bare. This is the book originally called *The Forge*, and it is aptly named. The misery of the people fed an undercurrent of rage—this was what shaped the coming confrontation in Spain.

As a young man Barea was drafted into the army and sent to Morocco. *The Track* is not only a narrative of the war's impact on him; what he saw and felt was common to thousands of others.

Spain's Moroccan war bears an unmistakable resemblance to another war: Vietnam. This is seen in the brutality and the corruption—greater and better organized at each higher level of the army.

With the stage set, the revolution begins. *The Clash* is a harsh and truthful diary of Barea's experiences and impressions of the Spanish Revolution and civil war. Barea lived through this as an official of the Republic. He worked with all of the major left-wing political groups, and his impressions are recorded week by week.

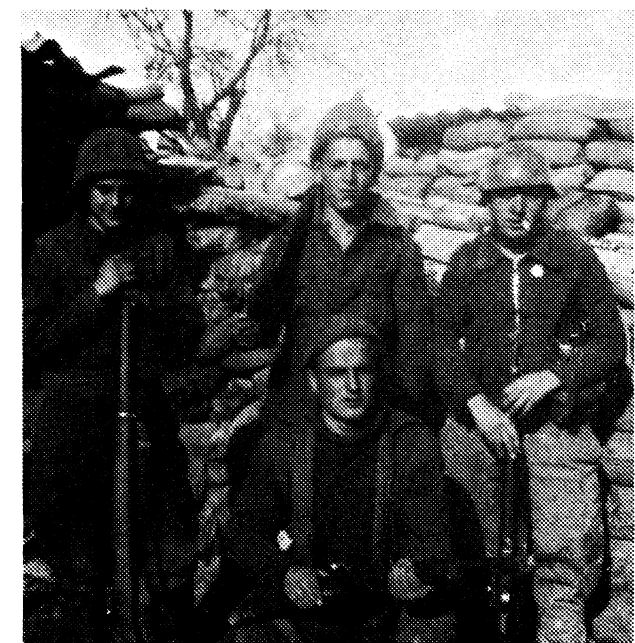
From its seemingly spontaneous beginning through to its last doomed months, Barea traces the life and death of the revolution.

He writes what he saw, without any real political understanding. For just that reason, *The Forging of a Rebel*, particularly the third section, is made up of honest recollections.

Barea was never a revolutionist, and he does not pretend to have been one. He draws very few conclusions, but his recounting of his experiences speaks for itself.

For those who plan to read or have already read detailed political analyses of Spain in the 1930s, such as Leon Trotsky's *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* or Felix Morrow's *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*, this book is a valuable supplement. It should be read by anyone attempting to understand the social upheaval that was the Spanish Revolution.

—Floyd Fowler



Young soldiers from workers' militia at battlefield during Spanish civil war.



By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The American Indian Movement has proposed that the Navajo tribe take over and operate the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation plant on its reservation.

The plant was built on the huge Navajo reservation—which covers parts of New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah—in 1965. Fairchild shut down the plant this past March 12. In February the plant had been the scene of a week-long occupation by AIM.

John Trudell, national chairman of AIM, was in Los Angeles recently and in an interview told the story of the occupation, in which he participated, and the reason why the plant shut down.

standing was that it was to be two years for each worker. With that sleight-of-hand they were able to string out the federal payoff for more than eight years!

How were they able to get such an agreement—particularly in light of federal training classification standards that list that particular assembly job as requiring seventeen weeks training?

Fairchild blandly explained the Navajo workers needed eighty-seven weeks added training because of “cultural differences.”

Last year, under pressure, they apparently decided the “cultural differences” had narrowed, and reluctantly agreed to reduce the training period to only fifty-two weeks per worker.

In negotiation, Fairchild used an added argument to the one about “cultural differences.” The com-

In fact, to be completely frank, by continuing the program for this length of time, we are probably stretching a legal point. The situation could become very embarrassing to both the Bureau and the company.”

The company's initial response was to offer to reduce the training period for individual workers to one year but to bull through on getting a renewal of the patently illegal contract.

In a confidential June 25, 1974, memo from one Fairchild official to another, it was put this way:

“The company should not concede anything else as we have already reduced our training time in half in this year's proposal. With reservation unemployment at 67 percent, I believe the Bureau could hardly tolerate a substantial reduction in employment. The above facts, communicated clearly but strongly, by the President to the BIA would result, I'm sure, in a new contract.”

On September 16, 1974, the manager of the Shiprock plant sent a letter to the BIA outlining a proposed new agreement. The letter bluntly concluded:

“Our corporate management . . . has directed me to submit the attached proposal. . . . I have also been informed that if the proposal is not approved the company would certainly reexamine its employment levels throughout its assembly operations, including Shiprock, in order to maintain its competitive position.”

A look at company records revealed to AIM why Fairchild was so intent on maintaining the “training” racket.

What they learned, Trudell explained, was that while Fairchild employed only a peak of 1,000 workers, a total of 1,700 Navajos had gone through the training program!

The reason behind this remarkably high turnover was simple to determine. As soon as workers completed their subsidized “training,” Fairchild fired them.

With each firing, a new “trainee” was hired, with the government footing half the wages.

#### A boss's dream

It was like a boss's dream. And for nine years the BIA was complicit in this rip-off operation. Then, apparently fearing exposure, it balked at continuing. That was when Fairchild decided to fire the rest of the Navajo workers and shut down shop.

After going through this material, the AIM occupiers decided to focus on two demands. The first was a public government audit of Fairchild's books. The second was that the Navajo tribal council conduct public hearings concerning Fairchild's violations of the civil rights of its workers.

The correspondence and memos released by AIM make clear how explosive such an audit and hearing would be for Fairchild, and for the BIA.

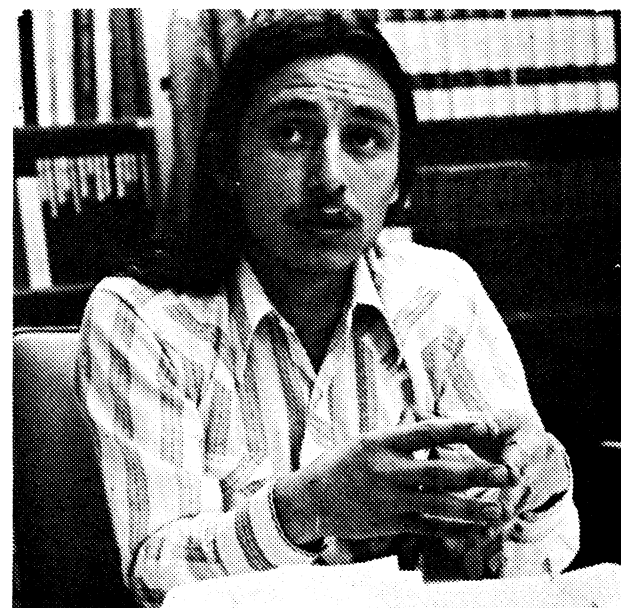
It also confirms how just and reasonable is the present AIM proposal that the Navajo tribal council take over operation of the plant and that the BIA provide technical training for Indian management and technical personnel.

Discussing the occupation, Trudell commented on how little coverage it received in the media.

He said he believed there was a reason for this. With the deepening recession, he said, what was being done to the Navajo workers was an anticipation of what other workers could expect.

And, Trudell observed, the media sensed that the Fairchild occupation might suggest an avenue of response to other workers.

“The story was suppressed,” Trudell said, “partly because they don't want the Black workers in Detroit, when they get their termination papers, to think, well, they'll just have to take that plant and make that management negotiate.”



Militant/Harry Ring

AIM's TRUDELL: The story has been suppressed

## AIM leader interviewed

# How Fairchild Corp. swindled the Navajos



Indians leave Fairchild plant after week-long occupation. While inside, they found secret files detailing company collusion with the government in giant rip-off of workers.

The Navajo reservation, with a population of 140,000, is the largest in the country. It is also one of the most impoverished. Unemployment is estimated as high as 67 percent.

When the Fairchild company offered to locate an electronic parts assembly plant on the reservation, the Navajo tribal council seized the opportunity to provide some jobs for the people.

With the Bureau of Indian Affairs facilitating the negotiations, the resulting deal proved a juicy one for Fairchild.

With borrowed money, the tribe built the plant at Shiprock, New Mexico, and leased it to Fairchild. The lease was to run for forty years. But Fairchild had the option to cancel at the end of any two-year period.

Later, when a second plant was built, the tribal council got an improvement in the agreement. Fairchild could cancel the forty-year lease on the second plant only after five-year intervals.

#### Minimum wage paid

The company employed a peak of 1,000 workers. There was no union. Throughout, Fairchild paid assembly workers only the minimum wage required by federal law. As of this past January 1 that's been a fast \$2.10 an hour.

And that was only a part of the deal.

The real racket came with a federal agreement to pay half the assembly workers' wages for “on-the-job training.”

At the outset of the negotiations it was understood that, in accord with federal regulations, the subsidy was to run for two years. However, Fairchild successfully contended that its under-

pany liked to point to its plants abroad, particularly one in South Korea, where they enjoyed even lower wage scales.

AIM occupied the Shiprock plant for a week beginning the night of February 24. Initially, the occupation was in response to wholesale layoffs at the plant.

The work force had previously been reduced from 1,000 to about 600. That week Fairchild had fired 140 workers at one time.

AIM's original demand was that the 140 be rehired and guaranteed permanent jobs.

#### What company files showed

But, Trudell explained, as they began going through company files they realized there were no permanent jobs and in fact Fairchild was getting ready to shut the whole operation down.

From correspondence between Fairchild and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, coupled with internal company memos, the AIM occupiers began to get an idea of the astonishing extent of the swindle that had been put over by this wealthy, powerful corporation. They also learned that the Fairchild racket was about to run out and the Navajo workers were to take the consequences.

One letter in the Fairchild file was from a ranking BIA official. The letter noted that the original understanding with the government was that the on-the-job training program, as established by law, could only last two years.

The June 17, 1974, letter from Daniel McDonald, the BIA's director of tribal resources, stated:

“The point I wish to convey is that the program was never intended . . . to continue for nine years.

# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**REPORT FROM THE FOURTH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COALITION OF BLACK TRADE UNIONISTS.** Speakers: Dale Garee, AFSCME Local 2000; others. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP and YSA. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## CLEVELAND

**WOMEN'S EVOLUTION: HOW WOMEN LOST CONTROL OF THEIR DESTINY AND HOW THEY WILL REGAIN IT.** Speakers: Carole Banks, NOW member; Allyn McGillicuddy, feminist activist; Lorraine Sockaci, SWP. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**SOCIALISM AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM: ARE THEY COMPATIBLE?** Speaker: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau chief. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

## NEW YORK-NEW JERSEY

**RECEPTION FOR PETER CAMEJO.** Guests: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers presidential candidate; Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers campaign manager; Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers campaign youth director. Sat., May 31, 3 to 7 p.m. Maplewood, N.J. Tickets: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. For more information and travel arrangements call (212) 982-4966.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND—IMPERIALISM AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS: A MARXIST EXPLANATION.** Fri., May 30, 8 p.m.: **The Present Crisis Compared to Those That Led to World War I and World War II.** Sat., May 31, 2 p.m.: **How Finance Capital Leads to Depression and War.** 4:30 p.m.: **The Myth of Keynesian Economics and Other Attempts to Reform Capitalism.** Donation: \$2.50, entire weekend; \$1 per session. All classes by Dick Roberts, Militant staff writer. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**FREE JOAN LITTLE.** Speakers: Paul Bennett, Philadelphia Tribune; Earline Cofield, Prisoners' Rights Council; Cindy Jaquith, Militant Washington Bureau. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**RACISM AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.** Speakers: Mae Isaacs, Joan Little Defense Committee; Paul Gettelman, attorney for Stanton Story; Tekla Harris, Vibrations II; Christina Adachi, SWP candidate for Allegheny County controller. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner of Halket) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## TWIN CITIES

**CAPITALISM, TECHNOLOGY, AND FAMINE: IS THERE A LIMIT TO GROWTH?** Speaker: Michael Chamberlain, YSA. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**THE EMERGING WOMAN.** A movie on the history of feminism. Fri., May 30, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...budget

*Continued from page 16*

state for aid payments it advanced the city last month to avert a similar crisis situation.

“• General operating expenses of nearly \$800 million.”

In other words, roughly \$1.4 billion of the coming weeks' expenses are for wages and operating expenses *while \$2 billion is for repayment of debts.*

These figures spell out the priorities of city hall and the real reason for the budget crisis. They also prove that there is an immediate, realistic alternative to Beame's racist campaign of cutbacks and layoffs: *a moratorium on repayment of city debts.*

Since expected tax income is \$2 billion, such a moratorium would leave the city with a surplus of \$600 million rather than a deficit of \$1.4 billion. There would be no need for layoffs and cutbacks, and those who have already been fired could be rehired.

True, the banks would be inconvenienced, but they can afford the sacrifice a lot better than city employees earning \$8,000 or \$9,000 a year, or those who rely on the city's social services to meet their health, educational, and recreation needs.

Before any more money is handed over to the wealthy bondholders, city residents deserve a much fuller accounting of this “financial crisis.”

Many of the most important details of the city finances are secret. For example, no banks are required to make public their actual holdings of municipal bonds or the holdings of bonds in their trust departments. *The books of the banks and of city hall should be opened to investigation by the unions and representatives of the Black and Puerto Rican and other oppressed minorities' communities.*

No one else can be relied upon to root out the real story of bank profiteering at the expense of working people; to expose the real graft, corruption, and waste; to discover who pays taxes and where the money goes. Most fundamentally, the priorities need to be reversed. There is plenty of money in

New York City—it is a question of what it will be used for and who will control it.

This much is obvious: the starting point for solving the crisis of the cities cannot be the payment of bank profits. It has to be improving the communities themselves and providing jobs. Until there are viable programs to answer these needs, there should be a complete moratorium on bank debts.

# ...Grant

*Continued from page 18*

having to contend with a treacherous strikebreaking raid by the officials of the Puerto Rican affiliate of the U.S. Teamsters union, a raid Grant denounced as “piracy.”

The government, the capitalist media, the Teamster bureaucrats, and other “responsible” labor leaders have all joined in a chorus demanding that the telephone workers end their strike and wait for union recognition elections.

But a general assembly of 1,800 strikers rejected this, noting that they had gone on strike primarily because the telephone company was trying to use the upcoming recognition elections as a pretext to attack the working conditions and impose speedup.

Grant also reported that in recent months labor leaders who have not even been involved in strikes or other protests had been targeted for harassment by the FBI and the local cops.

He concluded that the repressive drive had reached such a level that “we are absolutely sure that what the Puerto Rican and United States governments are trying to do is to crush the new trade unionism in Puerto Rico.”

# ...actions

*Continued from page 6*

May 17. The action was called by the Salt Lake City NAACP and endorsed by Northern Utah SCAR.

Rev. France Davis of the NAACP described the importance of the struggle going on in Boston for the rights of Blacks everywhere. James Dooley, president of the local NAACP, attacked the pattern of racism in the Salt Lake City schools. The marchers

also heard Forrest Crawford, president of the Black Student Union at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, and Dayne Goodwin of Northern Utah SCAR.

In St. Louis the old courthouse, site of the Dred Scott decision, was the scene of a rally of eight-five, called by the St. Louis NAACP. James DeClue, speaking for the NAACP, decried the fact that “75 percent of the Blacks in the nation's twenty-six largest cities attend totally segregated schools.” He stressed the need to fight for desegregation of the St. Louis schools.

Msgr. John Shocklee urged the crowd to “refuse to quit to bring about what's just and equal.”

“This is an historic place, this is an historic date. Those of us here today have a big job to do,” he said.

While 100 people from Pittsburgh were attending the national march against racism in Boston, seventy-five participated in an NAACP-sponsored march through Pittsburgh's largest Black community demanding an end to school segregation in that city.

Marchers stopped at the offices of the board of education to present a list of demands read by Muriel Floyd of the NAACP. The demands included the need for adequate facilities for all Black schoolchildren, teacher evaluation by parents, inclusion of parents in all decision-making processes, implementation of summer work-study programs, and teacher education to make all teachers aware of the ethnic culture of their students.

## Corrections

In the May 23 *Militant*, the chart accompanying the article “What our spring circulation drive accomplished” was mistakenly headlined “Subscription scoreboard.” The scoreboard listed the sales of the May 9 *Militant* and should have been titled “Sales scoreboard.”

In the chronology of right-wing terrorist attacks that have occurred in Los Angeles, printed in our May 16 issue, an incident in which a noxious chemical was released at the entrance to a college classroom where the Cuban film *Lucia* was being shown was incorrectly identified as having occurred at the University of California at Los Angeles. The attack actually occurred at California State University at Los Angeles.

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**East Lansing:** YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

**Kalamazoo:** YSA, 3573 Kenbrooke Ct., Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

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**NEW JERSEY:** New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (210) 828-4710.

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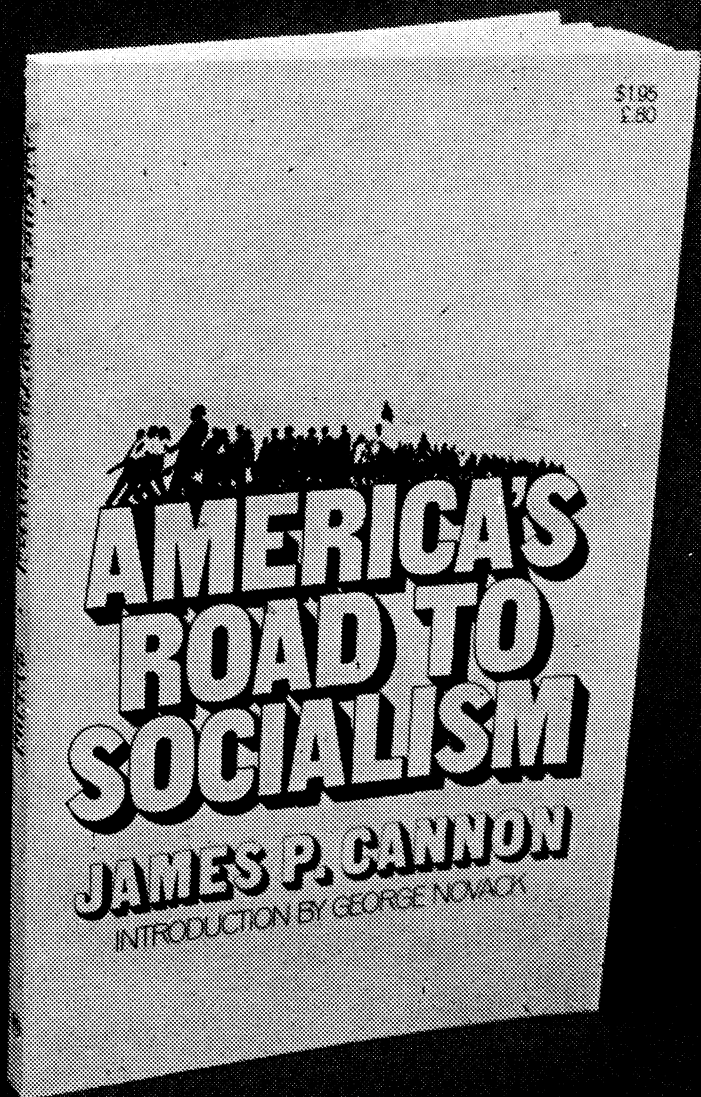
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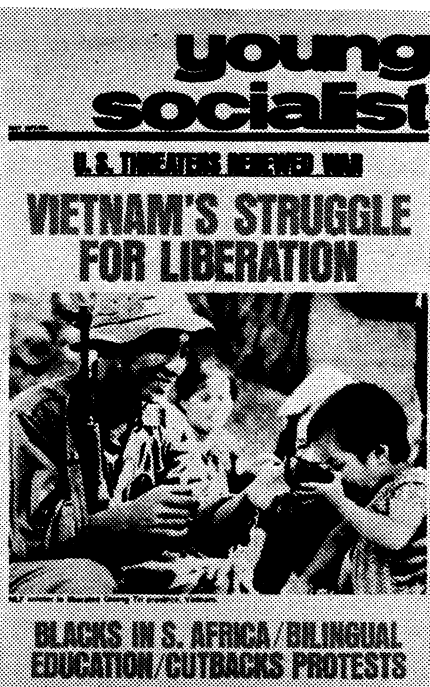
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# THE MILITANT

## Protest bank profiteers

# June 4 labor rally to hit NYC layoffs

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK—Municipal union leaders here have called for a mass demonstration on Wall Street to protest the banks' demands for wage cuts and layoffs of city workers.

Sponsored by the Municipal Labor Committee, a coalition of unions representing 200,000 city employees, the rally will be held at noon on Wednesday, June 4, outside the headquarters of First National City Bank, at 111 Wall Street.

**What's behind the New York 'budget crisis'? How can the unions fight the threat of layoffs? See pages 16-17.**

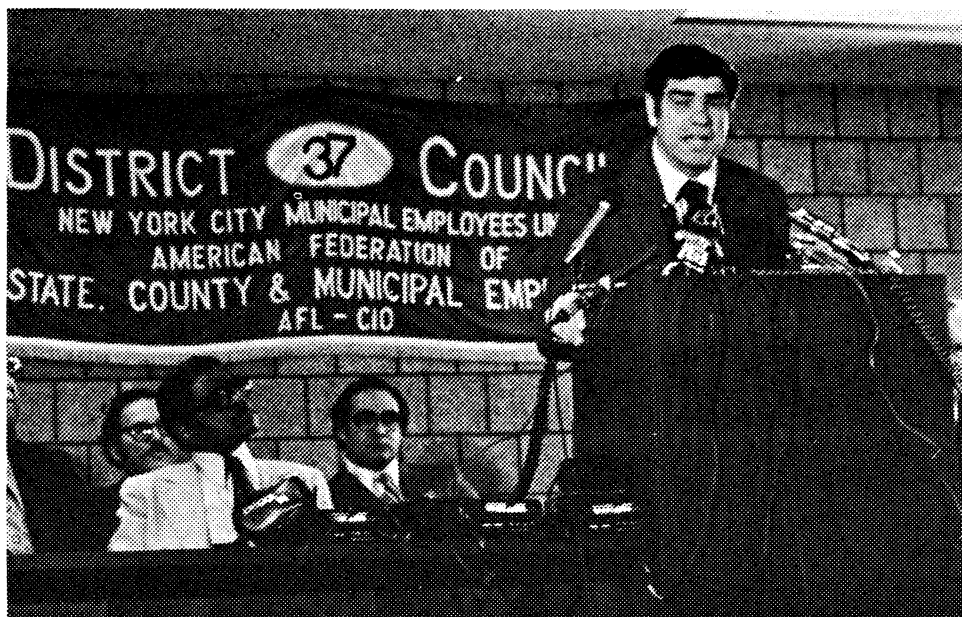
Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, announced the protest at a news conference here May 20.

"We regard it as profits versus people," Gotbaum said.

Thousands of city workers, including hospital workers, fire fighters, laborers, social workers, clerks—everyone from accountants to zoo keepers—will take part in the action to spotlight "the destructive role First National City has played in fomenting and exploiting the financial crisis in our city," it was announced.

Gotbaum said the unions were also removing all union and pension funds from the bank and urging a boycott of it.

The New York "budget crisis" is moving rapidly toward a confrontation between city hall and the municipal unions. Mayor Abraham Beame has announced that unless state or federal



AFSCME's GOTBAUM: 'We regard it as profits versus people.'

Militant/Donald Kennedy

aid comes through to close a \$640 million deficit in the city budget, 38,000 workers will be laid off. The cuts would mean:

- the closing of four hospitals, three district health centers, ten child-health stations, and other facilities;
- the elimination of sixty-six engine and ladder companies and other fire department units;
- a one-third reduction in garbage collection and a one-half reduction in street repairs;
- the dropping of 8,689 jobs in the board of education, including eliminating all kindergarten classes; and
- reduction of fall admissions to the city university system by 22,000 and

total elimination of the SEEK program of aid to minority students.

These cutbacks would come on top of elimination of nearly 23,000 city jobs—and the closing of schools, hospitals, and libraries—decreed by Beame on April 22.

Pink slips were reportedly sent May 15 to more than 1,000 workers, the first of 3,067 who are to be fired by July 1. Gotbaum and other union leaders have in the past vowed to fight the firing of any civil service workers.

In addition to the budget deficit for next year, the city is supposedly \$1 billion or more short of cash to meet immediate bills. Washington flatly turned down any request for more

funds. The state legislature in Albany still holds out the tentative promise of aid for the short-term crisis if Beame proves his "sincerity" by pressing ahead with cutbacks and layoffs for next year.

On May 20 Beame called on the unions to give up a 6 percent wage increase due July 1 or else go on a four-day workweek—with four days' pay—to balance the budget.

Union leaders refused point-blank. "We will accept no other sacrifices than we've already made," Gotbaum said. "We will not allow the mayor to erode the contract."

Beame proceeded to order a study of whether the city could impose the hours-and-wages cut over union objections.

The May 23 issue of *Public Employee Press*, newspaper of District Council 37, quotes Gotbaum as saying: "The City's banks are trying to force workers to pay the cost of the fiscal crisis. At the same time, those banks are making millions off the City."

"We are telling those bankers on June 4 that they are part of this City, and have to sacrifice, too."

*Public Employee Press* documented the skyrocketing bank profits for the first quarter of 1975: Chase Manhattan up 72 percent, Chemical up 49 percent, Manufacturers Hanover up 25 percent, Bankers Trust up 20 percent, Citicorp (First National City) up 18 percent.

"New York City has been a major source of those profits," the union paper wrote. "... Their profit margins are protected while the needs of the City's citizens, and its employees, are 'sacrificed.'"

## Joan Little trial set to open July 14

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON, D.C.—July 14 has been set as the trial date for Joan (pronounced JoAnn) Little, a twenty-year-old Black woman accused of first-degree murder in the death of a white jailer in Washington, North Carolina.

The trial, originally scheduled for Washington, has been moved to Raleigh. The change of venue was a victory for the defense, which argued in pretrial hearings that the racist attitudes in Washington would prevent Little from receiving a fair trial.

Little faces the death penalty if convicted, and her case is winning wide support throughout the country.

The charges against her stem from the August 27, 1974, death of Clarence Alligood, a sixty-two-year-old white jailer at the Beaufort County jail where Little was incarcerated on breaking-and-entering charges.

Little says that Alligood entered her

cell and tried to rape her, threatening her with an ice pick. She stabbed him with the pick and fled.

The prosecution, however, is claiming that Little plotted to lure Alligood into the cell with the intent of escaping from the jail.

The issues of racism, sexism, and prison conditions raised by this trial have prompted many groups and individuals to come to Little's support.

According to Yvonne Davis, coordinator of the Joan Little Defense Fund, Inc., there has been strong support from the campuses, especially Black schools. Students at Howard University in Washington, D.C., recently donated \$600 to Little's defense. The National Student Coalition Against Racism is actively supporting her. Many Black sororities have also backed the case.

Four members of the Congressional Black Caucus, U.S. Representatives



LITTLE: Facing death penalty in racist frame-up.

Yvonne Burke (D-Calif.), Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), and Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) are supporting Little.

Many women's groups, particularly the National Organization for Women, are working to free Little. Davis said that NOW chapters as far away as Texas are involved in the defense, as are chapters of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Davis also reported that "inmates from all over the country are writing us letters with words of encouragement." Two prisoner groups in the Washington, D.C., area, Halfway House for Women and Inner Voices, are sponsoring a meeting for the defense on May 28.

In Detroit on June 25, a "celebrity dinner" will be held to raise money for the case, with actress Marlo Thomas and others scheduled to appear.