

THE MILITANT

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

ANTI-BLACK VIOLENCE GRIPS BOSTON

APRIL 24 ACTION POSTPONED

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON, April 21—In the face of rapidly escalating anti-Black terror here, which has sharply increased the race polarization in this city, leaders of the Black community in Boston have decided to postpone the national probusing march scheduled for April 24.

The emergency decision was announced at an April 21 news conference at Freedom House in Roxbury, attended by prominent supporters of the April 24 action from Boston's Black community.

March coordinator Maceo Dixon, speaking for the April 24 coalition, told the media: "This city is hot. It is tense. The race polarization has escalated with the recent beating of two Black bus drivers in South Boston and the beating of a white man in Roxbury.

"The reason why this city is hot, tense, and racially polarized rests with Mayor Kevin H.

White, City Council President Louise Day Hicks, Gov. Michael Dukakis, and President Gerald Ford," Dixon said. "They are responsible for the over two-year campaign against school desegregation and for the physical and violent attacks against Blacks and Puerto Ricans."

Government complicity with the racist antibusing forces has been decisive in creating the polarization that led desegregation leaders to postpone the national action planned for April 24. As Dixon told the news media, the level of anti-Black violence is such that "it's not possible to hold a peaceful, legal activity at this time."

Boston is a city on the brink of explosion. Months of unchecked racist attacks have generated deep rage and frustration in the Black community.

In the wake of recent night-riding forays by carloads of racist thugs into Roxbury, and

the gang beating of two Black bus drivers in South Boston on April 17, this pent-up anger erupted into retaliation by Blacks against whites.

On the night of April 19, a white man, Richard Poleet, was pulled from his car in the Black community and beaten by a group of about twenty Black youth. Today Poleet is in critical condition and is not expected to live.

The same night, white motorists were stoned and a train passing near Roxbury was blocked by piles of debris. Train engineers were stoned when they tried to remove the refuse.

Reaction by the city officials, the capitalist news media, and racist leaders to these incidents has been a hysterical campaign against "Black violence." Police began to cordon off sections of the Black community. The polarization sought by racist foes of

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In Brief

MURDER WITH IMPUNITY?: An Alabama state judge quashed murder indictments April 14 against three former Ku Klux Klan members in Montgomery, Alabama. Another former Klan member had testified that he and these fellow night riders had forced a young Black man, Willie Edwards, to jump to his death in the Alabama River nineteen years ago because Edwards had supposedly "smiled at a white woman."

The judge claimed that the indictments did not sufficiently specify the cause of death—drowning, injuries from the fall, etc. Prosecutors have asked the judge to reconsider his ruling.

Impunity for terrorism is nothing new to these murderers. They were also implicated in a wave of church bombings during the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott—but charges against them never stuck.

'LABOR COMMITTEE' THUGS ATTACK YSA: On April 14 a group of three young thugs attacked Spencer Livingston, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in Albany, New York. Livingston was beaten while on his way home late in the evening. He was punched and had his face cut. His attackers called him a "Trotskyite scum."

The attack followed three weeks of harassment of Livingston. Two weeks earlier a chain was thrown through the window of his house. The week after, his front door was smeared with dog excrement.

A month ago the local chapter of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, also known as the U.S. Labor party, threatened the Albany YSA. The NCLC is a fascist group with a long history of violence against the left, Black groups, and unions.

The NCLC threatened to make the Albany YSA a victim of "Operation Mop-up" and told them to "stay off the streets." "Operation Mop-up" refers to a series of violent attacks carried out by the NCLC in 1973 against the Communist party, Socialist Workers party, and other organizations. The purpose of the campaign, in the NCLC's own words, was to "destroy" these groups.

So far, the Albany cops have responded to the attack on Livingston by dragging their feet. Albany YSA leader Gary Mele told the *Militant*: "It is obvious that if these thugs are going to be identified, caught, and prosecuted, it is going to take the pressure of all those concerned with civil liberties. These attacks must be stopped. They are a menace to all political activists in the Albany area."

DSOC ENDORSES SOCIALIST SUIT: "You may add the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee as one of your organizational sponsors," stated an April 15 letter from DSOC National Chairman Michael Harrington to the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is funding the \$27 million suit against government harassment brought by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

DSOC counts among its members a number of union officials, including Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME's District Council 37; and Victor Reuther, longtime leader of the United Auto Workers union.

ZIONIST BOMB THREAT IN D.C.: "A bomb will go off at 9:00 p.m. at the PLO meeting. Death to Palestinians." This bomb threat was phoned into the George Washington University newspaper on April 9 by a group identifying

itself as Yad Mitrakem (Hand of Vengeance). The Zionists' target was a meeting in progress at the Washington, D.C., campus on "Palestinians Rebel in Occupied Lands."

The meeting was cosponsored by the GW Organization of Arab Students, GW Young Socialist Alliance, and the Militant Forum. Mohammed Shadid, head of the political science department at Shaw University in North Carolina, was the featured speaker.

The sixty people in attendance evacuated the room while police searched for a bomb. They found a rock wrapped in brown paper and wire.

When the meeting reconvened, Shadid said that Palestinians face this kind of terrorism daily in the Mideast. Only there, he said, the Zionists make good on their threats.

DEMOCRATS WERE L.A. COP TARGET: Los Angeles cops carried out political spy operations against the Beverly Hills Democratic Club, the Los Angeles Press Club, and the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) in 1960, the *Los Angeles Times* reported April 12.

The espionage was carried out in cooperation with the U.S. Army. The army was investigating film maker Robert Cohen, who was suspected of "subversive activity" because of a trip to the Moscow Film Festival in 1957. Cohen also later made films about Cuba, East Germany, and China, which apparently didn't meet the government's anticommunist standards.

The Los Angeles Police Department ran checks on the three groups because Cohen belonged to two and had applied to join the third.

Assemblyman Alan Sieroty, who was president of the Beverly Hills Democratic Club at the time, described the operation as "shocking . . . in terms of possible intrusion of political liberty."

The spy files were turned over to Cohen under the Freedom of Information Act.

MILITANT GETS AROUND: Clippings sent in from our readers show that articles—especially those by Baxter Smith on the Black liberation struggle—are widely circulated through other newspapers. Most recently we received a copy of the April 10 *Chronicle*, a Black weekly published in Charleston, South Carolina. It reprinted Smith's March 19 *Militant* article, "Black Dems: a sorry record."

From England, a *Militant* reader sent us the April edition of *Grass Roots*, a London Black community paper, which ran part of another article by Smith, "FBI plot to destroy Black America." This was originally printed in the April 1974 *Black Scholar* under the title "FBI Memos Reveal Repressive Schemes."

EARL BUTZ SPEAKS: Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz has sounded an alarm. Food production will "be crippled" if government regulations of farm chemicals, drugs, environmental controls, and safety devices continue. As an example, Butz blasted the changeover for California farm workers from short-handled to long-handled hoes. Butz charged that this was done because "the city people, driving by, feel more comfortable watching the workers use the kind of hoes that look good through car windows."

To have efficient production, Butz stressed, "decision making must be kept close to the land and in the hands of farmers."

—Ginny Hildebrand

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Join The Socialist Workers Party

...anti-Black violence in Boston

Continued from page 1

court-ordered desegregation and fostered by government inaction against anti-Black attacks reached a new stage of tension and violence.

The news conference announcing the postponement of the April 24 demonstration was backed by a united show of ten of the city's key Black leaders. They included Percy Wilson, director of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center; Muriel Snowden, codirector of Freedom House; Pat Jones, director, Lena Park Development Center; Ruth Batson, director, Boston Public School Crisis Intervention Teams; and Rev. William Weeks, director, Boston Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

Dixon was introduced by Ellen Jackson, director of the Freedom House Institute on Schools and Education. Jackson is a central figure in the fifteen-year battle to desegregate Boston schools. "We are here to support the statement," Jackson said, referring

it was yesterday and will be tomorrow—is a national march and rally, a mass movement to force the government to arrest all of the racist criminals who are attacking my people and breaking the civil rights laws."

The frenzy of the recent wave of racist terror was shown April 5 when Black attorney Theodore Landsmark was attacked by a mob of racist students in the city hall courtyard.

Screaming "Get the nigger, kill him!" more than 50 of the 200 white hooligans who had moments earlier emerged from an antibusing rally in city council chambers set upon Landsmark. They kicked him and beat him to the ground after spearing him with a steel pole carrying the American flag. Landsmark survived the murderous attack, and shock waves of revulsion spread throughout the city.

On April 6 a gang of four racist thugs beat a Black man in broad daylight in the Boston Common. Armed

car and store windows. The Boston media chose not to report these attacks. But the assaults sharpened the rage building up in the Black community.

At no time have city officials or the cops issued even a word of protest against the marauding hooliganism of the Charlestown and South Boston vigilante squads. Yet the antibusing demagogues are whipping up an ominous fear campaign to portray the Black victims of racist violence as "hoodlums" and "criminals."

As support grew for the April 24 march in the Black community and among an increasing layer of whites, phone and mail death threats from well-known racist organizations—such as the South Boston Defense League—began arriving at march headquarters.

When march organizers confronted the city's top police officials with information of the threats—including signed letters—the cops pretended never to have heard of the hooligan groups.

'Warnings' from ROAR

The beating of Richard Poleet has been used by the racist antibusing leaders to intensify their drive to sabotage desegregation. It has also been used by city officials and cops to place tremendous pressure on Black community leaders not to participate in the April 24 demonstration or defend it from attacks and provocations. This led many leaders, including state legislators Bob Fortes and Doris Bunte, to withdraw their support from the march.

On April 21 Charlestown ROAR leader Thomas Johnston warned Blacks to stay out of the all-white neighborhood and said that his goons would "protect the community by any means necessary."

The day before, South Boston ROAR leader James Kelly termed South Boston a "defensive perimeter. A Black is not safe in South Boston." He even went further by declaring that "no one" could stop South Boston residents from going outside the community to attack Blacks.

This pronouncement unmistakably gave the green light to the 350 vigilantes of the marshals' association and the scores more unorganized racists to hunt down isolated Blacks.

The Boston *Globe* also jumped into the racist propaganda campaign around the Poleet beating. Despite its immediate and extensive coverage of the incident, an apology appeared on the paper's front page April 21, criticizing itself for supposedly downplaying the Poleet beating in the previous issue.

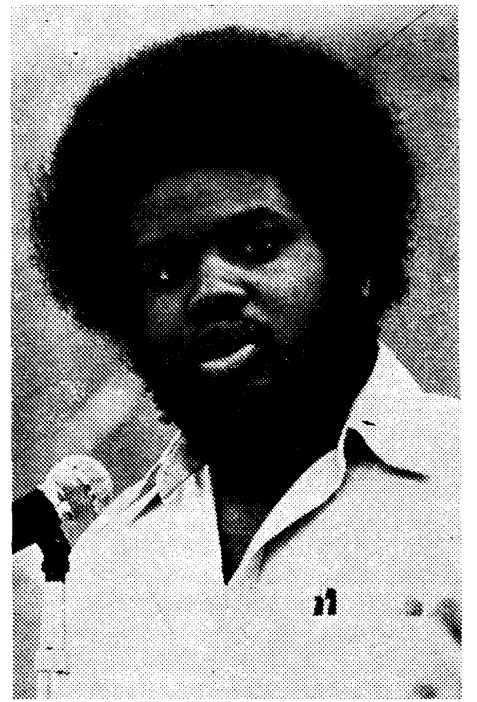
On April 26 the Boston public schools reopen after being closed for Easter vacation. The possibility for new racist attacks by white students against Blacks in the schools has alarmed Boston's Black community.

Enforce busing order!

Such an emergency situation, Dixon told reporters at the April 21 news conference, requires "continued pressure upon the city, state, and federal governments to provide large deployments of police, state troopers, and federal troops into the racist strongholds when schools reopen."

"These troops should be sent to South Boston, Charlestown, East Boston, Hyde Park, and other racist strongholds to deal with the racist lawbreakers and *not*," Dixon said, "I repeat, and *not* into our community."

In demanding full enforcement of the law against the racists, Dixon noted that the refusal of the government to provide such security made real the need for "local residents to take necessary steps in an open and legal manner to exert our democratic right to protect ourselves."



Militant/Lou Howort

DIXON: 'The Black Community is under a state of siege.'



Racist mob attacks Black attorney Theodore Landsmark in front of Boston City Hall April 5. Federal, state, and city officials have allowed anti-Black violence to continue unchecked.

to Dixon's indictment of government officials and the cops for refusing to provide adequate protection for the march.

Racists a minority

"We must understand," Dixon said, "that the government and the racists hate this march. They know that Blacks and the majority of whites are for a peaceful, legal march and rally in Boston. Racists and those in the government who support them are in a minority and have organized a campaign against this demonstration."

"We, the organizers of this march—after many discussions with the police, the mayor's office, and leaders of the Black community—have come to the conclusion that it is not possible to protect our people—the Blacks and other supporters who plan to have a peaceful, legal march."

Terming the conditions of violence that forced the postponement of the march a "setback for the Black community," Dixon said the April 24 demonstration would be rescheduled. "Such a massive, peaceful march is needed more than ever. The Black community is under heavy attack. We are in a state of siege."

"What is needed in Boston today—as

with a crowbar and knife, the hooligans were dispersed by a suburban judge who happened to see the attack as he was driving by.

On April 8 the Charlestown Marshals Association announced dusk-to-dawn patrols of the all-white neighborhoods supposedly for "protection" against "armed Blacks." The South Boston Marshals Association followed suit the next day.

On the evening of April 15 the living room windows of the home of Dr. Clinton Dawkins were shattered by rifle fire, driving him and his wife to the floor. The Black family lives in predominantly white Hyde Park.

On April 17 two Black Boston city bus drivers were attacked at dawn by a gang of five or six racist thugs while sitting outside a bus station in South Boston.

The two Blacks, members of the transit union, were aided by three white fellow unionists, two of whom took their side against the hooligans, and one of whom called the police.

The thugs began beating the white drivers, too, whipping them with a car antenna.

Throughout the previous two weeks, carloads of white hoodlums had been driving through Roxbury, smashing

This sentiment was echoed by Percy Wilson. "We are seeking equal protection and justice," he said, "but we are against the wall. We are alone. And we have an elementary right to protect our community."

"There's not a damn bit of truth that Black folks are in a 'conspiracy' to get white folks. For two years our community has suffered vicious harassment," Wilson said. "We are not attacking white people, but we will ensure the safety of our community."

Racist forays into Roxbury, he said, "could not be tolerated."

When asked by a reporter if attempts to secure the safety of Roxbury's Black citizens were "parallel" to the activities of the South Boston and Charlestown "marshals," an indignant Ruth Batson, a thirty-year veteran of civil rights activity in Boston, replied, "There is nothing we do that has anything in common with what they do in Charlestown and South Boston!"

Bitter fruit

The intensity of the conflict in Boston is the bitter fruit of the racist drive against school desegregation. This drive, Dixon told the *Militant*, is

Supporters of the April 24 coalition from around the country who had been planning to send buses to the demonstration in Boston will instead hold local meetings and picket lines in support of the Boston Black community.

On April 24 in New York City, the Student Coalition Against Racism will hold a rally at the New York University Catholic Center at 58 Washington Square South, beginning at 1:00 p.m.

directed at Black people, because "desegregation is the right of Blacks to achieve equality. They can't get the bus, so they get at us."

The violence spans the whole city now, from Boston Common to city hall, to the schools, and to Roxbury, where the racist night riders do their work. The white man beaten by the Black youths is a victim first and foremost of the climate fomented by the racists.

Dixon told the news conference, "Let me make clear that Louise Day Hicks and Mayor White, the chief antibusing bigots in this city, don't give a damn about Mr. Poleet or any other white that gets hurt. What they are concerned about is gutting the school desegregation order in this city."

"Louise Day Hicks," Dixon told the *Militant*, "is responsible for that beat-

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Probusing rally held in Boston council chambers

BOSTON—"This meeting is a big victory for pro-Black forces in Boston," said Maceo Dixon as he settled into Louise Day Hicks's over-sized, red-leather chair in Boston's City Council chambers. The 300 antiracist activists who packed the hall burst into applause.

"And," Dixon said, as the cheers continued, "it won't be the last."

The meeting, sponsored by the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston, was the outcome of a widely publicized campaign by march organizers to secure the chambers in which the antibusing city council and the racist ROAR organization have mapped out their drive to sabotage court-ordered desegregation.

A dozen speakers from Black, Latino, community, civil liberties, and labor organizations drew repeated applause as they spoke of the need for a powerful show of force on April 24.

Douglas Butler, a member of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and president of the Boston A. Philip Randolph Institute, linked the struggle against Boston's bigots with the struggles for democratic rights of labor, women, and gay people.

Statements of support were heard from the American Friends Service Committee, Massachusetts League of Women Voters, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, National Lawyers Guild, Boston Teachers Union Black Caucus, and East Boston People Against Racism.

Nathaniel Young, an influential Republican attorney, told the crowd, "Now is the time to be counted to oppose segregation to show those who are afraid to speak out that they are not alone."

Two of the most well received speakers were Michael Ponaman and Hattie McCutcheon, both leaders of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. "ROAR is anti-free speech, anti-woman, and antihuman," Ponaman said.

McCutcheon, back from a tour of East Coast and Midwest cities, reported on anti-Black violence in those areas. "There have been cross burnings in Washington, D.C.; beatings of Black students in Wilmington, Delaware; and attacks on school desegregation in Cleveland.

"And everywhere, these racists look to Boston, to what groups like ROAR are doing here."

Nearly 100 Boston police and forty coalition marshals provided security for the meeting, which—despite a bomb threat—proceeded without major incident. The turnout by police was a result of the coalition's public campaign to demand protection.

A few ROAR spies straggled into the meeting. Racist leader Rita Graul awaited the rally's end outside city hall with a handful of her anti-Black faithful.

As the meeting ended, and the Black and white activists bearing April 24 leaflets and posters poured from the chambers, the racists could hardly muster an insult.

For one night, in the lair of the enemy, ROAR's lion got a taming that tens of thousands of Bostonians have been awaiting for a long time.

—J.H.

A candidate for Congress who is part of the struggle

By Jon Hillson

The Democratic party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican party.—Malcolm X

BOSTON—What Malcolm X said more than a decade ago rings vitally true in Boston today for James "Mac" Warren, a Roxbury resident who has become one of this city's young Black leaders in the fight for school desegregation.

Warren is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Ninth District, which includes the Roxbury Black community.

"Look at Boston," Warren told me. "Racism is everywhere—from the attacks on school desegregation to the gangs that drive people from their homes, jump us in the streets, and drive through Roxbury throwing bottles and bricks.

"Who runs this city?" Warren said. "The Democrats.

"They are the school committee, the city council, and the mayor's office. They segregated the schools. They make sure all-white neighborhoods stay that way. And when the hooligans boast about assaults on Blacks, these politicians don't make a sound, and that encourages the violence."

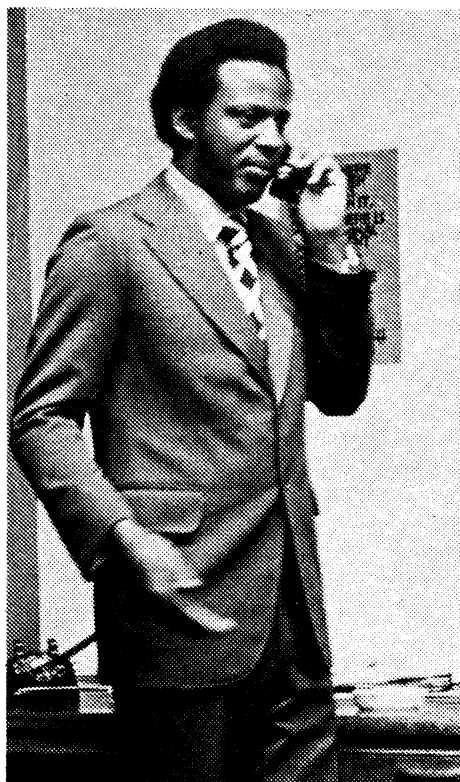
Warren is running because Blacks "have to mobilize the strength of our community. We have to organize ourselves independently of the Democrats and Republicans, who have shackled us to capitalism and racism for decades.

"I'm running to say it is time to stop voting for the party of Louise Day Hicks and Pixie Palladino and start fighting for Black rights and Black needs."

A member of the Boston branch of the NAACP, Warren helped organize the Boston Public School Crisis Intervention Teams, which worked on a daily basis to provide monitoring support for Black students attending desegregated schools.

Warren said his activity in organizing mass demonstrations and community support for desegregation has given him "a glimpse of our potential power.

"Imagine what would happen if Blacks formed a party based on our communities that would say, 'Yes, we have to march and rally and protest—against the racists, for desegregation, for jobs, for equal rights for women. And come election day, we are not going to give our votes to the party



SWP's WARREN: "We have to mobilize our community."

that organizes our misery 365 days a year. We are going to vote for candidates who are part of the struggle, who fight for Black rights."

The Ninth District is gerrymandered to include South Boston, East Boston, and the North End—all of them white, antibusing neighborhoods.

"Louise Day Hicks used to represent Roxbury," Warren said. "Then Joseph Moakley entered the picture and said, 'Oh yes, I'm for Black people, I'm for busing, I'm a Democrat—vote for me.' Moakley won. Now, he is pushing for a constitutional amendment to ban busing.

"A liberal racist is just as bad as the conservative racist. Capitalist politics is racist politics."

The new Roxbury SWP branch also recently opened a storefront headquarters and bookstore at 1865 Columbus Avenue. Warren said his campaign committee is planning a series of classes there on socialism and the Black liberation struggle. The committee will also soon launch a major petitioning effort to gain 7,000 signatures to place Warren on the ballot.

All of the party's work is geared to win new members, Warren said. "The SWP has what you could call an open-door policy. We want to be a big party, a party that can help build and lead the powerful struggles that can win Black liberation. If people agree with us, if they want to organize the struggle, they should join us. It's that easy."

"Every day in Boston more people are saying, 'I've had enough. I've got to do something,'" Warren told me. "They are the Black and white working people who are looking for a party that fights for all the oppressed. And when they come across the Socialist Workers party, they'll know they've found it."

Coming soon

Prospects for Socialism in America

by Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Shepard, and Betsey Stone

What is the Socialist Workers party? What does it stand for? This new book answers these questions. It includes "Prospects for Socialism in America," the main resolution adopted at the 1975 convention of the SWP.

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Bomb injures Calif. Black leader

By Arnold Weissberg

PASADENA, Calif.—A letter bomb exploded in the hands of a Black minister here April 15.

The victim, Rev. Harrison Bailey, has spoken out strongly against school segregation. He suffered burns to his eyes that may do permanent damage.

This latest act of violence occurred on the eve of a slated U.S. Supreme Court hearing that will decide the fate of the "Pasadena Plan" for school desegregation, and during the buildup for an April 24 demonstration by school-busing supporters.

The letter bomb was encased in a manila envelope Bailey received in his morning mail. It exploded in his face when he opened it.

Bailey had received a death threat from local Nazis a week earlier, but police failed to act.

Warning "trouble-making niggers" to give up the busing fight, the letter concluded with the threat, "The next

bomb under your house will be set to go off pronto. This may be your last warning."

Twelve Black opponents of school racism were listed in the threatening letter. The letter was signed "Unit 7, N.S." "N.S." stands for "Nazi Sympathizers," an "underground" unit of the racist scum who go under the name National Socialist [Nazi] White People's party.

Last fall, Bailey had been the victim of a brutal attack, apparently by the same gang. He was kidnapped, drugged, and hanged from a tree by a shoulder harness. He was found in a T-shirt covered with swastikas.

Death threats against other Black leaders followed the mock lynching.

The Pasadena cops refused to take the attack on Bailey and the threats seriously.

Bailey told the *Militant* that he thought the attack on him was an

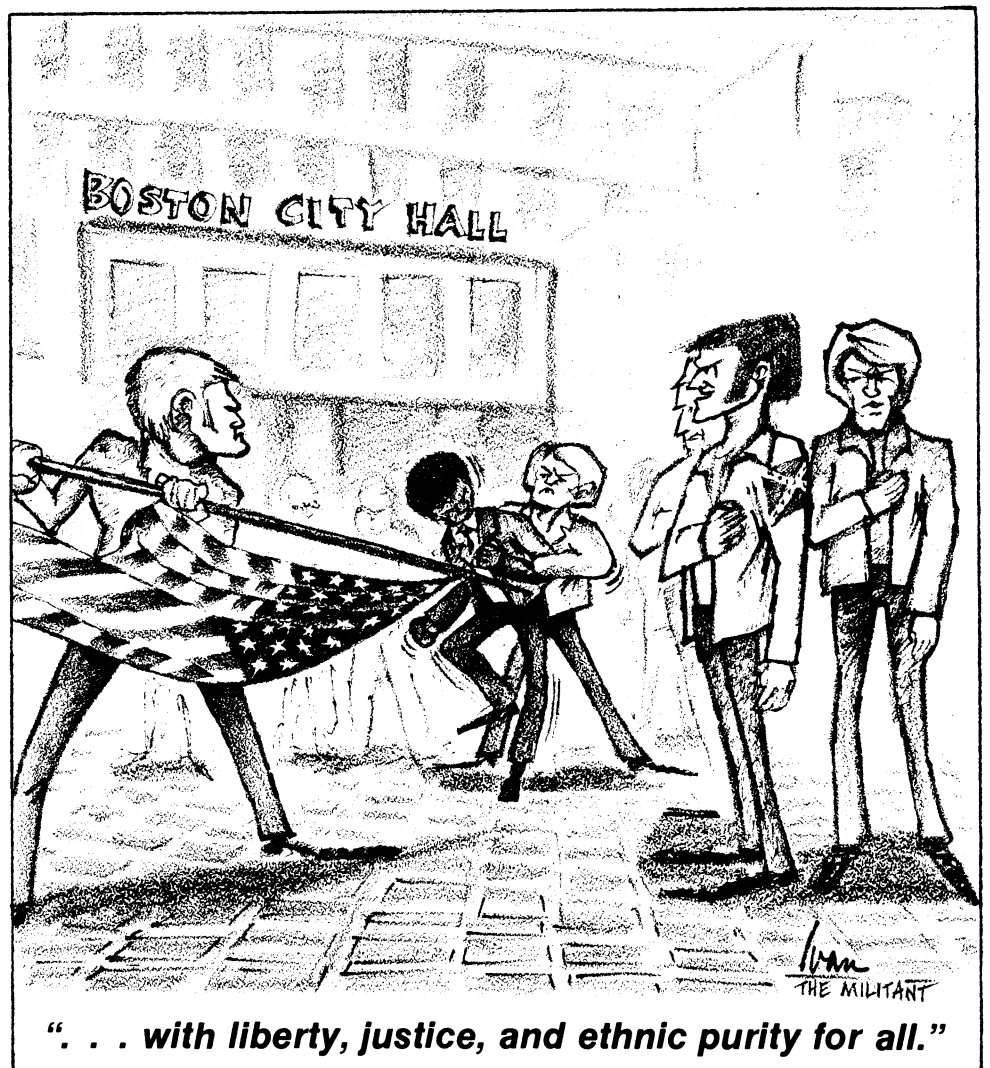
attempt to stop the desegregation of the Pasadena schools by intimidating anti-segregation forces. He added that it was also an attempt to scare people away from participating in the April 24 action.

At a meeting at the Pasadena NAACP offices the day after the attack on Bailey, a group of desegregation activists called upon U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi and California Attorney General Evelle Younger to begin an immediate full-scale investigation of the attack on Bailey.

Ultimate responsibility for the racist attacks must be laid at the feet of the school board, which has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars trying to keep Black children from getting a better education. Their resistance can only encourage the racist scum in thinking that violence against Blacks and their allies is officially sanctioned.

Busing battle

Boston: Black equality is at stake



By Jack Trumbull

BOSTON—Where does the battle over school desegregation stand today? What are the national stakes in the Boston struggle?

What is the way forward to defeat the racists?

These questions loom larger and larger as Black rights come under increasing attack.

Maceo Dixon, a young Black leader in Boston, talked with the *Militant* recently about these issues. Dixon, coordinator of the Coalition for the April 24 March on Boston and a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), has been involved in the desegregation fight here since antibusing violence first erupted a year and a half ago.

"We are in the middle of an escalating struggle," Dixon said. "The busing issue, as the politicians call it, is not going away or being pushed to the side. The desegregation of schools in Northern and border cities is just beginning."

Boston is just the first battle, he said. "It's where the issue of Black equality faces its most organized, violent challenge."

"But there is also Louisville and the explosions that met the buses there. Right now, we are also awaiting the announcement of busing plans for Milwaukee and Wilmington, Delaware, where federal courts have declared the school systems deliberately segregated."

Dixon also pointed to decades of foot-dragging on desegregation in cities such as Chicago and Cleveland. In still other cities, including Detroit and Dallas, according to Dixon, "plans that *should* use the bus to get our young people into the lily-white schools—into better schools—have turned out to be a bad joke."

In those cities, "Black students are sometimes bused from all-Black schools to all-Black schools, which are falling apart because they have the worst materials, least care, most poorly trained teachers, and so on," Dixon said.

"To be frank, Black rights took it on the chin in Detroit and Dallas. Black students don't even get a crack at what has been denied them by segregation."

Local NAACP branches in both cities are currently appealing these woefully inadequate plans.

Impact of Boston

Part of the explanation for these rotten decisions, Dixon told me, is the situation in Boston. "The judges and

politicians see a city where the racists have run wild. They see bus stonings. They see boycotts. They see a bold and confident antibusing movement," he said.

"And they say, 'We don't want another Boston.'"

"But that's only part of the story," Dixon quickly added. "These same judges and politicians also fear a militant upsurge of the Black community in response to repeated stalling and setbacks. And they still need to maintain, for world opinion at least, an image of equal treatment and protection for Blacks."

"They can't simply ignore these factors."

Dixon pointed out that the developing prodesegregation movement in the United States has already helped tip the scales. "When the powers-that-be saw the December 14, 1974, demonstration by 12,000 probusing marchers, and when they saw the May 17, 1975, NAACP-NSCAR march of 15,000, they were forced to stop and think."

"And that's why we have to stay visible and outspoken."

Even here in Boston, Dixon said, where the racist violence has been the worst, "the buses are still rolling and desegregation is beginning to take root. In a very real sense that is a victory."

The final outcome of the busing battle has still to be decided, he told me.

Renewed racist violence

The most recent wave of racist violence in Boston, highlighted by the mob beatings of Black attorney Theodore Landsmark and other Black citizens in downtown areas of the city, has put the busing struggle here back into the news nationwide.

"It was racist white students, anti-busing students, who beat brother Landsmark up," Dixon said. "And that made it crystal clear to thousands of undecided Bostonians that the issue is racism."

"It has put the racists on the defensive. The real hotheads, the most violent anti-Black thugs, are isolated," he said. "There is deep dissension in the ranks of the racists. More and more whites are being repelled. They are shocked."

That's why Black rights supporters can't afford to sit back, Dixon continued. "We must translate the anger into a powerful movement to demand that the government implement the law fully—with the use of Federal troops if necessary—and take action against

the racist criminals."

"The racists have made busing their number-one target," Dixon said. "First they use rhetoric, demagoguery, and confusion."

"Then they mobilize in the streets. They use terror. Why? To stop the bus—to get us—to get at our rights. That is the *real* aim of the racists. That's why Blacks in Boston have been physically driven from their homes in predominantly white neighborhoods. The racists want to keep us locked in the ghetto."

"They are for housing discrimination against us. They are for job discrimination. They are *against* affirmative-action hiring programs. Segregation is shot through this whole society. And with the busing fight, we stand at the beginning of a battle to win liberation against that whole system of discrimination."

I asked Dixon to explain this last remark.

"First and foremost," he answered, "busing means equal access to schools we have been forcibly kept out of—schools located in neighborhoods we can't move into."

"In practice, the busing fight symbolizes virtually *all* the gains of the earlier civil rights movement, which fought around the question of equal access to schools, jobs, and public facilities and against the racist Jim Crow laws, which 'legalized' our oppression in the South."

'That's the bus'

Defeating Jim Crow through a decade of struggle, Dixon said, meant gaining equal access. "That's the bus. That's desegregation. And if the bus and desegregation are stalled—or stopped—it is not an isolated defeat. It opens the door wide for an all-out

assault on everything Black people have ever fought for and won."

Dixon leaned back in his chair, pointing to the big map of Boston on the wall.

"That is the importance of this city here," Dixon said. "What happens in Boston shapes decisions in Milwaukee, Wilmington, Cleveland, Chicago—you name the city and Boston is involved. That's why we have to mobilize, mobilize, and mobilize again to trounce the racists here."

"That's why this struggle is national—part of *every* fight against racism," he said.

"Because everywhere that racists are attacking Blacks, Chicanos, or Puerto Ricans, they are taking their cues from Boston."

Dixon believes that he knows how to win. "Never rely on the Democratic and Republican politicians," he warned. "They can promise until they're blue in the face, but what counts is what *we* do and how we use our own power."

"Our power is in our numbers—visible, public, bold—to challenge the racists. We have to debate them in public. Educate against their lies in public. March against them in public. That is how we can win allies and convince them to march with us."

"Because the bigots don't speak for whites, not for the majority of whites. They speak for a small—but aggressive and well-organized—minority. A minority that can be beaten."

Dixon gets angry when he talks about the racists, but he told me he is optimistic.

"Do you think the antiracist movement can win?" I asked him.

"There is no other alternative," he said.



Busing is necessary to ensure Blacks equal access to schools

NAACP prepares for busing fight

Decades of dual schools in Delaware

By Harvey McArthur

WILMINGTON, Del.—“It's Time To Wake Up Folks! Help Stop Forced Busing . . . Before it starts!”

This is the headline on a recruitment leaflet for the “Positive Action Committee” (PAC), the large antibusing group that has sprung up in New Castle County, Delaware. The leaflet shows a large school bus, labeled “Kidnap Express,” straddling the state of Delaware.

These racist scare tactics have become the hallmark of PAC ever since a federal court ordered the state board of education to integrate the primarily Black Wilmington schools with the neighboring school districts of suburban New Castle County. The order stems from a suit initiated by the Wilmington NAACP and joined by the Wilmington School Board.

The court is expected to rule soon on a desegregation plan that will require extensive busing. This would be the first serious step towards dismantling the segregated school system carefully preserved by government policies over the decades.

Prior to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 ruling against segregated schools, Delaware law required separate schools for “white, Negro, Indian and Moor” students. The recent federal court decision noted that until 1967 the state maintained separately chartered, state-financed Black school districts.

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s Black parents working with the NAACP filed school desegregation suits. These coincided with militant demonstrations, pickets, and sit-in that ended Jim Crow segregation in restaurants, hotels, and many other public facilities in Delaware.

Under this pressure, the government could no longer maintain openly segregated schools. Instead, it relied on the growing segregation in housing to preserve de facto segregation in the schools.

An official Real Estate License Act and Primer declared that “a realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood . . . members of any race or nationality . . . whose presence would clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood.” Many deeds and leases in the suburbs specified that “minorities” could not buy or rent the property.

The results were striking. From 1954 to 1973, the suburban population in New Castle County boomed—but not for Blacks. In fact, the proportion of Blacks decreased from 6.2 to 4.5 percent. However, in the city the Black population increased from 15 to 45 percent.

State officials further encouraged a dual school system by urging white parents still living in Wilmington to send their children to private and parochial schools. In 1973 the legislature passed a law to allow government subsidies for busing students across school district lines to go to these 94 percent white schools.

By 1974, half of Wilmington's

schools were more than 90 percent Black.

A de facto segregated school system had been created.

“Just look at Howard High, our ‘neighborhood school,’” says Littleton Mitchell, president of the Delaware Region NAACP. “No gym, no pool, no playing fields. And compare it with Glasgow High, with its seven tennis courts and olympic-size pool and green fields all around it.

“We're talking about equal education, and that takes more than just classrooms,” says Mitchell. “Desegregation is needed to get more funds and better facilities for our Black students.”

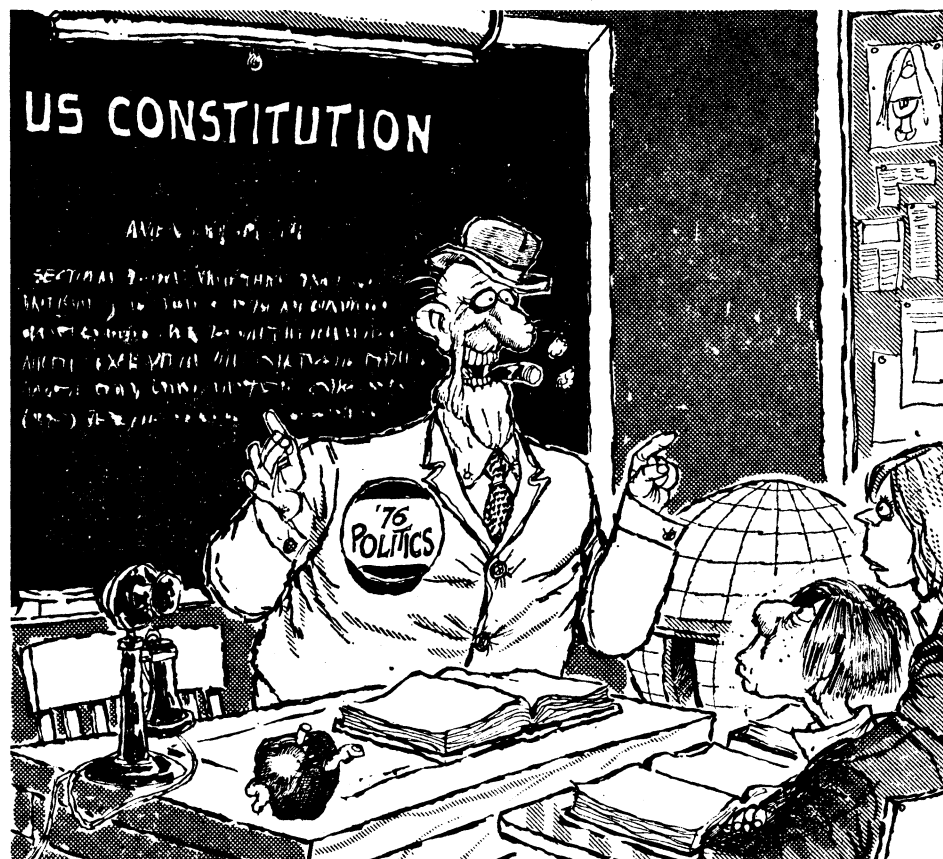
Powerful forces stand opposed to the court's desegregation order. The entire Delaware congressional delegation, the state board of education, Wilmington's mayor and city council, and Gov.

Sherman Tribbitt have all chimed in against “court-ordered desegregation” and “busing across school district lines for the sole purpose of racial balance.” They have added authority to the racist drive spearheaded by the Positive Action Committee.

PAC claims a membership of 10,000. It has organized hundreds of its supporters in rallies and is working on antibusing bills that could tie up desegregation in the courts for years.

PAC's propaganda aims at arousing racist prejudices and fears among whites. It implies that educational quality will decline, crime will rise, and taxes will soar if Blacks are bused into suburban schools.

While PAC leaders say they will use only legal means to oppose busing, they add, “We have no intention of quitting when the court rules, and we are not in the game to lose.” Their provocations are encouraging racist intimidation and violence.



“Now this is the 14th Amendment, which guarantees minorities equal educational opportunities, except when a bus is involved!”

“None of us can walk in Brownstown without getting shot at or kicked on,” say members of the NAACP Youth Council.

“If you go to a white school, the teachers can fail you just if they don't like you,” said one member. “They really didn't like me once they found out I was a member of the NAACP. They keep trying to tell your parents that you're just a troublemaker, and that's why you always have problems . . . We have some white teachers that hassle Black students just like they do in Boston.”

Supporters of equal education must answer the racist drive with a strong probusing campaign. An important step for the desegregation fight was the recent decision of the primarily high-school-based Wilmington NAACP Youth Council to endorse the April 24 march on Boston.

As the president of the council stated, “Boston is an experimental ground. What's happening there is happening in New York, Philadelphia, and here, too, though not so much yet. We have to start working now, because September is not so far away.”

Interview with Jerome McFarland

‘Boston struggle same as New York’

By Michael Lux

NEW YORK—The Black community in Queens is beginning to mobilize against the New York City Board of Education's refusal to desegregate Andrew Jackson High School.

Community demands led state Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist to order the board to come up with a desegregation plan by March 15. Three days after the deadline, lawyers for the board asked Nyquist to rescind his order. They claimed that desegregation in Queens would cause “white flight.”

“It's not buses that they are concerned with,” Jerome McFarland, president of the executive board of the Andrew Jackson High School Parents Association, told the *Militant* in a recent interview. They are “concerned with keeping Black people, Black children, and the Black community segregated away from the mainstream.”

“We are trying to upgrade the school academically,” McFarland explained. “We thought that the best way to upgrade Andrew Jackson was to follow the law of the land and make sure the

schools are integrated with both Black and white children.”

The community leader described activities aimed at forcing desegregation by the time school opens next September. The parents association is demanding that Nyquist proceed to draw up a desegregation plan with community collaboration. Also, the NAACP is handling a desegregation suit for the parents.

To back up these measures, the parents association initiated a task force to mobilize community support. On April 4, 400 people attended a rally at Andrew Jackson High organized by the task force to commemorate the role of Martin Luther King in the fight against segregation.

Several speakers compared the struggle in Queens to the fight against racist antibusing forces in Boston.

“One thing that makes the situation so similar,” McFarland told the *Militant*, is that “Boston is supposed to be the ‘cradle of liberty’ and New York City is supposed to be the ‘home of liberalism.’ . . . If this is the case, that

we live with people of liberal mindedness and yet we live under this kind of racism, then one begins to wonder what's going on. . . . It's hard to understand—I think it's just simply racism.”

All these people, he continued, “just try to prevent Black and white youngsters from going to school together. They ultimately begin to perpetuate themselves. They also try to keep the working white people ignorant—with myths of superiority.”

“I feel that what happens in Boston will definitely have a big effect on what happens in New York City,” McFarland emphasized. “The struggle in Boston is the same as in New York City.” McFarland said his group is “trying to get people to take part” in the April 24 national march on Boston.

“What Dr. King said is very, very true today,” he continued. “The fight has to be taken to the streets. You've got to have big marches and demonstrations. You've got to show force and strength. You can't buckle down against the opposition.”

“Black people must . . . form coalitions and ally themselves with the people who are fighting for the same thing—their rights as people.” These coalitions should be “both city-wide and nationwide,” he said.

He explained that the task force, which involves Black community organizations, churches, and student and civic organizations, is beginning to build a broad-based coalition in Queens.

McFarland also stressed the importance for parents to understand the “strategies” of the racist forces. “The racists . . . are very deceptive. They have many public officials on their side. They will do anything—even bomb houses—to keep from doing the right thing, and that's to carry out the law of the land.”

Summing up his perspectives for the desegregation fight, McFarland said, “You have to fight for your rights, because the opposition is not going to lie down. I think that those who are on the right side must band together and do what they've got to do in terms of providing for their rights as people.”

Democrats double-cross UFW

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers union has more than enough signatures to place a farm labor initiative on the California ballot.

As of April 20 the union had secured 430,000 petition signatures of registered voters. A minimum of 350,000 valid signatures is required, and the union is aiming to get 540,000 by the April 30 deadline.

The UFW made the decision to put a farm labor initiative on the November ballot after it became clear that the state legislature had no intention of providing needed funds for the continued functioning of the now defunct state Agricultural Labor Relations Board.

The ALRB, which conducted union representation elections under a farm labor law enacted last year, ground to a halt this February when it ran out of money. Since then an appropriation to refund the board has been bottled up in the state legislature.

At first it seemed that the funds were blocked by a handful of Republicans and rural Democrats. But it can now be established that the UFW is the victim of a swindle perpetrated by the Democratic majority in the legislature with the complicity of that "friend" of the farm workers, Gov. Edmund Brown.

UFW victories

Last year the growers and their Teamster hirelings agreed to passage of the farm labor law on the basis of "compromise" provisions that seemed to assure that the UFW would be strangled in the electoral process.

But they found that despite the rigging built into the law, and the widespread election fraud, the UFW consistently outpolled the Teamsters by a two-to-one majority. The growers then decided to try to kill the ALRB.

At first it seemed that they faced a big obstacle. Governor Brown, who heads the powerful Democratic machine in the state, had been the principal architect of the law. And many Democrats in the legislature have frequently joined with the governor in public expressions of friendship with farm workers in general and the United Farm Workers in particular.

But the hard fact is that the growers could not have played their reactionary game without the complicity of Brown and the Democratic majority in the legislature.

When the board ran out of money and the minority in the statehouse insisted that they would block further funding until the law was amended, Brown responded in a way that appeared to be favorable to the UFW. He said enough compromises had been included in the original law, and no amendments should be considered until after the necessary money was appropriated.

Meanwhile, funding bills remained tied up in the legislature and the ALRB remained defunct.

This was not simply the work of the minority in the legislature.

On March 12 an assembly subcommittee slated a public hearing on the proposed funding bill. César Chávez was scheduled to testify in favor of it.

On the eve of the hearing, the committee meeting was canceled by Leo McCarthy, the powerful Democratic speaker of the assembly. No action should be taken, he declared, until there was agreement on amending the law.

Chávez bitterly denounced McCarthy for playing the growers' game.

On March 18 the assembly did pass a funding bill, which is now bogged down in the state senate.

Double cross

The bill represents a double cross of the United Farm Workers.

No new elections will be possible with the money provided by this bill, which allots only enough funds to cover hearing appeals on elections already held.

If this wasn't bad enough, the assembly bill includes an amendment presented by Speaker McCarthy to establish a joint legislative watchdog committee to oversee the functioning of the ALRB to ensure its "impartiality." (The growers demagogically claim the ALRB has favored the UFW.)

In addition, this anti-UFW bill directs the ALRB to "modify" its crucial ruling that in a preelection period union organizers be allowed access to the workers in the field an hour before and after work and during the lunch break.

This rotten bill was approved by the assembly by a vote of 54 to 24. The vote came after the



UFW organizer talks to farm workers during lunch break. When UFW swept balloting, Democrats cooperated with growers to block elections. Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Democrats decided in caucus 44 to 3, to have a straight party vote in favor of the bill.

What was Brown's response to this dirty deal?

He solemnly declared: "I believe the assembly acted wisely and with courage."

Was this perhaps simply a diplomatic statement dictated by political needs? The facts suggest otherwise.

When McCarthy tried to force the UFW into accepting further watering down of the law, some thought he was acting on his own, without the approval of the governor.

But on March 16, at the height of McCarthy's pressure campaign against the UFW, Brown announced the selection of his campaign manager in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Who was Brown's choice? None other than Leo McCarthy.

Changes board

Moreover, Brown then proceeded to change the composition of the board in a way that would ensure a "reasonable" attitude toward a "modification" of the rules.

Initially, the ALRB included two progrower members, a "neutral" chairperson, and two pro-UFW people.

Several months ago, attorney Joe Ortega, the only Chicano on the board, resigned after being arrested on a morals charge—an arrest he insists is a bum rap.

To replace Ortega, Brown nominated Judge John Racanelli, a Democratic machine politician. His nomination was warmly applauded by the growers.

Since then, curiously, another vacancy has developed on the board. Leroy Chatfield, a onetime

UFW staff member, resigned to take a post with the Brown administration.

Chatfield was with the UFW prior to Brown's election. He campaigned for Brown and was given a post when he was elected. Chatfield was then nominated to the ALRB and resigned his job with Brown. Now by quitting the board and taking another job with Brown he leaves the door open for appointment of another "reasonable" board member.

If all of this doesn't make clear where the governor really stands, one need only look at his position in relation to the present UFW effort to put the referendum on the state ballot.

The UFW initiative simply provides for farm labor legislation assuring the rights of the field hands. It stipulates the right of organizer access and other essentials needed to ensure that the law will not be toothless.

Governor Brown, who is so free with rhetoric in support of the farm workers, had a good opportunity to put the power of his office where his mouth is. He needed only to endorse the petition drive.

But the good governor issued a statement April 15 refusing to do that.

Independent politics

At the time Leo McCarthy threw his first monkey wrench into the appropriation procedure, César Chávez declared:

"He is demonstrating his contempt for the workers and other Spanish-speaking Californians who have historically stood with the Democratic party."

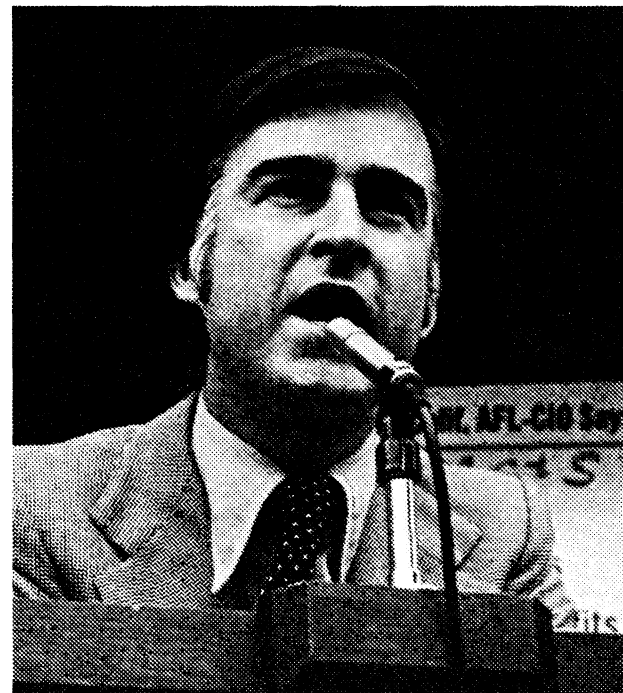
The record demonstrates that what is true of McCarthy is equally true of Brown and the entire Democratic party. The record also persuasively suggests that the time is past due to end the "historic" policy of supporting the Democrats as "friends of labor" and the Chicano people.

That lesson has been drawn by the Raza Unida parties, which in some areas of the Southwest have run their own candidates for public office. In breaking with the Democrats, they have pointed the way forward for Chicanos, the UFW, and the labor movement as a whole.

For too long, the leadership of the UFW—along with the trade-union officialdom generally—has relied on the Democratic party to help in the fight against the bosses. At every point of showdown this trust has proven misplaced.

The Democratic party is in fact a capitalist party. It cons workers organizations into supporting it, but its role is to defend the interests of the bosses. That's why when the chips are down it will play the kind of double-dealing game that has now come down on the farm workers.

The UFW, and labor generally, certainly cannot ignore the political field. But support to and reliance on capitalist politicians is a trap. The present experience of the UFW with the California Democrats is one more example of why labor needs its own independent political party—the kind of a party that can and will fight for its political interests.



Gov. Edmund Brown, who has banked on image as 'friend of farm workers,' has pulled off anti-UFW swindle. Militant/Howard Petrick

Lessons for steel

The CIO

in war



Steelworkers President Philip Murray in 1942: 'Work! Work! Work!'

By Andy Rose

(Fourth of a series)

"The position the AFL-CIO leadership took on Southeast Asia was a tragedy," says Ed Sadlowski. "Who's the guy that was going? It was my son that works in the steel mill. It's not the banker's boy."

Sادلowski is director of the Chicago-Gary district of the United Steelworkers of America and leader of a movement called Steelworkers Fight Back, which is fighting for democratic, rank-and-file control over the union.

"If 50,000 American kids laid dead in Southeast Asia," Sadlowski says, "it was 50,000 sons of George Meany, that's the tragedy of it."

Wartime always puts the labor movement in the imperialist countries to the test. While the sons of the working class die on the battlefields, the rulers demand "national unity" behind the war effort at home. "Everyone must sacrifice," they say.

This means that workers should put in longer hours for lower wages, pay higher taxes, give up their right to dissent, and—above all—surrender the right to strike.

The owners of industry, for their part, are more than willing to sacrifice "business as usual" for the unusually profitable business of supplying government war orders. They rush to do their patriotic duty by freezing wages, enforcing speedup, and breaking strikes.

Behind the "equal sacrifice" fraud, the struggle between employers and workers never ceases.

But once the unions accept the bosses' program for war abroad, how can they turn down the program for austerity at home? Their political subordination to Washington sabotages even an economic fight to defend the workers' standard of living. The union officials are drawn into collabor-

ation with the government and the employers against the union ranks.

It was this logic—as Wall Street plunged the United States into the holocaust of World War II—that betrayed the promise of the early CIO movement.

* * *

As early as 1937, Roosevelt was transforming the New Deal into the War Deal. Although unemployment was rising again, he began to shift government spending from unemployment relief to war orders.

In spring 1939 Roosevelt called for the firing of 1.5 million unemployed workers from federal Works Progress Administration projects. A nationwide strike spontaneously erupted against the WPA layoffs and wage cuts.

"You can't strike against the government," Roosevelt proclaimed. On orders from Washington, the FBI framed up dozens of leaders of the unemployed protests for "conspiracy."

Step by step, new laws and executive decrees were being enacted to restrict civil liberties, block opposition to the impending war, and attack the militant sections of the labor movement. The FBI was beefed up to serve as a secret political police.

Washington's spying, wiretapping, and disruption did not begin with Cointelpro or Watergate—these policies have their roots in Roosevelt's war drive in the late 1930s.

Roosevelt struck hardest against one section of the union movement that was certain to be uncompromising in its antiwar stand: Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544, which was led by members of the Socialist Workers party.

On July 1, 1941, a federal grand jury indicted twenty-nine leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters and the SWP for "seditious conspiracy." They were

the first victims of the 1940 Smith "Thought Control" Act, which made advocacy of socialist ideas a crime. Eighteen, including central national leaders of the SWP, were convicted and imprisoned for their principled opposition to imperialist war.

No-strike pledge

Immediately after Pearl Harbor, top officials of both the AFL and the CIO rushed to Washington to deliver their pledge of all-out labor support for the war: *no strikes for the duration*, they promised.

Philip Murray, head of the steelworkers union and successor to John L. Lewis as CIO president, gave a national radio speech to spell out the CIO's new program: "Work! Work! Work! Produce! Produce! Produce!"

Without a fight, without even a whimper of protest, the AFL and CIO leaders surrendered labor's basic weapon of self-defense. The militant methods that had built the CIO were outlawed—first by the pledge of the union officials, later by congressional legislation and presidential decrees.

Instead, the workers' demands would be entrusted to the War Labor Board, made up of four representatives each from the unions, the employers, and "the public."

The gimmick was that the "public" members, whenever a major issue came to a vote, invariably lined up with the employers. The board soon became known as the "graveyard of grievances."

The union officials might vote against a wage-cutting decision by the board. They might complain bitterly about it in public. *But their voluntary participation gave the board the authority and the facade of impartiality it needed to carry out its antilabor mission.*

Fraud of price controls

The War Labor Board quickly clamped down on wages: eliminating premium pay for overtime, canceling cost-of-living escalator clauses, and in July 1942 freezing wages at what the board claimed were "established peacetime standards."

Prices were supposedly being controlled by the Office of Price Administration.

Nowadays George Meany and other union officials nostalgically recall those wartime controls as fair and effective—very different from Nixon's wage freeze thirty years later. But time must have dimmed their memories.

From January 1941 to January 1944, the government's Consumer Price Index rose 23.5 percent, while the top legal wage increase was 15 percent. But union price surveys found that the

cost of living had actually risen *twice as much* as the government index.

George Meany himself, then secretary-treasurer of the AFL, wrote in March 1944: "Is there anyone in America who really believes that the cost of living has been controlled by the government in the last two years? Is there anyone so simple-minded as to believe that price control as it now functions can be relied upon by the American workers. . . ?"

For big business, the combination of war production, wage controls, and the no-strike pledge was like the alchemist's dream come true: industry had learned to turn blood into gold. In 1942 alone, 200 leading corporations netted profits *five to ten times greater* than their best peacetime years.

The job of policing the unions for the wartime austerity program could only be handled by the union bureaucrats. Combining demagoguery with force, they beat down union militants, disoriented the ranks, and smothered the thousands of strikes that broke out.

Their reward was government intervention to *strengthen the hand of the bureaucrats against the ranks*. Compliant unions were, for example, granted "maintenance of membership" by the War Labor Board.

"Maintenance of membership" was not a union-shop clause, requiring those hired to join the union. Rather, it required all those belonging to a union when a contract was signed to keep paying dues for the life of the contract. This measure was designed to help the bureaucrats put over unpopular policies without fear of losing members and dues income.

* * *

The common feature of trade unions in the period of capitalism's decline "is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power," wrote Leon Trotsky in 1940. Monopoly capitalism "demands of the reformist bureaucracy . . . that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

War, Trotsky added, "speeds up processes, exposes their basic features, destroys all that is rotten, false, equivocal, and lays bare all that is essential."

World War II laid bare the essential political weakness of the CIO and speeded up its bureaucratic degeneration. For those today who seek to free the labor movement from the conservative bureaucracy that shackles it, the slogans Trotsky raised then are still the key: for the *complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state*, and for *trade-union democracy*.

(Next: the fight against the no-strike pledge)

'Watergating' the CIO

[John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers and founder of the CIO, broke publicly with Roosevelt in 1940, speaking out against the administration's antilabor policies and the drive toward war.]

[The following is an account of Lewis's last meeting with Roosevelt before the 1940 elections, as told by Lewis to Saul Alinsky that same afternoon. It is quoted here from Alinsky's biography of Lewis.]

"After a moment's silence, he said, 'John, I want your support.'"

"I said, 'You mean, Mr. President, you want the CIO's support. If you want the CIO's support, what assurances can you give to the CIO?'"

"The President became irritated and snapped at me, 'Well, what do you mean? Haven't I always been friendly to the CIO?' I didn't answer. He continued, and his voice rose angrily, 'Haven't I always been a friend of labor, John?'"

"I said, 'Well, Mr. President, if you

are a friend of labor, why is the FBI tapping all my phones, both my home and my office, and why do they have instructions to follow me about?'"

"The President said, 'That's not true!'"

"I said, 'I say it is true!'"

"The President said, 'That's a damn lie.'"

"I got up, looked down at him and said, 'Nobody can call John L. Lewis a liar and least of all Franklin Delano Roosevelt!' Then I started walking out and got my hat and coat. Just as I got to the door, the President called out, 'Come back, John. I want to talk to you.'"

"I walked back and I said, 'My phones are tapped, and they are, and everything I said is true, and whatever I said I know because I can prove it by [Attorney General] Frank Murphy, who told me so and who knows about it because he has seen your orders to the FBI to do so.'"

"The President changed the subject. . . . I walked out. Roosevelt and I are done."

Call for expanded walkout

S.F. Muni drivers balk strikebreaking move

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—Municipal railway drivers and conductors have voted overwhelmingly to continue honoring the picket lines of striking craft unions.

A special meeting of Muni workers was called for April 17 under pressure of a back-to-work campaign led by "prolabor" Mayor George Moscone and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

The vote to continue the Muni shutdown was about 700 to 50.

Support from the 2,000 Muni workers, most of whom are Black, is the backbone of the craft workers' strike. Some 1,900 city-employed crafts workers—plumbers, laborers, electricians, carpenters, and others—struck March 31 against an attempt by the board of supervisors to cut their wages by a total of \$5.7 million.

The unions want to submit the dispute to mediation, but the board, with the mayor's support and approval, demands that the Muni drivers first return to work.

The striking unions correctly characterize this as a demand for "total surrender as a condition for mediation."

The resounding solidarity vote—the third in three weeks—should finally put to rest Moscone's claims that Muni drivers really want to return to work but are thwarted by the leaders of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A. In the discussion, more than thirty rank-and-file members spoke in favor of continuing to support the strike; only two spoke against.

Local President Larry Martin, reporting for the executive board, recommended continued support for the strike.

TWU international representative Roosevelt Watts led off the debate by hailing the "splendid show of union solidarity" by local members. He warned that a return to work would mean a loss of fringe benefits and even a pay cut when the Muni drivers' own contract expires at the end of June.



Militant/Larry Flynn

Striking crafts workers and supporters picket city hall April 14

"I would rather go down fighting," Watts declared, "than go back to work on the side of the mayor, board of supervisors, and the chamber of commerce."

Speaker after speaker refuted the claim that Muni drivers have nothing at stake in this struggle. They dismissed the mayor's concern that drivers are being "used" as rank hypocrisy.

"I would rather stay out of work for two or three months than lose our fringe benefits," an older worker said.

A young woman driver pointed to the real reason for the frantic campaign to drive the TWU back to work. "The mayor and board of supervisors cry about women and children suffering—they don't mention the millions of dollars being lost by downtown stores and businesses."

Another side of the general mood was expressed by a young Black driver who said, "We are all strong union men—we know we can't cross a picket line. But we need the full support of the other striking craft workers. They must expand the strike to make it more effective."

This feeling of frustration with the strike leaders' unfulfilled promises to broaden the strike was expressed in an amendment to the motion for continued solidarity.

The first part of the amendment called on the San Francisco Labor Council "in the next seventy-two hours" to "implement their own motion to shut down San Francisco in a general strike to win this strike." This was adopted.

The second part stated "or we Muni drivers will return to work." This part was rejected.

The language adopted was taken by most drivers as a call for more effective picketing and some form of expansion of the strike. So far, empty threats of a general strike bandied about by top union officials have been a lame excuse for their failure to take any steps at all to broaden the strike.

The rhetorical fireworks may also have served to make the Muni shutdown—which has been effective—seem pale by comparison. But the real situation was pointed out in rank-and-file-authored leaflets headed: "Don't

let them kid you—downtown is hurting—we can win."

There is more than meets the eye to the demand by the mayor and board of supervisors that Muni resume operations before mediation can take place.

If Muni drivers could be stampeded back to work, the effect would be to extend the defeat directly to the TWU. The relationship of forces would be shifted significantly against Muni drivers. A wage-cutting ultimatum at the end of June would under such circumstances meet with little resistance.

The solid vote by Muni drivers to continue support for the strike has stymied that plan at least for the time being.

Meanwhile, the fear seems to be growing in San Francisco business circles that instead of settling the strike on the basis of a clear victory over the unions, the city administration may overplay its hand by pushing for total capitulation. They fear that the city's "total surrender" demands may push the union leaders to mobilize the rank-and-file power that to date has not been brought into play in any major way. That possibility is posed by the administration's underestimation of Muni drivers' morale and solidarity.

It has become abundantly clear that earlier threats of a general strike by San Francisco labor tops were pure bluff. The union officialdom was really depending on Democratic politicians like Moscone to get the unions off the hook. Moscone and company only dug the hook in deeper.

The Muni drivers, almost alone, relying only on their own power, have until now kept the mayor, the board of supervisors, the chamber of commerce, the mass media, the injunction-wielding courts, the strikebreaking cops—all the king's horses and all the king's men—stalemated.

The Muni drivers' class-struggle course of action needs only its political complement: a policy of independent working-class political action. That combination would be unbeatable.

Aftermath of strike defeat

'Washington Post' broadens attacks on unions

By Lee Oleson

WASHINGTON—The union movement at the *Washington Post* is reeling from the defeat of the press operators' strike at the newspaper.

Two hundred press operators, members of Local 6, International Printing and Graphic Communications Union, continue the seven-month-old strike. But virtually all members of the other craft unions are back at work at the *Post* and have been for months.

All striking press operators were fired by the *Post* after they rejected the company's "final offer" last December.

In February the strike was dealt a final, stunning blow when 150 printers and mailers, all members of the International Typographical Union, crossed the picket lines of the press operators and returned to work.

The craft unions at the *Post*, which were unable to stand together in defense of the press operators, are now coming under fire from a management confident it has gained the upper hand.

Post general manager Mark Meagher has publicly boasted, "You have to see that you have one union dead on the battlefield, and others that have been chastened by the combat."

Five minutes after the mailers and printers returned to work February 15, a *Post* supervisor fired the chairperson of the *Post* unit of their union. The

worker has since been rehired, but not because of any intervention by the union.

Also under attack is the 800-member *Post* unit of Newspaper Guild Local 35. All but twenty-five members of the unit are back inside the building.

Post management encourages divisions between guild members who are reporters and those who do commercial work. Most commercial workers on strike have been formally notified that they have been "permanently replaced." The few reporters and editors still on strike have not been replaced and there have been no hints that they will be.

Nancy Gonzales, a striking commercial worker and a union steward at the *Post*, said that when she received notice of her replacement she hoped for some demonstration of solidarity from guild reporters and editors. "Nothing happened," Gonzales said.

She said that while management has treated reporters and editors with kid gloves, harassment of commercial employees has stepped up.

The guild unit's contract expired March 31, and since then the *Post* has been "unable" to negotiate for a new contract. The reason is the company-inspired "Washington Newspaper Union," which has challenged the guild's certification to represent *Post* employees.

A vote by *Post* workers would settle the issue—and there is a good chance the guild would win the contest—but another attack by *Post* management has threatened to delay the election for six months.

Management has demanded that 123 editorial positions, which have been under guild jurisdiction for years, no longer be union jobs.

The issue has been taken before the National Labor Relations Board, whose deliberations could drag on through the summer, guild officials say.

Meanwhile, workers don't have the protection of a contract and have no immediate prospect of getting that protection. About 180 guild members at the *Post* have stopped paying union dues.

The *Post* has also announced that it will refuse to take guild grievances to a federal arbitration panel.

"The company has been chipping away at customary procedures throughout the building," guild member Bill MacKaye says. "There are endless hassles. You file grievances and they don't respond."

MacKaye and others are organizing a rank-and-file committee to fight decertification at the *Post*. The committee will be open to any Local 35 member, not only from the *Post* but also from the *Washington Star*, the

Baltimore Sun, or other guild units.

The committee's first task will be to meet head-on the waves of propaganda coming from the company union and directly from *Post* management itself.

"We've got to reeducate the members of the union," guild member Pat Davis says. She believes that lack of education by the union is largely responsible for the debacle in which the majority of *Post* guild members refused to honor picket lines.

Striking press operators, meanwhile, are trying to feed their families on strike benefits of \$95 to \$100 a week. Many press operators had come to the *Post* after their union was defeated and expelled by newspapers in Miami, Los Angeles, New Haven, Dallas, Kansas City, and other cities.

Now, the press operators say, they have been "blackballed"—prevented from getting jobs at presses in cities and towns throughout the country.

The defeat of the press operators provides a bitter lesson on the necessity for new policies that can defend the unions from the employers' attack.

Especially clear is the bankruptcy of the old craft divisions and the necessity for unity and solidarity among the newspaper unions. As striking press operator Joseph Harrington told the *Militant*, "If you don't stick together, you get had."

Socialist candidates

While the Democratic and Republican presidential aspirants prolong their inexcusable silence about the orgy of anti-Black violence in Boston, two nominees *have* spoken out: Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president.

Camejo and Reid have championed the desegregation fight in Boston since court-ordered busing there met with racist mob attacks nearly two years ago. Both candidates are members of the NAACP and supporters of the Student Coalition Against Racism. They have actively supported probusing marches.

In contrast to their opponents in the two big-business parties, Camejo and Reid are speaking directly to the problems of oppressed minorities, of women, of youth, and of all working people. They are uncompromising enemies of race and sex discrimination on the job, in education, and in housing.

The socialists' campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," demands the elimination of the government's mammoth war budget. This step would release these funds for a public works jobs program, for vital social services, for schools, and for other constructive programs to meet human needs.

The socialist candidates have been participants in struggles to achieve these goals for well over a decade. Camejo walked picket lines during the civil rights boycott of Woolworth stores in the early 1960s, and marched in the 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery demonstration led by Martin Luther King.

Reid too is a veteran of the civil rights movement, having joined in the 1958 "ride-ins" and bus boycott that ended segregated seating on city transportation in her hometown of Memphis, Tennessee.

As a student in the mid-1960s, Camejo was a leader of the anti-Vietnam War movement in California, while Reid—after moving to Chicago—was involved in the fight for decent, low-cost housing there, and in the movement for the repeal of abortion laws.

As workers' candidates, Camejo and Reid oppose the attempts of their well-heeled Democratic and Republican opponents to make working people pay the price for capitalism's economic problems. They say that workers should cast these parties aside and form our own party—a labor party based on the power of the union movement—to fight to defend our rights and living standards.

You can play an important part in helping the 1976 socialist campaign to get out these ideas. To lend a hand, or for more information about the candidates and their program, write: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Cost-of-living strike

The strike by 70,000 rubber workers that began April 21—like the Teamsters' strike at the beginning of the month—is a fight to protect real wages from erosion by inflation. For both unions the central demand is a cost-of-living escalator clause that will raise wages automatically to match rising prices.

In 1973, negotiating under Nixon's Phase Three wage controls, United Rubber Workers officials signed a contract providing only a small wage increase and no escalator clause. The result was a 10 percent drop in real wages.

Union leaders point out that their members have fallen far behind workers—notably in the auto industry—who did not give up cost-of-living protection. Today rubber workers average a full \$1.65 an hour less than auto workers.

The URW wants the gap closed with an immediate \$1.65 catch-up raise in the new contract, and an unlimited escalator clause to guard against future inflation. The companies have so far refused to budge from an offer of \$1.05 total increase over three years and an escalator clause that would pay only \$1 for every \$7 inflation eats up.

Already the capitalist news media are whipping up a scare campaign that the Teamsters' settlement and the rubber workers' demands will cause a new burst of inflation. The charge is especially cynical in light of the steady fall in rubber workers' wages since 1973.

The capitalists' opposition to effective escalators only proves that they know higher inflation rates are on the way—Washington's multi-billion-dollar deficit spending to sustain the war budget makes this a certainty—and they hope to profit from the workers' loss of real wages.

The outcome of the rubber strike will help set a pattern for other major unions—including auto and electrical workers—whose contracts expire in the coming months. The rubber workers deserve the active support of the entire labor movement in this fight.

Government burglars

You possibly could be aware that "black bag" jobs by the "G" (government) were carried out in the 1930s. In 1949, while studying to be a thief, (or trying to) I read *Surreptitious Entry* by Willis George, a "G" burglar.

It's an interesting book! It details many burglaries of suspected "spies," which contradicts the FBI statement that they began in World War II.

I hope Big Brother doesn't "black bag" this letter like they did nearly all the mail arriving in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Discussion on terminology

Thanks for your editorial on the Supreme Court ruling upholding the sodomy law in Virginia (*Militant*, April 9). I would like to call your attention, however, to your use of the phrases "sexual preference" and "affectional or sexual preference" in describing homosexual orientation.

You may be unaware of the fact that this term first came into use a little over a year ago, primarily as a result of pressure from generally conservative and pro-establishment-oriented groups within the gay liberation movement, such as the National Gay Task Force.

The Gay Activists Alliance more than a year ago adopted a statement criticizing the terms "affectional or sexual preference" as a retreat from the earlier, and still generally preferred, term "sexual orientation." GAA also regards the new term as a step toward capitulation to liberal and strictly reformist approaches within the gay movement.

I believe our position has been borne out by developments in the past year. Essentially, the term "affectional or sexual preference" represents an attempt not to broaden the appeal of the gay rights struggle, but to make it more palatable to persons, whether they be elected officials or not, within the establishment.

David Thorstad
President, Gay Activists Alliance
New York, New York

On Palestine

The latest tragic events in Palestine that have so far resulted in ten Palestinian demonstrators killed by Israeli soldiers are yet one more reminder that actually nothing of a serious nature is being done to resolve the Palestine question. A question too fraught with pain, injustice, and danger to be allowed to persist for so long, let alone to continue to grow worse.

I believe it is long overdue that the American people and the international community at large realized that Palestinians and Israelis must accept each other and work as one people of one country.

Both have demonstrated an indomitable spirit, and unless they live in unity, each may be the destruction of the other.

We must on the one hand make the Israelis realize that the Palestinians have a natural right to their homes and property and to full citizenship, and on the other hand, guarantee from the Palestinians that they will accept the Israelis as citizens with full and equal rights.

This is no mere experiment. It has successful models both in Europe and here in the United States. It is

realizable once the fans of apartness and ambition are shut off. The sooner this is done, the lesser the cost and the agony.

Bahieh Musa
Washington, D.C.

More S.1 coverage needed

The meager coverage in the *Militant* of the proposed legislation now under consideration in Congress known as S.1 disappoints me.

Although the *Militant* has described in detail mechanisms for repression in other countries, such as SAVAK (the secret police of Iran) and the British Special Powers Act in Northern Ireland, unfortunately it has barely touched on such possibilities under S.1 in the United States.

S.1 maps out the curtailment of the freedom of assembly and of speech in the United States. When implemented, such a plan would curb trade-union organizing, *Militant* publishing, and protest meetings.

Supported by liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans alike, this proposed legislation points toward doing away with democratic gains struggled for by civil libertarian and working-class organizations. Such an attack on our democratic rights has its counterpart in the current attack on our standard of living, so well presented in the *Militant*.

Recent headlines on the FBI burglaries of Socialist Workers party offices and other interference in SWP activities make this relative lack of *Militant* coverage of S.1 all the more surprising.

Jean Vertheim
New York, New York

Mine inspectors harassed

The *Militant's* otherwise fine coverage of the criminal health and safety conditions in the mining industry has not yet touched on one of the reasons why enforcement of even existing regulations is so lax: harassment of mine inspectors.

The 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act requires that mines be inspected several times per year. Mine inspectors however, are not covered by the same statutes that make it a crime to assault or threaten a federal inspector or law enforcement officer.

At best they can appeal to the Justice Department to issue an injunction against mine owners who attempt to bully them. This power has never been invoked.

The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), which has organized federal mine inspectors, reported in the January issue of its paper, the *Government Standard*, several instances of such bullying.

Inspector Thomas Slemph was kicked and smashed against a mine wall by Elbert Mullins, co-owner of High Splint mine number two in Dunbar, Virginia, in May 1973.

Slemph reported that Mullins also threatened that "I'll kill a bunch of you damn fellows yet." On his own time and money Slemph filed charges and Mullins was found guilty of assault—and fined \$200 plus court costs.

Senate hearings on amendments to the mine safety law have considered provisions to make it a criminal offense to harass federal mine inspectors.

Such changes would come too late for the three coal mine inspectors who died this March in the Scotia Mine along with twenty-three of their brothers. The AFGE's March 19

Capitalism in Crisis

Andy Rose



A tale of two bills

Biting the bullet may be more than just a metaphor for the new federal austerity program. Congressional action on the 1977 budget leaves the poor little else to chew on.

Before recessing for the Easter holiday, the Senate voted to cut 1.5 million people out of the food stamp program, while the House approved a record \$33.4 billion weapons authorization bill for the Pentagon.

Food stamps, you see, have become a favorite target for the bipartisan budget cutters. What with the economic crisis and high unemployment, about 19 million people are getting some food stamp aid. Almost half are mothers with dependent children. Most of the rest are elderly, disabled, or unemployed. Easy folks to kick around, figure the "big government" baiters.

Treasury Secretary Simon calls food stamps "a well-known haven for the chiselers and rip-off artists" and a "threat to free enterprise." Ronald Reagan says his constituents get mad at seeing a "strapping young buck" in the grocery store buy T-bone steaks with stamps. Liberal "defenders" of the program respond by shaking their heads and tut-tutting about how it really is necessary to stop all these *abuses*. . . .

Interestingly enough, government reports show the incidence of fraud in food stamp applications as only 0.08 percent, as compared to attempted fraud in an estimated 19 percent of all tax returns.

At any rate, last February President Ford ordered new regulations to drop everybody above the federal poverty line (\$5,500 a year for a family of four) from the program by this summer. Since recipients are now allowed to deduct medical, day-care, and school expenses in calculating net income, Ford's reform obviously gets at the hard-core chiselers and rip-off artists: infants, schoolchildren, and the sick. The Ford proposal would knock out 5 million people.

The Senate Agriculture Committee hustled to pre-

pare a counterproposal to cut 3 million people. On April 6, Senate liberals led by Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern engineered a compromise. In return for conservatives' agreement that "only" 1.5 million people would be dropped, the senators abandoned attempts to eliminate the purchase requirement.

This is the requirement that to receive stamps, you must first put up a certain amount of cash. A survey in New York found that more than one-fourth of the households in the program *could not afford* to purchase the full allotment of stamps to which they were legally entitled. Many others are too poor to buy the stamps at all.

The compromise bill was approved by the Senate April 8. Meanwhile, the weapons purchase bill was making its way through the House.

On March 10, the House Armed Services Committee recommended a \$2 billion increase in Ford's proposed war budget. Most of the increase is downpayment for nuclear-powered warships: three strike cruisers (final price tag, \$1.3 billion each) and a Nimitz-class aircraft carrier (\$5 billion complete with planes).

The committee's generosity can only be fully appreciated if you recall that the Pentagon's original request was padded by \$3 billion as a cushion against expected cuts, and that Ford tacked on another \$2.7 billion before giving the budget to Congress.

On April 8, the full House voted down virtually all proposals to reduce the war budget. It rejected any delay in funding the B-1 bomber program. It also refused to delete \$666 million for nuclear attack submarines.

As approved by the House on April 9, the arms authorization bill is 2 percent more than the Pentagon asked for and 31 percent higher than weapons spending last year.

And that's the way it goes, "budget cutting" on Capitol Hill.

Washington Letter reported that less than a month before the disaster the inspectors assigned to that mine filed a report of harassment involving a Scotia employee.

Steve Beck
New York, New York

More on world economy

The *Militant* is undoubtedly one of the best publications available for news about social struggles all over the world. I've been reading it for months now, with great enjoyment.

I'd really like to see a good Marxist analysis of the world economy today. What's on the horizon in coming months—a new recession?—a temporary recovery of capitalism?

How will the economic picture affect the outbreak of new anticapitalist struggles?

These certainly aren't easy questions, but I think they're important for understanding the world situation.

Brian La Mothe
Middletown, Connecticut

FBI exposed

Now, thanks to the legal action against the Cointelpro criminals, the excellent coverage by the *Militant*, and the subsequent exposure in the media nationwide, we can finally decipher the real meaning of those three initials: Falsifiers, Burglars, and Inquisitors.

R.D.V.
New York, New York

Cleavage in spirit '76

The fact that the Declaration of Independence opens with affirming that "all men are created equal," and closes with calling the once indigenous inhabitants here "Indian savages," remains remarkable, though frequently noted.

It signifies a cleavage which must have begun prior to the spirit of 1776, and still seems to continue deep.

The extermination of the Indian tribes; the continued ordeal of the Blacks; our relentless opposition to most attempts at independence and assertion of natural rights; our unqualified sympathies with ideologies and practices which are contrary to the concept of human dignity and human equality, such as exist among the white South Africans, the white Rhodesians, the Israelis; and others—all these are stubborn testimony that something has for long gone wrong.

An engendering of a new spirit is perhaps badly needed to accommodate both principle and reality.

The oppressed people, whether in South Africa, Latin America, or Palestine, have as much right to "equal station" among free peoples as the people of the thirteen colonies did in 1776. The whole of mankind would benefit from such equality.

R. Busailah
Kokomo, Indiana

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.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



Albizu Campos

Last February, New York Community School Board Five decided to rename one of the schools under its jurisdiction in honor of the Puerto Rican patriot Don Pedro Albizu Campos.

The decision to rename the school wasn't unusual. Naming schools is one of the routine functions of the thirty-two boards that supervise 901 schools in New York. Nevertheless, almost two months later, a racist campaign of slander and defamation against Albizu was launched in the media by the rulers of this city, demanding that the decision be reversed.

The April 19 *New York Times* splashed the story across four columns of its front page, with a hatchet job perpetrated by Peter Kihss. Kihss managed to link Albizu's name to "violence," "assassination," and assorted mayhem no fewer than fourteen times in twenty paragraphs, adding for good measure the vile accusation that Albizu was insane, a "paranoid."

The following day, the *Times* followed up with an editorial that included the monstrous fabrication that Albizu set up a "fascist-type" organization.

The District Five school board was blasted as "unfit to hold office"; its action was "supremely idiotic" and "a stupid hoax."

The editorial ended with a command to "responsible spokesmen for . . . the major Puerto Rican organizations" that the school board's action "be repudiated without equivocation and without delay."

Another attack on Albizu was the shameful statement by Democratic U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, who said, "They can find other more impressive people than Mr. Albizu, who supported violence and overthrow of governments."

Badillo has a right to disagree with Albizu's message, but to brand it as "violence and overthrow of governments" not only slanders Albizu but all Puerto Ricans who desire freedom from U.S. rule.

As the highest-ranking Puerto Rican officeholder in the United States, Badillo's first reaction should have been to defend the school board of District Five, instead of joining the attack by objecting to the name

the board chose for the school their children will attend.

Who was Albizu Campos? He was the leader of the Nationalist party of Puerto Rico from 1930 until his death in 1965.

Almost twenty-five of those thirty-five years were spent in prison, for the crime of fighting for his country's freedom. While in prison, he was mistreated, tortured, and slandered as insane while unable to speak out in his defense. Ultimately his health was broken.

Even after a brain hemorrhage left him semiparalyzed in 1956, he was kept behind bars for eight-and-a-half more years, and was released only four months before he died.

Yet, despite the savage way he was treated, he never wavered. He could not be bought, corrupted, or broken.

His followers were massacred on several occasions. Thousands were framed up, imprisoned, persecuted, hounded out of jobs, and even forced to flee their homeland.

Today five of these heroes are still in U.S. prisons, as they have been for more than two decades. One is dying of cancer. But the government won't release them because the five nationalists will not recant their adherence to Puerto Rican independence.

In 1965, when Albizu died, I wrote in the *Militant*, "His death was mourned by Puerto Ricans everywhere because his life of struggle for his country's freedom had made him a legend in his own lifetime."

Today he is more than a legend. His example of irreconcilable opposition to U.S. colonialism has served as an inspiration to new generations of freedom fighters.

That is why the rulers of this country fly into a rage at the mere mention of his name. They hate and fear what he represents, unswerving dedication to the cause of Puerto Rican freedom. They are afraid more young Puerto Ricans will come to know of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and follow his example of struggle.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Slightly shrunk—As a result of the 74 percent inflation in the past decade, that new \$2 bill will buy but what \$1.15 bought ten years ago when the old \$2 bill was discontinued.

And that's not saying much—A report by Ralph Nader's health research group scored Washington-area hospitals for refusing to establish no-smoking rules. The report observed that nonsmokers are better protected while riding in airplanes than they are in hospitals.

Philosophical—Pesticides must be expected to impose "some degree of hazard," says John Quarles, deputy

administrator for, believe this, the Environmental Protection Agency. "A no-risk concept for pesticide regulation," he added, "is neither reasonable nor legally tenable. Most pesticides are intended to inflict harm on some form of life. . . ."

Elusive—Results of a seven-year study of a fourteen-foot piece of cloth believed by some to be the burial shroud of Jesus Christ have proved inconclusive, a panel of scientists said in Turin.

Sign for the times—A New York printer offers a miniposter with this

admonition: "Please don't drop cigarette butts on the floor—The cockroaches are dying of cancer."

Apartment-hunting?—E. Bronfman, board chairperson of Seagram's, wants to sell his New York co-op. A duplex, it features a sweeping view of Manhattan, as well as eight-and-a-half bathrooms. He's asking \$1.25 million, but insiders indicate he's willing to bargain.

Masterful—The Guru Maharaj Ji's Divine Light Mission is currently enjoying an annual take of \$3.78 million. This helps with upkeep on the

Guru's half-million-dollar home at Malibu, his \$86,000 pad in Denver, plus two cars (a Lotus and a Mercedes-Benz) and two Honda bikes. The mission itself owns a \$22,800 Jensen, a Maserati, and two Mercedeses, as well as a mobile van. The latter, we presume, to take the bread to the bank.

Probably not—Leon Greenberg, former president of Monticello Raceway in New York, was convicted of diverting \$4,856 of track money to pay for his son's bar mitzvah. He drew two years' probation and a \$9,000 fine. The judge was dubious Greenberg "would emerge a better person if he was sent to jail."

Women in Revolt

Kentucky racists & ERA

Kentucky is a state plagued by antibusing racists out to set the torch to the rights of Black people. In recent weeks the racists have been on a rampage in the Louisville area, burning crosses and fire bombing the homes of Black families who dare to move into white neighborhoods.

The same antibusing bigots are frothing at the mouth over the Equal Rights Amendment. They helped wage a vigorous campaign to rescind Kentucky's ratification of the ERA this spring, but lost. They are bound to make another attempt at rescision next year.

Recently the anti-ERA forces circulated an anonymous leaflet in the Lexington area to warn unsuspecting supporters of the ERA that they are being "duped" by Black rights advocates, supporters of abortion, and members of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The leaflet is a collage of newspaper clippings, most of them from the *Militant*, "exposing" the fact that socialists are active in the struggle to secure full equality for women and Blacks. A picture of SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid is prominently featured on the leaflet, along with her campaign literature on the ERA.

Beneath Reid's picture is the sarcastic message: "Kentucky's Pro ERA Alliance brings the 'stars' into Kentucky to keep our fair state from going backwards (by rescinding ERA)."

The Pro-ERA Alliance is a coalition of groups fighting the rescision moves against the ERA. In February, it sponsored a meeting of several hundred in Lexington in support of the ERA.

Among the "stars" who addressed that meeting—much to the dislike of the anonymous leaflet-makers—were State NAACP President Edgar Wallace, Liz Carpenter of ERAmerica, and Oteria O'Rear, who spoke on "Black Women and the ERA." These people are also listed on the right-wingers leaflet.

The aim of this trash, of course, is to divide ERA supporters, sow confusion in our ranks, and frighten away potential backers of the ERA. But crude red-baiting of this kind won't work.

For one thing, the Socialist Workers party's participation in the fight for the ERA is hardly a secret. The SWP candidates are outspoken on the subject of women's rights and the need to unite the broadest possible forces, from as many different

Cindy Jaquith



organizations as possible, in a struggle to defeat the anti-ERA forces.

The SWP candidates also make no secret of their belief that the struggles for women's and Black liberation are closely linked. A victory for desegregation, like a victory for the ERA or abortion rights, is in the interests of women, Blacks, and all working people.

The racists understand this too. That's why in their leaflet attacking the ERA movement, they cynically underline this passage from a *Militant* article on the "Pro-life" anti-abortion forces:

"Like the racists opposing school desegregation and the sexists campaigning against the ERA—many of whom are the same people—the 'pro-lifers' would like to return this country to another day when Blacks and women 'knew their place.'"

Women and Blacks have fought too hard for the gains we have today to let our enemies in Louisville, Boston, or anywhere else tell us where "our place" is. We need to answer them loud and clear, in the streets, in actions like the April 24 march on Boston to defend school busing, and the May 16 demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

By Any Means Necessary

Legal action against redlining

Two years ago Robert and Kathleen Laufman, a white Cincinnati couple, after some searching found just the home they were looking for. A sturdy, two-story, wood-frame job, with an attic and ample frontage. Just perfect. Visions of sugar plums danced in their heads.

So they went to Oakley Building and Loan Company for a mortgage loan. But when they told the agent the house was in the Avondale section of the city, he politely told them to get lost.

Now the Laufmans, he a lawyer, she a psychiatric social worker, didn't see themselves as ineligible for credit, and concluded that there was more to the matter than meets the eye.

The loan was refused because Avondale is a mixed area, they believed, and one that is redlined by lending companies.

Oakley claimed it would never resort to such monkey business, but the Laufmans sought a helping hand from the courts.

In March Federal District Court Judge David Porter upheld the Laufmans over the loan company.

The decision is the first federal court ruling against redlining, the common real estate practice of refusing to make mortgage loans to applicants in certain areas based on race. Redlining is widely used to keep Blacks out of the white suburbs. It was used against the Laufmans to try to keep them from moving into Avondale, an area that is growing progressively Blacker.

Porter ruled that it is a violation of the 1968 fair housing act for a lender to consider the race, color, religion, sex, or national origin of a potential borrower. It is also illegal, he ruled, for the lender to consider the race of the borrower's potential neighbors.

"Redlining contributes to the decay of our cities," he said, referring to the practice of redlining an area on a map and thus adjudging it as endangered for further investments.

Porter's decision is expected to have a wide and favorable impact for civil rights forces.

Just the other day, in fact, the Justice Department filed a major civil rights suit charging four

national appraisal and lending organizations with "racially discriminatory standards" in their real estate assessment and loan practices.

Discriminatory practices similar to those that brought about the 1968 act have continued, the department found, and "have continued to cause appraisers and lenders to treat race and national origin as a negative factor in determining the value of dwellings and in evaluating the soundness of home loans."

The Justice Department found that appraisers have prejudicially determined that "dwellings in racially integrated areas have a substantially lower value than similarly situated dwellings in racially homogeneous areas."

Although the suit does not mention the term redlining, the practice would be virtually outlawed if the court rules favorably.

One federal survey found that mortgage lenders refuse Black loan applicants twice as frequently as whites.

Baxter Smith



Challenges judge, jury selection

J.B. Johnson wages fight for fair trial

By Peter Seidman

ST. LOUIS—Attorneys for J.B. Johnson filed a battery of motions here April 15 designed to defend Johnson's rights in the face of a campaign of racist hysteria being whipped up by the St. Louis County police and prosecutor's office.

The motions will be argued April 26, the opening day of Johnson's trial, before St. Louis County Circuit Court Judge William Corrigan.

Johnson, twenty-six, is a Black man who won a second trial after the Missouri Supreme Court overturned an earlier conviction. He had been charged as an accomplice to a 1970 shooting of a white University City, Missouri, cop. The reversal of Johnson's conviction came following a campaign of rallies and protests by the Black community here, which views Johnson's case as a focal point in its struggle for equal justice.

A counteroffensive has now been launched by the St. Louis County police and prosecutor's office around the recent slaying of another white University City cop. This campaign, which has involved a massive funeral motorcade for the slain policeman as well as attempts in the press to link the slaying to the case of J.B. Johnson, set the framework for many of the motions filed April 15.

The first motion calls for Judge Corrigan to disqualify himself on the grounds of bias against the defendant. This was demonstrated by his decision on February 13 to deny Johnson the right to a delay in the originally slated opening date of his trial because his chief defense attorney, William Kunstler, could not be present because of commitments in another case. (The delay was subsequently granted by a higher court.)

The motion also pointed to the joint



J.B. Johnson (left) carrying banner in January 1976 Martin Luther King Day demonstration in St. Louis.

appearance of Judge Corrigan and County Prosecutor Courtney Goodman on a radio call-in show just before the Missouri Supreme Court overturned Corrigan's refusal to grant a delay in the trial. The motion noted that "this joint appearance raised the public spectre of a prosecutor and a judge united in prosecution of this defendant."

During the talk show the majority of callers centered on Corrigan's refusal to grant Johnson a delay in the opening of his trial. Both Corrigan and Goodman publicly defended this action and criticized Johnson's attorney's on the air.

Another motion requests that the number of peremptory challenges the defense can use in eliminating potential jurors be doubled, in view of the

widespread unfavorable publicity around Johnson's case in the area from which the jury pool will be selected.

Other motions seek:

- to have the daily jury fee raised to twenty dollars so that Black people can participate more equally in the jury;

- a larger courtroom to ensure that maximum public attention can be focused on the case;

- the dismissal of the case on the grounds that the prosecution refused to make available to the grand jury that originally indicted Johnson evidence that clearly undermined the case against him.

Meanwhile, the National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has launched a public campaign around the opening of

Johnson's trial, focusing on the danger that the county prosecutor's office will try to install an all-white suburban jury to try Johnson. It was exactly such a jury that originally convicted Johnson.

A picket line has been called for 12:00 noon on Monday, April 26, at the St. Louis County Courthouse in Clayton. The committee has also called on all supporters of Black rights to attend Johnson's trial.

Other committee plans during the first week of the trial include an evening rally at Washington University April 28 featuring Black feminist attorney Florynce Kennedy and William Kunstler; and a rally Sunday, May 2, at which Bill Hampton, brother of slain Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, will speak and show a film.

To contribute time or funds to Johnson's defense, contact: National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson, Post Office Box 4713, St. Louis, Missouri 63108. Telephone: (314) 725-0319.

Secret Documents

FBI Plot Against the Black Movement

by Baxter Smith

with reprinted FBI memos
24 pp., 35 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410
West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

La. Black youth on death row

National spotlight focuses on Tyler frame-up

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—At seventeen, Gary Tyler is one of the youngest people on death row in the United States. His hearing to demand a new trial is scheduled to open in the Twenty-ninth Judicial Circuit Court at Hahnville, Louisiana, on April 21.

The defense committee organized to win Tyler's freedom expects that the courthouse will be filled with citizens supporting his defense.

The nightmare for Gary Tyler began in October 1974 following a racial disturbance at Destrehan High School. A white student was shot and killed.

Tyler was singled out from a busload of Black students, arrested, framed up on false testimony, convicted by an all-white jury, and sentenced to death. White state and local authorities in St. Charles Parish thought people would soon forget the case of this Black youth awaiting execution tucked far away in the Louisiana state penitentiary at Angola.

They were wrong. As WWL-TV, the local CBS affiliate here, said on its noon news recently, "The Gary Tyler case is now a national issue." A CBS television news team traveled to Angola to interview Tyler. The authorities made him wear handcuffs as he came before the cameras to say that he is innocent.

Letters of support are pouring in to the defense committee headquarters in New Orleans from all over the country.

The state's key witness against Tyler was Natalie Blanks, a student who

was on the same bus. Blanks has signed an affidavit stating that sheriff's deputies and prosecutors forced her to falsely testify at the trial, threatening to charge her with perjury and accessory to murder. Blanks had been the only witness to claim seeing Gary Tyler fire a gun.

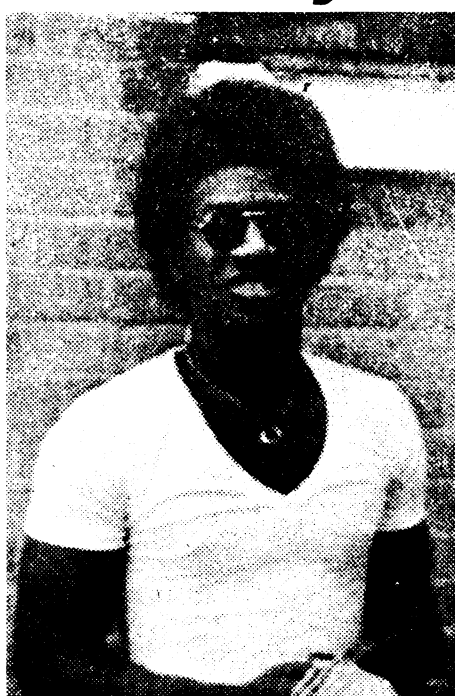
Since Blanks's affidavit was filed last month, new facts have come to light each week supporting the demand for a new trial and exposing the truth of how racist authorities railroaded Gary Tyler:

- Several Black students saw whites armed with guns in the mob of students and parents who were stoning their bus as it left school the day the shooting took place. This evidence was never introduced in Tyler's trial.

- Tyler's cousin Ike Randall saw a man aiming a rifle at the bus and yelled for the students to get down moments before the shot was fired. Tyler's attorney, Jack Peebles, has presented to the court an interview with Donald Files, a student on the bus, who says Natalie Blanks could not possibly have seen the shooting because he had pushed her down on the floor before they heard the shot.

- Loretta Thomas, one of two other students who testified that Tyler had a gun, has become the second witness to recant her testimony. Peebles had presented an affidavit by Thomas stating that she too was threatened with prosecution unless she gave false testimony against Tyler.

- Sylvia Taylor, who was Blanks's



Louisiana authorities have refused to grant Tyler a new trial despite mounting evidence of frame-up.

attorney, has signed a statement that she had a conference with the prosecutors and Judge Ruche Marino before Blanks testified, at which time she warned them she feared Blanks was not telling the truth and requested immunity for her client.

According to Taylor, the judge and prosecutors refused to grant written immunity, thus keeping information from the jury that would have cast

doubt on Blanks's credibility. Assistant Louisiana Attorney General L.J. Hymel, however, did agree orally to grant Blanks immunity.

Peebles moved that Judge Marino, Hymel, and St. Charles Parish Assistant District Attorney Norman Pitre be disqualified from hearing the evidence for a new trial because they were material witnesses to the withholding of evidence from the jury. Peebles's motion was denied April 7.

Support for the defense has been marshaled among college students, with Gary's mother, Juanita Tyler, speaking at New Orleans-area campuses. The student government at Southern University in New Orleans (SUNO) sponsored a week of rallies and fund-raising activities for the defense that netted more than \$4,000.

Meanwhile, law students at Tulane University have become volunteer investigators for the defense team, interviewing dozens of witnesses.

Several Black state legislators held a New Orleans news conference April 5 to demand that Gov. Edwin Edwards and State Attorney General William Guste intervene to see that Gary Tyler gets a new trial.

Anyone wishing to help on the defense effort may contact Walter Collins, Gary Tyler Defense Committee, 1610 Basin Street, New Orleans, Louisiana 70112. Telephone: (504) 522-2244. Contributions may be sent to Gary Tyler Fund, c/o Liberty Bank, 3939 Tulane Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70119.

Court challenges spur change

Calif. legislature cuts ballot requirements

By Bruce Marcus

LOS ANGELES—A major change was made in the California election law on April 8 when the state legislature passed a bill slashing by two-thirds the number of signatures required to qualify independent candidates for ballot status.

Under Assembly Bill 52, which Gov. Edmund Brown is expected to sign, the former requirement of 320,000 signatures to be collected in twenty-five days will be reduced to about 100,000 with sixty days to petition.

The Socialist Workers 1976 California Campaign Committee is exploring the possibility of launching a petition drive to put the SWP candidates on California's ballot for the first time in history.

The major factor in forcing the

legislature to act was the possibility that the federal courts would strike down the old law on constitutional grounds.

An article in the April 2 issue of the *Los Angeles Daily Journal* shed light on the legislators' motives. "Lurking in the immediate background is a pair of lawsuits . . . which are expected to win big at the District Court level within the next month."

Richard Rodda, political editor of the *Sacramento Bee*, in an article urging liberalization of the law, wrote, "Presently, two attacks against the Election Code are being pursued in the courts. The Socialist Workers party has sued Secretary of State March Fong Eu on a complaint challenging the political party qualification law. . . .

"In another case, the independent

nomination procedure is being challenged by the Northern California American Civil Liberties Union. Most insiders say the courts will rule against the state in view of recent decisions opening up the election laws in other areas."

AB 52 originally proposed a requirement of 191,000 signatures, but a legislative committee was persuaded to recommend an even lower figure after hearing testimony from a number of organizations.

Joseph Remcho of the ACLU told the committee that the courts would almost definitely strike down the law and, if the legislature failed to act quickly, the court would probably "put on the ballot anyone who wants to be there."

This caused considerable consternation among the members of the committee. When one member asked if the courts might let the current requirements stand for this election year, one politician remarked sadly, "You know how they are. If something is a constitutional right, they'd probably think people should get it right away."

Even at 100,000 signatures the California law is still one of the most restrictive in the country and poses gigantic obstacles to candidates outside of the Democratic and Republican parties. The signature requirement for capitalist party candidates remains the same—a whopping sixty-five signatures!

Howard Berman, majority floor leader in the assembly and a member of the Edmund Brown for President campaign committee, argued in favor of this discrimination. There is and should be an institutionalized bias in favor of the Democratic and Republican parties, he said.

After all, he warned, "there are hundreds of people who would like to see themselves on the ballot."

The California Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has been one of the most vocal proponents of an open ballot in California. CoDEL is sponsoring the suit of the Socialist Workers party, La Raza Unida party, and others against the requirement that a party other than the Democrats and Republicans must collect 640,000 signatures or register 64,000 voters with the party.

This requirement for political parties is not affected by AB 52. Last December a three-judge panel heard arguments on the CoDEL case and a ruling is expected soon.

CoDEL has also actively opposed the stringent requirements for independent candidates. Byron Ackerman, California CoDEL secretary, testified at the hearings that resulted in the lowered requirements.

Commenting on the passage of AB 52, Omari Musa, Socialist Workers senatorial candidate, told the *Militant*, "Thanks to the worsening economic conditions, the two-party assault on Black rights so clearly shown by recent events in Boston, and revelations of corruption in high places, confidence in the two capitalist parties is at an all-time low."

"Restrictive election laws are designed to prevent such sentiments from being expressed in the form of an independent labor party, or a Black or Chicano party."

"Every working person in California has a stake in this fight. The passage of AB 52 is an important first step in the campaign to open up the California ballot."



Militant/Alex Chis

Omari Musa, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate. Lowering of state petitioning requirements is 'first step in campaign to open up California ballot.'

Chicago congressional race

Metcalfe victory: a 'new day' for Blacks?

By Andrew Pulley

CHICAGO—By a more than two-to-one margin, Ralph Metcalfe won last month's Democratic primary election in the First Congressional District here. This primary battle between Metcalfe, the incumbent, and Erwin France, who was put forward by the regular Democratic organization headed by Mayor Richard Daley, evoked much attention in Chicago and nationally.

Many Black politicians and other figures in the Black community have acclaimed Metcalfe's renomination as

Andrew Pulley is the Socialist Workers party candidate for United States Congress in the First Congressional District in Chicago.

a major victory in the fight for Black freedom. Black newspaper columnists have lauded it. On election night, Metcalfe himself proclaimed it a "people's victory" and declared that "starting tonight, we will have a new day."

In an article in the March 18 *Chicago Courier*, Claude Lightfoot of the Illinois Communist party even went so far as to say, "The reelection of Congressman Ralph Metcalfe in the First District is of historic significance." (Emphasis in original.)

My view of Metcalfe's victory is quite different. I don't think that Ralph Metcalfe or any other Democratic or Republican party politician is going to bring "a new day" for Black people. Metcalfe himself has a long history of collaboration with the very forces that are responsible for racist oppression.

At the same time, I think it's important to look at what was behind the large vote for Metcalfe in this 90-percent-Black district. Many Blacks supported Metcalfe as a way of opposing the Daley machine. They looked at the primary election as a test of whether or not "Boss" Daley would continue to call the shots in terms of who gets elected to Congress in the Black community.

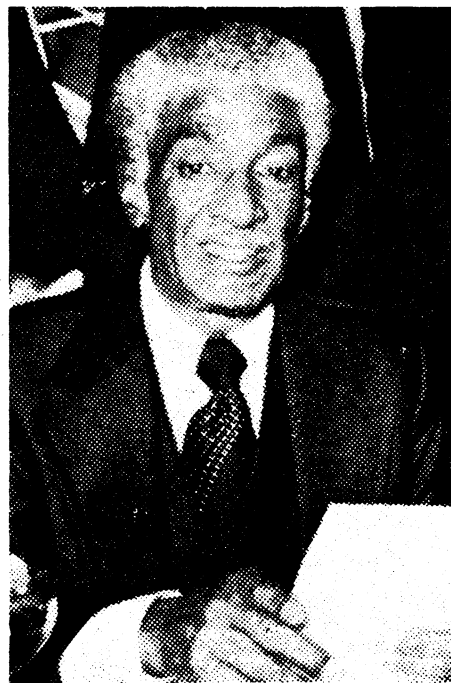
In his campaign, Metcalfe focused on this issue of independence from the Daley machine. He said over and over again that Daley was out to get him because he was an "uppity nigger" and someone who "stood up" to Daley on the issue of police brutality.

This helped reinforce the view of many Blacks that by voting for Metcalfe they would be supporting someone who would defend Black rights and would fight for the right of Blacks to control the politics of the Black community.

Of course, Metcalfe will not live up to either of these expectations. He is and always has been a far cry from being "uppity." For two decades he was a loyal cog in the Daley machine, and as such he consistently sabotaged the fight for Black rights here in Chicago.

Even when he spoke out against the brutality of Daley's cops a few years ago, he drew back from leading a real fight against city hall. Gus Savage, Black editor of *Chicago Weekend*, who went on to endorse Metcalfe, admitted that Metcalfe had "publically fought against the forces of political liberation for Blacks for 20 years."

Chicago Tribune columnist Vernon



DEMOCRATS' METCALFE: For two decades a loyal cog in Mayor Daley's machine.

Jarrett, who backed France, spelled out some revealing facts about Metcalfe in his March 3 column. He recounted the fact that Metcalfe actively sabotaged Martin Luther King's Chicago marches against Jim Crow housing.

He explained that at the 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago, Metcalfe voted against seating an integrated Georgia delegation in place of an all-white delegation led by Lester Maddox. Metcalfe even appeared on television to justify this.



Militant/Lee Gearhart

SWP'S PULLEY: 'The question is not just opposing the machine, but what do we replace it with?'

Metcalfe's highly touted "break" with the machine came only last year when he endorsed one of Daley's opponents, liberal Democrat William Singer, in the mayoral primary. It was only then that Daley stripped Metcalfe of his patronage as third ward committeeman and refused to back him for reelection to Congress.

And now, after the primary, Metcalfe is making statements that he can work with Mayor Daley if the mayor returns

Continued on page 26

Socialist tours U.S. colony

Camejo hails Puerto Rico independence fight

By Jim Little

SAN JUAN, P.R.—To listen to the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates, you would never know that the United States is still a colonial power.

But for Socialist Workers party nominee Peter Camejo that fact is very important, and for three days in April Camejo took his campaign to U.S. imperialism's major and most lucrative colony—Puerto Rico. Camejo's tour of the island was hosted by the Puerto Rican Liga Internacionalista de Los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), a new Trotskyist organization here.

One of Camejo's major appearances during the tour was on April 7 at the University of Puerto Rico's Río Piedras campus. Camejo expressed solidarity with the demand of immediate independence for Puerto Rico.

He also discussed the current economic crisis in the United States and its impact on the lives of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos. The more than 100 students at the meeting could easily understand the worsening conditions in the United States, since Puerto Rican working people face the same problems to an even greater degree.

The real jobless rate in this U.S. colony is a staggering 40 percent.

While rents and prices for food, services, and basic commodities in San Juan often exceed those in New York, wages are consistently lower. Puerto Rican workers make one-third to one-half what workers in the United States make.

Many students shared Camejo's view that socialism is the only answer for the crisis facing both the United States and Puerto Rico. They were interested in Camejo's argument that American working people, oppressed minorities, and women will be unable to tackle their fundamental problems so long as they remain harnessed to the two parties of big business and U.S. colonialism.

The U.S. presidential elections are

treated as major news here, even though Puerto Ricans cannot cast a vote for president next November. All four of the island's television stations sent reporters to Camejo's San Juan news conference, along with three daily newspapers and several radio stations.

El Mundo, a major Puerto Rican daily, noted that Camejo is the "first candidate for President of the United States of Latin extraction." Camejo, born in New York City of Venezuelan parents, speaks fluent Spanish.

The English-language *San Juan Star* reported April 8, "The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for president of the U.S. called his presence in Puerto Rico Wednesday 'an act of solidarity with the independence movement.'"

The *Star* continued, "The party made headlines nationally last month with the revelation of official FBI documents that indicate that agency had carried out a systematic campaign

of harassment against it for several years." This was the first mention of the FBI revelations in Puerto Rico's tightly controlled colonial press.

The daily *Claridad*, reflecting the views of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, reported Camejo's support for the proindependence demonstration slated for Philadelphia on July 4. *Claridad* wrote, "Camejo condemned the assassination of Santiago Mari Pesquera, oldest son of the general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Juan Mari Brás. . . ."

Camejo later visited Mari Brás at his office to personally express his condolences and solidarity.

Several television stations broadcast portions of Camejo's news conference, and one station carried an interview with him.

The tour also provided opportunities for Camejo to exchange views with activists in the women's liberation movement, student struggles, unions, and supporters of other viewpoints in

the socialist movement.

At the University of Puerto Rico, for example, Camejo debated the subject of guerrilla warfare with Louis Angel Torres, a leader of the Movimiento Socialista Popular (MSP—People's Socialist Movement). The debate was sponsored by the MSP and its youth affiliate, the Unión de Juventudes Socialistas (UJS—Union of Young Socialists), and by the LIT and a student group that supports the LIT, the Alianza de Juventudes Socialistas (AJS—Young Socialist Alliance).

Torres argued that the only road for revolutionists in Latin America is armed struggle as exemplified by the Tupamaros in Uruguay and guerrilla organizations in Argentina, Chile, and elsewhere. He said that he now opposes participation in elections. Torres recently resigned as a member of the Puerto Rican legislature.

Camejo, author of a pamphlet entitled *Guevara's Guerrilla Strategy: A Critique and Some Proposals*, replied that a crucial task for revolutionists is to win the support and confidence of the oppressed masses. To do that, Camejo contended, they must participate daily in the unions, on campuses, and other places where masses are involved in struggle.

Camejo stressed the importance of constructing a revolutionary party rooted in those struggles.

Camejo thanked the LIT and MSP for organizing the debate, commenting on the fraternal and democratic atmosphere it provided for an exchange of views between socialists of differing viewpoints. More than 100 people attended the debate.

During the tour, hundreds of people were able to hear Camejo speak, and tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans either read about the tour or heard Camejo on television or radio. The Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores distributed hundreds of copies of Camejo's campaign platform in Spanish, and sold many copies of its own newspaper, *La Verdad*.



Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, at San Juan news conference. Camejo tour got widespread publicity.

Militant/Jim Little

Poll bodes good year for socialist politics

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

It's no secret that public confidence in American political institutions has plummeted in the past several years.

Results of a recent Harris survey show the trend is continuing. After interviewing a national cross section of 1,512 adults, pollsters concluded, "Disaffection and alienation are rampant among a majority of the public. . . ."

Here are some of the findings:

- Sixty-one percent of those polled feel "the people running the country don't really care what happens to me."
- A record 63 percent believe "most

Revolution," states:

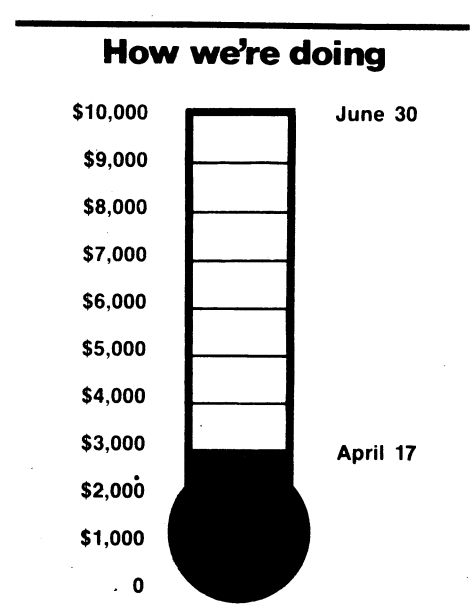
"The 'credibility gap'—that began with Vietnam and escalated to unprecedented proportions with Watergate represents in reality a crisis of political confidence in the government, the beginning of a crisis of legitimacy.

"For the first time since the 1930s tens of millions of American working people not only disbelieve what the rulers tell them but question the goals and values of the ruling class. . . . Fed by unrest over the current depression, [this is] the greatest collapse in public confidence since the Hoover administration. . . ."

Reaching working people who are questioning capitalist goals and values and attempting to win them to a socialist perspective is just what the Camejo-Reid campaign is doing.

Peter Camejo marched in the AFL-CIO jobs demonstration of 60,000 in Washington, D.C., April 26, 1975. Nearly everyone Camejo spoke to agreed with him that the \$100 billion war budget should be used instead to provide jobs and services. Campaign supporters distributed 23,600 copies of the SWP platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," to the union demonstrators.

Reid got a friendly response from teachers at the National Education Association convention in Los Angeles last July. The SWP vice-presidential nominee addressed two delegate meet-



ings, and supporters distributed 6,000 copies of the campaign platform to the 9,000 delegates.

Camejo and Reid are taking the socialist campaign to workers on unemployment lines, at plant gates, and on crowded street corners in cities throughout the country.

So far, more than 600,000 copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" (in English and Spanish), have been distributed.

With help from the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund, we can continue reaching working people with socialist solutions to the problems they face. Our goal is to raise \$10,000 by June 30.

This week, \$1,687 was received from supporters in Baltimore; Long Beach and Pasadena, California; Los Angeles; New York; Newark; Portland, Oregon; Seattle; and Twin Cities. The total at the end of the drive's second week stands at \$2,963.

Please send in the coupon below with your contribution. Any amount will be appreciated and put to good use right away.

Make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ ____.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission, and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

**Camejo & Reid
'76 Campaign Fund**

people with power try to take advantage of people such as myself."

• More than two-thirds—68 percent—agree with the charge that "the people in Washington, D.C., are out of touch with the rest of the country."

The causes of this rampant "disaffection" are discussed in a resolution that was adopted by the Socialist Workers party at its national convention held last August. The resolution, entitled "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist

Campaigning for Socialism

REID ON CAMPAIGN TRAIL IN LOS ANGELES. . . . Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid was the featured speaker at a Los Angeles campaign rally April 10.

The rally, attended by 175 people, was sponsored by the four SWP branches in Los Angeles. The formation of a fifth branch was announced at the event—this one in the San Fernando Valley-Pacoima area.

Reid blasted the Democratic and Republican candidates, who have either excused or equivocated on Jimmy Carter's racist defense of the "ethnic purity" of white neighborhoods. She blamed these capitalist politicians for creating an atmosphere in this country that spawns violence against Blacks.

Several defense committees were represented at the rally. Among those present were leaders of the Committee for Justice for Barry Evans. Two of the rally speakers were Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, a Black youth framed up on charges of murdering a cop, and Michele Simms, sister-in-law of Gary Tyler, a Louisiana Black youth also framed up for murder.

U.S. senatorial candidate Omari Musa chaired the rally program, which included Virginia Garza and Margaret Mora, socialist candidates for U.S. Congress and the L.A. County Board of Supervisors, and Andres Torres, California state chairperson of La Raza Unida party.

. . . AND IN BERKELEY: Reid also campaigned in Berkeley during her California tour, speaking at a campaign rally there March 27 along with Walter Merlino from the Berkeley Federation of Teachers.

Reid also attended an informal gathering with members of Women in Struggle, a socialist-feminist group at the University of California at Berkeley, and met with members of the Berkeley High School African Student Alliance.

Houston Socialist Wins Feminists' Backing: The Harris County Women's Political Caucus voted April 7 to endorse Jill Fein, SWP candidate for county commissioner, Precinct 1.

Militant correspondent Penny Smith reports that many caucus members



Jill Fein speaking at Houston Women's Political Caucus convention in March.

were impressed by Fein's outspoken support for an affirmative-action hiring program for county workers and her support for free county abortion clinics. Fein is a member of the Houston Teachers Association, the Women's Caucus of the National Education Association, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

A counter-motion to back Fein's opponent, liberal Democrat and incumbent Tom Bass, failed. In 1973 Bass voted against county-funded abortion clinics.

PROTEST NIGHT-RIDING ASSAULT ON SOCIALIST OFFICES IN DENVER: A protest meeting was held in Denver April 9 to call for a complete investigation of a shotgun assault on the offices of the SWP campaign four days earlier.

At the meeting, Priscilla Schenk, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, demanded that those responsible for the attack be arrested, prosecuted, and punished.

Several prominent Denver citizens have sent a letter to Mayor W.H. McNichols demanding action on the case. They include U.S. Rep. Patricia Schroeder; city council member Bill Roberts; Mary Fox, president of the Women's Caucus of the Colorado Education Association; Ed Augden, executive board member of the Denver

Federation of Teachers; and William Cappuccino, president of the Metro State College Associated Students.

Messages of solidarity were received from Germain Aragon, a member of the Casa del Barrio community center; Everett Chavez of the Concerned Citizens for Equal Education; Juan Haro, a leader of the Crusade for Justice; Woman to Woman Bookstore Collective; and Frank Dillon of the American Indian Movement.

NEW CAMPAIGN MATERIALS AVAILABLE: Several new materials have been prepared recently for use by supporters of the Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid campaign. A new poster reproduces the photograph of Boston racists attacking Black lawyer Theodore Landsmark with a flagpole. The poster's text reads: "200 Years of Racism is Enough! Vote Socialist Workers; Join the Socialist Workers Party."

This black, green, and white poster is available for ten cents each or six cents each on orders of ten or more.

A new campaign brochure entitled "The Fight for Black Equality" is also available for two cents each.

To order, write: Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

OHIO SOCIALISTS PLAN EXPANSION: Plans for the expansion of the Ohio socialist movement were



Priscilla Schenk: Demands arrest and prosecution of those responsible for shotgun assault.

announced at a banquet and rally held in Cleveland April 10, according to *Militant* correspondent Mary Zins. Nearly 100 people from across Ohio attended.

Melissa Singler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, chaired the rally. "Tomorrow I and several of my campaign supporters will be moving to Cincinnati to join supporters already there in establishing a new SWP branch," Singler said. She also announced plans for a new Toledo branch.

During the rally, a film was shown on the massive demonstrations against unemployment in Toledo in 1934. It included clips of Art Preis and Ted Selander, two leaders of the protests, addressing the marchers. Preis and Selander joined the revolutionary socialist movement soon afterwards.

George Novack, noted Marxist author and SWP leader, was a featured speaker at the rally.

MICHIGAN CAMPAIGN OFF AND RUNNING: Eighty people attended a Detroit rally April 3 sponsored by the Michigan SWP campaign. National campaign cochairperson Ed Heisler spoke at the event.

Michigan socialists are running a full slate of candidates. U.S. senatorial candidate Paula Reimers urged the rally participants to attend the upcoming May 16 march for the Equal Rights Amendment in Springfield, Illinois. Reimers is second vice-president of Local 2000, American Federation of Teachers.

The Michigan SWP is also running Black hospital worker B.R. Washington against U.S. Rep. John Conyers. John Hawkins, Mark Severs, Don Bechler, and Christy Wallace are also running in four other congressional races.

SWP members Al Duncan and Steve Beumer are running in the so-called nonpartisan election for the Region 7 School Board. The two are backing the appeal by the Detroit NAACP of the city's recent court-ordered desegregation plan. Pointing out the inadequacies of the order, the NAACP appeal contends that cross-district busing is necessary to provide truly equal education. —Steve Clark

Wide backing for SWP slate at N.Y. rally

By Sally Rhett

NEW YORK—"When election day comes, I'm not going to vote for Reagan or Carter, I'm going to vote Socialist Workers!" Mark McDonough, vice-president of the Day Student Senate at City College of New York, was a speaker at the Upper West Side Socialist Workers campaign rally of some 100 supporters April 11. McDonough is running for student government vice-president on the Young Socialist Alliance slate in upcoming elections at CCNY.

He said he had been impressed by the YSA's role in building a democratic coalition to fight the cutbacks in the city university system, and in forcing the CCNY student government to call a mass demonstration against the cuts in Albany in March.

Marcia Gallo, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, was the keynote speaker. Gallo emphasized the urgent need for a massive response to the cutbacks in education and social services. She explained that the Socialist Workers campaign is a focal point for bringing together those who support the idea of building a labor response to the city attack.

"We need a united effort against the cuts," she said. "We need a mass party, based on the trade unions, which could go on fighting 365 days a year—a labor party."

It was evident that other community activists and students speaking at the rally shared her feeling about the SWP campaign.

Clara DeMiha, a lifelong activist in social struggles and current editor of the *Feminist Times*, said, "Here I stand for your campaign. Each of us carries our own little campaign around in our hearts, and they add up to the big campaign—against the capitalist system."

"When I started sixty years ago, I thought I was in the right field, supporting the Russian revolution. I'm glad to see you all here, beginning your struggle to make the American revolution. We have a revolutionary tradition in this country."

Rev. Fred Kirkpatrick, a songwriter and performer who has been active in the civil rights movement for many years, spoke after SWP congressional candidate Robb Wright, who is opposing Charles Rangel in the Nineteenth Congressional District race this year. Kirkpatrick said, "Seeing a young

Black man like Robb inspires me. I think it's impressive for him to get up and expose the roots of injustice in this country. And I know that when you expose the roots of evil, it'll die. We're just going to fight 'em like hell; it's just that simple." Ruthann Miller, SWP candidate for state assembly in New York's Seventieth Assembly District, also addressed the rally.

The internationalism of the Socialist Workers campaign was applauded by Bernard Wiltshire, speaking for the Desmond Trotter defense. Wiltshire explained that international protests had helped win the reprieve from hanging for Desmond Trotter, a Black leader on the island of Dominica.

Wiltshire said, "I'm a socialist from another country who wishes you well in your campaign. I think the SWP showed commendable international spirit in helping to get out the word on Desmond Trotter. I think the cause of socialism has benefited in the Caribbean because of your help, and we are counting on the continued support of the SWP in the fight to free Desmond Trotter."

At the rally, it was also announced that the SWP would be expanding its campaign efforts into the Bronx, with

the formation of a Bronx branch and campaign committee.

Other speakers at the rally included Candy Wagner of the CCNY Young Socialist Alliance, and Cathy Sedwick, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism.



MARCIA GALLO: "We need a mass party based on the trade unions—a labor party."

West Bank protests continue

Israeli troops kill six-year-old Palestinian

A six-year-old Palestinian boy fell victim to Israeli rifle fire in the occupied West Bank town of Ramallah on April 17.

Two days later another Arab was killed and two were wounded in Nablus, the largest city on the West Bank, and another was wounded in nearby Jenin. These shootings occurred when Israeli troops fired into demonstrators protesting a provocative Zionist march across the West Bank.

At least eight Palestinians have been shot dead by Israeli forces since February. During this time the West Bank has been rocked by a wave of protests against the Zionist occupation and settlement of the land seized from Jordan during the 1967 war.

On April 18, 30,000 Zionist zealots, some armed with submachine guns, rifles, and revolvers, began a two-day, twenty-mile procession through the West Bank. They aimed to terrorize and intimidate the native Palestinians, as well as pressure the Israeli regime to step up settlement of the occupied lands.

March sponsors termed the procession "an answer" to the massive Arab strike that hit Israel and the West Bank on March 30.

A funeral procession for the slain Palestinian youth on April 18 turned into a protest against both the killing and the Zionist march. Mourners carrying signs reading "No march—no settlement" were marching from the cemetery to the Ramallah town square when Israeli troops opened fire. Although nobody was reported wounded, the shots succeeded in breaking up the protest.

Five days before the murder of the



Angry Palestinians at burial of one of their people murdered by Israeli rifle fire

Arab boy, Ramallah had been the scene of a sweeping electoral victory by Palestinian nationalists.

"Could the message be more clear? 'The vote shows the whole world that the West Bankers are Palestinians who want to establish their own national entity and put an end to the Israeli occupation.'"

That was the way Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, explained the April 12 vote in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Khalaf's "National Bloc" slate, which won eight of the nine seats on the Ramallah city council as well as the mayor's office, printed its campaign posters green, black, red,

and white—the color of the Palestinian flag.

The day before the election Khalaf told *Washington Post* correspondent Thomas W. Lippman, "We are for the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization], we say it in our speeches, and that is the issue."

Palestinian nationalists swept the municipal elections, which were held in twenty-four towns containing just under half of the West Bank population. The new council members include one man currently imprisoned by the Israeli authorities as a leader of the outlawed Palestine National Front, and five who have served prison terms

for their political activities.

The student youth who spearheaded a two-month-long wave of protests against the Israeli occupation in February and March were not eligible to vote. Nevertheless, militant slates won control of the municipal governments in Nablus, Hebron, Ramallah, and Tulkarm—the first-, second-, fourth-, and fifth-largest towns on the West Bank. The nationalists also won in several smaller towns.

The result came despite Israeli intimidation and threats. Dr. Ahmad Hamzi Natshi of Hebron and Dr. Abdul Azziz Haj Ahmed of Al Bira were candidates for mayor in their respective cities. Both were deported by the Israeli occupiers March 27 because of their support for the PLO.

Commenting on the West Bank situation, the April 12 issue of the British *Financial Times* noted:

Israel's international standing could well be affected by developments on the West Bank. Foreign governments that have hitherto acquiesced in Israel's occupation, in the hope that this would be a bargaining card for a Middle East settlement, will be less tolerant if the Israeli regime becomes openly repressive of political dissent by the local population. In any case, it is doubtful how long Israel could afford to hold down a hostile West Bank without undermining its ability to meet threats on other fronts.

A more vivid description of Tel Aviv's predicament was given to *Washington Post* reporter Lippman by a Palestinian village leader on March 27. "Israel," the Arab said, "is like a dog that has tried to swallow too big a bone. She cannot get it down but she cannot spit it out either."

Panama regime exiles foe of U.S. domination

By Nelson Blackstock

The regime in Panama has exiled a well-known opponent of U.S. control of the Panama Canal, according to a statement released April 19 by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

State Security Police (G-2) arrested Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal on February 18 and deported him the following day to Guayaquil, Ecuador.

No official explanation for this action has been forthcoming from the regime of Gen. Omar Torrijos.

Dr. Bernal, a professor at the University of Panama, taught international law and political science. Bernal was also an editor of *Diálogo Social*, Panama's only magazine.

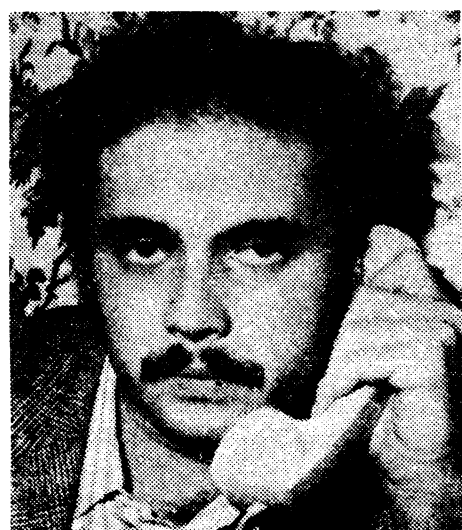
Bernal attacked U.S. colonialism in Panama both in the pages of *Diálogo Social* and on a weekly radio program broadcast on Radio Iniciativa.

"It is clear that I have been sent into exile from my own country because I defended publicly the rights of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism, especially in relation to the canal," Dr. Bernal recently told a USLA representative.

The February 20 issue of *Telégrafo*, an Ecuadorian daily, reported that Bernal denounced the Torrijos regime for exiling him in order to "suppress criticism from the left that rejects compromise over the canal question."

Bernal has a reputation in Panama as an outspoken critic of the Torrijos dictatorship, especially its proposal to renegotiate the canal treaty with Washington. Torrijos wants to leave the United States in control of the canal until the year 2000.

Bernal, who describes himself as a



Dr. Miguel Antonio Bernal, who demands the return of canal to Panama, was exiled by. . . .

revolutionary socialist, according to USLA, calls for the return of the canal to Panama. In addition, Bernal demands the removal of the extensive network of U.S. military bases in Panama, which he says are aimed against the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Government threats against him began, Bernal told USLA, when he participated in a demonstration of 5,000 in front of the American embassy last September. At that time a G-2 officer threatened Bernal's life.

Bernal exposed the threat over Radio Iniciativa. In a response broadcast on television, Foreign Relations Minister Juan Antonio Tack said that Bernal had nothing to fear from "a regime that totally respects his freedom of action, insofar as he does not exceed

the limits and fail to respect other persons who, much more than he, are struggling in a real and true way to plant the Panamanian flag and sovereignty over the Canal Zone."

Bernal replied that it was his right to protest against injustices and that he did "not have to ask somebody's permission."

Last January Torrijos moved against opponents of his proposed treaty with Washington. Demagogically charging that there was a conspiracy between the "revolutionary Marxists" and the extreme right, Torrijos rounded up and deported a dozen critics. Among these were two Social Democratic lawyers, including the owner of Radio Iniciativa, which was closed.

Also deported were several merchants; four ranchers; and a senior executive of the Chase Manhattan Bank, a former Panamanian minister of finance.

Bernal was out of the country in January. According to a report in the Ecuadorian press, Bernal was to have been deported at that time and is charged with having "contact with members of the extreme right."

Bernal was picked up by G-2 when he arrived at the Panama airport on the morning of February 18.

G-2 agents, who detained Bernal in a barracks near the airport until the following day, threatened his life for a second time.

Placing a pistol between his eyes, a G-2 agent told him, "I'm more revolutionary than you are. You are just an *intelectualito* [petty intellectual] and I'm a policeman!"

Before turning him over to Ecuadorian authorities in Guayaquil, a G-2

officer confiscated Bernal's passport, money, and all his documents.

Myrna Castelleros, Bernal's wife, has been forced to remain in Panama to work to support their two small children.

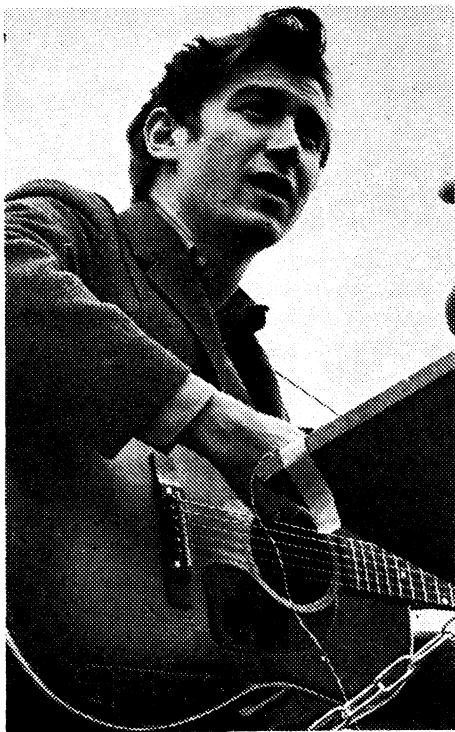
USLA reports that Bernal "has been left stranded, without funds and with difficult prospects."

In its statement USLA urged "all supporters of democracy and elementary human decency to protest this open and blatant case of political persecution. Demands that Dr. Bernal be allowed to return to his own country should be addressed to the Panamanian Embassy, 2862 McGill Terrace NW, Washington, D.C. 20008."

Copies of messages of protest should be sent to USLA, 853 Broadway, Room 414, New York, New York 10003.



... Gen. Omar Torrijos, Panamanian dictator who wants to let U.S. control canal until year 2000.



Ochs at 1967 antiwar protest
Militant/Eli Finer

Phil Ochs: singer for justice and freedom

By José Pérez

Phil Ochs, performer and topical songwriter, committed suicide in New York April 9. Ochs was a regular performer at antiwar protests during the 1960s and 1970s.

Ochs was part of the generation that was in college at the time of the Cuban revolution. Like many other young people, Ochs was inspired by the victory of the Cuban rebels over the Batista tyranny. When Washington began its diplomatic, economic, and then military aggression, Ochs was one of those who rallied to the defense of the revolution.

Ochs was studying journalism at Ohio State University and was on the staff of the *Lantern*, the campus paper. He was in line to become editor, but then he wrote an article defending Cuba. When he was told he couldn't be editor because of his views, he dropped out of college in protest.

After leaving the university, he began performing in the Cleveland area. He worked with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee there and sang at fund-raising affairs for the group.

In the early 1960s he went to New York, where he performed in Greenwich Village coffeehouses and recorded his first albums. His songs were frequently satirical commentaries on the events of the day, inspired by the civil rights movement, free-speech fights, and, later, the anti-Vietnam War protests.

One composition was "Love Me, I'm a Liberal," a caustic attack on the hypocrisy of liberals on questions ranging from anticommunist witch-hunts to Malcolm X to busing.

Another was "The Ballad of William Worthy," about a Black journalist who was persecuted for the crime of going to Cuba without State Department approval.

Many songs had U.S. militarism as their target, including "Cops of the World," "Talking Cuban Crisis," and "The Marines Have Landed on the Shores of Santo Domingo."

He was part of the antiwar movement from its inception. His 1963 "I Ain't Marchin' Anymore" was one of the first protest songs of the war, and for a decade he performed at numerous rallies, teach-ins and marches.

For the past five or six years Ochs hadn't recorded any new albums or written new songs. "Phil had been very depressed for a long time," a friend said. "Mainly, the words weren't coming to him anymore."

Partial victory in pretrial hearing

Dennis Banks fights Ore. frame-up

By Judith Menschenfreund

PORTLAND, Ore.—American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks pleaded not guilty to illegal possession of firearms and explosives at an April 13 arraignment in federal court here.

Along with AIM members Kamook Banks, Kenneth Loudhawk, and Russell Redner, Dennis Banks is scheduled to go on trial May 12 before U.S. District Court Judge Robert Belloni.

Several dozen people picketed outside and about fifty others filled the courtroom while the hearing was in progress.

The charges against the four stem from a November 14, 1975, incident in eastern Oregon. Acting on information from the FBI, state police stopped two vehicles on the pretext that they were looking for Dennis Banks, who at the time had been declared a fugitive.

Four people were arrested: Redner, Loudhawk, Kamook Banks, and Anna Mae Aquash. Police claimed that two others, Dennis Banks and Leonard Peltier, managed to escape.

Three days after the arrests, the FBI announced it had "found" seven boxes of dynamite in one of the vehicles.

The four defendants won an important pretrial victory April 1 when Judge Belloni ruled "any and all evidence" about the dynamite inadmissible at the trial.

The judge acted on a defense motion that said the evidence should be suppressed because Oregon cops had destroyed the dynamite shortly after its "discovery" was announced.

Dennis Banks is also fighting extradition to South Dakota. He fled that state after his conviction on trumped-up charges in July 1975. He was arrested in California in January of this year.

After the hearing on the federal case, Banks went before a Multnomah County circuit court judge for a preliminary hearing on South Dakota's unlawful-flight charge.

Banks's lawyers explained that he

had fled the state because he feared for his life and because he could not get justice in South Dakota courts. The judge ruled Banks could remain free on bond pending disposition of the extradition request.

Banks's claim that his life would be in danger in South Dakota is tragically bolstered by the brutal murder of Anna Mae Aquash, who was to have been one of the defendants in the upcoming federal trial.

Aquash was sent back from Oregon to South Dakota last November, where she was released on her own recognizance pending a different trial. Then she disappeared.

Her body was found three months later in a ravine on the Pine Ridge

Indian Reservation. She had been shot in the back of the head.

After the two court appearances, Banks spoke to more than 100 supporters in front of the county courthouse. He said the case was a frame-up. "This is the first time I've been in Oregon in my life."

Banks also reported that 25,000 signatures on petitions asking the governor of Oregon to block the extradition had already been collected.

In addition, plans were announced for a May 8 demonstration to demand that Banks not be extradited and that charges against all defendants be dropped. An April 3 demonstration in Portland with similar demands drew 400 people.



Militant/Stacey Seigle

Portland demonstrators demand freedom for American Indian Movement defendants.

'I'll teach them how to hate!'

Gerald L.K. Smith: American fascist

By Fred Feldman

Gerald L. K. Smith, a leader of American fascist groups for more than forty years, died April 15. He was seventy-eight years old.

Smith, a fundamentalist preacher, gave up his pulpit in the early years of the depression of the 1930s to work for the Louisiana demagogue Huey Long.

After Long's assassination in 1935, Smith emerged as a fascist orator and organizer. He combined the "populist" social demagoguery that had characterized Long with anti-Semitic, anti-Black, and anti-labor tirades.

Smith's demagoguery was carefully tailored to appeal to the victims of capitalism without endangering capitalism itself.

In an essay on Huey Long in the anthology *As We Saw the Thirties*, he wrote, "The villains in the American economy . . . were not big businessmen who had attained their wealth by blood, sweat, and tears. The real villains were the barons and overlords who had come into plutocratic power by financial manipulations, monopolistic controls, and nonproductive economic chicanery."

Smith studied the methods of Hitler and often expressed admiration for him. However, he sought to build an American fascist movement and avoided the slavish imitation of Hitlerism that limited the appeal of groups like the German-American Bund and

later the American Nazi party.

During World War II, he began publishing *The Cross and the Flag*, and later he formed the Christian Nationalist Crusade. "Religion and patriotism, keep them going on that," he once said. "It's the only way you can really get them het up. . . . Certain nerve centers in the population will begin to twitch—and the people will start fomenting and fermenting, and then a fellow like myself . . . will have the people with him hook, line, and sinker. I'll teach them how to hate!"

At the end of World War II, rich patrons provided Smith with the financial backing needed for a national recruiting drive. Big business wanted to build up the fascist groups as part of an all-out effort to smash the unions. Smith was proud of his association with industrial magnates like Henry Ford. "I found in Mr. Ford a great friend," he once wrote.

Smith tried to build a veterans movement at this time that could be used to break strikes. Preying on the veterans' fears of postwar unemployment, Smith promised to get them each at least \$1,000 for a year or more of service. He also proposed deporting Black people to Africa, and lambasted "Jewish financiers" and the "Communist CIO."

In Los Angeles, where Smith hoped to get a base through an alliance with

a movement for improved old-age pensions, the unions struck back. The CIO, Jewish organizations, the Socialist Workers party, and the Communist party organized a mass rally of 14,000 against Smith on July 20, 1945.

On October 18, more than 20,000 persons marched outside a rally where Smith was speaking. Smith gave up his organizing drive in Los Angeles.

In Minneapolis, Smith's goons attacked some of the 1,500 picketers who were protesting outside one of his meetings. The ensuing battle routed Smith's supporters and brought a quick end to his efforts in that city.

However, with the decline of labor militancy and the beginning of the witch-hunt, Smith found a new field of activity. He was a major organizer of support for U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy's anticommunist crusade.

With the downfall of McCarthy in 1954 and the relative social stability resulting from capitalist boom, Smith's star went into eclipse.

Despite his claimed identification with the "little man," Smith amassed a fortune through his fascist activities. According to the April 16, 1976, *New York Times*, Smith had "sumptuous homes in Los Angeles, Tulsa, Okla., and Eureka Springs, Ark.; a collection of antiques with an insured value of \$500,000 and his own printing plant. . . ."

World Outlook

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

APRIL 30, 1976

Plyushch featured on panel

What strategy to defend Soviet dissidents?

By Marilyn Vogt

Leonid Plyushch was the featured speaker at a panel discussion on "The Left and the Soviet Union" held April 3 in New York.

Other panelists were British historian E.P. Thompson; author and peace activist Grace Paley; Daniel Berrigan, a well-known figure in the anti-Vietnam War movement; the Iranian poet and former political prisoner Reza Baraheni; and George Saunders, editor of the book *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition*.

Baraheni said that as a former political prisoner of the shah he solidarized himself with the Turkish-speaking fighter in the Soviet Union, Crimean Tatar Mustafa Dzhemilev. Dzhemilev was jailed by the Stalinist bureaucrats because of his defense of the rights of the Crimean Tatar people.

Three questions were taken up by the panelists: "Is a broad-based left-wing defense of Soviet political prisoners possible? What is the nature of Soviet society? What is the nature of the dissident movement in the USSR?"

Plyushch directed part of his remarks toward leftists who think that the USSR is "heaven on earth."

He said: "The USSR is a prison for peoples and individuals; a deceitful, police-run, bureaucratic, exploitative system. . . . We must look truth in the face."

Among other things, he pointed to the crushing of the proletarian revolu-

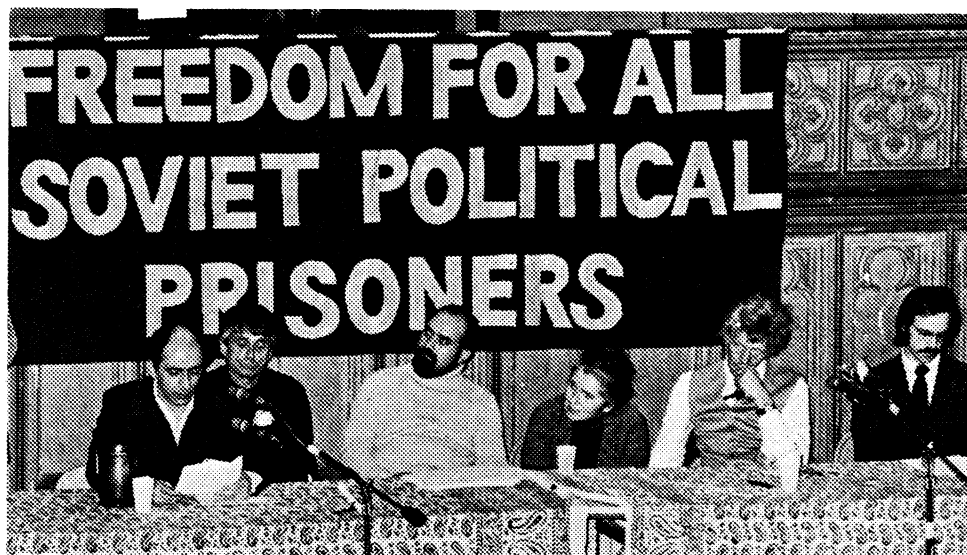
tions in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The victims of the Kremlin bureaucrats, he said, are the ones who really represent the defense of the right to self-determination for oppressed peoples. They are the true internationalists.

On the kind of defense these dissidents want, he said: "They have not been blinded by hatred of Russia and do not want to be supported by anti-Soviet, chauvinist states."

Grace Paley spoke of her experiences when she met with Soviet dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov in 1974. She was in Moscow at the time, serving as a representative of the War Resisters League at the World Peace Conference. She explained to Sakharov the murderous foreign policy of the U.S. government in Vietnam, Chile, and elsewhere.

Daniel Berrigan described some face-to-face meetings he had with Soviet officials as a representative of the American peace movement. He told them he was against the persecution of dissidents in the USSR. They replied that the dissidents were merely "parasites" and "criminals." Berrigan explained that government officials also called protesters in the United States by such names. Berrigan said we have seen betrayed revolutions in both the USA and the USSR and that American dissidents must support Soviet dissidents who are working for a new beginning.

George Saunders held that not only



Militant/Kendall Green

Plyushch, speaking, and other panelists (from left): Berrigan, Baraheni, Paley, Thompson, and Saunders.

was a broad left defense of Soviet dissidents possible, as projected by Plyushch; "it is the only proper way to defend these political prisoners."

Defense work, he maintained, should not be linked with the organs or politicians of the capitalist class. He gave four reasons for this.

First, when people like the Jacksons, Fords, Humphreys, and Nixons—those responsible for such things as the massive bombing of Vietnam—say they are for the rights of Soviet dissidents, they are obviously hypocritical. "They are only expressing their ultimate hope to someday extend the power of the American war machine into new territory."

Second, he said, if defense work is linked with the capitalist class, "the Stalinist propaganda machine will have the truth on its side if it rejects the protests of the Jacksons and exposes their real intentions."

However, if those who are protesting are real defenders of democratic rights, people like Joan Baez, and Daniel Ellsberg, the Stalinist propaganda machine cannot simply dismiss their protests, and the Soviet people will know that the protests are not simply part of the preparation for World War III.

Third, as a result of the Watergate revelations and the exposure of CIA and FBI activities, the American people suspect the intentions of capitalist politicians. However, they will respond to a movement that rejects any implication of subordination to such figures or furthering their aims.

Fourth, if the left makes a bloc with cold warriors, it "lets the American Communist party off the hook." There are, however, many people around and even within the American Communist party who felt the pressure when the Italian and French Communist parties spoke out in defense of Soviet political prisoners. A left-wing defense in the United States can intensify that pressure, and many rank-and-file trade-union members, civil-rights activists, and democratic-minded people can be won to active support for Soviet political prisoners.

Saunders called for the left to mobilize for international days of protest like those held as a result of the call

initiated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in 1974 and 1975, focusing on freeing Mustafa Dzhemilev, Vladimir Bukovsky, Semyon Gluzman, and Valentyn Moroz.

During the discussion period, several persons argued that the left must first agree on the nature of Soviet society before undertaking to defend Soviet political prisoners.

E.P. Thompson responded by saying that what is involved in defense work is fighting for the right of the Soviet people themselves to decide such questions. We do not, he said, have to agree on that among ourselves beforehand.

Plyushch's opinion was that "the question [of the nature of Soviet society] is so complicated that we cannot solve it right here. We must keep in mind the question of the political prisoners. We must understand the nature of the Soviet state but for that we need a special discussion on that one question."

Saunders stated that what makes the defense a "left" defense is determined not by agreement on a particular "left" definition of Soviet society but by who is doing the defending.

"If the representatives of the civil-rights movement, the Black and women's liberation movements, the students, and all oppressed nationalities in this country, and the rank-and-file trade unionist movement speak out, they are objectively opposed to the capitalist class of this country and are not linked to the imperialist war machine. That is what makes it a left defense."

He added that a rich literature is available on the nature of Soviet society resulting from the debate the left has carried out on the topic since the 1920s. This is not a problem that can be solved in one night. It requires study and an individual decision.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, and endorsed by Americans for Democratic Action, the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund, Socialist Party U.S.A., War Resisters League, *New Politics* magazine, and the *New York Review of Books*.

Kangaroo court convicts Dzhemilev

On April 15 a Soviet court in the Siberian city of Omsk sentenced Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev to two and a half years in a labor camp on charges of "anti-Soviet slander."

Dzhemilev has faced constant harassment by Kremlin authorities for his activities in defense of the right of the Tatars to return to their homeland in the Crimea, from which they were deported by Stalin in 1944. The conviction marks Dzhemilev's fourth term of imprisonment. The latest charges against him were filed while he was still serving his third term.

Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena, opponents of

the Moscow regime, flew to Omsk to attend the trial but were refused admittance by police. When the guards roughed up Andrei Sakharov, he slapped one or two of them. According to Yelena Sakharov, both she and her husband were detained twice and beaten by the police.

It is not yet known whether charges will be filed against the Sakharovs.

Also on April 15, Andrei Tverdokhlebov, secretary of the Soviet branch of Amnesty International, was sentenced to five years of internal exile. Like Dzhemilev, Tverdokhlebov was charged with "anti-Soviet slander."

The oppression of Soviet Jews under Stalinism

By David Frankel

[Second in a series]

Although the reformist opponents of the Bolsheviks within the workers movement cannot be accused of leading pogroms, many of them collaborated with the pogromists, or else refused to take a stand against them. Zvi Gitelman, discussing the situation in the Ukraine, gives a telling example in his book *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics*.

The Mensheviks still had a majority in the Ukrainian soviets at the time of the October revolution. They responded to the revolution by declaring an independent Ukraine under the government of the Rada (Soviet). Gitelman writes:

In December 1917 the Rada's Vice-Secretary for Jewish Affairs, Moishe Zilberfarb, urged the members of the Central Rada to take effective measures against the pogroms, and Bundist representatives tried to have resolutions passed by the Rada condemning pogroms. But the Rada was afraid of antagonizing its local organs, which it could not effectively control anyway, and it did not want to risk losing mass support by condemning anti-Jewish outbreaks. Anti-Semitism manifested itself even in the central government. In January 1918 it was proposed to the Rada that all those who had settled in Kiev during the previous two years—in effect, Jewish war refugees—be expelled.¹

The Ukraine was occupied by German forces from February 1918 to the autumn of that year. After their withdrawal Somo Petliura, a member of the original Rada, set up a new government with French support. The Bund had remained in the Rada, and many in it would have liked to support Petliura as well against the Bolsheviks, but, as Gitelman notes, "As time went on, it became clear that Jews could not support the Petliura regime."

Along with the rest of the counter-revolution, Petliura's armies made it a practice to massacre Jews

Bolsheviks

The refusal of the Bolsheviks to bow to anti-Semitism during the civil war was an important test. While fighting for its very life, the fledgling Soviet government refused to abandon its principles and pick up the weapon of its enemies. But the Soviet regime did not stop with the task of protecting the Jewish population against pogroms. It did more than any government, before or since, to consciously combat anti-Semitism, and it did this in a backward country that had been devastated by seven years of war.

Abram L. Sachar writes in *A History of the Jews*:

A determined effort was made by the Soviet officials to root out the curse of anti-Semitism. . . .

After the first terrifying years of readjustment, most of the two and one-half million Jews who lived under the jurisdiction of the Hammer and the Sickle became an integral part of the Soviet social order. They lived on a plane with every other group, for there was no discrimination against them as Jews.²

Describing the Soviet campaign

1. Zvi Gitelman, *Jewish Nationality and Soviet Politics*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972) pp. 158-59.

2. Abram L. Sachar, *A History of the Jews* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), p. 383.

against anti-Semitism, William Korey writes in *The Soviet Cage: Anti-Semitism in Russia*:

During the twenties and especially in the latter part of that decade, the regime continued to make strong efforts to contain the virus of anti-Jewish bigotry. The RSFSR Criminal Code of 1922 provided a minimum of one year's solitary confinement (and death in time of war) for "agitation and propaganda arousing national enmities and dissensions." The Criminal Code of 1927 was even more encompassing. . . . Even the mere possession of hate literature was subject to the above penalties. If the appropriate section of the criminal codes was infrequently invoked and if severe sentences for anti-Semitic offenses were rare, nonetheless educational campaigns were energetically conducted by Party organs, and various pedagogical efforts were undertaken. Close to a hundred books and brochures—an extraordinary number—dealing with anti-Semitism were published by state organs.³

The policy of the Soviet regime in the 1920s was not limited to the struggle against anti-Semitism. "During the first period of the communist regime Jewish cultural life was encouraged. In 1925 there were 250 Jewish schools in the Ukraine. There was an institute of Jewish culture in the Ukrainian Academy of Science. A number of Jewish theatrical companies existed. In 1935 there were ten Yiddish news-

3. William Korey, *The Soviet Cage: Anti-Semitism in Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1973), p. 65.

papers in the Ukraine. Jewish scholars, writers, and poets enjoyed facilities for creative activity."⁴

A similar picture is given by Ben Ami in *Between Hammer and Sickle*:

In the twenties, the thirties, and, to a certain extent, even in the early forties, throughout the Soviet Union, but mainly in the heavily Jewish areas of the Ukraine and Belorussia, there were still hundreds of Jewish schools whose language of instruction was Yiddish, and which were attended by tens of thousands of students. A flourishing, widely read Yiddish press existed, which included dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and so on. There were dozens of Yiddish theaters where both original and translated plays were staged and in which many talented actors performed. There were Jewish choral ensembles, as well as dance and musical groups. Thousands of Yiddish books, printed in hundreds of thousands of copies, were published. . . .⁵

Stalinist reaction

But all these efforts took place in a wretchedly poor, peasant country, one that was surrounded by a hostile world. Even in the best of circumstances it would have taken many years to overcome the heritage of the

4. Lionel Kochan, ed., *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 38.

5. Ben Ami, *Between Hammer and Sickle* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), pp. 25-6.

barbaric past.

The Bolsheviks had never expected to build a socialist society within the confines of backward Russia. They thought that the example of the October revolution would soon be followed by the working class in the more advanced industrial countries of Europe, especially Germany. When the wave of revolutionary uprisings in Europe that followed World War I was defeated, the reaction was felt in the land of the soviets as well.

The defeats in Europe, combined with the poverty of the country, demoralized and discouraged many who had once been revolutionists. People began turning inward, worrying about their individual problems. This was the basis for the formation of a bureaucratic apparatus motivated by the pursuit of privilege, not by any revolutionary principles or theory. In December 1924 Joseph Stalin gave this emerging social formation a "theoretical" rallying point with his concept of building "socialism in one country."

The political essence of the Stalinist reaction, which was eventually to wipe out virtually the entire generation of Bolshevik fighters who led the party through the October revolution and the civil war, was the rejection of the prospect and necessity of international revolution—the basis of Marxist internationalism—and the reassertion of Russian nationalism. There was no way that the Jews—previously the chief victims of the reactionary policies of Great Russian chauvinism—could be expected to escape the effects of its revival.

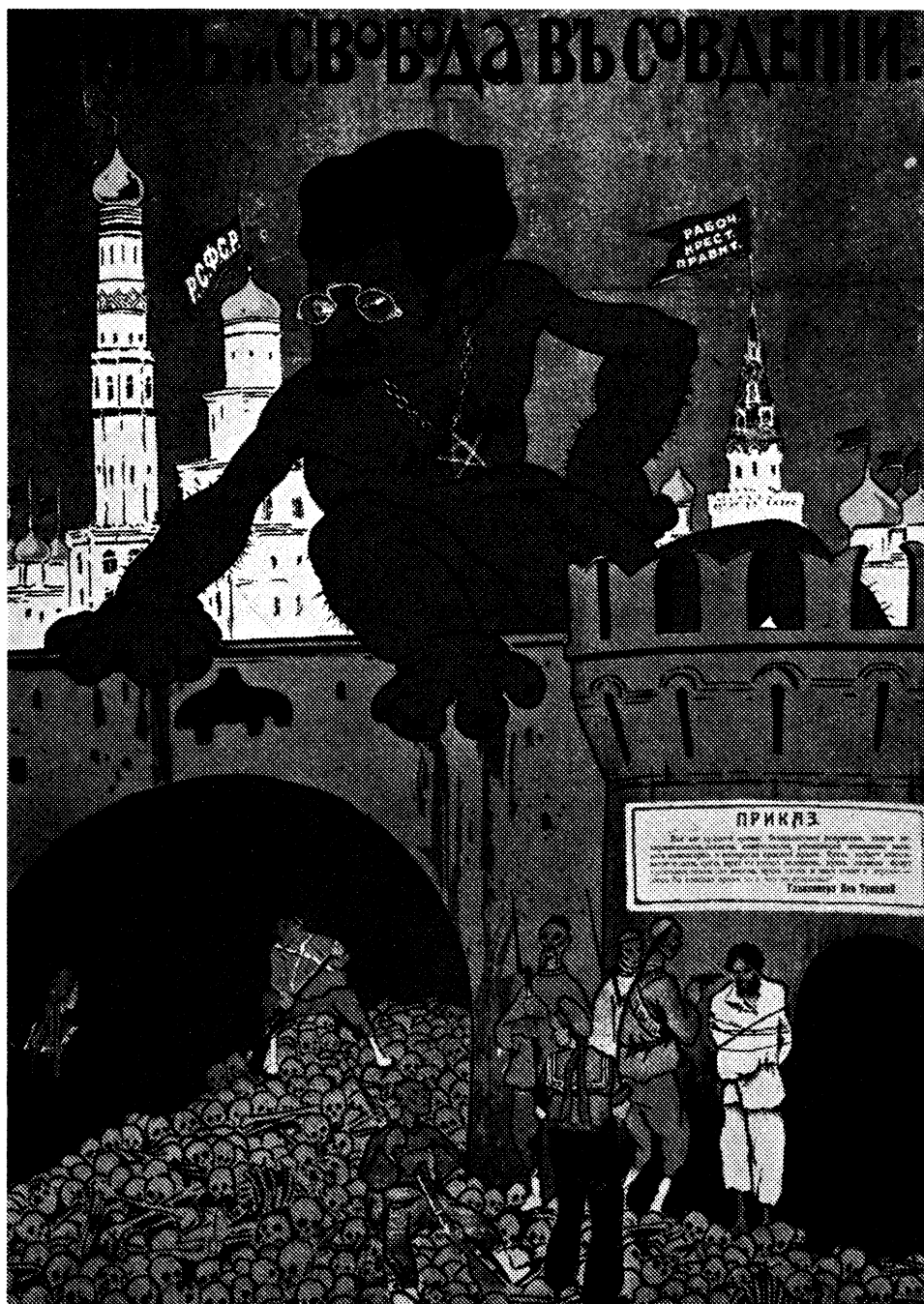
Through one of the grim ironies of history, although the Jews were victims of Stalinism, they were also blamed by many for the miseries caused by the bureaucracy. During the years of the revolution and the civil war, Jews had flocked into the Communist party and also into the newly opened positions in the Soviet state.

Although Jews were less than 2 percent of the Soviet population following the establishment of independent states in Poland and Lithuania, they were 5.2 percent of the Soviet Communist party in 1925. At the fourteenth party congress in November 1927, 10 percent of all the delegates were Jewish.

The prominence of Jews in the Soviet regime was seen by the backward layers of the working class and peasantry in the light of a lifetime of anti-Semitic propaganda. And as the privileged bureaucracy grew more and more estranged from the masses, it attempted to direct their anger against the Jews.

This aspect of the degeneration of the Soviet regime, as well as the basic causes for the rise of Stalinism, were explained by Leon Trotsky. He led the Left Opposition inside the Soviet Communist party, gathering together the revolutionists who remained true to the program of Marxism. In an article on "Thermidor and Anti-Semitism," written in 1937, Trotsky explained:

The Ukrainian bureaucrat, if he himself is an indigenous Ukrainian, will, at the critical moment, inevitably try to emphasize that he is a brother to the *muzhik* and the peasant—not some sort of foreigner and under no circumstances a Jew. Of course there is not—alas!—a grain of "socialism" or even of elementary democracy in such an attitude. But that's precisely the nub of the question. The privileged bureaucracy, fearful of its privileges, and consequently completely demoralized, represents at pres-



During the 1918-21 civil war, opponents of the new Soviet government produced this anti-Semitic poster of Trotsky as ogre of the Kremlin.



Anti-Semitic illustration from book by Trofim Kichko published in 1963 by Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Accompanying caption warned: 'Swindlers and criminals of every sort find shelter in the synagogues.'

ent the most antisocialist and most antidemocratic stratum of Soviet society. In the struggle for its self-preservation it exploits the most ingrained prejudices and the most benighted instincts. If in Moscow, Stalin stages trials which accuse the Trotskyists of plotting to poison the workers [a charge reminiscent of the traditional ritual murder slander against Jews—D.F.], then it is not difficult to imagine to what foul depths the bureaucracy can resort in some Ukrainian or central Asiatic hovel!⁶

Resort to anti-Semitism

Trotsky notes that in 1926, after Zinoviev and Kamenev joined him in the struggle against the bureaucracy, "there opened wide a perfect chance to say to the workers that at the head of the Opposition stand three 'dissatisfied Jewish intellectuals.'"

Stalin did not let the opportunity pass by. Trotsky writes:

In the months of preparations for the expulsions of the Opposition from the party, the arrests, the exiles (in the second half of 1927), the anti-Semitic agitation assumed a thoroughly unbridled character. The slogan, "Beat the Opposition," often took on the complexion of the old slogan "Beat the Jews and save Russia." The matter went so far that Stalin was constrained to come out with a printed statement which declared: "We fight against Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev not because they are Jews but because they are Oppositionists," etc. To every politically thinking person it was completely clear that this consciously equivocal declaration, directed against "excesses" of anti-Semitism, did at the same time with complete premeditation nourish it. "Do not forget that the leaders of the Opposition are—Jews." That was the meaning of the statement of Stalin, published in all Soviet journals.⁷

During the Moscow Trials of the 1930s, Trotsky points out, when his son "was charged with the utterly incredible accusation of plotting to poison workers, the GPU announced in the Soviet and foreign press that the 'real' (!) name of my son is not Sedov but Bronstein. If these falsifiers wished to emphasize the connection of the accused with me, they would have called him Trotsky since politically the name Bronstein means nothing at all to anyone. But they were out for other game; that is, they wished to emphasize my Jewish origin and the semi-Jewish origin of my son."⁸

The use of anti-Semitism in the fight

against the Left Opposition was the first example of this historical weapon of reaction being used by the Soviet leadership. It was not long, however, before there were others.

The internal pressures behind the resurgence of anti-Semitism inside the Soviet Union were multiplied by the rise of fascism in the rest of Europe. One indication of what was to come was the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August 1939. Maxim Litvinov, a Jew, was replaced by V.M. Molotov as Soviet foreign minister in order to avoid any embarrassment in the negotiations.

In an article written during the "thaw" of the mid-1960s Mark Gallai, a Jewish test pilot who had been awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union, recalled his puzzlement:

The fascists were no longer called fascists—it became impossible to find the word in the press and even in semi-official lectures and speeches. What we had been taught to abhor as hostile, evil and menacing from our Komsomol [Young Communist]—nay, Pioneer—days, suddenly became, as it were, neutral. This was not stated in so many words, but the feeling stole into our souls as we looked at photographs of Molotov standing next to Hitler, or read reports of Soviet grain and oil flowing into fascist Germany, or watched the Prussian goose-step being introduced at that very time into our armed forces. Yes, it was very difficult to understand what was what!⁹

In September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland and World War II began. Stalin, who had agreed in advance to divide Poland with Hitler, took over the eastern portion of the country. Jews fleeing the Nazi advance were denied entry to the Soviet-controlled zone.

World War II

The refusal of the Stalinist bureaucracy to expose Hitler's crimes against the Jewish people lest this upset the Soviet Union's diplomatic relations with the Nazi regime was not rectified following Hitler's invasion of the USSR. The Nazi propaganda machine, like that of the White armies during the civil war, played up the supposedly Jewish character of the Soviet regime, telling soldiers at the front that they were dying for the Jews. Stalin, in reply, asserted the *Russian* character of his regime.

The Soviet war effort provided the Jews with one of their few opportunities to resist Nazism with arms in hand, and it is hardly surprising that they responded with an effort that was proportionally far greater than their size in the Soviet population. But the Stalinist bureaucracy has covered the contribution of the Jews to the defense of the Soviet Union and the struggle against Hitler with silence.

Ilya Ehrenburg, a Jewish writer famed for his servility to Stalin and his ability to accommodate himself to whatever twists and turns were necessary to keep up with the party line, testified that during the summer of 1943 Aleksandr Shcherbakov, head of the army's Political Commissariat and a close associate of Stalin, instructed him to play down the exploits of Jews in the Red Army.

The blatant glorification of "Mother Russia" as opposed to the internationalism taught by the Bolsheviks reached such a point that *Izvestia*, the Soviet newspaper, reported a toast by Stalin at the war's end in which he declared the "Russian people" to be the "most outstanding of all nations of the Soviet Union."

Stalin's wartime policy played into the hands of the Nazis instead of



Zionist leader Abba Eban shakes hands with Russian ambassador at Soviet embassy party in early 1950s. Zionists were tight-lipped about Stalinist anti-Semitism while Kremlin-Israeli relations were on friendly terms.

strengthening the defense of the Soviet state. The refusal to openly counter the anti-Semitic propaganda of the Nazis made it seem to many as if the fascists were right, and the Soviet regime was trying to cover something up.

Wartime pogroms

In the Ukraine especially, where hatred of the Stalin regime made the masses look for an alternative, the Nazis were welcomed in many villages as liberators and were successful in recruiting a significant layer of people to help in the extermination of the Jews. Even after the mass of Ukrainians had turned with hatred on the Nazi occupiers, the attacks on Jews did not end.

A Ukrainian Jew who left Kharkov and the USSR in 1944 reported: "The Ukrainians received the returning Jews with open animosity. During the first weeks after the liberation of Kharkov no Jews ventured about alone in the streets at night."

The report went on to describe "many cases [when] Jews were beaten in the market place and one was killed. . . . In Kiev 16 Jews were killed in the course of a pogrom. . . . Returning Jews receive no more than a small proportion of their property. . . . The Ukrainian authorities are greatly anti-semitic."¹⁰

In the postwar period Stalin openly encouraged and orchestrated the backward bigotry that remained among large sections of the Soviet population for his own cynical purposes. His anti-Semitic campaign reached its worst depths in the period beginning in 1948.

This, incidentally, occurred during the same period that Stalin gave strong diplomatic support to Israel. Stalin backed the formation of the Israeli state in the November 1947 United Nations vote to partition Palestine. During the 1948-49 war the sale of Czechoslovak arms to Israel was arranged by Stalin. This proved to be a significant factor in the Zionist victo-

ry. Stalin found support to Israel quite compatible with his anti-Jewish policies inside the Soviet Union. The Israeli leaders, for their part, chose not to make a big issue of what was going on inside the USSR as long as Czechoslovak arms were forthcoming.

During World War II, Jewish schools and cultural institutions throughout the western part of the Soviet Union were either destroyed or abandoned as a result of the Nazi invasion. When the war was over, they were not allowed to reopen. Then, in 1948, the entire remaining Yiddish cultural establishment, including newspapers, publishing houses, and theaters, was closed down. Almost all those actively involved in these fields were either executed or imprisoned. During the years 1948-59 not one Yiddish book was published in the Soviet Union.

Beginning in 1949 a campaign against Jewish intellectuals as "rootless," "cosmopolitan," and "passportless" was carried out. Newspapers would list the original, Jewish names of "cosmopolitans" in parentheses after their adopted Russian names in order to make the link clearer. Ilya Ehrenburg was identified at one public rally as "Cosmopolitan Number One."

In his memoirs Ehrenburg described how he was prevented from bringing out a book on the Nazi slaughter of Soviet Jews in this period. There were also numerous examples of new editions of books published in the USSR in which material relating to Jews and anti-Semitism was simply deleted. While the *Large Soviet Encyclopedia* published in the 1920s and 1930s had twenty articles, taking up seventy-six pages, whose titles began with "Jews," or "Jewish," the second edition in 1952 had one two-page article. This article explained that "the Lenin-Stalin national policy of equality of rights and friendship of the peoples has led to a situation in which 'the Jewish question' does not exist in the U.S.S.R."¹¹

[To be continued]

6. Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970). p. 24.

7. Ibid., p. 26.

8. Ibid., p. 25.

9. Kochan, *Jews in Soviet Russia*, pp. 270-71.

10. Ibid., p. 306.

11. Ibid., p. 53.

SP, CP in retreat

On the eve of Portuguese elections

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

By Gerry Foley

Only two weeks before the April 25 legislative elections in Portugal, the outcome still remains uncertain. The polls published so far indicate that half of the voters remain undecided. At the same time, the rightists are on the advance while the mass workers parties are retreating and capitulating to capitalist pressures.

The retreat is most evident in the case of the Socialist party, which had attracted the broadest forces in the radicalization that followed the fall of Caetano. The SP leaders demanded and obtained the inclusion of the CP in the first provisional government. Even last summer, when the two parties were at dagger's point, the SP leaders continued to defend the perspective of a coalition with the CP despite the protests of their northern European Social Democratic financial backers.

Today these same leaders say that it is impossible to get together with the CP. In the April 1 issue of *Portugal Socialista*, the party organ, Jaime Gama went so far as to write: "When the Communists wrongfully invoke the name of socialism, we have to remember that they have nothing in common with us. Just like national 'socialism,' the 'socialism' of the bureaucratic dictatorships is just an empty word that leaves us cold."

Soares at American Club

The same issue of *Portugal Socialista* reported a speech by party leader Mário Soares to the American Club in Lisbon in which he pledged that there would be no coalition with the CP after the elections.

The SP propaganda has focused on blaming the "demagogy" of the Gonçalves government for the problems affecting the Portuguese economy. What needs to be done, according to the SP, is to reassure those who were frightened by this demagogy—to make clear that there will be no more nationalizations, that workers control will not interfere with capitalist management, and that the place of private enterprise will be defended.

The Social Democratic leaders say that their aim is to form an SP government. However, they promise that if they cannot get enough votes to do this, they will accept the "democratic verdict of the Portuguese people" and withdraw into opposition.

In the April 1 issue of *Portugal Socialista*, which set the line of the party's campaign, the SP leadership dropped the distinction that it had previously made between "Socialist" and "Social Democrat." The former was supposed to be a revolutionary form of "democratic socialism," as opposed to the parliamentarianism and reformism of the northern European SPs and labor parties. The SP leaders now associate themselves with such well-known "revolutionists" as

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Swedish Premier Olof Palme.

The game of the SP leaders is clear. They want to convince the capitalist class in Portugal and abroad that they can be trusted to preside over the recovery and restabilization of the capitalist economy and bourgeois society in their country. Taking their cue from Kissinger's admonitions, they seek to assure the capitalists that there will be no government based on the workers parties alone, no coalition with the CP.

The SP leaders also want to charge the CP with responsibility for the "excesses of the process," that is, the anticapitalist concessions made to the masses in the upsurge following the downfall of Caetano. This, of course, is completely dishonest.

CP for capitalism, too

Even now it is hard to distinguish between the programs of the SP and CP. "We Communists are not against private initiative," Alvaro Cunhal said April 2 over Radiodifusão Portuguesa. "We even think that a quite large sector of our economy should be reserved for private enterprise."

The Stalinist leaders are demanding that the SP commit itself now to an alliance with the CP after the elections. Their argument is that no party will win an overall majority and that the main task is to block a comeback of reaction.

The CP never talks about workers unity but always about a coalition of "democratic forces." It does not call for unity now in the workers struggles against the capitalist offensive. On this, it takes exactly the same position as the SP, that all "agitation" in the preelectoral period plays into the hands of the right. Furthermore, the CP union leaders have responded to calls raised by militant SP unionists for a united, democratic, trade-union movement by arguing that there is no need for minority rights in unions.

The CP's call for unity amounts to an electoral maneuver and a ploy to split the SP.



Soares embracing German Social Democratic leader Willy Brandt.



Posters of Trotskyist LCI, Stalinist PCP, and other groups during spring 1975 election, the first in more than four decades.



Militant/Della Rossa

The Communist party has become isolated. It has suffered heavy losses. Its periphery is demoralized and, to a certain extent, alienated by the zigzags in policy. A big drop in the CP vote is taken for granted in the Portuguese press. In the absence of any prospect for an SP-CP coalition, many of those who might vote for the Stalinist party will vote for the SP, since the main contest seems to be between it and the Partido Popular Democrático, and faced with this choice they prefer the SP.

In addition to straight anti-Communist propaganda, in the April 1 *Portugal Socialista* the main line of argument advanced against the CP's unity proposals was that the Stalinists' overtures were an attempt to split the party by opposing the ranks to the leadership.

The Stalinists have followed a "united front from below" tactic toward the SP, and used unrepresentative splinter groups as a spearhead for their attacks against the party. Pitching the appeals for "uniting the democratic forces" to the SP "ranks" and not the SP leadership is a dead giveaway that the CP leaders are not acting in good faith. This kind of approach makes it easy for the Social Democratic leaders to create prejudices against the natural demand that the workers parties unite against the capitalist offensive.

The unprincipled factionalism and opportunistic maneuvers of the leaderships of the two big workers parties feeds a poisonous growth of sectarianism. That has been clear since last year's elections, when the two parties campaigned under such slogans as "Look and see the power of the CP" and "So you see the might of the SP."

The CP gave a cover to the rabid factionalism of the Frente Socialista Popular against the SP. The SP tended to mingle its banners with fanatical Maoists such as the Partido Comunista Português (ML), which, even now after the open capitulation of the Soares leadership to capitalist pressures, denounces the SP for "conciliationism toward Social Fascism," i.e., the CP and the Kremlin.

Struggles grow sharper

In early March, even before the election campaign opened, CP supporters attacked SP meetings in three towns in Alentejo. In the first days of the campaign, two persons were

wounded in a clash between heavily armed CP and Maoist poster teams.

Sectarian clashes of this kind open the way for the increasing use of terror by rightists who are determined to attack the democratic rights of the masses and discourage them from participating in politics. On April 3, a candidate of the Maoist União Democrática do Povo and a campaign supporter were murdered by rightists who planted a bomb in the car they were using. There has been an escalation of rightist terrorism, but this was the first deliberate political murder.

On March 30, a rightist gang attacked the campaign headquarters of the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) in the center of Lisbon. The police refused to deal with the attackers, who were eventually driven away by PRT members.

The rightists are obviously testing the ground for similar moves elsewhere and on a rising scale. All the workers parties, including the SP, are finding it more difficult to campaign in areas where the right is strong.

The fact that workers struggles are likewise rising, despite the capitulation of the big workers parties, makes the situation explosive. In the SP news conference opening the campaign on March 26, the party's labor expert, Marcelo Curto, said that workers are tending to get out of control of the union leaders.

He mentioned the case of the building workers, where some locals went out on strike April 1. This proved the need for "representative" leadership, he said. But there is no reason to think that a "representative" SP leadership would have been any more effective in getting the workers to accept a betrayal. And if Curto is inclined to delude himself about this, the capitalists are not.

The crying need is to overcome the divisions in the working class caused by the opportunism of the CP and the SP. This requires an energetic struggle against the anti-Communism of the SP on the one hand and against the CP's bureaucratic control of the unions on the other.

The Trotskyists of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista, who are running a total of 350 candidates in all the mainland constituencies, have focused on these two axes.

Teach-ins & rallies win new ERA activists

By Ginny Hildebrand

Pro-ERA Virginians began last week to organize for the May 16 national Equal Rights Amendment march in Springfield, Illinois.

On April 13, 120 people attended a teach-in at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) in Richmond. It was the first public event organized by VCU for the ERA, a new campus group.

A few days earlier, the Virginia ERA Ratification Council voted to support the May 16 demonstration. The council, which involves twenty-five women's, civic, student, and social action groups, sees mobilizing for the national demonstration as a first step in organizing a renewed effort to win ERA ratification in Virginia.

Flora Crater, editor of the *Woman Activist* and convener of the Virginia Women's Political Caucus, introduced the motion to organize for May 16.

Crater also spoke at the VCU teach-in, which was the largest ERA action in Richmond since a January march of 500. Crater proposed that activists at the teach-in help begin an ERA petition drive to show state legislators that by voting against the ERA they are misrepresenting the interests of the majority of Virginians.

Bessida White of the National Black Feminist Organization urged the audience to join the ERA fight. Said White, "We must apply ourselves with the same fervor as the abolitionists; with the same fervor as the civil rights movement and the feminist movement."

Sarah Ryan, a member of the Socialist Workers party, emphasized the importance of May 16 as the beginning of a national campaign that can force those states that have not yet ratified the ERA to do so. "We can learn from our sisters in the suffrage movement," Ryan said. "They found that they had to turn from a state-by-state strategy to a national strategy."

On April 30 an "Evening for the ERA" will be held at the University of Pittsburgh. Endorsers of the event include Pennsylvania's Southwest Council of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Teamsters Local 250, Steelworkers Local 3657, the

Pittsburgh Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Americans for Democratic Action, and the University Women's Center.

At the educational event and the party following it, the Committee for the ERA plans to sign people up for the Freedom Train that will stop in Pittsburgh en route from New York to the Springfield march. Organizers hope to raise funds during the evening to lower the cost of the train tickets.

Speakers at the University of Pittsburgh meeting will include Oliver Montgomery, vice-president of Steelworkers Local 3657; Judith Fielder, KDKA-TV news commentator; Carol Collins of Georgians for the ERA; and a national leader of NOW.

On May 3, ERA '76 is sponsoring a similar meeting at Cleveland State University. Participating in the program will be Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of the NOW National Board; Charles Guerrier, Women's Law Fund; Martha Buck, Ohio coordinator for the ERA mobilization and a member of the NOW National Board; Lynn Haney, feminist folk singer and member of Women's Ecumenical Network; and



Militant/Mel Hoefling

Dr. Ruth Miller, director of community development for the city of Cleveland.

In Toledo, Ohio, the local NOW chapter is chartering buses and orga-

nizing car pools to go to Springfield.

In New York City, NOW's ERA subcommittee is planning a May 6 meeting to celebrate the fourth anniversary of New York's ratification of the federal ERA and to organize for the May 16 march.

Also in New York, Library Workers Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees voted unanimously on April 13 to endorse the demonstration and provide funds to send a delegation to Springfield on the Freedom Train.

In a suburban area on Chicago's West Side, activists formed the May 16 ERA Coalition on April 12. Participants in the coalition included members of the League of Women Voters, the Gray Panthers, Fox Valley CLUW, District 21 Citizens for the ERA, Chicago Women's Liberation Union, ERA Central, Socialist Workers party, and Women for Alternatives.

The group plans to set up street-corner tables to publicize the demonstration and sign up riders for the Springfield buses being organized by NOW.

Unionists sign up for Springfield march

Union support for the national Equal Rights Amendment ratification drive is growing. Following are some recent developments.

- The executive committee of United Auto Workers Local 248 voted April 1 to endorse the May 16 national ERA march. The committee, which represents 4,000 workers at the Allis-Chalmers plant in Milwaukee, also decided to contribute fifty dollars to help publicize the demonstration.

- The March 25-26 state convention of the Georgia Association of Educators, an affiliate of the National Education Association, voted to support May 16. The convention also resolved to "create a committee to build participation of GAE members in the rally." Nearly a dozen unionists immediately signed up to go to Springfield on buses being

organized by Georgians for the ERA and the Atlanta National Organization for Women.

- The Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA announced that Ruth Miller, president of the Los Angeles Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), will be a featured speaker at a May 15 demonstration in solidarity with the Springfield mobilization. Union endorsements for the action have come from Communications Workers of America Local 11501, Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 30, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 535, SEIU Local 660 executive board, and the Los Angeles CLUW executive board.

- The Wayne County CLUW chapter is organizing a union rally, "Labor Defends ERA Ratification," in Detroit on May 11. The event is to

demonstrate labor's opposition to reactionary forces pushing for rescission of the federal ERA in Michigan.

Speakers at the rally will be Herman Coleman, executive director of the Michigan Education Association; Richard Cordtz, international vice-president of SEIU and president of SEIU Local 79; Odessa Komer, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers; Olga Madar, national president of CLUW; Mozelle McNoriell, international vice-president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Mary Ellen Riordan, international vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of its Detroit affiliate; and Tom Turner, president of the Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO Council. —G.H.

Women's rights leaders announce May 16 plans

By Suzanne Haig

CHICAGO—"The National Rally for Equal Rights is expected to bring thousands of ERA supporters from across the entire nation—from New York to California—to Springfield May 16 to show the universal support for the ERA and the importance of ratification in Illinois this spring."

This was announced by State Rep. Susan Catania at an April 20 news conference here to publicize the national Equal Rights Amendment mobilization called by the National Organization for Women.

"We believe that it is time that our Constitution guarantee equality of rights under the law to all citizens regardless of their sex. Two hundred years is too long to wait," Catania said.

Sheli Lulkin, a member of the national executive board of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and cochairperson of the American Federation of Teachers Women's Rights Committee, described the broad support for the march. More than fifty representatives from different organizations were present at the news conference.

Groups represented included: Operation PUSH; Illinois Federally Employed Women; American Association of University Women; League of Women Voters; Socialist Workers party; Illinois Women's Political Caucus;

American Jewish Committee; and YWCA.

"It is unprecedented to have so many diverse organizations and to have such wide presence from organized labor working together for ratification," Lulkin said.

Labor organizations participating in the demonstration include CLUW; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; National Education Association; American Federation of Teachers; United Auto Workers; United Steelworkers of Amer-

ica; Communications Workers of America; and Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

This unity, Lulkin said, "is a demonstration of the majority support for the ERA and its national importance."

A reporter asked Lulkin if she saw a kinship between the forces opposing the ERA and those opposing busing and the unions. She responded, "There is no doubt that the very same people who stand in front of the buses and who lobby for 'right-to-work' laws are the people who are opposing the ERA. . . . It's all tied up together and we intend to fight back!"

Mary Jean Collins, chairperson of the Rally for Equal Rights, reported that May 16 demonstrators will march through Springfield and rally at the state capitol at 1:30 p.m.

Explaining the origins of May 16, Collins said that the defeats of New York and New Jersey state ERA referenda in November 1975 had the effect of "waking up all the forces in favor of the ERA" to the need to meet the opposition "head on."

Summing up the importance of the demonstration, Collins said, "This is the beginning of public pressure that is going to be put on the legislators in this state and in any state that has not passed the ERA and that will grow to a crescendo. . . . There is no end to this until we pass the ERA!"



Militant/Joe Sanders

Chicago news conference publicizes national rally. From left: Ill. State Rep. Susan Catania; Mary Jean Collins, rally chairperson; Sheli Lulkin, CLUW.

Cannon on the Leninist party

The Revolutionary Party: Its role in the struggle for socialism by James P. Cannon. New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 1975. 16 pp., \$.35.

James P. Cannon, a founder of both the Socialist Workers party and the Fourth International, spent nearly seventy of his eighty-four years in the struggle for a socialist America. This essay was written in 1967, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. In it, Cannon summarizes the lessons of Marxist theory and the experiences of the revolutionary movement on the decisive role of the revolutionary party.

The Bolshevik party, Cannon writes, "stands out as the unsurpassed prototype of what a democratic and centralized leadership of the workers, true to Marxist principles and applying them with courage and skill, can be and do."

Lenin's concept of a democratically centralized party based on a revolutionary internationalist program was not merely a product of conditions in tsarist Russia, as the theorists of the "New Left" argued. Cannon explains that the Leninist theory of the revolutionary vanguard party is based on two factors: "The heterogeneity of the working class and the exceptionally conscious character of the movement for socialism."

Because the socialist movement aims to replace the economic chaos of capitalism with conscious planning, it requires a higher degree of consciousness and organization than the revolutionary movements that preceded it. Further, the working class confronts powerful imperialist ruling classes, which control highly centralized bourgeois states and have at their disposal the most awesome and sophisticated weapons of deception and repression.

Cannon places special emphasis on the uneven political consciousness of the working class. "The revolutionizing of the proletariat and oppressed people in general is a complex, prolonged, and contradictory affair. . . the toilers are stratified and divided in many ways; they live under very dissimilar conditions and are at disparate stages of economic and political development."

Workers do not learn the lessons of the class struggle simultaneously and spontaneously. Those who have recognized the necessity for socialism need a party to organize their efforts to win the masses to their perspective.

"The earliest formations of advanced workers committed to

Pamphlets

socialism, and their intellectual associates propagating its views, must first organize themselves around a definite body of scientific doctrine, class tradition, and experience, and work out a correct political program in order then to organize and lead the big battalions of revolutionary forces."

The Leninist strategy received positive confirmation from the victory of the October revolution. It has received equally convincing confirmation—from the negative side—by the all too many grave defeats and missed opportunities in those countries where revolutionary parties were lacking or too small to influence the masses.

Cannon takes up those colonial and semicolonial countries—such as China and Cuba—where under exceptional circumstances socialist revolutions were triumphant even in the absence of Leninist parties. The extreme weakness of the ruling classes in the face of vast movements for national liberation made the overturn of capitalism possible. Even in these instances, the absence of a revolutionary party resulted in many delays and setbacks.

In the advanced capitalist countries, history has demonstrated that without a party on the model of the Bolsheviks, the workers cannot win power.

Cannon concludes with the lessons of the struggle to build a Leninist party in the United States. "The history of American communism since its inception in 1919 has been a record of struggle for the right kind of party. All the other problems have been related to this central issue. . . .

"Just as the overturn inaugurated by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky in 1917 was the first giant step in the world socialist revolution and renovation, so the Leninist theory of the party, first vindicated by that event, will find its ultimate verification in the overthrow of imperialism in its central fortress and the establishment of a socialist regime with full democracy on American soil."

—Fred Feldman

'Navajo Nation'

The Navajo Nation: An American Colony, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1975.

This report by an agency established by Congress documents the results of hearings and investigations into the conditions on the largest Indian reservation in the United States.

The Navajo Reservation is 12.5 million acres, mostly in the northeastern corner of Arizona but also extending into Utah and New Mexico. Exact figures for population

source of raw materials such as coal and oil.

Education is also classically colonialist. There are several public school systems run by the states of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico. There are also BIA schools, as well as various private institutions. "Each system is Anglo designed," the report says, "each continues to be Anglo administered, and none has any significant cultural identification with the people it serves."

One major deficiency is the lack of bilingual, bicultural education. Fully 70 percent of reservation children entering the schools do not function in English, but rather in their native language, Navajo.

Nevertheless, bilingual, bicultural education is not offered. Of the 2,800 teachers on the reservation, 188—less than 7 percent!—are Navajos.

The commission reports that all the Navajos it talked to, without exception, supported bilingual, bicultural education. Nevertheless, while pretending to be faithfully following the wishes of the Navajos, the fact is that only six out of sixty BIA schools have experimental programs in bilingual-bicultural education.

Many other BIA schools have Navajo personnel, including large staffs of translators, but their programs are the traditional "English as a Second Language" designed to channel Navajo children into all-English classes as quickly as possible.

The situation in the state-run schools is worse. For example, Arizona laws specifically stipulate that "all schools be conducted in the English language."

This rule is enforced. A teacher was criticized in an October 1972 evaluation for the following crime:

"... did not use proper channels when she taught in Navajo in her class. Failed to get clearance first."

And, a few months later, the complaint is even more damning:

"... has on several occasions actually taught 'Navajo Words' even over the objection of the school's administration."

Imagine that! A Navajo teacher, in Navajo territory, in a classroom full of Navajo children, actually teaching "Navajo Words."

The report concludes with a series of recommendations that—given the catastrophe the commission documents—seem totally insufficient.

Nevertheless, the report is valuable, since it documents the continuing genocidal policies followed by the U.S. government against American Indians.

—José Pérez

Books

are not known, but the book offers an estimate of 137,000 people.

The Navajos live under incredible poverty. Among the conditions exposed by the Civil Rights Commission are:

- Average income in 1970 for Navajos was \$900, compared with \$3,900 for the United States as a whole. Moreover, the income gap is steadily widening—it more than doubled from 1955 to 1972.

- Unemployment in 1970 was 60 percent, roughly ten times the rate for the United States as a whole.

- Average education for adults on the reservation was five years of schooling compared with twelve years for the U.S. population as a whole.

- The infant death rate is more than double that of the United States as a whole; the incidence of hepatitis is five times as high; rheumatic fever, fifty-six times; and tuberculosis, fourteen times.

- Children suffer from diseases of malnutrition, such as kwashiorkor, which is characterized by failure to grow and develop, fatty degeneration of the liver, and anemia. These diseases are common in neocolonial countries, but virtually unheard of in the United States.

The Civil Rights Commission report clearly reveals why this condition prevails: The U.S. government, primarily through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, controls nearly every aspect of Navajo life to the detriment of the Indians.

This includes control over the Navajo tribal government, the education of the children, contracts for economic development, and enforcement of regulations and laws that are supposed to help Navajos, such as preferential hiring.

The economic relations the BIA has promoted are classically colonial. The Navajo nation is exploited by outside concerns as a captive market and as a



Navajo children in class. Despite overwhelming support among Navajos for bilingual-bicultural education, government has refused to do more than set up experimental programs at a handful of schools.

'Militant' Boston coverage wins steady readers

By Pat Galligan

Socialists around the country used sales of the April 16 *Militant* (headline: "Protest racist violence: March on Boston April 24!") to alert people to the escalation of racist terror against Boston Blacks.

Nationally, 5,398 copies were sold. Portland, Oregon, and Richmond, Virginia, are to be congratulated for having made their sales goal five weeks running.

Another city that has been doing particularly well in single-copy sales is New Orleans. There, the weekly goal of 175 has been bettered each week save one thus far in the campaign.

According to Joel Aber, who has been organizing sales in New Orleans, the *Militant's* antiracist coverage strikes a responsive chord.

"Almost all of our sales are in the Black community," noted Aber. "On Saturdays, we focus on sales at several supermarkets in the area."

On two consecutive Saturdays (April 10 and 17), all but a few of the entire weeks' bundles of 190 papers have been sold.

Sales at political events are also important: "We sold eighty-five *Militants* at a recent rally commemorating the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King."

"In general," commented Aber, "the *Militant's* antiracist coverage interests people the most—especially news about Boston and Gary Tyler, a Black youth framed up on a murder charge here."

"The *Militant* is known as the paper with the most consistent coverage of

the Tyler case, which is a very important issue here," he said.

Boston-area socialists were just three copies shy of making their sales goal for the week. Socialist Workers party branches in Boston, Cambridge, and Roxbury and Young Socialist Alliance chapters on local campuses combined to sell 422 copies of the April 16 issue.

The *Militant's* spring subscription drive has reached the halfway point with 2,773 subscriptions already sent in toward the goal of 5,500.

Nineteen of the subscriptions sold last week were obtained at the socialist literature table set up at the National Black Social Workers Convention in Baltimore.

The recently established Socialist Workers party branch on Houston's North Side hasn't wasted any time introducing itself to the community or obtaining the lion's share of their quota for the subscription drive.

On Saturday, April 10, socialists visited the Villa de Matel housing complex and signed up forty-three residents as new *Militant* subscribers. Single-copy sales for Friday and Saturday that weekend totaled more than 100.

A few days after we received those subscriptions in the mail, eight more arrived, all from the same source, all sold in the same manner. We decided to find out what Blacks and Chicanos in Houston think about the *Militant*.

"People really reacted to the photograph on the front page of the April 16 *Militant*," explained Arturo Ramirez, the organizer of the new branch.

"They were impressed that the

Sales scoreboard

City	Goal	Sold last week	%			
Houston	325	363	112	Berkeley	175	130 74
Baltimore	115	129	112	San Francisco	280	204 73
St. Louis	250	262	105	Washington, D.C., Area	255	180 71
Atlanta	300	313	104	Cleveland	175	125 71
New Orleans	175	182	104	Seattle	300	187 62
Portland, Ore.	175	176	101	New York City	750	443 59
Oakland, Calif.	150	150	100	San Antonio	85	50 59
Richmond, Va.	60	60	100	Pittsburgh	225	131 58
Chico, Calif.	10	10	100	Minneapolis	225	125 56
				Los Angeles	550	296 54
				San Diego	200	90 45
				Total	7,000	5,398 77
Boston	425	422	99	YSA Teams		
San Jose	75	72	96	Michigan	60	68 113
Philadelphia	275	253	92	Texas	90	90 100
St. Paul	75	69	92	Mid-Atlantic	90	80 89
Chicago	475	433	91	Upper Midwest	90	45 50
Detroit	300	270	90	Illinois/Indiana	90	20 22
Milwaukee	225	202	90	Pennsylvania	90	2 2
Newark	80	71	89	Total	510	305 60

Militant considers the desegregation struggle in Boston and the story of the near lynching of Theodore Landsmark in particular important enough to give it such prominent coverage," continued Ramirez. "The *Houston Chronicle* buried the story in the back of the paper."

Ramirez explained some of the reasons why people in Houston are reading the *Militant* these days: "We have found that more people recognize the name of the Socialist Workers party from reading about the FBI burglaries in the daily papers.

"Only the *Militant* prints the actual documents, and there is great interest

in reading them," he noted.

The *Militant's* coverage of the Chicano movement and struggles like that of the United Farm Workers is another attractive feature in Houston, according to Ramirez: "People want to follow the progress of the UFW's petitioning effort in California."

"By the way," he added, "there are twenty-three more subscriptions in the mail. We sold them today."

In just eight days, North Side Houston socialists signed up seventy-four new readers—an inspiring example of what is needed in those cities where the subscription is lagging behind schedule.



HOW TO SELL THE MILITANT: Our photographer Lou Howort was on the scene outside the Ebbets Field housing project in Brooklyn as this transaction was



completed. Salesperson is Pat Wright, SWP candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District.



Militant/Lou Howort

YSA teams pave way for socialist expansion

By John Linder

The State University of New York at Buffalo—27,000 students; largest campus in the State University of New York system (SUNY); long history of political activity on campus; located in Buffalo, an industrial center with more than one million people in the metropolitan area.

"But it was lacking a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance," explained Scott Breen, captain of the New York YSA traveling team. Since the middle of February, Breen and two other YSA members have been touring the New York campuses.

They are one of fifteen YSA teams that are crisscrossing the country this spring, spreading socialist ideas and building new YSA chapters. So far the teams have signed up eighty-one new YSAers. Four of them are students at SUNY Buffalo. Along with the one YSA member previously in Buffalo, they now have the five members required to start a chapter.

"One problem at SUNY Buffalo has always been that with so many radical groups in Buffalo, the average student is a bit confused. We knew that until we got seriously involved in the political life of the campus, most students would see the YSA as just three more

initials to add to the collection. So we decided to spend the time necessary to really demonstrate what the YSA is."

This process was helped by the anticutbacks fight that has been sweeping the SUNY schools. "In fact we wandered right into the middle of a demonstration," related Breen.

"The first thing we saw when we got to campus on March 25 was a march called by the Graduate Students Employees Union. That same afternoon, two hundred students turned out for a meeting of the student government, which voted to call a referendum to decide whether or not to call a student strike.

After a week of teach-ins, discussions and debates, 5,000 students voted by a 3-to-1 margin to call a strike for April 7. The strike itself was 50 to 60 percent effective and climaxed in a rally of 600 students.

"We jumped right into the thing, after a day or two, all sorts of people were looking to the YSA for leadership. Students wanted our advice on everything from how to make a leaflet to where the money for education should come from. But above all they wanted to know what socialists stood for.

"We organized a meeting for Marcia

Gallo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate and seventy people showed up. The cutbacks were giving them what capitalism really has to offer and they didn't like it.

"The cutbacks fight also forced the other radical groups on campus to put their cards on the table. Every group demonstrated in practice what they were really all about, which was all to the YSA's benefit. In fact, Michael Pierce, one of our new members, used to be a member of the Revolutionary Student Brigade, a Maoist group.

He left the RSB when they came out against busing in Boston. When we first ran into Pierce, he was understandably cautious about joining another organization, and it took two weeks of watching the YSA in action to convince him."

In addition to Buffalo the teams have helped to start new YSA chapters in Richmond, Virginia; Fresno, California; Tucson, Arizona; Raleigh, North Carolina; Charleston, Illinois; and California State University at Northridge, in Southern California's San Fernando Valley.

Wherever they go, the YSA teams are laying the ground for expansion of the socialist movement. So far they have sold 4,933 copies of the *Young*

Socialist newspaper, 5,491 copies of the *Militant*, and 657 *Militant* subscriptions.

Sales of socialist books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press have been especially favorable. In the book department the two top-sellers are *Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*, and *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*.

Particularly interesting is an increase in the sale of works on Marxist philosophy. "Try as they might, the administrators can't keep academia 'pure' of Marxism," explained Jane Harris of the Wisconsin team. "There are finally a few Marxist professors and classes on Marxism and students are eating this stuff up. We've had a number of students come up to the table and ask for this or that book by George Novack."

The number one item on every team's literature table is the Socialist Workers party's "Bill of Rights for Working People." More than 30,000 copies have been distributed. "We give it to everybody we meet, even if they don't seem all that interested," reports Claire Cunningham of the Upper Midwest team. "An awful lot of them come back the next day."

Calendar

BALTIMORE

MAY DAY: THE FORGOTTEN LABOR DAY. Speaker: Harry Ring, *Militant Southwest Bureau* chief. Fri., May 7, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Two classes by Harry Ring. Sat., May 8, 10:30 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. Place to be announced. Donation: \$3.50—includes forum, classes and dinner; or 50¢ per class. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 547-0668.

BOSTON

CURRENT RISE OF THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speakers: Lebanese and Palestinian representatives from Committee of Palestinians in New England. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore stop, MBTA Green Line). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS AND BOOKSTORE. Meet and hear Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Refreshments. Sat., May 1, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Ausp: Massachusetts 1976 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

HOUSTON

TEXAS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND DINNER. Rally to launch petitioning drive to get SWP on ballot in Texas. Speakers: Malik Miah, member, SWP National Committee; Pedro Vásquez, SWP senatorial candidate; Jill Fein, SWP candidate for Harris County Commissioner, Precinct One. Sat., May 8, 6 p.m. Mexican Delite Restaurant, 3500 E. Little York, at Hwy. 59. Donation: \$3 for dinner and rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (713) 526-1082; (512) 734-8273; (214) 827-6589; or (512) 474-9789.

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

THE FIGHT FOR DESEGREGATION. Speakers: Manuel Barrera, SCAR, will report on April 24 demonstration in Boston; Willie Petty, SCAR, on desegregation march in Pasadena. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 3322 Anaheim (corner of Redondo). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. *The causes of racism and the fight against it.* Thurs., May 6, 7:30 p.m. 3322 Anaheim (corner of Redondo). Ausp: SWP. For more information call (213) 597-0965.

NEW ORLEANS

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT: HOW TO WIN IT. Speakers: Caroline Dotson, Louisiana Women's Political Caucus president; Joel Aber, United Teachers of New Orleans. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 3812 Magazine (at Pathfinder Bookstore). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

NEW YORK

THE FBI VERSUS THE BILL OF RIGHTS. Join with victims of government harassment and defenders of civil liberties to protest violation of rights and other crimes of FBI. Wed., April 28, 7:30 p.m. Meeting House, New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 W. 64th St. Ausp: PRDF. For more information call (212) 982-8214 or 982-4966.

BENEFIT CONCERT FOR THE UNITED FARM WORKERS. Main attraction: Melanie. Featured speaker: César Chávez, president of UFW. Scenes from documentary film *Fighting for Our Lives*. Thurs., April 29, 7:30 p.m. Madison Square Garden, Felt Forum. Tickets: \$25, \$8, and \$6. Purchase at 331 W. 84th St. Ausp: A coalition of unions, churches, and community organizations. For more information call (212) 799-5800.

NEW YORK: CROWN HEIGHTS

BLACK WOMEN AND THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speaker: Pat Wright, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 14th C.D. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. Place to be announced. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

SAN FRANCISCO: MISSION DISTRICT

S.1: SENATE ATTACK ON THE BILL OF RIGHTS. A panel discussion. Panelists: ACLU representative; San Francisco Committee Against S.1 representative; and Juan Martínez, SWP candidate for state senate. Fri., April 30, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

...Boston

Continued from page 3
ing just as sure as if she personally ordered it."

The need to mobilize in massive numbers to defend this city's Black community is more urgent than ever. The crisis today puts the school desegregation order itself in greater danger than ever before.

Organizing a campaign of united militant action to defend school desegregation—and to force city, state, and federal officials to act to halt the racist violence—is the paramount task of all supporters of Black rights today.

...Metcalf

Continued from page 14

to him his former privileges.

So, even on the question of whether Metcalfe has broken from the Daley machine, things are not all that clear. But to me, this question of whether or not he is "anti machine" is not the important one.

The key question is, Does a break with Daley in and of itself represent a move toward political empowerment of the Black community? I say no.

A victory for Metcalfe, or France, or Republican candidate A.A. Rayner, or of any other candidate of the two capitalist-controlled parties, does not represent a step toward solving the real problems we face.

It's good that the hold of the Daley machine over the Black community is being weakened, but the question posed is not just opposing the machine but what do we replace it with?

It is obviously not just Daley who is responsible for our oppression but the Democratic and Republican parties that are running this country.

Black people need to organize themselves independently of the Democrats and Republicans, who are controlled by the ruling rich. We need a political party that *we* can control. We need a party that will actively involve masses

of Blacks in fighting for our rights and that can support candidates running on a program truly in our interests.

Just think of the energies that went into building Metcalfe's campaign. Metcalfe got the active support of Operation PUSH, of many figures in the Black community, of leaders of the AFL-CIO, and of the Black news media. A powerful coalition of Black organizations, labor unions, and young people came together. But because these forces didn't move in the direction of winning real power for Blacks and labor their effort was wasted.

The debate between Metcalfe and France can be likened to a group of slaves who have begun to escape. Instead of continuing their flight and joining with other forces whose aim is to abolish slavery, they begin arguing over whether to return to a conservative or a liberal master.

What I'm saying in my campaign for Congress is that we should get rid of our rich masters altogether and unite the power of Black people and other working people to fight for the things we need.

It's only when we start to take this kind of political action on our own behalf that we will be able to begin to talk about a "new day" for Black people.

Last Hired, First Fired

Affirmative Action Vs. Seniority

Includes "The Debate Over Seniority and Affirmative Action," "The NAACP and the Struggle for Full Equality," and "The AFL-CIO and the Seniority System."

By Linda Jenness, Herbert Hill, Willie Mae Reid, Frank Lovell, and Sue Em Davenport. 32 pp., \$5.00

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

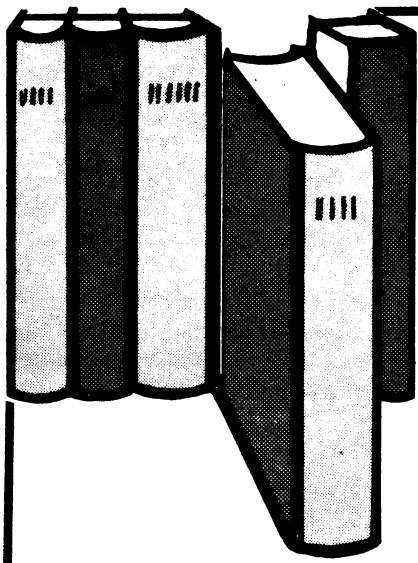
Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tempe: YSA, c/o Jessica Sampson, Box 2235, Scottsdale, Ariz. 85252. Tel: (602) 277-9453.
Tucson: YSA, c/o Jeff Hamill, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.
CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.
East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.
Long Beach: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 3322 Anaheim St., Long Beach, Calif. 90804. Tel: (213) 597-0965.
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Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 4040 W. Washington Blvd., Suite 11, Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8197.
Oakland: SWP, YSA, 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94601. Tel: (415) 261-1210.
Pasadena: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 226 N. El Molino, Pasadena, Calif. 91106. Tel: (213) 793-3468.
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Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.
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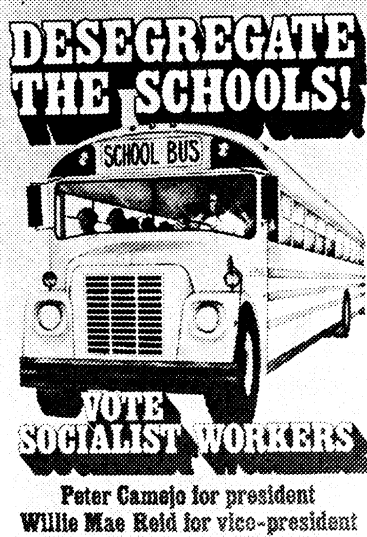
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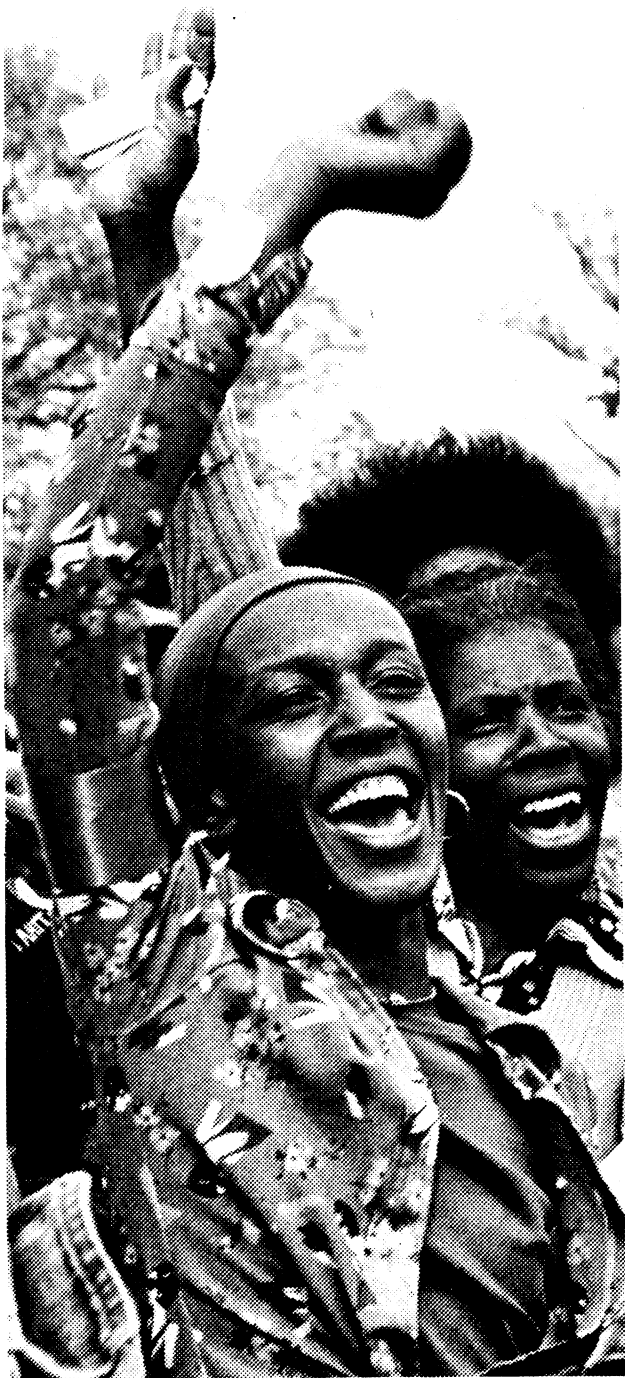
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Black Women & the fight for the ERA



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

By Pat Wright

What does the Equal Rights Amendment offer Black women? Should we be involved in the fight for ERA ratification?

The ERA states that equal rights shall not be denied on the basis of sex. In order to become the twenty-seventh amendment to the U.S. Constitution, it must be ratified by thirty-eight states by 1979. Thirty-four have ratified thus far. But a powerful right-wing movement is out to block ratification, and has succeeded in preventing ERA passage in several states.

On May 16, thousands of supporters of the ERA will converge on Springfield, Illinois, to answer the anti-ERA forces in a demonstration called by the National Organization for Women (NOW). This march deserves the active support of Black women and of all organizations fighting for Black rights.

Black women have been part of the ERA ratification struggle from the start. Many Black organizations have endorsed the ERA, including the NAACP, National Council of Negro Women,

Pat Wright is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in the Fourteenth Congressional District in Brooklyn, New York.

More news on the fight for the ERA appears on page 23.

Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and National Black Feminist Organization.

Trade unions with large Black memberships have also endorsed, such as the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Steelworkers; and the United Auto Workers.

Public opinion surveys consistently indicate strong backing for the ERA in the Black communities. In a recent poll of Missouri voters, Blacks showed stronger support for the ERA than any other group questioned. Support among Blacks was 83 percent, compared with 55 percent among whites.

Despite these trends, anti-ERA forces are trying to discourage Black participation in the pro-ERA fight by saying it's a "white, elitist movement," with no benefits for Black women. Meg Katz, "chairman" of New York's STOP ERA, for example, claims that "Black women have always been liberated."

This is totally false. Black women are hit the hardest by sexist oppression because it is combined with racial oppression. We need the Equal Rights Amendment most of all.

Black women's economic plight

As Black women, we remain at the very bottom economically, socially, and politically. Statistics show the following:

- Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican women are more likely to be in the labor force than white women. Comprising 12 percent of all women, we were 13 percent of all women workers in 1973, working the most menial, low-paying jobs.
- In May 1975, Black women earned a median weekly income of \$130. This was 75 percent of that earned by Black men, and 58 percent of that earned by white men.
- The unemployment rate for Black women in 1975 was more than 11 percent, almost double that of white men. Teen-age Black women suffered a jobless rate of nearly 40 percent.
- Among all families of minority races, one-third are headed by women. These families are twice as likely to have incomes below the poverty level as families headed by white women.

As Addie Wyatt, Black vice-president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), put it, ratifying the ERA "is a very serious matter with us."

What ERA will do

If the ERA is ratified, it will help eliminate many laws that are used to keep Black women down. Dual pay schedules will be illegal. Jobs now restricted to "men only" will be opened to women. Laws prescribing heavier criminal penalties for female lawbreakers than for males—such as juvenile delinquency laws—will be removed.

Ratification of the ERA will not eliminate sex discrimination, but it will put the law on our side and make it easier for us to challenge other aspects of our oppression.

ERA ratification is especially urgent now, when

affirmative-action plans, which have aided Black women, are under fire. Massive layoffs are throwing disproportionate numbers of Blacks and women out of work, forcing us onto welfare and unemployment lines.

Most importantly, a victory for the ERA will give momentum to the fight around other demands that are crucial to us as Black women—child care, affirmative action, abortion rights, and equal pay.

Striking blow against racists

It is in the interests of all Blacks to join the struggle for the ERA as a way to advance the condition of Black women. A blow struck against the anti-ERA forces will also be a blow against the enemies of Black rights.

On the side of the ERA opponents are some of the most virulent enemies of Black people, including the Ku Klux Klan; John Birch Society; ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the leading antibusing group in Boston; and the National Organization to Restore and Preserve Our Freedom (NAPF), an antibusing outfit in Louisville.

In April 1975, 200 ROAR thugs in Boston invaded a meeting in support of the ERA and shouted down the speakers, disrupting the gathering. They carried signs reading "Stop Forced Busing," "Abortion is Murder," and "Feminist Domination Equals Communism."

These same forces were instrumental in getting the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black doctor found guilty of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion on a Black woman in Boston.

'Stop ERA' and busing

Phyllis Schlafly, national head of STOP ERA, has also made clear her opposition to equal rights for Black people. Attacking busing for school desegregation, she says, "In many areas, the whole fabric of harmonious inter-personal relationships and peaceful academic atmosphere has been torn asunder by court-ordered . . . forced busing."

Schlafly conceals the fact that the "peaceful academic atmosphere" has been "torn asunder" not by busing, but by the racist hooligans who stone school buses and attack innocent Black children in the streets.

The anti-ERA and anti-Black forces also threaten the union movement. Women, Blacks, and labor need to unite against these reactionaries.

Black people have been fighting the racist institutions of capitalist society for a long time. From the struggle to get the U.S. Constitution to recognize Blacks as human beings, to the fight for the right to vote and the right to attend the schools of our choice, we have had to rely on our own independent power to win our demands.

Our past struggles against Jim Crow segregation laws in the South have shown the way to victory—through massive, visible protests, mobilizing hundreds of thousands of Blacks in struggle.

Jim Crow was defeated because we organized in massive numbers to overturn it. Joanne Little was freed because we rallied thousands to her defense, with Black women in the lead. To get the ERA ratified, we need similar mobilizations of all who support women's rights, Black and white. The May 16 demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, is a beginning for the kind of mass-action campaign we need to win.

Black women must be in the forefront of the ERA struggle, because we have the most to gain. A victory in this fight will inspire new confidence in all those struggling for the emancipation of women and the full liberation of Black people.

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