

THE MILITANT

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

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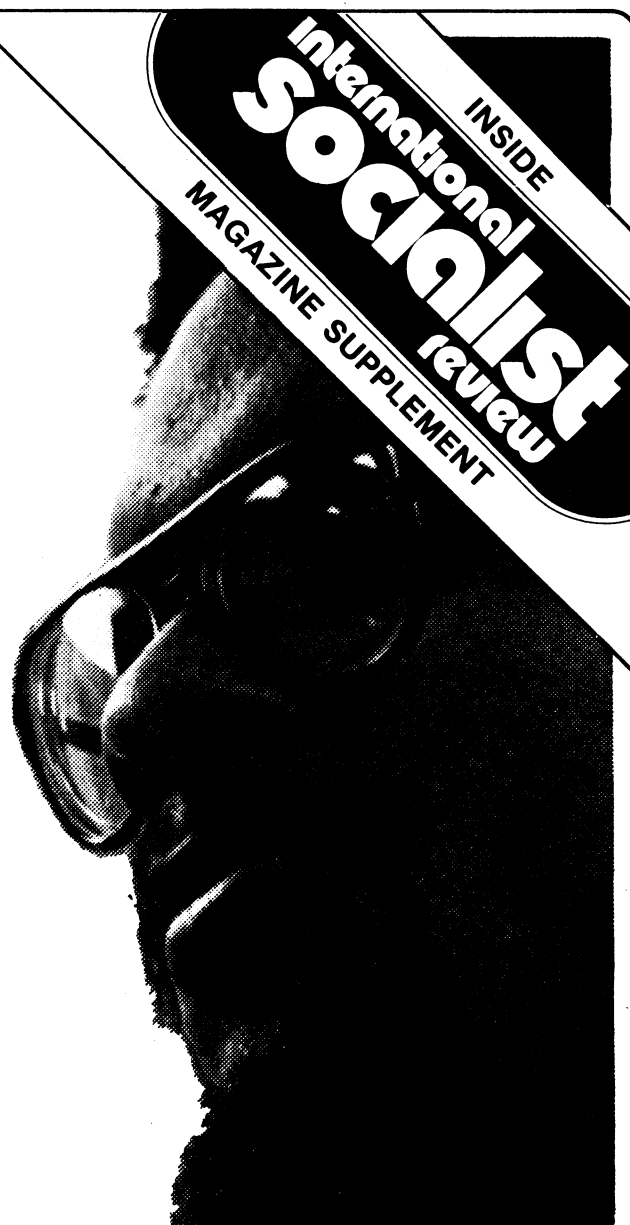
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POLICE RIOT IN SANTA BARBARA: Just after sunrise on May 1, approximately 100 cops brutally attacked a demonstration of 400 supporters of striking Santa Barbara garbage collectors. Dressed in full riot gear, the cops chased and beat demonstrators as they scattered in the downtown area. More than thirty people were injured and thirty-four were arrested, including two members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Chicano community activists, other local workers, and students were peacefully demonstrating their solidarity with the seventy-five workers striking against Browning-Ferris Industries, which holds the contract for the city. The majority Chicano workers are demanding a wage increase, time-and-a-half for overtime, sick leave, and the reinstatement of a fired shop steward.

After the police attack on the demonstration, the chief of police held a news conference at which he charged that a conspiracy of "university radicals" and communists was responsible for the violence.

Community support for the strike is continuing, as shown by a rally of 300 held at the University of Southern California to support the strike and to protest the police violence.

Peter Camejo on tour in Spain

By Joanna Rossi

BARCELONA, Spain, May 23—"U.S. presidential candidate in Barcelona," read the large front-page headline in today's edition of the Barcelona daily *Mundo Diario*.

The candidate—Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers party—arrived here May 21 to conduct a nine-day tour of three Spanish cities. He came at the invitation of the School of Sociology of the University of Barcelona and other groups to speak on "The Social and Political Crisis in the United States."

While in Spain, Camejo has also scheduled meetings with top leaders of the General Workers Union, one of the main illegal trade unions, and with representatives of the Workers Commissions, clandestine groups of factory activists that exist in many parts of Spain.

Most of Barcelona's major dailies have carried one or more large stories on Camejo's visit.

The SWP's court challenge to illegal U.S. government spying and harassment has gotten considerable attention in the Barcelona press.

"Most people here," one reporter wrote, "think of the United States as the land of equality and freedom. They don't get news like this."

A year ago a tour of this kind would not have been possible in Spain. However, the political ferment that has followed the death of dictator Francisco Franco has forced the government to relax its control somewhat.

Camejo will report on his tour at a meeting in New York City on Wednesday, June 9, 7:30 p.m., at New York University Catholic Center, 58 Washington Square South.

SOLIDARITY WITH CRIMEAN TATARS: Seventy people demonstrated outside the United Nations in New York May 22 in support of the struggle of Crimean Tatars in

the Soviet Union for the right to return to their homeland. The leaflet distributed by the organizers of the demonstration, the Union of Crimean Tatars for Total Rehabilitation, explained: "The Crimean Tatars . . . were unjustly deported from their homeland by the Soviet authorities on May 18, 1944. Over 110,000 Crimean Tatars, nearly one half of all Tatars, perished during this deportation. The Crimean Tatar Autonomous Republic which was established by Lenin on October 18, 1921, was also abolished."

One banner carried by demonstrators said, "Soviet Authorities: Hands off Andrei Sakharov." He is a dissident Soviet physicist who has helped expose the secret police's repression of Crimean Tatar activists in the Soviet Union. Another sign stated, "Free Mustafa Cemilev/Dzhemilev," one of these activists.

The Young Crimean Tatars also handed out a leaflet in defense of Dzhemilev, who in April 1976 was sentenced on false charges to his fourth term in prison because of his efforts in defense of the Crimean Tatars.

ROSENBERGS' PROSECUTOR INDICTED: State Supreme Court Justice Irving Saypol has been indicted in New York for bribery and three counts of perjury. It seems that Saypol and Surrogate Samuel DiFalco, both described by the *Daily News* as "senior Democratic pillars on the Manhattan bench," got caught dealing out a bit of nepotism and bribery.

However, these charges pale alongside of the long list of crimes committed by Saypol while dutifully serving American "justice."

Years ago as a U.S. attorney in New York, he prosecuted Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who went to the electric chair on trumped-up espionage charges. He also successfully prosecuted the Alger Hiss appeal and other cases against political dissidents during the witch-hunt years.

More recently, Justice Saypol ruled that the striking United Federation of Teachers was guilty last year of violating the state's Taylor Law. This notorious antilabor law denies public employees the right to strike. While under indictment, Saypol will be deciding what penalty to mete out to the union. One justice commented that it was "unqualifiably in the public interest" for Saypol to complete his case load.

SAN ANTONIO GAY CONFERENCE: On May 1, 400 people attended a conference on "Gays in San Antonio: A Sense of Belonging?"

There had been numerous editorials and statements by public officials printed in the news media opposing the right of gays to even hold such a conference. As a result, the place of the conference had to be changed at the last minute because the owners of the original facility where it was to be held backed out.

The two keynote speakers were Elaine Noble, a gay member of the Massachusetts state legislature, and Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women.

One focus of discussion was the Mary Jo Risher case. Risher is a Dallas lesbian whose ex-husband successfully sued for custody of their son solely on the basis of the mother's sexual orientation. A defense group is being organized to support an appeal of the court's decision.

—Ginny Hildebrand

Our Party Is Your Party Too!



IF YOU AGREE with what you have been reading in the *Militant*, now is the time to join the Socialist Workers party. . . . OUR PARTY is made up of working people like you. The more who join, the better we can fight together against war, racism, sex discrimination—and for decent living and working conditions. . . . JOIN US and help us build a better world, a socialist world. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

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Join The Socialist Workers Party

PSP leaders denounce gov't repression

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—The U.S. government is stepping up disruption and harassment against the Puerto Rican Socialist party both in Puerto Rico and the



Juan Mari Brás, PSP general secretary, debunks government attempt to link party to terrorist group.

United States, top party leaders say.

PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás charged that a federal grand jury in New York is conducting an "inquisitorial fishing expedition" against the PSP. The grand jury claims it is investigating bombings attributed to a Puerto Rican terrorist group, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN—Armed Forces of National Liberation).

Mari Brás made the charge at a May 19 news conference in New York. Also at the conference were José Alberto Alvarez, first secretary of the U.S. Branch of the party, and Lureida Torres, a PSP member who faces jail for refusing to testify before the grand jury.

"Everybody knows," Mari Brás told reporters, "that neither Lureida nor any member of the Socialist party of Puerto Rico has any connection whatsoever with the so-called FALN."

He explained that Torres was called before the grand jury several times, but refused to testify on the grounds that the grand jury was gathering political intelligence about the PSP.

On May 13 a federal district judge found Torres in contempt of court, and gave her a month to appeal the ruling. Should the PSP member lose the appeal, she could be jailed indefinitely until she agrees to testify or the grand

jury investigation comes to an end.

The attempt to link the FALN bombings to the PSP is particularly crude. The party has disclaimed any knowledge of the origins or character of the mysterious FALN during the year and a half since news reports first appeared about a message claiming responsibility by the FALN for several bombings.

Moreover, on several occasions the

PSP has harshly criticized the tactics of the FALN as detrimental to Puerto Rico's struggle for freedom.

José Alberto Alvarez said that Torres's case was only one of a whole series of attacks the PSP has been subjected to in recent months.

He noted that there have been not only frequent visits by the FBI to PSP members, but also frequent visits to

Continued on page 30

Explosives frame-up blows up

A trumped-up federal explosives case against a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist party blew up in the government's face May 4 when the prosecution admitted it had not a shred of evidence to back up the accusation.

In December 1974 the FBI raided the Ponce, Puerto Rico, home of Delfin Ramos Colón, and came out claiming to have found explosives. Ramos was dumped in jail and released two weeks later on \$100,000 bail. Authorities charged him with stealing and illegally possessing explosives.

After much legal wrangling and delay, the trial began May 3 in San Juan with selection of the jury. On

May 4 the federal prosecutor told the judge the government wanted to drop the charges.

The government claims to have lost the documents that showed the explosives had been stolen. Even more incredible, the government alleged the explosives themselves had been stolen by the U.S. Air Force when they were shipped to the United States!

The judge immediately dropped the charges. He said that in his "long practice as a lawyer and brief practice as a judge" he had never seen U.S. prosecutors try to pull anything so "incredible and scandalous."

—J.P.

'We're gonna kill one of her sons,' cop vows

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—"I wish we didn't have to have trials no more. I wish it was like in them olden days when you could just hang them niggers."

That's what Donald Files heard a St. Charles Parish sheriff's deputy say after Files and Terry Tyler were arrested May 17.

"They were playing with guns in our faces," Terry Tyler told the *Militant* May 18 during an interview at the Tyler home in St. Rose, Louisiana, four hours after his release from jail.

"This man had him a new .44-magnum. He put in two shells—a hollow-point and a flathead. Then he was spinning the barrel of the gun, clicking the trigger at us, playing Russian roulette, I guess."

Terry Tyler's older brother Gary is on death row in Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola, railroaded into jail for a murder he did not commit.

Files testified at the hearing last month to demand a new trial for Gary Tyler.

Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, said, "I know why they're picking on Donald, because of what he said at the hearing."

The police also have reason to terrorize the Tyler family, who have



Terry Tyler and his mother, Juanita Tyler. Terry's brother Gary is on death row for murder he did not commit. Cops have accused Terry of burglary in retaliation for his activity on Gary's behalf.

been putting all their energy into saving Gary's life. Terry Tyler has organized the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters, a group of Black students at Destrehan High School.

On Monday morning, May 17, two deputies came to the Tyler home and took Terry to a patrol car waiting outside. They already had Files in custody.

At the sheriff's substation at New Sarpy one cop told Files, "I done killed me so many niggers I got a notch on my gun."

Terry's older brother McHenry drove to New Sarpy to inquire about the arrest. The police confiscated his car for having a dirty license plate.

Files was not permitted to make a phone call until fifteen hours after his arrest. The two were then handcuffed and taken to the parish prison at Hahnville.

The next afternoon, twenty-five hours after their arrest, they were finally given a copy of the charge against them, simple burglary.

The cops claimed Tyler and Files had stolen a two-dollar bill and a pack of cigarettes from a house in St. Rose. Judge Ruche Marino set the bond at \$5,000 each. Marino is the same judge who tried Gary Tyler last November and who later refused to grant a new trial in April despite overwhelming new evidence of Tyler's innocence.

When Juanita Tyler put up the bond for her son's release, Terry heard the police cursing her, "We gonna kill one of her sons," one cop said.

"This is not going to stop me," Juanita Tyler told the *Militant*, "It will just make me fight harder."

Brown makes new moves against UFW

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Gov. Edmund Brown's California Democratic machine took another step in its drive to bury the Agricultural Labor Relations Board, which is supposed to conduct union representation elections in the fields.

Leo McCarthy, Democratic speaker of the state assembly, announced May 12 that he would not try to get a financial allocation for the board from the legislature in the state budget, which comes up for consideration in June.

When the ALRB ran out of operating funds last February, a new appropriation was blocked in the legislature. At first it seemed that this was the work

of a minority of Republicans and rural Democrats beholden to the growers and exploiting a legislative proviso requiring a two-thirds vote on such appropriations.

But the fact is that these legislators were acting in collusion with the Democratic majority.

A funding bill was guided through the assembly in March by Speaker McCarthy, but it allocated only half the amount needed for the board to resume the holding of union representation elections. Even this miserable bill was permitted to die in the state senate.

When the ALRB money ran out, McCarthy had declared that when the new fiscal budget came up for approval

in June the Democratic majority would refuse to approve it unless it included funding for the ALRB. This, he said, would put the Republicans squarely on the spot as responsible for killing the board.

Regarding these earlier statements, McCarthy now says, "There has been a lot of history since then. . . . The chemistry has changed."

In announcing that he would not try to get board funding included in the state budget, McCarthy said the matter will be decided by the public, which will vote in November on a United Farm Workers-sponsored initiative to ensure field elections.

However, McCarthy carefully refrained from stating whether or not he

would support the UFW initiative.

Last March, when it first became apparent that McCarthy was working to bury the ALRB, he was publicly and bitterly denounced by UFW leader César Chávez as playing the growers' game.

But Leo McCarthy is not acting on his own in this dirty game. If there was any doubt about this it should have been erased when—at the height of his maneuvers against the UFW—he was given a new assignment.

Governor Brown, that great "friend" of the UFW, announced he had appointed a campaign manager in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Who? Leo McCarthy.

Outcry hits federal desegregation retreat

By Nancy Cole

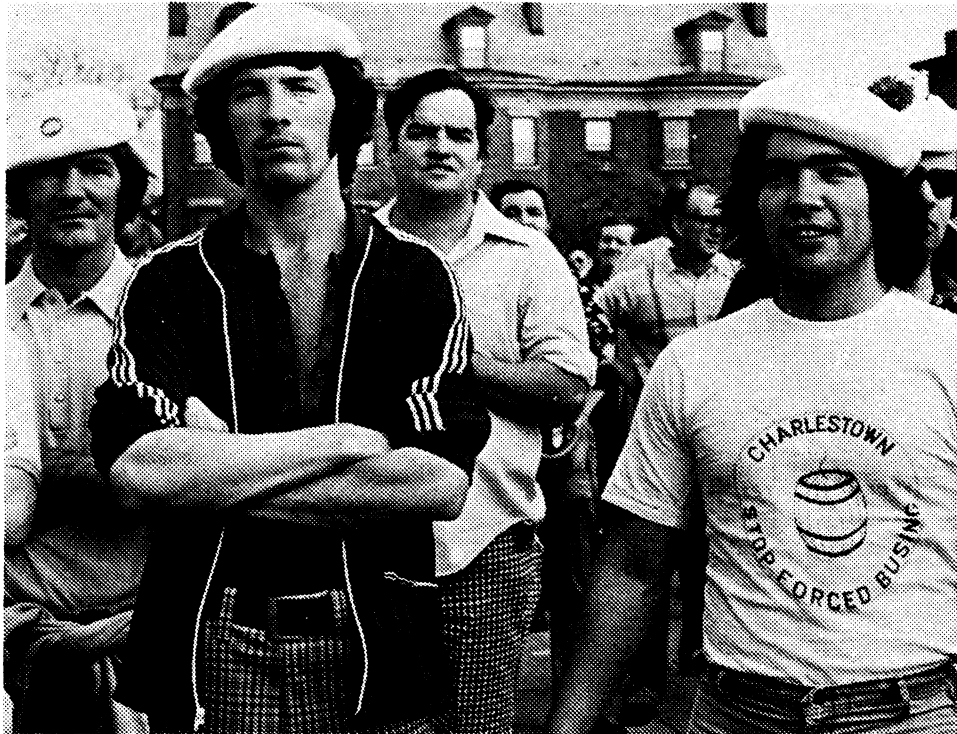
WASHINGTON—Attorney General Edward Levi's threatened court action on behalf of Boston's antibusing racists has unleashed a torrent of protest from Black leaders and supporters of desegregation.

Levi, under instructions from President Ford, is considering filing a "friend of the court" brief on the side of an appeal to the Supreme Court that seeks to overturn Boston's busing plan. The court has yet to accept or reject the case for review.

At a New York news conference May 21, NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins charged that the Ford-inspired move would mean the government is "lined up on the side of the defiant [Boston] School Committee and lawless mobs who have been responsible for the violence and ugliness directed at Black children, United States District Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., and the rule of law."

He described the government's attacks on desegregation as "part of a pattern of events that threaten every Black person in America."

Nathaniel Jones, NAACP legal counsel, said that Levi's action "would tell the people that they can stone their way into the attorney general's office, into the Supreme Court; that, no



Militant Anne Teesdale

Ford-Levi move would put government 'on the side of defiant, lawless mobs who are responsible for violence against Black children,' says NAACP leader Roy Wilkins.

matter what the law of the land, if they hang tough, be mean and violent, the Justice Department will come to their rescue."

A national "Desegregation Without Turmoil" conference here May 19 passed a resolution calling upon Levi "to immediately cease and desist" from any intervention in the Supreme Court appeal.

More than 500 representatives from coalitions and community groups in sixty cities had gathered at the offices of the National Education Association to share experiences and plan strategies for dealing with resistance to court-ordered desegregation.

The conference was cosponsored by none other than the Justice Department! Having planned the gathering prior to their boss's announcement, some conference organizers were left with red faces.

The top federal official there, Ben Holman, the Black director of the Justice Department's Community Relations Service, could only say he had not been consulted. Holman didn't stay for questions, saying that he had to get back to the Justice Department to lobby against the move.

Opponents of government intervention in the Boston case have streamed in and out of Levi's office, warning against his proposed action. One group included NAACP head Wilkins and representatives of the AFL-CIO, Anti-Defamation League, National Urban League, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund.

On May 20, members of the Congressional Black Caucus met with Levi. Shirley Chisholm, Yvonne Burke, John Conyers, Louis Stokes, and Andrew Young made up the delegation. Black Massachusetts Sen. Edward Brooke paid a call on the attorney general the previous day.

Even Transportation Secretary William Coleman, the only Black member of Ford's cabinet, was forced to warn that any action by the attorney general "would be ill-timed and unsound in law."

The head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, J. Stanley Pottinger, has also registered objections.

The initial protests have already forestalled one Justice Department deadline. The original plan was to

submit Levi's brief before the May 18 Michigan primary. The antibusing stance of the brief has also reportedly been toned down. Rather than arguing against busing under all circumstances, the current draft accepts busing as "a legitimate, constitutional remedy," but attacks the specific Boston plan.

This limp attempt at compromise has had little impact on the barrage of protests.

"If the Supreme Court simply elects to hear the appeal put forward by the attorney general," says NAACP counsel Jones, "no district judge in any pending case would put an order on from now on."

Desegregation suits are pending in the Ohio cities of Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, and Youngstown; in Buffalo, New York; in Tucson, Arizona; and in El Paso, Texas. Plans are expected to be in operation this fall in Milwaukee; Dayton, Ohio; Omaha, Nebraska; Dallas; and Wilmington, Delaware.

Ford has grabbed at the chance to reaffirm that he is "totally opposed to court-ordered forced busing." He is banking on Justice Department intervention to outflank Ronald Reagan in reactionary proclamations.

Meeting with reporters from Kentucky on May 20—five days before that state's primary—Ford threw in a little homegrown bait by casually mentioning that Levi "might" use the Louisville busing order as the test case.

The Justice Department denied that Louisville was being considered; the White House later explained that Ford was merely "using a hypothetical."

Boston leaders condemn Levi

BOSTON—Ellen Feingold, president of the Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, said last week that she was "shocked and dismayed" that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi is considering filing a legal brief to strike down the Boston busing order.

"As the nation's chief law enforcer, this action can only be read as a capitulation to the violent violation of a nation's Constitution, laws, and lawful court orders," Feingold said at a May 21 news conference here.

If Levi goes ahead with his plans, she said, her group will consider asking the court to dismiss his brief.

Speaking with Feingold was Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

"Every bigot in Boston, from Louise Day Hicks to the street hoodlum with rock in hand, now knows what has been implicit all along—the law is against racist segregation, but the law enforcers are not," Dixon said.

"In Detroit, Pasadena, and countless other cities in which desegregation cases are being heard, judges will be more reluctant to enforce the law of the land. In cases such as Wilmington, Delaware, where judges ordered cross-county desegregation, the state is appealing the order in great part because it thinks it can win on the basis of the Levi and Ford statements."

Meany hails 'big yellow buses'

WASHINGTON—In a video-taped message to the "Desegregation Without Turmoil" conference here May 19, AFL-CIO President George Meany reaffirmed his support for court-ordered busing. "The big yellow buses have improved the quality of education for millions," he said, "and there isn't the slightest reason to pretend suddenly that school busing is somehow in itself harmful or undemocratic."

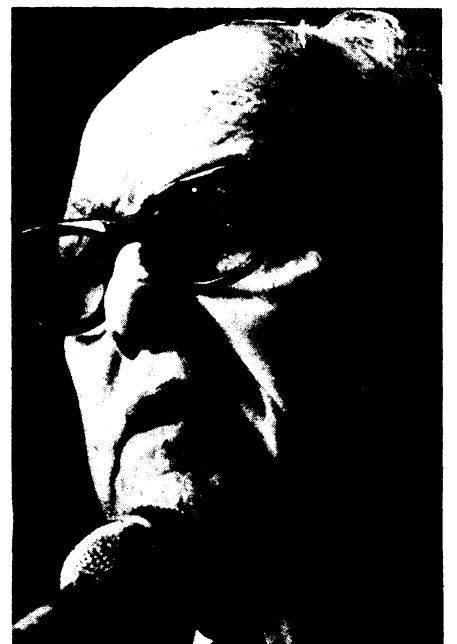
Meany pointed out that while 40 percent of children in this country ride school buses, only 3 percent do so because of court-ordered desegregation.

"Some politicians and candidates have ignored the issue of equal justice and quality education," Meany charged. "Demagogues have vented their spleen on busing, as if busing were the real issue. The facts prove that busing is not the issue. . . ."

"In every city where the courts have ordered action to desegregate the schools," Meany said, "the churches, service clubs, civic organizations, civil rights groups and, certainly, the unions must be mobi-

lized. They must accept responsibility for sharing in the planning of school assignments, bus routes and schedules, and all other aspects of a workable desegregation program."

—N.C.



MEANY: 'Unions must mobilize to make desegregation work.'

New York school chief buckles under to racists

By Jerry Merrill

NEW YORK—Just days after it became known that President Ford had ordered Attorney General Levi to challenge the constitutionality of busing, efforts to desegregate schools in Queens and Brooklyn suffered a serious setback.

On May 20 New York State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist reversed his own decision of last December ordering the desegregation of Andrew Jackson High School in Queens and Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn. Andrew Jackson is 96 percent Black; Erasmus Hall is 85 percent Black and Hispanic. Rezoning

rather than busing was involved in both cases.

In reversing himself, Nyquist argued that rezoning would "adversely affect racial integration in other high schools in the borough" by accelerating changes in the ethnic composition of Queens and Brooklyn. This argument was first used by the city board of education in appealing Nyquist's original ruling.

The reality is that schools in both boroughs are—with few exceptions—already segregated. Nyquist's retreat will only reinforce this trend.

The reversal came in the wake of a concerted racist campaign against the

December order. In early January, Rosedale [Queens] ROAR, a segregationist group, mobilized more than 1,000 racists in a protest at the predominantly white Martin Van Buren High School, in a district bordering Andrew Jackson.

In Brooklyn racists have held a number of demonstrations and waged a massive petitioning and letter-writing campaign against desegregation. Petitions containing nearly 25,000 signatures were presented to Nyquist last January by two Brooklyn state representatives and a local school official.

Queens Borough President Donald Manes has joined other local politicians in beating the drums against Nyquist's December ruling.

In addition, the state legislature elected opponents of desegregation to the New York State Board of Regents last March. Since the board could not legally reverse Nyquist's decision, there was widespread speculation that it was prepared to fire him.

The Andrew Jackson Parents Association, assisted by NAACP attorneys, plans to push ahead with its federal court suit demanding desegregation of the school.



FORD: 'Look for a case.'

What's behind Ford & Levi's attack against school busing?



LEVI: Friend of the court?

By Malik Miah

President Ford's directive to Attorney General Edward Levi to "look for an appropriate and proper case" in which to ask the Supreme Court to "reexamine" the use of busing to desegregate the public schools marks the most serious threat to date against the historic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that made dual education systems illegal.

The president's decision to have his administration intervene *directly* and *openly* as a "friend of the court" on the side of opponents of busing represents a new turning point in the decades-long fight by Blacks in the United States for equal education. Ford's instructions to Levi have already given tremendous moral support to every racist in the country. And his decision will be viewed by every federal judge—all of whom are appointed by the president—as pressure to not rule favorably on busing cases that come before their courts.

If the Supreme Court, under pressure from the president of the United States, agrees to review Judge W. Arthur Garrity's Boston busing decision, it will increase the possibility that busing as a means to desegregate the schools will be *limited* or even *overturned*. Such a development would mark a serious defeat for Black rights.

It would further embolden reactionary and racist forces nationwide to escalate their attacks on all *gains*—social, economic, and political—won by Blacks in the past twenty years.

These are the stakes in the fight for busing to desegregate public schools.

The Boston case is the one being most seriously considered by Levi. Busing to desegregate Boston schools was ordered by Judge Garrity to begin in September 1974. Garrity based his decision on the historic 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg County*, North Carolina, case. That case stated, for the first time, that busing could be used as a remedy to unconstitutional discrimination against Blacks in Northern and Western cities.

Since Garrity's decision, racist forces have waged a highly organized and systematic campaign to gut that order.

It is no surprise that Ford has sent up a trial balloon to indicate that Boston may be the test case on whether busing is necessary to ensure educational equality for Blacks.

Attacks on 1954 decision

Ford's moves boil down to an attempt to overturn the 1954 Supreme Court ruling. Ford has said that his

administration will announce some alternatives to busing that might be used to end segregation. This is reminiscent of Richard Nixon's "secret plan" to end the Vietnam War. Black people are supposed to await Ford's secret plans, his "alternatives."

The fact is that decades of segregated housing patterns and gerrymandered school districts in every city in the country make busing the only viable means to desegregate public education.

The 1954 Supreme Court ruling did not prescribe the means to end segregation. It only said segregation was unconstitutional. Similarly, the historic *Lau v. Nichols* 1974 Supreme Court ruling concerning language discrimination did not specify *how* the law would be implemented to ensure equal education for students who don't speak English fluently. The struggles of oppressed minorities are *key* to pressuring the government to enforce these important laws.

Since the 1954 ruling, in fact, Northern and Western schools are more segregated than ever. To get the better education at the better schools today, Blacks must be *bused* out of our segregated communities to white areas. In Louisville, this means busing into the county. In Boston, Blacks must be bused to schools in areas like East and South Boston to get a better education.

The same is true in every major city in the United States—busing is needed to cut across segregated housing areas. This is the reason why the NAACP

and other Black organizations have demanded the use of busing to enforce the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

Public response

Levi and Ford have been careful to test public response before acting decisively.

The Justice Department made a tentative decision to file a "friend of the court" brief more than a week before it became public knowledge that Levi intended to intervene in the Supreme Court on the side of opponents of Boston's court-ordered busing plan.

But immediate public outcry led President Ford and Attorney General Levi to say that they were only "considering" such a move.

Then Levi backed down further, asserting that he considered busing a viable means of desegregating schools, but was concerned only with its scope.

Levi even admitted that Boston schools are segregated today because of the conscious decisions of school officials over decades. (In fact, Garrity's orders are only a tiny step toward desegregation.)

The public response has been significant. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, wrote in a letter to Levi: "Seeking Supreme Court review of a case of a record so marked with defiance, recalcitrance, and violence by school officials and street mobs practically insures continued undermining of the judicial process."

Wilkins also pointed out in a separate statement that Ford's moves were "part of a pattern of events that threaten every Black person in America." He cited examples which included "developments in the Fred Hampton case in Chicago showing that rights of Blacks have been trampled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for decades and the ongoing cover-up."

Among the leaders in Boston and elsewhere in Massachusetts who attacked Levi and Ford were Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP; Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism; Ruth Batson, head of the Crisis Intervention Teams; and Republican Sen. Edward Brooke, the only Black U.S. Senator in the country. The Congressional Black Caucus and other members of Congress have also condemned Ford's move.

Even Secretary of Transportation William Coleman, the only Black in Ford's cabinet, said, "My position was that the Garrity decision was a good one."

It is quite clear that there are deep divisions within the government about Ford and Levi's decision. Many feel it is more important to enforce the 1954 ruling and stop the bigots than to reverse desegregation. Obviously, some government officials feel the cost of busing will be higher in the long run than the cost of *ending* effective desegregation today.

The extent of these divisions within the government is indicated by an editorial that appeared in the May 17 *New York Times*. According to the editors of this very influential bourgeois newspaper, there are big dangers in carrying out Ford's proposal.

"The first message—even worse than that issued by President Ford in 1974 when he 'respectfully disagreed' with Judge Garrity's original order—would be to encourage resistance to the orders of the Federal courts. The signal would simply read that if one disagrees loudly enough, throws enough bricks, breaks enough windows and injures enough people, the Justice Department ultimately will back down and ask the courts to bend the law to accommodate violent resistance to it. . . .

"Black Americans will be put on notice that the Department of Justice . . . has concluded that there are no remedies for their rights and that the last 22 years have been nothing more than a cruel hoax."

The editors of the *Times*—and those they speak for—fear two things. First, they fear that Blacks will revolt against the "cruel hoax" and begin organizing a movement with a new militant leadership to fight for real equality.

Second, the U.S. reputation abroad is at stake. The image of American democracy has greatly declined since Vietnam and Angola. If government-sponsored attacks on Black democratic rights continue, it is even less likely that Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans will turn to U.S. imperialism as a friend.

'Why now?'

"Why now?" That was the question Roy Wilkins asked Levi when he met with him to protest the administration's proposed action. It's a question that needs to be answered.

One obvious answer is Ford's bid for the presidency. Information on this new move was carefully timed for release just prior to the Michigan and Kentucky primaries.

Ford wants to make clear to the right-wingers in his own party and to

Continued on next page

Issues in Boston

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: *The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back*, by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

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...what's behind the attack on busing?

Continued from preceding page
conservative Democrats that he is not soft on desegregation. His goal is not only to counter Ronald Reagan but also to match the antibusing and racist "ethnic purity" views of the Democratic hopefuls.

But a more fundamental answer has to do with the state of the economy—and the ruling class's strategy of *cutbacks and layoffs* to make working people, especially Blacks, pay for the 1974-75 depression and the present economic "recovery." Simultaneously, there is a campaign to "blame the Blacks" for seeking equality *too fast*, which has supposedly resulted in higher taxes, unemployment, inflation, lower-quality education, higher health costs, and everything bad.

There is a debate in the ruling class over how far and how fast they can go in these attacks on working people and get away with it.

Government attacks

In the past two years working people as a whole—but especially Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, women, and youth—have taken the brunt of a ruling-class drive to increase capitalist profits.

After thirty years of war-primed prosperity that lasted until the end of the 1960s, international economic competition has led the American ruling class to escalate a systematic attack on the standard of living of all working people. This has been focused on wiping out as many as possible of the gains that minorities, women, and youth won during the 1960s.

It has meant lowering the wages of workers and paring important social services to the bone. It has meant getting rid of affirmative-action pro-

Without exception, the hardest hit by these attacks are Blacks, Puerto Ricans, women, and youth.

Other cities have now gotten the New York treatment, including Boston. There the government is blaming busing for all the problems capitalism has made for the city. Mayor Kevin White, for example, tried to close public schools a month early because of what he termed the "high cost of school desegregation."

Recently, White proposed a "busing tax." He asked the city council to raise private-property taxes by \$16 per \$1,000 property value to pay for busing.

The economic attacks on Boston workers would have been carried out by the city anyhow, but Mayor White has conveniently used the busing issue as a way to deflect the anger of workers who have been laid off, directing it away from the bosses and onto Black people.

A central part of the government strategy today is to use racism against working people—that is, to pit white workers against Black workers.

For example, on May 7 nearly 2,000 white construction workers demonstrated at Boston City Hall to demand that Mayor White stop protests organized by Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese workers demanding more construction jobs. The main speakers at the rally were reactionary antibusing leaders and racist craft-union bureaucrats.

The result of that rally was only to strengthen the hands of the capitalists, because the union misleaders were helping the rulers pin the blame for the city's problems on minority workers, women workers, and labor itself, and

gains of the last twenty years? How to answer Ford's attacks on busing?

Our most important weapon against the government's cutback strategy is to organize ourselves into a powerful mass movement. The 1954 Supreme Court ruling was primarily a result of our previous fights, mainly in the 1930s and 1940s.

These earlier struggles had already produced some gains. The Fair Employment Practices Commission was established during World War II mainly because Black leaders called for a march on Washington in 1941. The army, for instance, was not desegregated until Black GIs forced the government to do so during the Korean War.

The 1954 decision, of course, spurred the development of the civil rights movement. And it was that mass civil rights movement that killed Jim Crow segregation in the South. That process had repercussions in the legislative and judicial branches of government. This includes the busing orders of 1971 in North Carolina and 1974 in Boston.

To stop Levi and Ford and the racists in Boston, we need more education, agitation, and mobilization of our numbers and our allies. Our strategy must be *countermobilization*—in marches, rallies, picket lines, petitions, and so forth.

New consciousness

The Black movement has an ally that it did not have in the 1950s. As a result of the battles of the 1960s, a change in political consciousness has occurred among the majority of American people.

Today, the majority of whites oppose racism, support school desegregation, and support the democratic rights of Black people. Similarly, the majority of

The changed way in which most whites look at Blacks is now a factor the government must face before it launches any attacks on Black rights. It affects how the ruling class carries out its attacks.

This is why Ford and the rulers send up trial balloons before leveling heavy cutbacks on Blacks and other working people.

The Levi move on busing, for example, comes after two years of law-breaking violence in Boston. That racist campaign has led many liberals and other who supported busing in the past to now say it's not worth all the problems the racists falsely claim busing breeds. The distortions must be answered to win back these important allies.

Election-year pressures

There is a further answer to the question "Why now?" This is an election year. The government recognizes that the Black and labor leaderships are all tied to *its* capitalist parties. This means it is unlikely that the leaders of the NAACP, the Urban League, or the AFL-CIO will break with their Democratic "friends" to organize demonstrations and other activities to answer the government's attacks.

They will instead beg the government to not attack busing and urge us to register to vote as the solution to our problems. Unfortunately, so far this has been the character of the response to Ford.

More actions needed

The strategy of depending on the capitalist politicians to defend busing won't work. It hasn't in the past. It won't in the future.

The only effective way to answer Ford and Levi, to defend the 1954 ruling and Black equality, is through building a real countermovement to the racists, one that uses all available avenues of struggle.

More than ever the NAACP needs to organize another May 17, 1975-type march on Boston, Louisville, or Washington, D.C., to defend desegregation. In fact, since that important demonstration on May 17, which dealt a blow to the racists and stymied them for a period, there has not been a national mass demonstration in support of busing.

On the other hand, the racists have been in the public spotlight numerous times.

The most recent planned national response was set for April 24, 1976. It did not take place. If April 24 had taken place as a massive show of prodesegregation forces, there is a possibility that Ford's move may have been delayed.

But the failure of the NAACP, Urban League, Nation of Islam, and the labor movement to back that march set the stage for a sustained period of anti-Black violence by the racists and for government inaction against them. That forced the organizers of the march to postpone the demonstration, marking a big setback for the busing struggle.

The Black community is on the defensive and needs to take the initiative. We must educate the majority of people who now support school desegregation and win them to support busing.

This will only be possible through using a strategy of independent mass mobilization, through an action campaign that refuses to subordinate the needs of Black people to any politician, party, or opposing interest. That is the only way to defend busing, advance the fight for Black rights, and avoid future setbacks and defeats.



grams that got Blacks and women certain jobs for the first time. The motto "last hired and first fired" is again in vogue.

This ruling-class offensive was launched with the Nixon-Connally wage freeze and cutbacks in 1971. It reached its highest point yet with the 1973 business-engineered "oil crisis" and 1974-75 depression.

The best example of this strategy is visible in New York City. Working people are being blamed for the financial bankruptcy of the city.

Social service after social service is being eliminated—the subways are deteriorating, hospitals and child-care facilities are being shut down, and schools closed. The more than one-hundred-year free-tuition policy at the city university system will soon be eliminated. City workers have had their wages frozen, and the new transit workers contract begins the process of reinstituting "piece-work" through "productivity first" contracts.

not on the capitalists.

Thus, racism distorts the developing class polarizations, which are an outgrowth of the present economic crisis.

Both the New York and Boston examples indicate the ruling-class strategy of divide and rule. They also show that the capitalist class is preparing to take as many steps forward as it can to beat back social and economic gains of working people. The national attack on busing fits into this broader framework. The government's strategy of layoffs and cutbacks includes limiting and then rolling back school desegregation. The ruling class is not willing to pay for Black educational equality. It is not, in fact, willing to pay for any equality for Black Americans.

How to move forward

The big question facing Blacks today is how to move the struggle for equality forward? How to defend the

Americans also oppose attempts by the ruling class to use superpatriotism, anticommunism, and other ideological props of capitalist rule to deny socialists and dissenters our rights.

Most Americans also support passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and seek the right to know what the government is doing—especially since Watergate and the recent FBI revelations.

Today, even the most outspoken racists of the past, such as George Wallace, do not publicly call Blacks "niggers."

This majority sentiment needs to be mobilized to defend Black rights. But it will require an effective Black leadership to do this.

We must begin by answering the lies of the racists. A big educational campaign is needed to expose the false arguments that delude most whites into believing that they can both support desegregation and oppose busing.

'All out July 10!'

Los Angeles socialists map ballot plans

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—"All Out July 10! Put Camejo, Reid, and Musa on the California Ballot!"

That was the banner—and the spirit—dominating the May 23 meeting of the Los Angeles County Socialist Workers party.

More than 100 socialists had gathered to map out Los Angeles participation in one of the most ambitious projects ever undertaken by their party—the massive petitioning campaign necessary to ensure that California voters will have a working-class alternative on the November ballot.

For decades, workers parties have been automatically excluded from a ballot spot in this state. The Democrats and Republicans made sure of that by setting up the most antidemocratic and restrictive ballot laws in the whole country.

However, under pressure from public protests and court challenges, the California legislature recently saw itself compelled to lower some of those requirements.

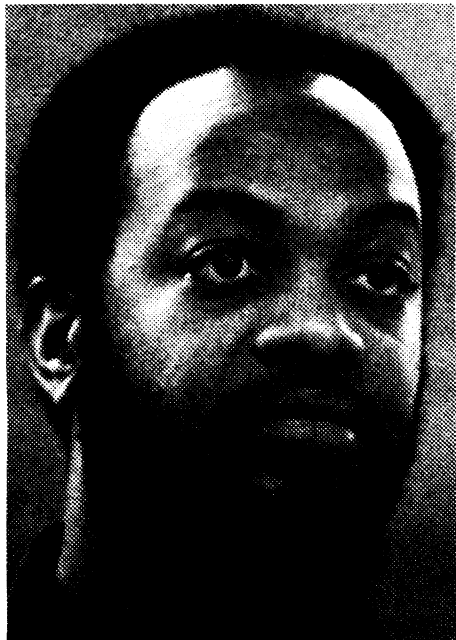
Bruce Marcus, chairperson of the California Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, outlined the state-wide plans. Well over 100,000 signatures will be collected to put three candidates on the ballot—Omari Musa, who is running for U.S. Senate, and Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's presidential ticket.

Marcus predicted that socialists will receive a very friendly response this election year. "The revelations of

illegal government activity," Marcus said, "have profoundly altered the way masses of American people look at the two major parties."

"The distrust of government that began as the Vietnam credibility gap has grown enormously," he added.

Following Marcus's remarks, Rich Finkel, Los Angeles County organizer of the party, explained how socialists in the county plan to gather roughly one-third of the total number of signatures needed.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Socialists plan to place Omari Musa (above), SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California, and Camejo-Reid on November ballot.

At the end of last year, the two Los Angeles branches of the SWP expanded into four, and a fifth branch was organized this spring.

Each of these five branches has begun the process of becoming a part of the political life of their communities, Finkel explained, putting the SWP in a favorable position to carry out the job of obtaining ballot status.

Finkel emphasized that although the actual petitioning would not commence until the July 10 mobilization, the organizing work in preparation for the drive should begin now.

He explained plans for distributing publicity in support of the right of socialists to appear on the ballot, which will be handed out in unions, on campuses, and in Black, Chicano, and women's organizations.

The campaign is also planning a June 26 conference featuring Peter Camejo and Omari Musa as the main speakers, Finkel reported.

Omari Musa, who had just returned from speaking in Seattle, reported that several people he spoke to there indicated interest in spending July in California so they could help the campaign.

One woman who had just returned from visiting Arizona, where a petitioning drive for ballot status had been under way for several weeks, reported on the response socialists there received.

"Some women would just tell petitioners they were registered Republicans," she said, "but when the soc-

ialists mentioned their support for the Equal Rights Amendment, they would stop in their tracks, turn around, and say, 'I'll sign that.'"

Virginia Garza emphasized the need for short, snappy leaflets and other material in Spanish.

A focus of discussion was how the petitioning would help the socialists reach hundreds of thousands of Californians who have never had contact with the SWP before.

A member of the Crenshaw branch noted that three people the party never had contact with before phoned that branch to volunteer for the ballot effort when they saw the initial announcement about it in the news media.

Still another focus of discussion was the large amount of funds necessary to defray the cost of the petitioning effort. More than \$2,400 was pledged at the planning meeting, and one person handed in a donation of \$100 on the spot.

Characteristic of the spirit of determination at the meeting were the remarks of Sam Manuel. After recalling the way the FBI has hounded socialists and tried to stop them from reaching people with their ideas, he pointed to the banner in the front of the room and said, "If only J. Edgar Hoover could see this banner—he would turn over in his grave."

To volunteer to help with the drive to put workers' candidates on the ballot in California, call the nearest branch of the party listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31.

Massachusetts drive set for June 5

A probusing candidate for Roxbury Blacks

By Susan LaMont

BOSTON—When hundreds of socialists hit the streets here June 5—loaded down with pens, clipboards, and nominating petitions—they will be aiming to put some candidates on the Massachusetts ballot who really speak for the interests of Black voters.

One of the most widespread methods of cheating the Black community out of its right to representation is gerrymandering—the time-honored American tradition of carving up electoral districts to dilute the political power of Black people.

That is one of the problems facing voters in Roxbury, Boston's Black community. The Ninth Congressional District, which includes Roxbury, also happens to include South Boston, the North End, West Roxbury, and Dorchester—all strongholds of antibusing sentiment. It also encompasses seven all-white, affluent suburban communities.

So it's no surprise that right now Roxbury residents are represented in Congress by Democrat John Joseph Moakley, a key supporter of Boston's racist antibusing movement and chief sponsor of a constitutional amendment to outlaw busing. He's also a sponsor of a constitutional amendment to ban abortion by guaranteeing "full rights to fetuses."

Ironically, Moakley was first elected as an alternative to Louise Day Hicks, who had made a name for herself as an outspoken opponent of Black rights. But two years later, when court-ordered school desegregation began in Boston, Moakley began to reveal his true colors. Today, no difference remains between Moakley and Hicks, his former rival.

This year, Moakley is up for his third term. It can already be predicted that the main theme of his campaign will

be opposition to busing and school desegregation.

It can also be predicted that he will ignore the Black residents of his district. He isn't concerned about the Black students who face racist harassment every day in school. Nor is he concerned about the Black construction workers in Roxbury who are fighting for the right to be hired in the face of stiff opposition by racist building-trades unions and contractors.

Over the past two years, numerous Black families have been terrorized and driven out of all-white neighborhoods in Moakley's district. But he isn't concerned about that either.

Moakley's district may include Boston's Black community, but that doesn't mean he represents it. He doesn't even pretend to.

That's why the Socialist Workers party has decided to run James "Mac" Warren for Congress in the Ninth District. Warren, a young Black leader of the prodesegregation movement, is campaigning for school busing and in defense of Black rights.

As a staff member for the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), Warren helped organize the marshaling for the historic May 17, 1975, prodesegregation demonstration of 15,000 sponsored by the NAACP. He has served on the Crisis Teams, which were organized by Freedom House last fall to help Black students who face racist abuse in the schools.

When two Black families were being terrorized in their homes recently, Warren helped build support for their right to live in any part of Boston they chose. He has walked the early morning picket lines and joined the demonstrations of the Third World Workers Association, which is fighting for job equality for Black, Puerto Rican, and

Asian construction workers.

Warren is the opposite of Joseph Moakley in every way.

Teams of Warren's campaign supporters have been going door to door in Roxbury each Saturday to distribute socialist campaign literature and sell the *Militant*.

Now there's another big job to do. To ensure that Warren will be on the ballot in November, campaign supporters need to gather the signatures of 2,533 registered voters on nominating petitions. They will also be gathering the more than 37,000 signatures needed to gain ballot spots for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, the SWP candidates for president and vice-president, and Carol Henderson Evans, candidate for United States

Senate.

To help get the petitioning effort off the ground, a campaign rally has been scheduled for Friday, June 4. The rally will be held at 8:00 p.m. at the Huntington Avenue YMCA, 316 Huntington Avenue. Camejo, Evans, and Warren will be the featured speakers. The cost is \$1.50.

The next day—Saturday, June 5—Warren and Evans will campaign on the streets of Roxbury and Boston, while campaign supporters collect signatures in a concentrated day of petitioning throughout the state.

If you can help petition or campaign, contact: Warren for Congress Committee, 1865 Columbus Avenue, Roxbury, Massachusetts 02119. Telephone: (617) 445-7799.

Petitioning in Texas



Militant/Stu Singer
HOUSTON—Texan signs to put Camejo and Reid on the ballot in the November elections. More than 20,000 had signed as of May 26 in the current petitioning drive in this state.

FBI plans to maintain 'pick-up list'

By Larry Seigle

Despite public claims to the contrary, the FBI plans to continue maintaining a list of people to be rounded up in the event of a "national emergency." Those detained would be held without warrants or the right to a trial.

The so-called Administrative Index ("Adex" in FBI jargon) was reportedly abolished in January of this year, following public disclosure that nearly one-tenth of those on the list were members of the Socialist Workers party.

However, in sworn testimony in connection with the lawsuit filed by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, a top FBI official has disclosed that the FBI is seeking approval from Attorney General Edward Levi for a new mechanism to "serve the function previously served by Adex."

The official, Robert Shackelford, is in charge of Section 2 of the FBI's Internal Security Branch. Section 2 is responsible for "investigating" the SWP and the YSA, the Communist party, and other radical organizations.

Shackelford's testimony is in the form of a deposition, that is, sworn testimony taken out of court. The deposition was made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing and financing the suit.

The deposition is one of a series being taken from present and former high-ranking government officials by the socialists' attorneys.

Shackelford repeatedly refused to answer questions about the reasons for the decision to formally terminate the Adex, saying only that the decision was made by Levi and FBI boss Clarence Kelley.

Shackelford did admit, however, that a replacement for the Adex "has been discussed" although he claimed it had not yet been "finalized."

This FBI attempt at sleight of hand is only the latest chapter in a long history of deception surrounding the government's lists of those to be interned without trial in the event of "national emergency."

The FBI first began to keep a "suspect list" on the eve of the United States entry into the Second World War. The Roosevelt administration wanted the names of those people who might speak out publicly against the war, thus requiring the government to lock them up when the war broke out.

In 1943, the attorney general advised the FBI that there was no legal basis for maintaining this "Custodial Detention List."

The FBI responded by merely changing the name to the "Security Index."

After the war, in 1946, the FBI notified Attorney General Tom Clark that it had compiled a list of "potentially dangerous" persons. Clark, a liberal, then quietly ordered plans drawn up for detention of "dangerous" people based on suspension of the constitutional right to habeas corpus.

Clark, however, decided not to seek legislative authority for his plan. As a Justice Department memo put it, such a step "would only bring on a loud and acrimonious discussion."

By 1950, however, the witch-hunt had reached such a pitch that both the Democrats and Republicans in Congress were willing to pass the Internal Security Act, which along with other

assaults on the Bill of Rights, authorized the establishment of "preventive detention" camps. Under the cover of this police-state law, the FBI's Security Index was maintained and kept up to date for twenty years.

In September 1971, under pressure of the deepening radicalization and growing concern over protection of civil liberties, Congress repealed the emergency detention provisions of the Internal Security Act, removing the legal basis for the maintenance of the Security Index.

True to form, the FBI wasn't fazed for a minute. It promptly "terminated" the Security Index—and inaugurated the Adex. The Adex was composed of those "whose activities and statements indicate that they would resort to violent, illegal, or subversive means."

Shackelford, in his deposition, claimed that the Adex was merely an "administrative list of priority types of investigation." But the report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence more accurately branded it as a roster "of suspects for round-up in case of national emergency."

In the FBI, it is jocularly known as the "pick-up list."

The existence of the Adex first became known publicly in the fall of 1975, following reports in the *New York Times* and inquiries by a congressional committee.

Then, in December, the Associated Press obtained a copy of a statement submitted by the FBI to the House Select Committee on Intelligence, stating that "there are currently 110 members of the Socialist Workers Party on the Administrative Index." This index was reported to total 1,250 names.

Subsequent inquiries about the Adex have been brushed aside on the grounds that the index was abolished on January 14, 1976. The Shackelford testimony is the first indication that the list will be continued under some other guise.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, said that "the maintenance of such a 'pick-up list'—whether it's called the Security Index, the Adex, or by some other name—is absolutely intolerable under the Bill of Rights."

"This is exactly the kind of illegal activity that the government is continuing to engage in, and that our suit is designed to bring to a halt."

Gumshoes cool it (for now)

The SWP and YSA suit against the FBI has apparently diminished the G-men's zeal for harassing socialists—at least temporarily. Evidence that this is the case is contained in a deposition taken from Joseph McMahon, who works in the "Trotskyist Unit" of Section 2 of the FBI's Internal Security Branch.

One of the forms of government harassment cited in the lawsuit is the FBI's practice of "interviewing" members and supporters of the SWP and YSA, as well as their employers, landlords, friends, relatives, and neighbors.

The FBI claims that the purpose of the interviews is merely to collect information. But in reality they are designed to intimidate socialists, to harass them and their friends and relatives, and, when possible, to get them evicted or fired.

If the suit is won, this kind of activity will be outlawed. But there are already signs that the suit itself, and the widespread publicity about it, have forced the FBI to back off for the time being.

Special Agent McMahon testified that "I do notice that there are less interviews and that type of thing because the agents don't want to be

put into a position where they are accused of harassment or something of that nature."

McMahon admitted, under further questioning, that as a result of the lawsuit FBI headquarters has warned agents to "be circumspect in their dealings with any member of the Socialist Workers party."

It's hard to understand why, if these interviews were nothing but routine law enforcement procedure as the FBI claims, the filing of a lawsuit would make the government reluctant to continue them. Maybe they just have guilty consciences.

A burglary by any other name...

The language of the subterranean world of the secret police is full of euphemisms for illegal activity. It is designed to mask criminal deeds with innocent-sounding words.

To help equip *Militant* readers to follow the accelerating pace of events as the trial approaches in the case of *Socialist Workers party v. Attorney General, et al.*, we herewith offer some entries from the FBI's lexicon. Our definitions have been culled from the record of depositions and hearings in the socialists' case.

• **Surreptitious entry**—Burglary. But burglary, by definition, is a crime. So the FBI calls its burglaries by another name.

In a recent hearing before Judge Thomas Griesa, the word burglary was being used freely by all present, including the judge and the Justice Department's attorneys. Finally, an exasperated lawyer from FBI headquarters in Washington, Gary Laturno, couldn't stand it any longer. He rose to object.

"Your Honor," he complained, "I have difficulty with your characterizing FBI surreptitious entries or break-ins as burglaries. It does not appear to me as though it has been authoritatively determined that such activity constitutes a burglary."

Judge Griesa, deciding not to argue the point then and there, responded that the word was just "a way of speaking."

• **Informant**—FBI agents always talk about informants when they mean

informers. Why? Because informers are universally despised. Nonetheless, informants are informers.

When FBI officials made a point of this during a recent hearing, Judge Griesa shot back, "I would prefer to call them informers. I don't know what

an informant is. An informant is somebody who informs, so I will use that word."

Good idea.

• **Highly confidential source**—This almost always means a source more "sensitive" than an informant. It could

be a wiretap, a bug, a burglary, or some other illegal act.

• **Incidental overhear**—This isn't so "incidental" as it sounds. When a phone is wiretapped, the person at the other end of the line is an "incidental overhear." In other words, if the FBI has a wiretap on your friend's phone, and as a result they record, transcribe, and put into their files a series of conversations between you and your friend, the information on what you said would be listed as resulting from an "incidental overhear."

• **Consensual recording**—In Webster's dictionary, "consensual" means by mutual consent. So a consensual recording means a tape made by agreement of the person or persons being taped, right?

Wrong.

Here is how FBI official Robert Shackelford explained "consensual recording" under questioning by Herbert Jordan, an attorney for the SWP and YSA:

Q. What do you mean by "consensual recordings"?

A. Where the informant's conversation with a person is recorded by consent of the informant.

Q. Do you mean by consent of the informant or by consent of the subject?

A. Informant.
Q. . . . Your testimony is that a consensual recording means a recording made by the informant *with his own consent*?

A. Right.

—L.S.



"Hear no evil . . . speak no evil . . . see no evil"

Secret Service files reveal

Feds taped socialist convention

By Diane Rupp

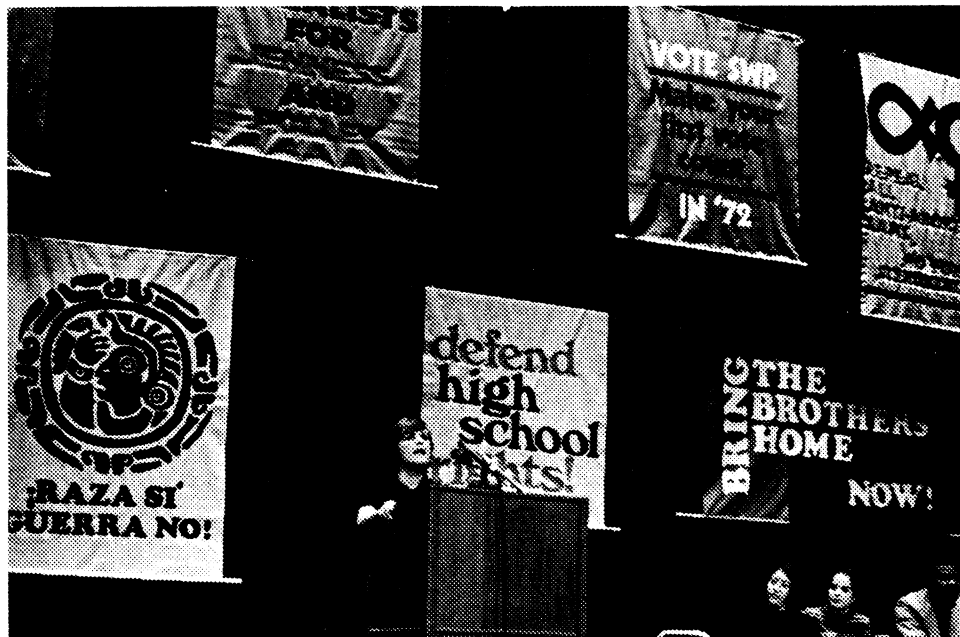
The U.S. Secret Service illegally tape recorded and photographed the entire 1971 Young Socialist Alliance convention, according to files made public May 24. These are the first records yet released on political spying by the Secret Service.

The new disclosure catches the government in still another lie. In a statement submitted in court the government had denied that any agency other than the FBI had carried out electronic surveillance of the YSA or the Socialist Workers party. They also denied that there had been any electronic surveillance of the socialists after 1963.

The Secret Service turned over the material as part of the suit by the YSA and SWP against government harassment.

In December 1971, 1,240 young people from across the country met in Houston for the YSA convention. Secret Service agents sat in a projector booth and under the stage at the convention hall. From these positions they recorded five days of reports and discussion. Agents also took pictures of every person who spoke at the meeting.

Afterwards, the Secret Service spent



Secret Service taped Linda Jenness's speech at 1971 Houston YSA convention

the convention, an up-to-date list of national leaders elected at the meeting, and a list of 100 other people who attended the convention.

The information kit went to Secret Service offices in San Diego and Miami, where the Democratic and Republican 1972 national conventions were scheduled to be held.

Apparently the Secret Service shared the White House's panic about plans for protest demonstrations at the Republican convention. Nixon's "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy proposed a scheme for organizing violence against radical protesters at the convention that reportedly included kidnapping and murder plots.

The White House sent Donald Segretti to San Diego to recruit informers and provocateurs for the Liddy plan. The plan was supposedly rejected. But the Secret Service records show how thoroughly the government was preparing to deal with any protesters who might go to San Diego.

Why were they watching the YSA so closely? In the words of Secret Service files, it was because "in the past, SWP and YSA have arranged for the largest demonstrations in San Diego. On two occasions they have promoted rallies [sic] and marches of approximately 2,000 people."

"Although this group of socialists does not openly condone violence," the Secret Service explained, "they could probably produce the largest number of local demonstrators at a given event, thus setting the stage for the most radical elements who would join the crowd with violent intent."

The Houston meeting was the YSA's first convention held in the South. During the spring of 1971 the Ku Klux Klan had bombed Texas YSA and SWP campaign headquarters. But the socialists had successfully won support for their right to function openly. Public pressure had forced a grand jury to indict several members of the KKK for the attacks.

"Holding a convention of . . . Young Socialists in Houston will deal further blows to the Klan," explained a YSA leaflet in 1971.

At that convention Young Socialists were discussing the antiwar movement; women's liberation; struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans; YSA strategy in the schools; and the 1972 elections.

"The Secret Service had no reason to be at that convention other than to spy on our legal political activities because they disagree with our ideas," said Nan Bailey, YSA national chairperson.

"And there's no evidence the Secret Service has stopped this sort of spying," she added.

The Secret Service insists it needs a "watch list" to know who might someday threaten the president or a candidate.

But the government claims their list is small. Only "people who come to our attention as a result of some disruptive activity" are included on the "watch list," Thomas Kelley, assistant director of the Secret Service, told a congressional committee in 1975.

The newly released files prove this claim a lie.

Notables attend Chicago benefit for Bill of Rights

By Pat Grogan

CHICAGO—Two hundred people turned out for a benefit cocktail party on May 8 cosponsored by the December Fourth Committee and the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The December Fourth Committee raises funds for and educates the public about the Hampton-Clark civil rights lawsuit seeking damages for the 1969 police raid here that left two Black Panthers dead. The suit is now in trial.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is a nonpartisan, civil liberties committee that is organizing support for a national lawsuit filed on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance challenging the FBI and CIA crimes against the Bill of Rights.

These two lawsuits have forced sweeping revelations about the FBI's Cointelpro operations against the Black liberation movement, socialists, and others.

Virginia Capers, star of the Broadway musical "Raisin" and an activist in the civil rights movement, summed up the spirit of the evening when she said, "No matter who we are or what we do, actors, entertainers, teachers—whatever our profession—it's our responsibility to stand up and fight for civil liberties."

The benefit was held at the Playboy Mansion on Chicago's near North Side. Many prominent Chicagoans lent their support, including Rev. Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH; Bill Mauldin, *Sun-Times* cartoonist; Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; and State Sen. Richard Newhouse.

Among the guests were Rep. Ralph Metcalfe; former Alderman Leon Despres; Renault Robinson, head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League; State Rep. Leland Rayson; Lerone Bennett, Jr., editor of *Ebony* magazine; and James Montgomery, attorney for the Hampton-Clark lawsuit.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF, led off the program by noting the importance of a broad, united response to government attacks on democratic rights. He noted the FBI's attempts through its Cointelpro activities to destroy unity and pit groups against each other. He said, "The very fact that this benefit is taking place tonight is proof that the FBI has failed. The most important thing we can do is to continue working together in support of these lawsuits, which are exposing the depth and range of the outrageous crimes of the federal government."

James Montgomery, chief attorney for the Hampton-Clark lawsuit, explained that the case is thwarting the government's attempt to cover up the murder of the Panther leaders. Week by week the trial is unraveling the government's plot to destroy the Black Panther party. He said that Hampton and Clark were murdered because they were trying to change society for the better.

The benefit raised more than \$4,000 for the two committees.

Join the YSA

The Young Socialist Alliance today has members on more than 150 college and high school campuses. If you want to know more about the YSA, or if you want to join, return this coupon to: YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
☐ Please send me more information.
☐ I want to join the YSA.

three months matching pictures to their tape recordings.

The rally at this closely watched gathering heard speeches from the Socialist Workers ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley in the 1972 presidential elections. Agents copied the Jenness and Pulley speeches onto tape cassettes.

The spies then put together an information kit on the YSA. Their package included the cassette tapes of SWP campaign speeches, pictures and names of 44 YSAers who spoke during

Just a routine visit?

It was just a routine visit. George Baxtrum dropped by the Socialist Workers party office, thumbed through a file, picked up a few things, and copied some papers to take with him. Since no one was there, he had let himself in the door with his key.

The only problem was that George was an FBI agent, not a socialist. And it was past midnight, sometime back in 1963.

Now, on May 13, 1976, I was waiting for George Baxtrum at his office—the FBI office in Madison, Wisconsin—to give him some more papers. But my papers were a legal summons. They said he must come to court and explain his visits—his break-ins.

The socialists have added Baxtrum as a defendant in their suit against government spying. They are holding him liable for some of

that \$37 million the suit demands.

While waiting, I paged through a booklet about the "Advantages of Working for the FBI." "About your associates," it said, "... new employees can be confident they will be working with top grade people." Like George Baxtrum? Or like Arthur Greene, his accomplice in the burglaries? Or John Malone, who was in charge of the New York FBI in those days? When I dropped off similar papers for them I would see if they, too, were "top grade people."

Voices of FBI men chatting in the other office could be heard. "Have you read *All the President's Men*?" one asked. "No, I used to try to read all those Watergate books," his friend answered. "But then there were so many."

Earlier that morning I had visited another FBI office looking for Bax-

trum. A friend went along to take pictures. She tried to get a snapshot of a sign on the wall: "Crime resistance begins and ends with you." It seemed appropriate, somehow. But a receptionist chased her away.

Minutes later an indignant FBI agent rushed out from an inner office. "Who's trying to take pictures?" he demanded.

How could he be so upset? After all, how many nights had Baxtrum prowled around other people's offices, photographing files?

Of course, my visit wasn't the same as George Baxtrum's. I came during the day. And my business with him was legal. But finally, after ten years, the socialists returned his call.

See you in court, fellows.

—D.R.

Stop lynch 'justice' in South Africa...

Two members of the South West Africa People's Organisation—Aaron Mushimba and Hendrik Shikongo—have been sentenced to death by hanging under the South African government's Terrorism Act.

These projected legal lynchings are part and parcel of the apartheid regime's campaign to smash the liberation forces of Namibia, the colony that South Africa calls South-West Africa.

The white settler minority regime of South Africa—like the Rhodesian regime in neighboring Zimbabwe—has no right to exist, much less to occupy a colony and sentence to death its freedom fighters.

The two governments have been branded international outlaws by world public opinion and the United Nations. Sean MacBride, United Nations commissioner for Namibia, pointed out that if the death sentences are carried out, "those directly involved in the executions will be guilty of murder."

The United States government is one of the main backers of these criminal governments. It has propped up the racist regimes through military aid or economic trade. American working people have a special responsibility to demand:

Free the Namibian freedom fighters!

End all U.S. support to the white regimes!

Black majority rule in southern Africa!

...and at home

The United States version of apartheid—Jim Crow segregation—was demolished by the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. But the dual standard of justice lives on here just as in South Africa.

Police harass, brutalize, maim, and murder Black people every day in this country for no other reason than that they are Black. This violent, systematic intimidation is a vital part of the all-around system of racial discrimination and oppression that is so profitable for the U.S. capitalists.

Three victims of this institutionalized lynch process are J.B. Johnson, Gary Tyler, and Stanton Story. The past month has seen major developments in all their cases.

J.B. JOHNSON. Twenty-six. Convicted May 14 in St. Louis of complicity in the shooting of a white cop. It was Johnson's second trial; his first conviction on the same charge was thrown out by the Missouri Supreme Court because of misconduct and suppression of evidence by police and prosecutors.

The evidence offered by Johnson's accusers is flimsy and contradictory. But they weren't relying on evidence for a conviction. Systematic exclusion of Blacks and young people from the jury meant that Johnson's fate rested not with a jury of his peers, but with an all-white panel whose average age was fifty-four.

Such discrimination in jury selection is unconstitutional. It is also one of the main props of the dual justice system.

GARY TYLER. Seventeen. On death row, convicted by an all-white jury of shooting a white youth.

All the key witnesses against Tyler have recanted and revealed how police coerced them into giving false testimony. But that was not sufficient grounds for a white Louisiana judge to grant Tyler a new trial.

Now the cops, enraged at the exposure of their frame-up methods, have vowed revenge on Tyler's family.

Last week they picked up Terry Tyler, who has been active in his brother's defense, and another youth who had testified on Gary Tyler's behalf. They were hit with flagrantly contrived burglary charges. Cops toyed with loaded guns trained on the two. "I done killed me so many niggers I got a notch on my gun," one of their tormentors boasted.

STANTON STORY. Twenty-three. Convicted of murder by an all-white jury and sentenced to death on May 7. Story was in North Carolina at the time he is accused of killing a Pittsburgh cop.

The plight of these three Black youths has received national attention. There are scores more like them in jails across the country.

The *Militant* urges its readers to help free these frame-up victims by publicizing the truth about their cases and by joining in petition drives, rallies, marches, and other actions on their behalf. In doing so we not only aid the individual victims of injustice. We can also strike a blow against the system that feeds on and perpetuates racist oppression.

Wild Westerner

Living out here in the Wild West where the Democrats and Republicans roam, where seldom is heard an encouraging word, and the skies are covered with smog . . . it's refreshing to get your paper every week.

Your coverage of Boston is remarkable and much appreciated, as is your coverage of Sadlowski. For some reason, the local pulp press here has neglected to give any kind of coverage to either.

J.W.

Missoula, Montana

Will work for Camejo-Reid

I am very happy with the *Militant*. It is an informative and well-written newspaper.

Unfortunately, I won't be able to receive it during the summer, as my address is uncertain. But I shall resubscribe in September when I am moving to Boston and will have a definite address.

I also plan to work for the Camejo-Reid campaign when I arrive in Cambridge.

M.L.

New Haven, Connecticut

Created a monster

I recently saw a game show on daytime television and got another view of what the American people are thinking of capitalist politicians.

The show is played by the contestants filling in blanks in short stories—they score points if they match answers with "stars." The story had Dr. Frankenstein saying he had put a politician's brain in his monster, and now he couldn't keep it from (blank)-ing.

The contestant filled it in with "lying." Four out of six of the "stars" matched that answer.

Now we must show people they should stop playing the two-party shell game of lying politicians, and support their own, working people's candidates.

Dave Brandt

Rochester, New York

Nuclear arms race

For all the attention we give to class struggles and other political movements, we socialists tend to neglect a few unpleasant but important topics.

It's not very pleasant to think about the consequences of a real nuclear war, but let's not forget that the Pentagon spends its time and *our* money making sure to be prepared for one.

I was wondering whether the *Militant* could devote an article to the nuclear problem; what it means for world revolution; and what to make of all those scare stories the capitalist politicians are trying to feed us.

Vance Mayhew

Meriden, Connecticut

Guns vs. butter

The letter from J.R. of Raleigh, North Carolina, in the May 14 edition is a good example of the increasingly provocative and worthwhile letters appearing in the *Militant*.

As with J.R., I too am troubled by our references to eliminating the military budget without explaining the reasoning behind our proposal.

We also need to respond to the question in many people's minds as to

what happens to workers made unemployed by the closing of war industries. They must be helped to understand that war industries create fewer jobs than service industries.

Is it not true that when a billion dollars for fighter-bombers are transferred to public housing, education, and the rebuilding of our inner cities, a considerable number of additional jobs are created in the process?

How many more jobs are involved in the development, operation, and servicing of a hospital or public transportation system than for a warship involving a similar drain on tax monies?

G.C.

Washington, D.C.

Appeals to sense of justice

I have been reading your paper since my confinement and it appeals to my sense of justice, fairness, and equality.

Also, my social, economic, and political views are more than adequately expressed by the paper.

A prisoner

New York

South Carolina prisons

As prisoners, our individual and constitutional rights are being disregarded, our moral and religious rights are being trampled on, we are treated like cattle being readied for the slaughter.

We suffer daily mental and physical harassment from robots trained in war tactics. They've labeled it security, but even some guards have admitted privately that isn't.

Is the length of hair a security problem? Hell no. Everyone should be made aware of these facts.

By the time this letter is received, several persons will have been put in solitary confinement for refusing to conform with overly rigid demands made by a few over-zealous army retirees.

At this point this is the threat "hanging over our head."

A prisoner

South Carolina

Palestinian struggle

It is a tragic illusion to believe that the Palestinian problem is really being solved. Rather, the fundamental issues are only being swept under the rug. Things not being attended to imaginatively are:

1) The proposed establishment of a state for the Palestinians (numbering over 2.5 million), on only 20 percent of their country (about 2,000 square miles), which lacks all viability, economic, political, and military.

2) Allowing the Israelis to keep some 80 percent of the country plus, perhaps, Egyptian and Syrian territories, and to keep operative such necessarily expansionist and discriminatory principles as the Law of Return.

This is merely to put the two peoples on just another collision course, with the Palestinians at a disadvantage in the short run, and with untold tragedy for both peoples in the long run. The principle of weakening one adversary while strengthening the other may work temporarily.

Thus neutralization of Egypt, and the arming of the Israelis even with nuclear weaponry may constitute a serious setback to the Palestinians, but a study of history suggests that it is doubtful that they will mean much to the next generation of Palestinians.

International Socialist review

NSCAR vs. ROAR: A Debate on Busing

The following are major excerpts from a debate that took place April 21 at Georgia State University in Atlanta. The presentations and initial rebuttals have been excerpted, and the final summaries presented in full. The participants have not had a chance to edit the transcript of their remarks.

The debate was sponsored by the Student Government Association at Georgia State, in collaboration with the campus Black Culture and Life Committee, the Black Alliance, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Moderator. The question of busing has divided many sectors of this society. It's divided trade unions, it's divided liberals, it's divided radicals, it's divided students, it's divided people of many persuasions. The people who consider themselves left and right have taken different positions on this question of busing. Clearly it is one of the central issues in race relations in this country right now if not one of the major issues in national politics as a whole.



Louise Day Hicks

Appropriate to the importance of this discussion, we've brought down two speakers who are not simply major spokespeople on this particular question but are people involved in the actual struggles and activities around this question.

On my left is Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, who is probably nationally one of the most important spokespeople against busing. She's a former member of Congress, president of the [Boston] city council, former chairperson of the school committee in Boston, and president of Restore Our Alienated Rights, ROAR, which is a major antibusing group in Boston.

On my right is Mr. Mohammed Karimi, who is a coordinator of the April 24 national march against racism. He is a member of the Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union and a member of the national steering committee of the Student Coalition Against Racism.

We'll begin this discussion with Mr. Karimi.

Mohammed Karimi

Boston, as you all know, is known as the cradle of liberty, the home of the American revolution. Well, this cradle of liberty is a city under siege today. It is a city where Black families living in predominantly white neighborhoods face night-riding terror. The Dudmans in Dorchester, victims of a two-month campaign of rock and bottle throwing. The Dorcanes in Hyde Park, the targets of window shattering and rifle fire. Edward Soares, hunted by a gang of whites on the Boston Common, beaten and kicked and finally rescued by a white suburban judge.

And then, of course, there's Theodore Landsmark, the Black attorney whose picture you may have seen in the *Atlanta Constitution* recently as a mob of white antibusing students boycotting schools shouted, "Get the nigger, kill him," while they pummeled him and speared him with an American flag on the steps of city hall.

This attack came just moments after these young hooligans had been given hot chocolate and cookies in the city council chamber by my opponent in this debate.

The scene was not new. There was the mob attack a year and a half ago in South Boston on Jean-Louis André Yvonne. The bombing of the NAACP headquarters in Boston. The stoning of buses. The harassment and victimization that goes on constantly in the schools. The graffiti on

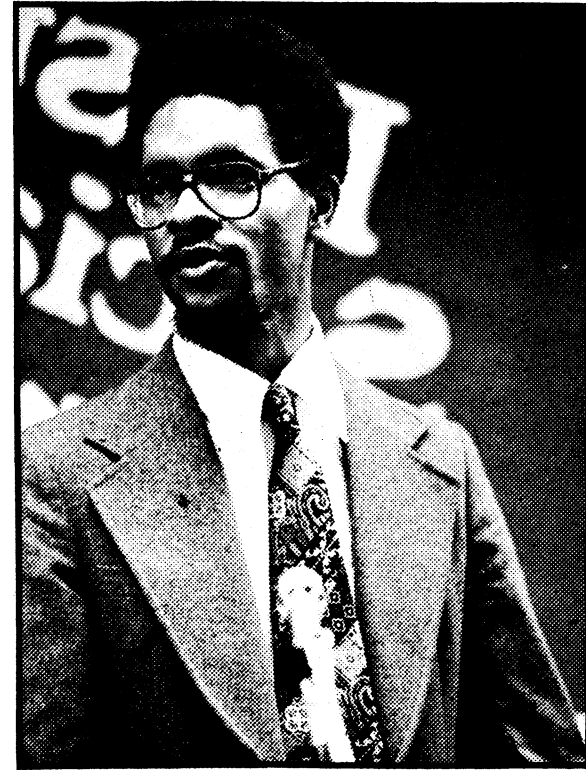
the walls of South Boston and Charlestown: "Niggers suck," "Bus them back to Africa," "Build zoos," "Bonehead beware."

That is Boston today. A Boston where racist vigilantes cruise through Roxbury, the heart of the Black community. Where no subway is safe, where students ride yellow targets into potential battle, where elected officials to a person, from the school committee to the city council to the mayor's office, consciously and deliberately fuel the atmosphere of terror and violence. How did this develop and why does it exist?

For a generation the Boston School Committee has methodically segregated Boston schools. This was not a hard process because in Boston if you are Black you cannot buy, you cannot rent homes in safety, if at all, in sections of the city like the North End, East Boston, South Boston, Hyde Park, or Charlestown.

These neighborhoods are segregated, lily-white. Black people have been locked into the ghetto. Forced into inadequate housing, discriminated against in job training, hiring, and

Continued on page ISR/2



Mohammed Karimi

Maceo Dixon

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- **Brownmiller on Rape: Readers Respond**

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Right to Protest in China

In early April China was shaken by massive demonstrations on the occasion of memorial activities for the late Chou En-lai. They culminated in the demonstration of 100,000 in Tien An Men Square on April 5.

The Peking regime labeled this mass action "an organized, premeditated, and planned counterrevolutionary political incident." It further charged the demonstrators with hooliganism and violence.

A different picture was painted, however, by other accounts. A Canadian journalist eyewitness, Ross Munro, described the action as essentially spontaneous and nonviolent, comparing the mood of the crowd to that of earlier civil rights and antiwar demonstrations he had seen in North America.

From all accounts, the demonstration was an attempt to express political grievances. Many of the memorial wreaths placed in the square displayed veiled political comments. These were read with great interest by the crowd, according to Munro.

One slogan on a wreath read, "Down with Gandhi!" in an obvious comparison of Mao's wife Chiang Ching to India's dictator. Some in the crowd recited verses as a means of political expression. One verse that was reported went, "China is no longer the China of yore, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance. . . ."

The response of the ruling Mao faction to this spontaneous explosion of protest was repression. Hundreds were reportedly arrested. Agence France-Presse dispatches of May 18 and May 20 reported the appearance of official wall posters in Hunan province announcing that two persons had been executed for taking part in the April 5 demonstration and ten others sentenced to thirty years of "reeducation through manual labor."

Later in the month three others were reported condemned to thirty years of "reeducation" for charges relating to the demonstration.

On May 20 the Chinese Foreign Ministry denied that the two persons had been executed, but there were no reported denials of the hard-labor sentences.

The huge size of the April demonstrations in China, if nothing else, indicates that masses of Chinese citizens have strongly felt grievances against the government. All supporters of the Chinese revolution are confronted with these questions: What were the demands and opinions of the tens of thousands who defied the Maoist regime by demonstrating April 5? Why couldn't their views be expressed openly? Why was their right to demonstrate violated?

In the face of the Tien An Men events, it is the duty of socialists throughout the world to speak out in defense of the rights of the

masses of Chinese workers to political expression.

Five socialist organizations of Hong Kong youth have taken the lead in this. In an April 25 statement published in the May 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, they write:

"In simple words, whether the masses used wreaths, poems, silent mourning, or heated speeches, and whether they had common feelings and wishes or correct demands, the one hundred thousand people gathered on April 5 at Tien An Men Square clearly pointed out with their mass action that the masses want to express their own opinions on current events in China. . . ."

"The Peking government, by attacking the action of workers, peasants, and student youth as 'counterrevolutionary' and putting demonstrators under arrest, has completely disregarded the basic democratic rights of the masses of organization, expression, march, demonstration, and strike. These rights were accepted by the Fourth People's Congress of China, and were stated clearly in the constitution as rights of Chinese citizens."

These Chinese youth demand:

"1. Unconditionally and immediately release all those arrested on April 5 at Tien An Men Square.

"2. Stop slandering and attacking the masses and their action at Tien An Men Square.

"3. Publicize all the facts about the April 5 incident; let the masses speak out their own opinions publicly.

"4. Guarantee the basic democratic rights of the Chinese people, as outlined in rule No. 28 of the constitution."

U.S. Out of Panama!

U.S. occupation and control of the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone has become an issue in the presidential election campaign. Ronald Reagan charged Gerald Ford with plotting a "giveaway" of the canal. Reagan opposes concessions to Panamanian demands for an end to U.S. rule in the Canal Zone, a strip of territory fifty-three miles long and ten miles wide that splits Panama down the middle.

To hear Reagan tell it, "We bought it, we paid for it, we built it, and we intend to keep it." A look at how the U.S. imperialists grabbed the Canal Zone reveals the phoniness of Reagan's claims.

In 1903 the government of Colombia—which at that time included Panama—balked at U.S. terms for building a canal across the isthmus. With President Theodore Roosevelt's support, a "covert operation" was organized by a New York corporation lawyer, William Cromwell, and a French businessman, Philippe Bunau-Varilla.

They planned a "revolt" to establish Panama's "independence." To assure the success of the "uprising," U.S. warships occupied Panama's waters and U.S. marines landed in the coastal city of Colón. Bunau-Varilla then forced the new ruling junta to accept him as Panama's "ambassador" to the United States. He signed the agreement granting the U.S. control—not ownership, as Reagan asserts—of the Canal Zone "in perpetuity." The entire operation, clearly violating both U.S. and international law, was perpetrated behind the

backs of the Panamanian people—and of the people of the United States as well.

Reagan's assertion that "we" built the canal is imperialist arrogance. The United States imported thousands of Black West Indians and hired many Panamanians to work at low wages on the project. They and their descendants reaped none of the benefits of the country's major economic resource.

Today, Panama is an occupied country with fourteen U.S. military bases on its soil. This vast establishment includes the "School of the Americas," which trained military dictators and torturers for Chile, Brazil, and other Latin American countries.

In 1954, U.S.-organized exiles embarked from Panama to crush the nationalist regime in Guatemala. In 1965, the Canal Zone was a jumping-off point for the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic.

Even more humiliating to the Panamanians has been the racist regime the United States brought to the Canal Zone. Anglo "Zonians" monopolize the best jobs, schools, and housing. Segregation is practiced in every walk of life against the Panamanians, many of whom are of Black or Indian ancestry.

The systematic degradation of the Panamanian people by the U.S. occupiers has sparked increasing resistance. In 1964, twenty-one Panamanians died and hundreds were injured in a rebellion sparked by the refusal of Canal Zone authorities to fly the Panamanian flag along with the U.S. flag.

In the wake of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, the Panamanians have stepped up demands for the right to rule in their own land. On the other hand, few U.S. leaders feel able to undertake the task of militarily crushing Panamanian opposition because of the deep-going antiwar mood of the American working people. Under these circumstances, the United States agreed in 1974 to negotiate a new treaty that would make concessions to Panamanian demands for sovereignty.

This has sparked opposition from the American far right and from "Zonians" who fear that they may soon have to treat Panamanians as equals. These racists recently organized a "strike" to oppose a new treaty. The action opposed Panamanian demands for integrated schools and housing. These are die-hard colonialists. They are blood brothers to the antibusing lynch mobs in Boston.

Not a single capitalist politician in the United States has the simple decency to advocate turning the canal and the Canal Zone over to the Panamanian people, to whom it rightfully belongs. Gerald Ford insists that "the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

Democratic front-runner Jimmy Carter said, "I cannot foresee a time when I would relinquish effective control of the operations or defense of the canal."

The Socialist Workers party candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, have unequivocally supported the demands of the Panamanian people. They recognize that American working people have no interest in controlling the canal or any other Panamanian territory.

The Canal Zone belongs to the people of Panama! U.S. Out Now!

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Louisville



Charlestown

Jon Hillson



ROAR rally

Jon Hillson

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advancement. That is the social backdrop of school segregation in Boston.

Federal District Court Judge W. Arthur Garrity, in his historic court order, noted that all of this was true and more. An organized campaign of discrimination exists in that city. Black students were bused around predominantly white schools to which they lived the closest. White schools were kept overcrowded rather than desegregated. Every measurable resource—from building facilities, to educational material, to teacher personnel, to per pupil expenditures—was worse for Black schools than for the white schools. There was a dual standard in Boston, as elsewhere in this country, for Black and white students.

These are the undeniable facts of segregation—something that was pointed out by the Supreme Court in 1954 when it ruled that separate but equal was inherently unequal for Black people.

Judge Garrity's decision did not fall from the sky. It reflected the campaign of Boston's Black community, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of Freedom House and of our white supporters who oppose segregation.

That struggle was inspired by the battle here down South to break the back of Jim Crow racism, the laws that made Blacks in America live in a hell, like our brothers and sisters in South Africa and Rhodesia today.

The solidarity of Northern support grew into a drive against the institutional racism of school committees and city councils and mayors' offices up North, and what has come to be known as de facto segregation of the schools and other aspects of life in Northern cities.

In Boston it was pickets and student protests, highlighted in 1965 by a massive action of 15,000 Black and white citizens led by Martin Luther King through the streets of Boston. That struggle resulted in the passage of a flawed and modest piece of desegregation legislation, called the Racial Imbalance Law.

That legislation was never implemented. It was blocked and obstructed and challenged by the bigots, who were determined to maintain white privileges at the expense of Black equal rights. They built a movement based on fear and ignorance that said that desegregation, that Blacks' rights and busing, would never come to Boston. Court battles and protests continued up to and through Judge Garrity's order.

The bigots' balloon burst when the buses began to roll in 1974.

All the rhetoric, the whole pretty face of racism, fell apart with the violence in 1974 and the violence since then.

Mrs. Hicks, I'm sure, will deny racism. She'll deny the antibusing movement is racist. But she cannot deny the graffiti, she cannot deny the chants, and she cannot deny the violence. She cannot deny the fact that fifty antibusing demonstrators beat a Black man on city hall steps because he was Black, after having tea, hot chocolate, and cookies with her. She cannot deny that the Klan has come to Boston at the invitation of the South Boston Marshals Association.

No, Mrs. Hicks, your movement is a racist one. It is a violent and disruptive one. That is what you and your ilk have brought upon Boston.

Boston is the center of the national racist challenge to Black equality.

Busing to achieve desegregation was one of the

principal gains registered by the civil rights movement. Its defeat would be a stunning blow against democratic rights, against Black people, and will open the door for a wide-open assault against other such gains, won not only by Blacks, but by women, youth, and the labor movement. It is not a coincidence in Boston that the same forces that rail against busing are chief figures in the anti-abortion movement.

It is not a coincidence that ROAR members broke up a pro-ERA rally last April. Or that at ROAR's national convention, one of the biggest cheers that went up was for the Pentagon aggression against Cambodia.

These antibusers are bold and aggressive. But they are a minority. The majority of the American people support desegregation. People like Mrs. Hicks have confused them and told them that you can get desegregation without busing. Well, that's not true. Busing is the only way to desegregate the schools.

ROAR in Boston, the racists in Boston, do not speak for the majority of white people in this country, who are increasingly repelled by their violence and their threats.

America is in deep crisis. Rights are challenged and are jeopardized, as those who rule this system attempt to pit Black people against white, men against women, for the crumbs.

Mrs. Hicks says that we should fight, fight to the death, for the crumbs. We say that Blacks and whites could be united on the basis of equality. That that is what the fight in Boston is: the fight for equality, for equal rights.

We can allow no one to drive us off of the bus, to keep us from using it, to keep us from living, walking, and working anywhere. The battle of Boston is drawing the best ranks of our generation forward in the fight, and like the tough old civil rights song says, "Ain't no one going to turn us around." Thank you.

Louise Day Hicks

Thank you very much. Thank you very much for inviting me here this evening.

I would like tonight to speak regarding the city of Boston and the problem of forced busing. And I think we must keep in mind that we are not speaking about busing per se but rather forced busing.

Despite a proclaimed loss of American inno-



Boston

cence on the battlefields of urban and jungle conflict, myths continue to serve as the basis for our federal government's formulation of a social policy, particularly through judicial fiat.

Two of the most prevalent myths which reality has debunked, but still are adhered to by the media and by the establishment and government bureaucracy, are that the South will not rise again—indeed that the South does not deserve to rise again; and that the North, specifically the Northeast, is a unified social and economic, monolithic entity easily controlled through enlightened progressivism.

Now, there are no two myths that could be further from the truth. The renaissance of the new South and the nightmare of urban life in our Northern cities attests to these myths. I am convinced that the South has progressed both socially and economically in spite of the first myth. And the Northeast urban nightmare, a result of the second, was caused by it.

Boston is unique because it is a composite of neighborhoods that revolve around a central downtown area. Ethnic neighborhoods have been Boston's hallmark for generations, and because of it, Boston is often called the most European city in America.

That was before the nightmare struck. Today the city is just barely holding its own against a tide of externally imposed economic and social forces that threaten to destroy the very fabric that has made the city of Boston unique and inviting as a place to live and work.

The nightmare rode into town in a yellow school bus, propelled by the myth that people of distinct cultural background could not learn to live in harmony with each other unless they were forced to do so through the federal courts and in the name of enlightened progress.

In a very real sense the nightmare currently in control of Boston came a lot later than it did to New York City and Washington, D.C. In fact, up until the imposition of forced busing by federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., of the United States District Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts two years ago, Boston in the previous four or five years was actually reversing the population trend that had begun right after World War II.

People, especially young people, middle-class people with families, were moving back from the suburbs into Boston to be in closer proximity to Boston's cultural and economic opportunities. Since forced busing, however—and this fact has been documented by studies conducted by Professor [James] Coleman of the University of Chicago, the sociologist most responsible for forced busing—the city of Boston has lost a sizable portion of its middle class to the suburbs because of forced busing.

The signs of this exodus are everywhere in the city of Boston.

In the Dorchester neighborhood, families are defaulting on mortgages, picking up stakes and seeking asylum in the near suburbs. In West Roxbury, always the most affluent part of Boston, realtors report that they have 800 homes for sale in Boston with no takers.

The only neighborhoods of the city where the exodus has not taken hold are those where, like Charlestown and South Boston, there's a scarcity of financial means, and in Roxbury and North Dorchester, where the color of one's skin, together with property, prevents it.

That is the real tragedy of forced busing. Because of it, freedom is dying in Boston. And as



Karimi: "We can allow no one to drive us off the bus, to keep us from using it, living, walking, and working anywhere. Like the tough old civil rights song says, "Ain't no one going to turn us around."

typical of events and conditions in all our urban areas, freedom is only dying for poor people. Poor whites have been pitted against poor Blacks to salve the conscience of the affluent.

Poor whites and poor Blacks have been ordered to bear the full brunt of the desegregation process, while those more financially fortunate sit in their suburban sanctuaries untouched by the reality of forced busing but still believing in the myth that spawned it.

Forced busing is a mockery of our entire constitutional system, and the poor are forced to pay for it with their lack of tax loopholes, the declining quality of their public school systems, and their children. A decade ago Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., denounced the Vietnam War because it basically discriminated against the poor. Only the poor, she said, were asked to bear the bloody brunt of that conflict. Well, only the poor walled in the central cities are asked to bear the emotional and the financial brunt of forced busing.

So they must stand up to that victimization with the only tool at their disposal, their emotions. In each of the working-class neighborhoods of Boston, such as Charlestown and South Boston, the emotionalism displayed is commensurate with the level of frustration that accompanies the inability to escape.

Forced busing has seriously threatened the integrity of Boston's neighborhoods, and the resulting emotionalism in opposition to that development has constantly been described along racial lines. To the complete exclusion of the sociological, psychological, and economic factors that in all honesty must be taken into account if Boston's problem is to be understood and eventually solved.

To begin with, there is not only cultural identity available in the various neighborhoods, there are roots in the nation that has become increasingly more rootless and frightened by that rootlessness. How can one go into Boston neighborhoods and announce a governmental policy of total cultural assimilation, when that process is rightly viewed as the cause of the nation's current spiritual malaise and its rootlessness?

I believe in integration, but I also believe it must come on a personal, one-on-one basis. By its very nature massive social change of government is doomed to fail from the start if it is by government fiat. The fabric that binds us together as a society, a pluralistic society, is just too delicate to bear up under the strains imposed on it by a federal court order based on sociological experimentation. Boston today is the perfect example of a breakdown of this fabric under duress. The city is distressingly polarized along racial lines—a situation that, I emphasize, did not exist in Boston prior to Judge Garrity's

decision.

Forced busing has created the siege for the destruction of the American city. And its end result will lead to resegregation of this nation along lines that have never been dreamed of. Black cities will be surrounded by white suburbs.

In Boston leaders in the Black community strongly urge control over their own schools. But how can you control schools if your children are in other neighborhoods?

You know, somewhere along the line, the great civil rights movement took a wrong turn. And that turn was taken in a yellow school bus. And the driver was a consortium of social experimenters and judges who chose to set racial policy without first consulting with reality.

No, ladies and gentlemen, the people of Boston who oppose forced busing believe in quality integrated education and should not be called racists and bigots. Their only concern is for the educational welfare of their children and the true welfare of all the children of the city of Boston. Thank you.

Karimi Rebuttal

I'd like to set the facts straight. No one has ever had the right in this country to choose exactly which school you go to. I don't know how familiar you are with the educational system in this country, but it's compulsory. It's forced education. You are told you must go to school.

Not only that, but a school committee or a school board divides the city up into districts and tells you what school you go to, depending on where you live. Right?

Now the only difference [in Boston] now is that a federal court sat down, looked at things, and said, this school committee in Boston has been telling people what schools to go to, but the way they've been doing it has been to give Blacks an unequal education. So therefore we have to tell this school committee to reassign students so that Black people get an equal education. There's no more force involved in that than there ever was.

On white flight. Coleman is absolutely wrong on this question. If Black people had money there would be Black flight out of the cities too, let me tell you. The reason why people are fleeing the cities is because people like you are running them, Mrs. Hicks.

City council people like yourself, mayors like Mayor [Kevin] White, and others are doing everything they can to slash welfare and other social services, to cut the education budget, to raise the taxes and all these other things. You are the people who are passing these laws. You talk about it as though you had nothing to do with it. You are city council president.

When you do these things, yes, people want to

get out of that situation and the ones with the money get out. And they happen to be white. Because of the discrimination in this country, white people have it better off than Black people. So they can flee.

Poor Blacks and poor whites are pitted against one another. Yes, that's true. In this fight they are. But who pitted one against the other? Black people have only demanded an equal education. You tell the people of South Boston that this demand is not for equal education, that it's a demand against them, a demand to take away their rights. That's a lie, Mrs. Hicks.

You say that you are for quality integrated education. Well, why don't you get those ROAR demonstrators to go down to the school committee or Mayor White's office and demand that more money be spent on all the schools, especially the schools in the Black community, so that people can have a quality education? Why is it that you're demonstrating against a bus?

You say the rich are the only people who are benefiting by this. They are using this to divide poor and working people. Then demonstrate against them, don't demonstrate against the Black people.

Listen, if you organize a demonstration to demand more money for all the schools, especially the Black schools, which have been underfunded all along, I am sure the Black community would come out and support that. And we would have some unity, and the unity would be around equality in the schools. That's what this fight is all about. Equality and nothing else.

Hicks Rebuttal

There has been much talk about setting the record straight. So let us set the record straight also for the other side of this question. First of all, there has been talk about some of the attacks that have been made by white people on Black people. Now am I to get up here and name to you others where there have been attacks by Blacks on whites so that this would then even the score? Because believe me, I can make just as many remarks with regard to attacks that have been made on the white people of Boston and I can remind you that the violence in Boston that has started now has been caused because a young man is dying in the city hospital in Boston because of the attack by fifty Black youth on Sunday evening.

But this does nothing whatsoever in any way to help this cause in Boston and to bring peace. No way will the hurt of one race against the other solve any of the problems.

In talking about the schools and what did I do as chairman of the school committee to bring quality education into those schools. Every new school was built in a peripheral area in order

that we could gather from the white and Black communities to have an integrated school. When the school was built, the white area had diminished so that the Black area in its mobility had moved, so we then again had a Black, predominantly Black, school.

We built the Boston public school system on the basis of neighborhood schools: that you go to school in the neighborhood where you live. And they had open seat enrollment whereby any child could come into the school system and into another neighborhood school if there was a seat available.

All new schools are overbuilt in Boston. Any school that would educationally house a thousand children in a particular neighborhood was built to educationally house approximately 1,200 or 1,300 students in order that students could come into the area if they wished to have an integrated education.

In regard to the decision by Judge Garrity, this decision came down because of the fact that under a report that was filed with the school committee, we were asked to set up middle schools instead of junior high schools to help with the desegregation process. This was long before Judge Garrity. We set up those middle schools, but again the feeder patterns changed so that the schools, instead of having an integrated population, were feeding from a Black area, caused by the white flight of people who had then decided to move further out from the urban city out into the suburban town.

Hicks Summary

Tonight we have certainly heard charges and countercharges. And we can certainly now realize what the situation is in Boston. We can see what has engendered the racial polarization and the bitterness. This did not exist prior to Judge W. Arthur Garrity's desegregation, forced-busing order. There was not this feeling in the city of Boston. And it is to be deplored.

I have stated to you that I deplore violence, no matter upon whom the violence is inflicted. Nothing is going to be gained by the fact that one race is pitted against another in the city of Boston.

And I laid the blame for all the trouble in

Boston at the feet of that forced-busing order, which has brought chaos and disorder into our city; which has caused financial distress to the citizens of Boston; which has caused the white flight from the city; which has caused the Boston public school system, which at one time was a predominantly white school system in a predominantly white city, to now be a predominantly minority school system.

If you look at the great cities across this country, you will realize that once the white flight starts to take place in these cities, those who are left behind are the least able to pay the taxes of the city, and we see the decline of the city. No city can be viable unless it is an integrated city. But what we're watching in Boston at the present time, because of a forced-busing order, is its decline.

We must take every step to prevent this, to bring quality into education through other means. Because forced busing is not the answer.

Karimi Summary

To recap. Cities in this country are segregated in housing patterns. And when you have these residentially divided cities, there is no way to desegregate the schools without using some means of transportation. Busing happens to be the safest.

If you support the idea that Black people have the right to an equal education and if you support desegregation—which the majority of the American people do—then it flows that busing is the means of achieving this.

Busing is forced because people like Mrs. Hicks and others are opposed to Blacks having that right.

Now, you say it is not because they are opposed to Blacks having that right; it's because they are opposed to their children having to go to another school. Well, Mrs. Hicks, there's no way for me to get into another school that's full unless someone in that school goes to another school.

And that doesn't mean that [the quality of] their education is going to fall. As I pointed out, it has been shown historically that education improves in those schools in the Black community where the white students have gone. Desegregation is in the interests of the education of

Blacks, and it's in the interests of the education of whites as well.

You say we can achieve equal education by other means. But throughout this entire evening you have not once mentioned what these other means are. Except at one point you said something about personal, one-to-one integration.

I don't know what that means. But the fact is that personal, one-to-one integration is meaningless if it means that I can't go to the same school that your children can go to. Or that I can't live in the same neighborhood that you live in.

Personal, one-to-one integration is meaningless. What we're talking about is ending racial oppression. That's what I'm talking about. I'm talking about the fact that Black people are treated unequally in this society, and the way to deal with that is to eliminate unequal institutions like segregated schools. And the only way to do that is through busing.

I think that when you peel away the verbiage that Mrs. Hicks presented to us, when you look at her movement, the movement that she leads, you see that she is throwing us a challenge—all of us, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, whites, women, men, young people and old.

Her movement, and its marches and its violence and its lies and its multiplicity of presidential candidates are saying one thing: Whose side are you on? Will you back down?

And we have to say no, we won't back down. We ain't going to be turned around. We have to say that we are going to stand up and be counted. We're going to organize and we're going to fight this movement, which despite all of its smoke-screen rhetoric is a racist movement against the rights of Black people.

We're going to organize, and fight back, and we're going to win. And that's why I think all of you should join the Student Coalition Against Racism here in Atlanta and help in its antiracist activities.

And I hope that in the future, probusing and antibusing people will be able to debate again, because I think it's important that we get to the American people and explain to them the real issues of this fight.

Labor's Political Struggle, 1886 to Today

The fight for the eight-hour day, commemorated on May Day, was a political struggle. Tom Kerry unearths some of the hidden history of the steps by American workers toward independent labor political action.

The following article is based on a talk given by Tom Kerry on May 1 over WDET-FM radio at Wayne State University in Detroit.

By Tom Kerry

The origin of May Day as an international working-class holiday dates from early nineteenth century struggles of the American working class for the shorter workday.

The movement for a shorter working day began as early as 1829, some fifty years after the

first American revolution, with a demand in the New York State General Assembly for legislation on the reduction of hours. Toward the middle of the century, Grand Eight-hour Leagues were formed in the principal cities and manufacturing centers of the North.

The struggle for the eight-hour day was a class struggle that was bitterly fought over an extended period of time. The movement became widespread following the Civil War, which imparted a tremendous impetus to capitalist production with the rapid introduction of machinery in the early 1880s.

By the year 1886, nineteen states and one territory had adopted legislation prescribing the hours of labor. But the laws were rendered ineffectual by clauses permitting "contracts" for longer working days. As a result, the average day was between fourteen and eighteen hours, rather than eight or ten.

At its founding convention on August 20, 1866, the National Labor Union adopted the eight-hour day as a central demand. It later appealed to the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) for solidarity and support.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the prime movers of the First International at that

time and had imbued the organization with the spirit of internationalism, i.e., of international working-class solidarity in word and deed.

In September of the same year, 1866, the Geneva congress of the First International went on record for the eight-hour day demand in the following words:

"The legal limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvements and emancipation of the working class must prove abortive. . . . The Congress proposes eight hours as the legal limit of the working day."

Karl Marx, in the first volume of his monumental three-volume work *Capital*, published in 1867, calls attention to the eight-hour-day campaign initiated by the National Labor Union. In a famous passage, Marx underscores the identity of interest of Black and white workers.

Marx wrote:

"In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black skin it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the

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Kerry joined the Communist League of America, predecessor of the SWP, in 1934. He has taken part in many union struggles as a member of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders & Wipers Association, the Seafarers' International Union, and the National Maritime Union.

seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

Throughout its existence the First International enshrined the eight-hour-day demand as a major plank in its program of proletarian class struggle. But following the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871, the weakened and faction-ridden International was first shifted to New York from London and after a few years of precarious existence was finally dissolved in the year 1876.

But the movement for the shorter workday received added impetus following the devastating economic crisis of 1873, which brought in its train a seven-year period of acute hunger and mass suffering.

An economic upturn in the early part of the 1880s sparked the revival of the American labor movement. Foremost among labor demands was the eight-hour day. In 1884, the Fourth Convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the precursor of the American Federation of Labor, adopted a resolution that read, in part:

"Resolved, by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named."

This proposal for a May 1, 1886, deadline for the establishment of the eight-hour day was reiterated at the 1885 convention of the federation. Throughout the years 1885 and 1886, strikes and walkouts for the shorter workday continued to escalate. The movement reached a peak on the first day of May in the year 1886. So militant was the struggle, so aggressive and determined was the spirit of revolt against the virtually limitless working day, that it is estimated that at least half the number of workers who struck won the eight-hour day, while most of the others succeeded in gaining a significant reduction in the hours of labor.

The city of Chicago was the center of the eight-hour-day-strike movement. That city had a long history of police atrocities and the workers were inclined to engage in militant action. There was also present a radical leadership schooled in the tactics of class struggle. Together, these ingredients combined to endow the movement with maximum effectiveness.

Describing the Chicago May Day events of 1886, the prominent labor historian Samuel Yellen writes:

"The strike opened in Chicago with a display of great strength and much promise of success. Nearly 40,000 workers walked out on May 1 as prearranged, and the number jumped to 65,000 within three or four days. Nor was this the full strength of the movement in the city: more than 45,000 were granted a shorter working day without striking, the bulk of them—35,000—workers in the packing-houses. . . .

"With such a mass movement on foot," Yellen observes, "Chief of Police Ebersold apprehended difficulties and called upon the entire detective and police force to be on duty Saturday, May 1;



Haymarket massacre, May 4, 1886

and his force was augmented by Pinkerton detectives previously engaged by the railroads, and by special deputies, many of whom were selected from the Grand Army of the Potomac [an organization of Union veterans of the Civil War].

"In spite of these martial preparations," Yellen continues, "Saturday passed peacefully. The city, with hundreds of factories idle and thousands of strikers and their families promenading the streets, had a holiday appearance. There were processions and mass meetings, addressed in Bohemian, Polish, German, and English."

This did not suit the purposes of the Chicago bosses and their gunslinging hirelings. "Faced with a strike of unexpected power and solidarity," Yellen reports, "the leading business men and manufacturers united to crush it. On April 27 the Western Boot and Shoe Manufacturers Association, with 60 firms represented in person and 160 by letter, was formed in Chicago for combined action. The chief iron and steel foundries, as also the copper and brass, declared that they would reject the eight-hour demand."

"A session of the principal planing mills was held on the morning of May 1 at the office of Felix Lang to determine procedure against the strikers. In the evening these were joined at the Sherman Hotel by all the lumber yards and box factories, and the lumber industry in concert decided to grant no concessions to the workmen."

But the strike continued to spread. On May 3, the Chicago cops attacked a peaceful picket line outside the McCormick Harvester Works with clubs and guns, firing deliberately into the running strikers, who had been locked out since the middle of February. Four strikers were killed and many wounded—all shot in the back.

It was this police atrocity that sparked the protest meeting called for May 4, in the old Haymarket on Randolph Street in Chicago. Toward the end of this historic protest gathering, Yellen writes: "[Police] Inspector John Bonfield, hated throughout the city for his record of extreme brutality, led a detachment of 180 policemen to break up what remained of the meeting."

"There was no excuse for this expedition, except Bonfield's desire for another head-clubbing party, according to [Illinois] Governor Altgeld. . . .

"The police halted a short distance from the speakers' wagon," says Yellen, "and Captain Ward commanded the gathering to disperse. Fielden [an organizer of the meeting] cried out that it was a peaceable meeting. As Captain Ward turned to give an order to his men, a bomb was thrown from a point on the sidewalk a little south of the wagon. It exploded in the midst of the policemen and wounded 66, of whom seven later died."

"The police immediately opened fire hysterically and shot round after round into the crowd, killing several and wounding 200. The neighborhood was thrown into terror. Doctors were telephoned. Drug stores were crowded with the wounded."

Who threw the bomb is undetermined to this day. Gov. John Altgeld later declared "that Captain Bonfield is the man who is really responsible for the death of the police officers." Despite the total lack of evidence, eight men, prominent leaders of the Chicago labor movement of the time, were tried and convicted of murder in the first degree, and seven were sentenced to be hanged. One committed suicide in jail. Two petitioned for executive clemency and had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment. Four refused to plead for executive clemency and were hanged on November 11, 1887.

Governor Altgeld later pardoned the three surviving Haymarket prisoners, after an intensive investigation that established that the arrest, trial, and conviction of the martyrs of Haymarket was a deliberate frame-up.

The executed victims of the Haymarket bomb frame-up were regarded as martyrs to the cause of labor, and their monument at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago became a shrine visited by thousands each year.

If the big business tycoons and their police terror squads thought that the Chicago Haymarket massacre and the execution of the Haymarket martyrs constituted a crushing blow to labor's struggle for the eight-hour day, they soon found they had misread the lessons of working-class struggle and labor history. For, in a matter of one year following the Haymarket executions, the American Federation of Labor, meeting at its 1888 St. Louis convention, voted overwhelmingly to resume its campaign for the eight-hour day.

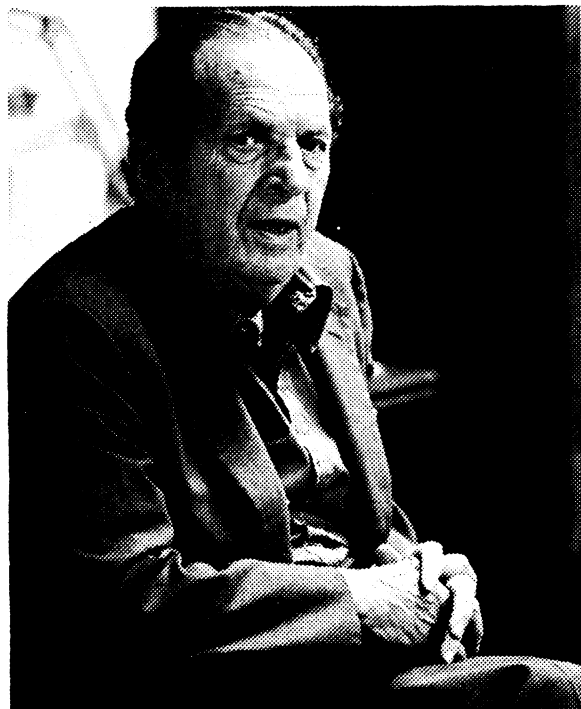
Once again, May 1 was designated the date for united working-class action to win the eight-hour day. The year 1890 was selected as the target year for nationwide strike action around the demand. An international dimension was imparted to the action by the fact that the resumption of the eight-hour-day movement coincided with the reestablishment of the international party of the working class.

On July 14, 1889, the one-hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille in the great French bourgeois revolution of 1789, representatives of the various national workers organizations met in Paris and established the Second International.

Delegates from the United States presented a report on the eight-hour-day struggle, and the founding congress of the Second International went on record in support of the action set for May 1, 1890, and called for an international demonstration of solidarity on that day.

In the period prior to World War I, with the intensification of the interimperialist rivalries and the exacerbation of the struggle for the division of world markets, spheres of influence, and sources of raw materials, May Day became preeminently an occasion for demonstrations against imperialist war.

If there is any one thing that symbolizes May Day, it is the spirit of class struggle that permeated its origin and development as a working-class holiday. Classes, according to Karl



TOM KERRY

Nelson Blackstock

Marx, are determined by their relationship to the means of production. Under the so-called free enterprise system of production and distribution, the capitalist class owns the means of production. The working class has only its labor power to sell. To do so, the workers must find a master to purchase the one commodity that the worker has for sale at so much an hour, day, or week, or sometimes, by the piece.

Political parties represent the interests of definite social classes and serve the material interests of those classes. Under our so-called two-party system the cards are stacked against the working class. Both parties are owned and controlled by big business and function in the interests of the bosses. This truth has been known from the very birth of the working-class movement in this country. As a matter of fact, the struggle for the eight-hour day, which rapidly became a generalized struggle throughout the whole of the capitalist world, was essentially a political struggle.

From the very beginning, and recurring periodically, the labor movement has engaged in debate over what kind of political policy best serves the interests of labor: class struggle or class collaboration. That is, independent working-class political action or coalition politics within one or another of the two capitalist political parties.

At its first convention in August 1866, the National Labor Union (NLU) debated the question of independent working-class political action versus collaboration with the existing capitalist parties. It was a lengthy and inconclusive discussion, for even at that time, more than 100 years ago, a controversy over this question was going on in the ranks of labor.

Some argued for remaining in the old capitalist parties, the so-called policy of "boring from within." Others urged the establishment of a labor party separate from and independent of the existing parties. At this first convention of the NLU, supporters of the labor party position were in a clear majority. They adopted the following resolution:

"The history and legislation of the past had demonstrated that no confidence whatever can be placed in the pledges of existing political parties so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned.

"The time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves aloof from party ties and predilections, and organize themselves into a National Labor Party, the object of which shall be to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours a legal day's work by the national Congress and the several state legislatures, and the election of men pledged to sustain and represent the interests of the industrial classes."

Because of the division over the matter of political policy, the National Labor Union postponed the implementation of the adopted labor party resolution. It was a fatal error—repeated in later years by other labor groups—with almost identical results: failure to carry through to the end a hopeful thrust toward the construction of an independent labor party.

To this day the American working class remains among the very few in the advanced capitalist countries without its own political party. The first step—which requires a decisive break with the fatuous policy of keeping the workers tied to the coattails of capitalist politicians—is yet to be taken.

However, historical necessity keeps driving the working class toward taking that first giant step. The volcanic eruption of the labor movement in the 1930s, which gave rise to the CIO, sparked a number of political innovations—the formation of Labor's Non-Partisan League, the CIO Political Action Committee, the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, the New York American Labor party, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party, etc.—but all fell short of the decisive step: a complete, irrevocable break with the parties of capitalism.

The Third International, under Lenin and Trotsky, adopted May Day as its very own and invested its international meaning and tradition with a revolutionary content. But the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union under the Stalinist regime poisoned the well of internationalism in all spheres, including that of the May Day tradition.

The torch of revolutionary internationalism

passed into the hands of the international Trotskyist Left Opposition, which, in the year 1938, founded the Fourth International on the basis of the "Transitional Program."

One of the major planks in that program invested the slogan of the shorter workday with scientific precision. It calls for a sliding scale of wages and hours in every union contract.

That is, with the advance of technology and the increase of labor productivity, hours should be reduced without a reduction in pay. Today the slogan finds expression in its popular form in the demand for the six-hour day or, as many unionists put it, thirty for forty. That is, thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay.

Should a Political Labor Party Be Formed?

AN ADDRESS BY

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President of the American Federation of Labor

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Secretary

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President

AFL brochure of early 1900s

'From the very beginning, and recurring periodically, the labor movement has debated what kind of political policy best serves the interests of labor: independent working-class political action or coalition politics within one or another of the two capitalist parties.'

The sliding scale of wages provides for an automatic increase in wages with each rise in the cost of living. The Socialist Workers party feels that this demand is the only effective means of combating galloping prices and runaway inflation. It has become popularly known in the union movement as the escalator clause.

At its founding convention in 1938, the Socialist Workers party adopted the Transitional Program and, later the same year, the slogan for an independent labor party based on the trade unions. We advocate the formation of such a party with a program including the sliding scale of wages and hours as a prominent plank in order to combat the dual scourge of unemployment and inflation.

The state of Michigan was the scene of some of the most ferocious battles fought during the heyday of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations). It was also the scene of one of the most promising steps toward the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions.

This development was described in an article in the September 1, 1944, issue of *American Labor News* entitled "Political Pioneering in Michigan" by Clayton W. Fountain:

"Early in 1942," says Fountain in relation to the labor party experience in Michigan, "the 'labor party' program began to pick up support. There was considerable 'labor party' talk within

the Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League, which carried the political ball for the CIO in Detroit.

"Then, in the Spring of 1943, Wayne County Labor's Non-Partisan League voted to change its name to The Progressive Labor League; and, in the same county convention of the League, there was carried, after prolonged debate, a resolution recommending to the Michigan State CIO Council that the CIO take the initiative in forming an 'independent political party.'

"When the Michigan State CIO Convention met in Detroit in June, 1943," Fountain continues, "the 'third party' resolution was an issue of heated controversy. CIO officialdom opposed the 'third party' proposal, saying they agreed with it in principle, but that this was not the time. Communists [Stalinists] screamed for national unity and denounced the 'third party' proposition as a dirty Trotskyist act of sabotage. Finally, after lengthy discussion, both on the convention floor and in hotel rooms, a majority of the delegates voted for a resolution instructing the Michigan State CIO Council to conduct a survey of CIO membership in the state to determine opinion on the issue. The resolution further provided that, if a majority of the CIO members were found to favor a 'third party,' the State CIO Council was to proceed with the organization of the party.

"Early in December, 1943, the Michigan State CIO Council, together with the CIO Regional Office, held a political conference in Lansing, Michigan. At this meeting, the 'third partyites' demanded a report on the survey of CIO opinion on 'independent political action.' The CIO officials' report was unsatisfactory to the 'third party' advocates.

"The 'third party' boys," Fountain goes on to report, "then held a rump meeting and voted to proceed with the formation of an 'independent political party.' They started out with a committee to 'organize a Farmer-Labor Party.' After several preliminary meetings, a study conference on the formation of a 'third party' was called for the first week in March, 1944. David Lewis of the Canadian CCF [Cooperative Commonwealth Federation] was the key speaker at this study conference. In his remarks, he cautioned against the 'labor party' philosophy and stressed the non-sectarian character of the CCF.

"The outcome of the study conference," Fountain concludes, "was a vote to form a 'third party' to be known as the Michigan Commonwealth Federation."

This "compromise" resolution of the debate sounded the death knell of what started out to be the most promising working-class independent party development seen in this country. The Michigan Commonwealth Federation ran a slate of six candidates in the 1944 elections but refrained from fielding a candidate for president against Franklin D. Roosevelt, then running for his fourth term.

This experiment in nonclass, "people's party" politics predictably ended in an exasperating exercise in futility.

The hope of building a nonclass, all-inclusive "people's party" mishmash was soon shipwrecked on the rock of reality—the reality that, as Marx established more than 100 years ago, capitalist society is divided into classes; political parties represent the interests of definite social classes in society; the middle classes can play no independent role; they are driven to support either one or the other of the two basic classes, the workers or the capitalists. History has confirmed this thesis over and over again.

May Day represents in its true essence a task posed by history for the American working class going back to the time this country consummated its first revolution—the first American revolution of 1776, which brought the capitalist class to power.

Today the two hundredth anniversary of that event is commemorated with the great American working class still to achieve its historic goal of building its own mass political party, able to conquer state power and rule in its own name. This is still the key task on the road to establishing a new, socialist society that will end once and for all the existence of poverty, color and sex discrimination, deprivation, and despair in the midst of potential plenty and full equality for all.

Abortion Rights Battle Is International



Rome, April 3. Fifty thousand marched for right to abortion.

L'Espresso

By Rebecca Finch

On April 3, 50,000 people marched through the streets of Rome demanding the right to abortion. The march was organized on only two days' notice to protest maneuvers by the ruling Christian Democratic party to forestall a popular referendum on the old, fascist-era anti-abortion law. The Christian Democrats finally opted for calling special elections for June, their last alternative for avoiding the abortion referendum.

In less than two years, the question of abortion in Italy has been transformed from something that was discussed in whispers to an issue that threatens to help bring down the Italian government.

Italy is not unique; in Britain, Germany, France, and elsewhere in Western Europe and around the world, the right of women to abortion and contraception has come to the fore as an explosive political issue.

This struggle first rose up in the United States, as did the women's liberation movement as a whole. The 1973 Supreme Court decision, recognizing the right of women to terminate a pregnancy, reflected the social impact of the burgeoning feminist movement. Since then, the right to abortion has emerged around the world as the foremost demand of women.

Why is this issue so vital to women that it has sped across international boundaries?

The answer is suggested by the old sexist saying about how to keep women down: "Keep them barefoot and pregnant."

Control of one's own body is the cornerstone for being able to control one's own life. It is the precondition for women to make choices about what they will do with their lives, rather than being forced by biology into the traditional woman's "place" in the home.

A survey of the abortion struggle internationally reveals how this issue has rallied women and led them to further struggles; how it has put on the spot all parties that support the existing social order, including not only the capitalist parties but the Stalinists and Social Democrats

Rebecca Finch was an activist in the women's liberation movement and the struggle for the right to abortion in the United States, joining the staff of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in 1971 prior to the November 20, 1971, abortion march in Washington, D.C.

In 1974, she was the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York.

On a recent trip to Europe she was able to discuss with many participants in the European women's movement and abortion rights movement.

as well; and how it has become part of a deepgoing class polarization in the crisis-ridden capitalist world.

Italy

The April demonstration in Rome had been preceded by a march of 12,000 on December 6, 1975, demanding "Free abortion on demand in the hospitals."

This sizable action followed a nine-month-long petition campaign to place a referendum on the ballot to annul Italy's abortion law, which is based on the fascist concept of "preservation of the race." Some 800,000 people signed the referendum petitions in this center of world Catholicism.

The abortion campaign in Italy has been up against vicious opposition from not only the Catholic church hierarchy, the governing Christian Democratic party, and the fascists, but from the Communist party as well. The CP, which is trying to build a "respectable" image in order to forge an alliance with the Christian Democrats (the "historic compromise"), has placed its electoral prospects above the needs of women.

"Abortion is a social question and one cannot leave it to the will of individuals," says CP leader Giancarlo Pajetta.

Women marching on December 6 gave the CP a fitting answer with placards reading, "Women's struggle is not 'separatism,' but the class struggle for communism." Individual women from the Communist party-dominated Unione Donne Italiane (UDI—Italian Women's Union) defied official CP opposition to abortion on demand and marched carrying signs that said, "I'm from the CP, but I'm here with you."

The abortion campaign was initiated early in 1975, spurred on by the victory in the referendum on divorce in 1974. The issue exploded after an abortion center in Florence was raided by the police in January 1975. Sixty women, along with Gianfranco Spadaccia, national secretary of the Radical party, and Radical party member Adele Faccio, who was in charge of the center, were arrested. The resulting uproar was all the greater because the police arrested Faccio while she was addressing a conference on abortion attended by 3,000 people.

The Communist party was silent about the arrests. But the small left groups, the Radical party, and the Socialist party demanded the release of those arrested. The defense effort aroused wide support, for some three million illegal abortions are performed each year in Italy, many in illegal clinics that have been organized by liberals, humanitarians, and feminist groups.

The campaign to put a referendum on the ballot was launched in February 1975. Although the CP, the largest party in the working class,

opposed the referendum, support for it was strong among Italian workers of all political viewpoints, including sizable numbers of CP rank-and-filers.

The referendum was scheduled to go on the ballot in the fall. But the ruling Christian Democrats sought to defuse the situation by modifying the law somewhat rather than risk another defeat like that over the 1974 divorce referendum. They were aided by the Communist party, which sponsored national tours of its leaders to speak against abortion. CP officials had also harassed some of the abortion clinics in cities where it controls the municipal governments. The CP blocked with the Christian Democrats and the fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI—Italian Social Movement) in the parliament to push a new, restrictive abortion bill through a special Select Committee.

The real offensive for the right to abortion has been carried on by the independent women's liberation movement, which has been growing rapidly in the past year. There is no national women's organization that has won the allegiance of broad numbers of Italian women. Nor is there any national coalition fighting for abortion and contraception. But the burgeoning local women's groups and collectives, local committees for abortion, factory groups, and women's high school groups have taken up the question.

These groups form the left wing of the abortion movement that is fighting in Italy for women to have the right to choose to terminate a pregnancy.

Women from the centrist and Trotskyist groups played an important role in initiating and mobilizing for the December 6 demonstration. Prominent among them was the Trotskyist Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups), which was instrumental in getting other groups to sponsor the call for the march.

The role of the GCR must be contrasted to that of another group, Lotta Continua, a centrist formation with a sectarian and ultraleft bent that is opposed to an independent women's liberation movement. A democratically organized planning meeting held before the demonstration voted by an overwhelming majority that the demonstration should be composed only of women, so as to bring the women's movement forcefully on the scene with its own demands. Lotta Continua refused to recognize this vote, announced that it was all a maneuver by the feminists to divide the working class, and sent a largely male contingent of 1,000 people to break into the march, shouting slogans and obscenities, and armed with flag sticks.

This led to physical confrontation with the women marshals for the demonstration, including women members of Lotta Continua who opposed the leadership's perspective. During the rally after the demonstration, the first speech was given by a member of Lotta Continua's women's commission, who denounced her own organization.

The demonstration sparked a wide-ranging discussion in the women's movement on where to go from there, how to involve wider layers of women in the struggle, and how to pose the question of women's oppression within the general struggles of the working class.

Whatever the fate of the abortion referendum, it is certain that this issue will be an important one in Italy for some time, and that the growing women's liberation movement will play a vanguard role in breaking the political power of the Catholic church hierarchy and the capitalist parties, as well as in exposing the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties as defenders of the status quo.

Great Britain

The struggle for abortion in Britain is currently centered on defense of the liberalized 1967 abortion law, which permits abortion up to the twenty-eighth week of pregnancy on medical and social grounds. The decision is still up to the doctor. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of British and foreign women have received abortions under the law.

Abortions are supposed to be paid for by the National Health Service (NHS). But because of increasing cuts in funds for social services during Britain's current economic crisis, many women are forced to seek the procedure from

doctors in private practice, which flourishes because of inadequate NHS clinics.

The 1967 act has been under attack since it was passed, most vocally by "right-to-life" groups like the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC). But not until 1975 was the right to abortion seriously jeopardized.

In February of that year Labour party MP James White introduced legislation into the Parliament that would amend the 1967 act to severely restrict the conditions under which abortion was legal and require twenty weeks of residency in Britain to qualify for an abortion, thereby wiping out virtually all abortions for foreign women.

The Labour party, which claims to represent the needs and interests of the working class, refused to oppose White's bill. Instead it took the position that the vote on the bill was a matter of conscience. In the first vote, the amendments were passed by 200 to 88, with the Labour MPs split down the middle.

The Labour government then made an unprecedented recommendation that a Select Committee be convened to study the functioning of the act and recommend any necessary amendments. This was clearly a delaying tactic.

Activists in the British women's liberation movement mobilized immediately and formed the National Abortion Campaign (NAC) in March 1975. The organization was composed at the start of more than twenty women's groups and political organizations. The International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the Fourth International, played a prominent role, in contrast to some other political groups, such as the state-capitalist International Socialists and the Communist party.

The NAC called for a demonstration on June 21, and went on a campaign footing to get resolutions from a wide variety of Labour party branches and trade unions opposing the White bill. On June 21, 25,000 people marched in London, including contingents from more than forty trade-union branches, twenty London hospitals, and twenty-four colleges.

The powerful Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour party conference subsequently passed resolutions supporting abortion and contraception on request from the National Health Service.

But the anti-abortion forces also mobilized. In October 1975, the SPUC brought out 60,000 anti-abortion demonstrators in London, at the very time that the NAC was holding its first national conference.

In February 1976 the Labour government flouted the resolution passed for free abortion at the Labour party conference, and reconvened the Select Committee to study further restrictions.

On April 3, 10,000 people mobilized in another demonstration in London in opposition to the maneuvers of the Select Committee.

Germany

Germany's long-standing abortion law—Paragraph 218—has been under attack by women's organizations for five years, beginning in 1970-71, when women, including members of the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (SPD—German Social Democratic party), participated in building "Aktion 218" committees for total repeal of the law.

After the SPD promised to reform the law, these initial mobilizations stopped. But the law was not changed until June 1974, when the Parliament passed legislation allowing abortion on request during the first three months of pregnancy.

On February 25, 1975, however, the Constitutional Court declared that the law violated the constitution's guarantee of the right to life.

There were demonstrations in several cities on the day of that decision. In Karlsruhe, where the court is located, the demonstration was sponsored by the trade-union federation of Baden-Württemberg (though the national federation criticized it).

The next major demonstrations for abortion took place on September 21, 1975, when 25,000 people marched in Bonn.

A coalition, the Action Committee Against the Prohibition of Abortion, sponsored a conference on September 27, 1975, and called for an Action Week and demonstrations in October to demand the repeal of Paragraph 218. The Action Committee had the support of seventeen local women's



London demonstration of 10,000 on April 3

Angela Phillips

organizations, the Gruppe International Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International, and the Frankfurt Jusos (Young Socialists, youth wing of the SPD).

The demonstration in Frankfurt mobilized 4,000 people, with smaller demonstrations taking place in Berlin, Freiburg, and Munich.

France

In November 1974, after facing four years of developing struggles for abortion, the French government suspended the old law that prohibited it completely. The new Veil Law allows abortion on demand up to the tenth week. After that, however, abortions are allowed only if there is danger to the physical or mental health of the mother, or risk of malformation of the fetus.

The law contains other restrictions that limit a woman's right to choose. For example, after seeing a doctor about an abortion, the woman is required to return home for a week of "reflection" before the operation can be performed. Abortion is not covered under the French social security system which pays for a large part of other medical expenses.

The French law contains a "conscience" clause to permit doctors and hospitals to refuse to perform abortions. With the backing of the powerful anti-abortion *Ordre des Medecins* (the French equivalent of the American Medical Association), one out of every two public hospital centers in France refuses to perform abortions.

Though the Veil Law was a partial victory for women in France, it has only a five-year duration and is likely to be under serious threat when it is debated again in the National Assembly in 1979.

Many French women's groups and political organizations are now faced with the need to discuss further mobilizations to extend the right to abortion, and to fully implement and defend the gains that have been won. Two of the main groups are Choisir and the Mouvement pour la Liberté de l'Avortement et de la Contraception (MLAC—Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception).

Choisir, a group including both men and women led by lawyer Gisèle Halimi, was involved in some early demonstrations for abortion, particularly those around women arrested for violation of the law on abortion.

MLAC was formed in April 1973, centering its activities on mass mobilizations for free and legal abortion. MLAC is an organization of both men and women with a broadly socialist program, including calls for thorough sexual education, free and widely available contraception, an end to profiteering by drug companies, an end to racist population control programs, and "realization of the necessary material means for making

a choice—raising the standard of living, developing social facilities, housing, child-care centers, etc."

Among the organizations in the French workers movement, the Socialist party is still active in Choisir and also signed MLAC's founding program. Many of the groups to the left of the Communist party were active in MLAC, including the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the Fourth International.

The Communist party itself is opposed to abortion on demand. In fact, because of its strength, the French CP is a major obstacle to defending the gains that have been won or to extending them.

The CP was opposed to contraception until 1965, when it changed its position under the pressure of growing public sentiment for it. But the CP actively opposed the fight for abortion on demand. At the height of the struggle in May 1973, the CP parliamentary bloc introduced a bill into the National Assembly that contained restrictions similar to those finally passed by the French government. The party specifically rejected theories that "make the right to abortion one of the essential means of the liberation of women."

Elsewhere in Europe

The Socialist party government in Austria legalized abortion on demand during the first three months of pregnancy in 1974. A Catholic church pressure group called Action Life, drawing on the country's 90 percent Roman Catholic population base, has turned in a petition with more than 800,000 signatures demanding a ban on most abortions. The SP, however, won a resounding electoral victory in October 1975, and therefore may resist changing the law. The law has resulted in a zero mortality rate for legal abortions, compared with a 25 percent mortality rate for illegal abortions before the law.

In other European countries with very restrictive anti-abortion laws, such as Ireland, Portugal, and Spain, the emergence of the abortion and contraception struggles has thus far been more limited.

In the south of Ireland, where the hold of the Catholic church is very strong, the sale of or dissemination of information about contraceptive devices is illegal, and abortion is strictly forbidden. In the North, abortion is available on a restricted basis, and some family planning services have been set up. Many women who participated in the national struggle against British domination of Ireland are now feminists. Some are members of the Dublin-based Irish Women United, a radical women's group that has taken up the issue of free and legal contra-



Tokyo, 1972. Women march to retain legal abortion.

Michiko Matsumoto

ception.

Abortion and contraception are still illegal in Portugal. One of the indications of the depth of the radicalization after April 25, 1974, was the emergence of women's liberation organizations, including one group called Portuguese Women for Abortion and Contraception.

Abortion and contraception are illegal under Spain's fascist penal code. Figures from the *Fiscal del Tribunal Suprema* estimate that some 1,100,000 Spanish women are in violation of these laws.

Sentences for those tried are harsh. Lydia Falcón, a Spanish feminist recently released from prison, told one reporter of a doctor imprisoned with her who had received a thirty-two-year sentence for performing illegal abortions.

The intense repression and general denial of democratic rights has affected the development of the Spanish women's liberation movement, which must still function under semilegal conditions. Nonetheless, abortion and contraception are beginning to be discussed more and more now, with the growing upsurge of the masses.

The Movimiento Democrático de Mujeres (MDM—Democratic Movement of Women), dominated largely by the Spanish Communist party, recently sponsored Jornadas Nacionales sobre la Situación de la Mujer (National Day of Struggle Over the Situation of Women). The conference, held in Madrid under semilegal conditions, set up an educational commission on contraception and passed a motion calling for amnesty for those women imprisoned as a result of violations of the penal code (prostitution, abortion, illegal use of contraceptives, etc.).

The Spanish CP supports the right to contraception, but says a "democratic discussion" will have to take place among the masses before it can determine its position on abortion. This formulation is opportunistically directed to the CP's Catholic church allies.

Australia

The fight for abortion and contraception was taken up in Sydney and Melbourne in 1972 with the formation of the Women's Abortion Action Campaign (WAAC). WAAC also has chapters now in South Australia, Tasmania, and Queensland.

WAAC's most recent demonstration was on December 6, 1975, in Sydney, with 1,000 people participating in spite of pressure from Australian Labour party women to cancel the demonstration. As in Britain, the Labour party takes the position that abortion is a question of "conscience" for its representatives in Parliament, and has never sponsored legislation to take abortion out of the penal code.

New Zealand

New Zealand's law requires that abortions be performed only under certain physical and mental health conditions, and that the woman have permission from two doctors. Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC), formed in 1971, has taken up the struggle for the right of women to choose.

Many civil libertarians joined the struggle for

abortion in 1974, after a police raid on an abortion clinic in Auckland. The police entered the clinic without a permit, took the files, photocopied them, and began visiting many of the women who had had abortions.

Many were Catholic women whose families were not aware that they had had abortions. A national defense campaign, led by WONAAC, won wide support all over the country. Eventually the files were returned by the courts.

In 1974 Labour party MP Dr. Gerald Wall introduced a Hospitals Amendment Bill into the Parliament that said abortions could be performed only in public hospitals. Wall, a member of the powerful Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, intended the bill to be used against clinics like the one in Auckland. A wide struggle ensued, again led by WONAAC, and the amendment was defeated.

Canada

The fight for the right of women to choose whether to have an abortion is currently centered on the defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Québec physician who was arrested in 1973 because he openly admitted performing abortions.

Though brought to trial twice and acquitted both times by a jury, Morgentaler was sent to prison after a higher court overturned the first jury decision. He served ten months of an eighteen-month sentence before being released after a big public campaign in his favor, and after a court of appeals upheld his acquittal in the second case. But Morgentaler still faces a new trial on the first charge, and the Québec Ministry of Justice is preparing to prosecute him in ten additional cases.

Many civil libertarians have become involved in the Morgentaler fight. They have attacked the Canadian Supreme Court and the appeals court for overturning the jury decisions in the Morgentaler case, thus denying his right to a jury trial.

A victory in Morgentaler's case would be not only a gigantic step forward in the struggle of Canadian women for abortion, but a victory for democratic rights in general.

United States

The situation in the United States today is confirmation that the right of women to abortion will never be secure under the capitalist system. The 1973 Supreme Court decision is under attack by the so-called right-to-life groups, financed and led by the Catholic church hierarchy. These groups are encouraged by Democratic and Republican party politicians, who have introduced scores of bills into Congress that would restrict abortion. President Ford has stated that the Supreme Court went too far, and that state governments should have more power to restrict abortion than they already have.

Furthermore, the government is moving to cut back on existing health-care services related to abortion and maternity. New York City has closed numerous maternity-care programs in its municipal hospitals, and Ford has pressed for budget cuts in birth-control research and family planning services.

Forced Sterilization

The fight against forced sterilization is closely related to the fight for the right to abortion. The victory around abortion in the United States strengthened the struggle of women, especially Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican women, who are fighting against racist decisions by doctors, hospital administrators, or government authorities to sterilize them. The abortion decision set forth the principle that *only the woman* has the right to decide whether to terminate a pregnancy, and that only the woman can decide how many children to have. This issue is particularly acute in Puerto Rico, as well as in India, where compulsory sterilization programs have been introduced in some places.

Worldwide Struggle

What is behind these powerful struggles for the right to abortion?

They are, first of all, a part of the growing movement for women's liberation in a time of increasing radicalization throughout the world, that is, at a time when all aspects of society are coming under challenge.

More and more women now see the increasing disparity between the actual position of women, and the possibilities provided by modern technology to free them from their narrow lives of domestic drudgery.

The disparity between *what is* and *what could be*, which is the source of many a protest or rebellion, is illustrated particularly sharply in the fight for abortion and contraception. Advances in modern science and technology have created the means whereby women can control their reproductive functions with relative ease and safety, but they continue to be denied the right to do so by bourgeois law and religious bigotry. This has given the abortion issue a great immediacy today.

From another standpoint, the fight for the right to abortion is part of the class struggle against the capitalist system of economic and social organization. In fighting for their rights, women come up against the ages-old heritage of class society, maintained and reinforced in capitalist society of today, which requires the oppression of women for economic, social, and ideological reasons. This explains the strength, deep-rootedness, and often hysterical character of the anti-abortion forces.

This dual aspect of the abortion movement—as a movement in the specific interests of women, and as part of the broader class struggle—has been illustrated in the struggles that have developed recently. While the exact demands advanced in these struggles, the forces attracted to them, and the tactical problems involved vary greatly from place to place, there are some features they all have in common.

The first is the leading role played by the emerging and growing independent women's liberation forces. It is the women's movement that has played the role of a left wing in the abortion movement, leading an uncompromising fight against capitalist politicians and the church, as well as the Stalinists, social democrats, and trade-union bureaucrats, who either oppose abortion or refuse to wage a struggle over this issue of vital interest to women.

This left wing is characterized by its insistence on the right of women themselves to choose to terminate a pregnancy, by its independence from bourgeois political parties, and by its proletarian methods of mass struggle.

As this struggle led by women has become larger, more powerful, and better organized, it has begun to win increasing sections of the labor movement to its position. While the struggle by women for abortion and contraception speaks to the most basic need of women, it is also a crucial question for the labor movement as a whole.

The reactionary forces spearheading the anti-abortion campaigns are the same forces that oppose the rights of labor as a whole and of oppressed minorities. These forces are on the other side in the deepening class polarization that has been the product of the economic and social crises afflicting most capitalist countries today.

In contrast to the role of the Communist and Socialist parties and Labour party bureaucrats, the revolutionary socialist forces, supporters of the Fourth International, have been in the forefront of the struggle for the right to abortion.

The revolutionary socialist tradition is in continuity with that of Marx and Engels, who were the first to pose the liberation of women not in the realm of utopian dreams, but on a scientific basis. This tradition was carried forward in Russia by the Bolshevik party, which led a socialist revolution that brought with it

tremendous victories for women. And it was carried forward by Leon Trotsky, who championed the rights of women, including the right to abortion, against the Stalinist bureaucracy that took away many of these rights.

From France to Australia, from Mexico to Japan, supporters of the Fourth International

have been leading participants in the struggles of women, putting forward a strategy of independent mass action around issues of concern to the masses of women and the working class as a whole.

Brownmiller on Rape: Readers Respond

Can anything be done right now to alleviate rape? If we call for troops against racist mobs in Boston, shouldn't we also call for more police to halt rape?

The following are three of the letters received by the International Socialist Review commenting on Cindy Jaquith's review, "Susan Brownmiller on Rape: A Betrayal of Feminism," printed in our April issue.

Editors: As a feminist and a revolutionary socialist, I was upset to read such an unfair description of Brownmiller's *Against Our Will* in the April *International Socialist Review*. It would take an equal amount of space to properly refute the statements made against the book so I can only say this:

The book does not say that biology is destiny. It is not racist. It is not anti-working class.

As a socialist I was disappointed in Brownmiller's solution to halting rape, that is, more police and stricter laws, etc. But that is just the last chapter and can be ignored.

Against Our Will remains for me the definitive statement of the destruction machoism can cause. Its main premises are well proved: Rape is a crime of violence (not a sexual act as was previously thought) and it is against our will—we haven't been "asking for it."

Perhaps, instead of setting up a straw man and throwing the baby out with the bath, socialist sisters will read the book for themselves and write their own last chapter: the end of capitalism (and the patriarchy).

Editors: Cindy Jaquith's review of Susan Brownmiller's book on rape was right on, and a real contribution to a continuing discussion about the origin and nature of women's oppression.

I think that a recent event in Houston supports Jaquith's point that the police force doesn't change its nature by increasing the number of women who are in it. Recently a Vietnam War veteran, Milton Glover, was blown away by Doreen Miller and Richard Watson of the Houston Police Department. It turns out that Mr. Glover was walking in the street ahead of these cops, who were taking a prisoner from a disturbance at a bar. Glover was reportedly stopped by the cops as he was in the middle of the street, and one cop got out of the car to ask what was going on. In reply, Glover, who was psychiatrically disabled after his service in Vietnam, reached into his hip pocket and said, "This is what I've got for you." Before he could pull out the Bible that he carries with him, he was wasted by Officers Miller and Watson—he with his .44 revolver and she with her .357 magnum. I wonder if Susan Brownmiller prefers being shot with a magnum?

Editors: I felt confused by the review of Susan Brownmiller's *Against Our Will*, written by Cindy Jaquith.

1) I do not understand the tone of the article. Why is the book called "a betrayal of feminism"? To me, the review should have been written with a sister-to-sister tone, as a discussion with another feminist who is not a socialist. There are many feminists like that. They are not staunch supporters of capitalism, though some may be, but they have not been convinced that socialism can be any different than what exists in the USSR or China, and are dismayed by the position of women there.

2) I think Jaquith made an error in not pointing out the many sections of the book where Brownmiller did an excellent job of documenting and drawing the right conclusions about rape. Why doesn't she give credit where it is due?

3) I think the review was correct in pointing

out many things, such as Brownmiller's treatment of racism, Vietnam, and the Congo. But you can't ignore the direction that I think Brownmiller was coming from. In regard to racism, for example, I completely agree with what Jaquith wrote, but I think that Brownmiller was objecting to the overwhelming trend in the 1960s and today of white males to condone rape by Black males.

The reasoning is something like this: Black males are oppressed and the laws are used to discriminate against them, therefore we must unconditionally support their right to rape, and assume they are innocent, even when admittedly guilty (like Eldridge Cleaver). I for one do not support any man's right to rape, Black or white, regardless of the situation.

4) Another confusing thing to me is Jaquith's conclusion. Brownmiller's conclusions are wrong, but what is the answer to rape? Is the only answer socialism? To me, that is so pie-in-the-sky that if that's the only answer you might as well forget mentioning it. Are there no demands that can be raised short of a socialist society to help alleviate or control rape? What about encouraging women to be physically stronger, and to learn to defend ourselves? Obviously this is not a total solution, but isn't it a small step that should be supported?

5) Finally, my most confused question is about the police. For Boston, the *Militant* has called on the federal troops and the police to use all force necessary to guarantee the right of Black children to go to the schools they want to attend without harassment. The *Militant* has said that the law should be enforced. Shouldn't laws against rape also be supported? If so, then why shouldn't we call for the police to enforce the rape laws? Don't women have just as much right to walk down the streets without fear of harassment as the Black schoolchildren have to go to the school of their choice?

Women are an oppressed grouping in this society just as Blacks are. If we call for protection against racist attacks, why not for sexist attacks? Is it perhaps because rape is generally done in isolated situations, whereas the racist attacks are done in group situations? But although women are raped in isolated situations, it is a mass phenomenon. Should we refuse to call for protection against racist mobs who lynch individual Blacks in isolated situations?

Jaquith's article links general crime and assaults with rape, but I think rape is in a different category because it is performed against one section of the society (except in prisons).

I would appreciate a response to help clarify these questions.

Cindy Jaquith Replies

First, as to the tone of my review. It is true that Susan Brownmiller has participated in and contributed to the feminist movement in the past. But this book is not written from the standpoint of a women's liberationist, as Brownmiller claims. It is written from the standpoint of a racist, class-prejudiced, law-and-order liberal.

Briefly, let's review the main points in Brownmiller's theory of rape: 1) rape is the central problem women face; 2) most rapists are Blacks, members of other minorities, or less-privileged workers; 3) rape is in the interests of, and tolerated by, all males; 4) in order to halt this crime, women must demand more cops and stiffer rape laws. The book contains a mass of descriptive material and testimony about all

kinds of rape, but the above points comprise the conclusions and the political statement of Brownmiller's book.

The mass of data indeed presents a horrifying panorama of centuries of crimes against women—for anyone who simply wants to be horrified. But for those of us interested in fighting back against the oppression and degradation of women, the criterion for evaluating this book must be its political conclusions.

We cannot allow Brownmiller's racist, anti-working-class views to be peddled in the name of women's liberation. Brownmiller's program would be death for the feminist movement. It would make it impossible to win the Black, Puerto Rican, Chicana, and working-class women—the majority of women—upon whom our struggle must be based.

Consider Brownmiller's position on the anti-Vietnam War movement, to take just one example. She explains in her book that she refused to support this movement because its central demand was "bring the troops home now" rather than opposition to the rape of Vietnamese women.

What would a Vietnamese woman think of Brownmiller's stand against the antiwar movement? What would an American woman who had lost a son in Vietnam think of Brownmiller's stand? They would think, "If this is feminism, I want nothing to do with it." And they would be right.

In fact, it was the antiwar movement that helped force the rapists—the CIA assassins, the William Calleys and their superiors, and the Saigon torturers—out of Vietnam, while Brownmiller's stance had the effect of sabotaging this effort.

One reader tries to explain Brownmiller's views by arguing that "Brownmiller was objecting to the overwhelming trend in the 1960s and today of white males to condone rape by Black males."

"The reasoning is something like this," the reader continues. "Black males are oppressed and the laws are used to discriminate against them, therefore we must unconditionally support their right to rape. . . ."

What is the real "overwhelming trend" in capitalist America with regard to rape, not just in the 1960s or today, but going back for centuries? The "overwhelming trend" is the lynching of thousands of Black men on trumped-up rape charges. The "overwhelming trend" is rape by men with social, economic, and military power (who are white) against the most oppressed women—by the slave masters against Black women; by rich men against their maids; by employers against women workers, especially Black, Chicana, and Puerto Rican; by cops against their victims.

Symbol of Joanne Little

A symbolic expression of this "trend" was when white guard Clarence Allgood forced Joanne Little, a Black prisoner, down on the floor of her cell in North Carolina with an ice pick.

It is expressed in Boston today, where racist, antilabor scum like Klan leader David Duke can whip a meeting of white busing foes into a frenzy by declaring: "If you don't believe that little white girls should go to school with a bunch of apes, then stand up for your rights as white people—join the Klan and help us fight race-mixing."

Brownmiller says very little about the primary

rape victims—Black women. One survey done in 1967 by the National Opinion Research Center showed that 22 out of 100,000 white women are raped every year, but 82 out of every 100,000 Black women are raped.

Most rapes in this society are not interracial, but are Black-on-Black or white-on-white. But the entire thrust of Brownmiller's book is a racist crusade against Blacks raping white women.

This is seen most sharply in the way Brownmiller counterposes the interests of white women to the civil rights movement. She takes up the case of Emmett Till—a fourteen-year-old Black youth found in the river with his head crushed in, a bullet through his temple, almost all his teeth knocked out, and a cotton-gin fan tied to his body with barbed wire—and tells us that his alleged wolf whistle at white Mississippi shopkeeper Carolyn Bryant "was a deliberate insult just short of physical assault, a last reminder to Carolyn Bryant that this black boy, Till, had in his mind to possess her."

She complains that the civil rights movement "in its mass-protest campaigns to save the lives of convicted black rapists" was an affront to the white women who helped prosecute these victims, and that civil rights fighters treated these women "with a virulence that bordered on hate."

Earlier, she states more openly her contempt for the civil rights movement and the framed-up Blacks it defended, calling these men "a handful of pathetic, semiliterate fellows . . . who only wanted to beat the rap."

Brownmiller leaves little doubt in her book that she sides fundamentally with the lynch mobs out to protect "white womanhood," even if they might have gone a little too far in mutilating and murdering their victims.

In an interview in the October 18, 1975, *New York Post*, Brownmiller states outright that she opposes the civil rights struggle. She turned against it, she says, "when the civil rights movement started getting very anti-white and anti-woman."

What Can We Do Now?

But what should socialists and feminists do about rape? Are there no demands we can raise short of socialism to solve this problem?

Let's begin by looking at what rape is—a crime of violence whose roots lie in sexual repression, the economic compulsion of the family system, and the general violence and alienation spawned by class society. As such it is similar to other crimes related to the family, such as wife beating and child abuse. These crimes are, in fact, more widespread than rape.

In 1973, for example, FBI statistics showed 14,000 cases of wife beating in New York State and 4,764 cases of rape. Both figures are probably much lower than the actual number, since many women never report either crime.

The number of battered children every year is estimated at between 500,000 and 2.5 million, compared with Brownmiller's estimated 255,000 rapes. Six thousand children are beaten to death every year by their mothers or fathers.

These are all tragic examples of how capitalist society perverts and warps human relations to



Brownmiller's analysis of rape lands in trap of racist, class-prejudiced, law-and-order politics.

the point of utter destruction. Socialists support laws against these crimes. We support the right to human life that is in the U.S. Constitution, as well as the right of people to defend themselves.

But while we support the right of a woman to defend herself, and the right to call the police against a rapist, the question of how to eliminate rape is another matter.

The idea that we can control or reduce rape through more cops and prisons makes no more sense than hoping to "control" child abuse, robberies, or murder. No matter how many rapists, child abusers, and wife beaters are jailed, the economic and social conditions of this society of class oppression are producing more each minute. Calling for more police does nothing to challenge the causes of rape or of the oppression of women.

It is otherwise with the call for police and troops to be used against the racist mobs in Boston.

The drive to stop desegregation in Boston is one of the most important issues facing Black people nationally at this time. It is an *organized* campaign of violence, with direct or backhanded support from city hall, the federal government, and the Boston police force. In building a countermobilization of Blacks and their allies to isolate the racists politically, to expose government support to the racists, and to physically protect Black people, we are striking blows against the causes of Black oppression. We are building a movement against the capitalist government, the true sponsors of racism and sexism.

If the government could be forced by such a mass prodesegregation movement to send troops against the racists, as it was forced to do in the South, it would have a real effect in intimidating the racist mobs and strengthening the confidence

and organization of the struggles for Black equality.

Rape, on the other hand, is in no way a central issue for the women's movement. Contrary to Brownmiller's thesis, rape is not the main problem women face. It is one facet of our oppression. It is a particularly compelling symbol of our social degradation and the institutionalized violence of men toward women in class society. But when Brownmiller takes this aspect of women's oppression and turns it into the axis around which all social relations turn, she completely disorients women (and men) who are appalled by sexist violence and want to do something about it.

The only way that rape as a social phenomenon will be eliminated is by eliminating the repressive and violent class society that spawns it. To do that we must build a political movement that mobilizes the forces of all the oppressed and exploited. This can only be done by taking up the major social problems women face—the organized, systematic government-backed forms of discrimination and denial of our rights. The issues most women correctly see as key today are the challenges to our right to abortion, and the fight for child care, jobs, and ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The logic of trying to build a movement against rape—just as against "crime" in general—leads invariably into the trap of right-wing, pro-cop, racist politics. It is no accident that one of the favorite ploys of all Democratic and Republican politicians is to play up the issues of rape and crime, so as to deflect attention from issues such as unemployment, inflation, racism, and sexism that affect working people.

A good example of the logic of trying to build a movement against rape is what happened at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1973. After several on-campus rapes, some white feminists decided something must be done to halt rape. They demanded that the university provide "more security." The Philadelphia cops immediately obliged by invading the dorms and arresting one hundred Black male students on suspicion of rape.

On the other hand, building an independent women's movement around the key issues facing women *can* have an impact in deterring rape. Today, that impact can already be seen in the changed view of women and of this crime. It is no longer generally assumed that raped women "asked for it," as a result of the role of the feminist movement in combating the stereotype of women as sex objects.

This factor made a difference in the trial of Joanne Little. Ten years ago no jury would have upheld the right of a Black woman to defend herself from rape by any means necessary.

The women's movement can only be built, however, in alliance with the other oppressed groups in this society—Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, working people. *Against Our Will* points in the opposite direction, driving a wedge between feminists and our allies in the fight for a just society.

LETTERS

Editors: Fred Feldman's review of *Pragmatism versus Marxism* by George Novack is most welcome. *Pragmatism* may be one of the most important books Pathfinder Press has published recently.

Novack writes that if there is an American national philosophy it is pragmatism. It is the philosophy of American liberals in particular.

Any person fighting for social change will, at some point, have to face the questions: Is a pragmatic, we'll-try-it-and-see-if-it-works attitude sufficient to bring about change? Can liberal reforms erase exploitation, war, racism, and the oppression of women? Pragmatism has had a profound effect on Ameri-

can attitudes on how social change is effected, on education, and on politics.

I was also glad to see Feldman's review for another reason: it helps cut across the mistaken idea that philosophy is too hard or unimportant for most people to understand.

How often have you heard people bad-mouth "armchair philosophers"? Armchair philosophers, of course, talk a lot but don't do anything. Possibly this has given rise to the idea that the whole point of philosophy itself is to sit around and think, but always remain detached from social struggles. To make matters worse, philosophy is always presented by the philosophy professors in the most abstract, obscure, and confusing manner possible.

Naturally, those who bear the worst brunt of capitalist oppression are not satisfied with abstraction—they want action.

The attitude that philosophy is all talk—unintelligible at that—is a reflection of the backwardness of American philosophy as it is presented in our universities; it is not the true role of philosophy. As Novack says, philosophy is or should be a guide to action. Certainly pragmatism more or less guides the actions of liberals; dialectical materialism guides revolutionary socialists.

Philosophy is not the domain of a select few who, mysteriously enough, just happen to understand philosophy, any more than economics can only be understood by those who are good with numbers.

Novack's book sets out pragmatism and the theories of its leading spokesperson, John Dewey, in a surprisingly clear and easy-to-understand manner. By way of a personal experience, I'll point out that I have no "training" or "back-

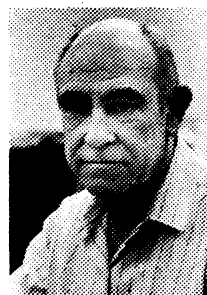
ground" in philosophy. Although some parts required a more slow, careful reading, I was really pleased to find out that it was much easier than I thought at first. Its benefits are well worth every effort I put in. I think it's time to start getting over impressions about philosophy as we think we know it. And *Pragmatism versus Marxism* seems to me to be a good place to start.

Mary Jo Hendrickson
New York, New York

Compañeros: I truly enjoyed the article by Miguel Pendás entitled "Chicano Nationalism and Socialism" in the May 1976 issue of *International Socialist Review*. His analysis is indeed accurate and relevant as far as the Chicano struggle is concerned. Please rush me twenty copies and bill me. Ricardo Parra, executive director, Mid-West Council of La Raza Notre Dame, Indiana

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Seattle waterfront debate

[The following guest column is by Militant correspondent Louis Cobet.]

Nor are we to rely upon the present self-appointed Egyptian and Syrian rulers while ignoring their peoples, whose aspirations differ sharply from those of politicians with limited horizons.

The seeds of the tragic conflict have to be extirpated if we mean business. We have to remove completely all the factors that perpetuate and generate a sense of injustice, insecurity, and superiority among both Palestinians and Israelis. This cannot be effected unless a major step is first taken: allowing the Palestinians to return to their homes and property as full and equal citizens.

Larry Abel

Logansport, Indiana

Stop sending the 'Militant'

Please stop sending the *Militant* to me.

Most of your news about the injustices against the poor, the Blacks, the Chicanos, Chile, etc., I read in other publications like the *Southern Patriot*, in articles by the Friends (Quakers), by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—so I can't spend any time, that is so much taken, by reading the same in your publication.

I also wonder why there is only accusation, but never an article about what your party's eventual president would do in case he is elected. What has he to say? What are his positive ideas?

F.W.

Portland, Oregon

Thank you for helping

I would like to express gratitude to all the *Militant* readers who responded in helping the Spanish Cultural Club at the state correctional institution here get its feet off the ground.

Your help in raising the Spanish-speaking prisoners' consciousness level is a great asset to the Spanish-speaking population of this penitentiary in rehabilitation.

I say this because now we have something with which we are able to identify and thus maintain our self-identity.

A prisoner

Pennsylvania

Prisoner likes 'Militant'

I really appreciate reading the *Militant*. It gives views, issues, etc., as I like them to be—frank, nothing less than truth.

I'm not sure if prisoners here receive the *Militant* or not, but I pass all socialist literature around because "a single spark can start a prairie fire."

Without a question or doubt they embrace it. I would like to applaud the people of the staff for their vital effort to publish this very vital paper.

Keep the spirits high and the presses rolling.

A prisoner

Illinois

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.

SEATTLE—Seattle and Tacoma, the two largest ports on Puget Sound, are old rivals in the shipping industry. The rivalry spilled over into the union movement. Longshoremen—the AFL in Tacoma and the CIO in Seattle—were once competing for jobs and the dubious distinction of "most efficient cargo handlers."

Several years ago the longshoremen curbed this union-wrecking competition. Local unions in both ports are now affiliates of the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). But the old rivalry is still fostered by the shipowners.

Early this year the Totem Ocean and Trailer Express Company (TOTE), a newcomer in the shipping trade to Alaska, approached officials of ILWU Local 19 in Seattle. TOTE wanted to train seventy-five men as truck drivers for the specialized job of backing trailers onto a stern-loaded vessel. The specially trained union members were to be "steady men"—available for work whenever called by "their" company. This would violate the established rotary hiring system that channels all jobs through the union hiring hall.

The company threatened to move to Tacoma immediately if Local 19 refused to grant special consideration in training and hiring. Such threats are an old antiunion maneuver in many industries, often causing unions to make concessions in wages and working conditions in the hope of saving jobs. Usually the company moves or folds anyway, and the workers are left to count their losses. In this case TOTE is only getting started and seeks an edge over established competitors.

Unfortunately the gullible, newly elected officials of ILWU Local 19 swallowed the bait and succeeded in getting an unsuspecting membership meeting to go for it a couple of months ago.

What followed was a display of mounting pressure from employer agencies and stubborn resistance by longshoremen schooled in the tradition of unionism.

The original TOTE proposal was altered by the Pacific Maritime Association (the shipowners) to limit the competitive advantage TOTE expected. In its new form the proposal was unacceptable to TOTE. It again announced that if its demands were denied in Seattle

it would move to Tacoma.

At this point the Port of Seattle and the daily newspapers took up the crusade for jobs, claiming 350 longshore jobs and 1,000 total in the city were endangered. The "progressive" leadership of Local 19 was praised. The Port of Seattle announced a brilliant future and millions of dollars in "planned investment." Everything would be rosy if only TOTE would stay. But it all hinged on the longshore union giving TOTE trained repeat workers.

This issue was decided in union meetings on May 6 and May 11, and in a referendum vote.

Local union officials tried hard to get the longshoremen to give in to TOTE. But the members turned them down in the first meeting where the real issue was finally aired.

After that meeting the president of Local 19, Dwayne Wadlow, told the press that he was "personally heartsick." He was certain that "a yes vote meant no" and the membership was confused.

The shortsighted policy of the union officials turned to blindness. Instead of accepting the membership decision, they insisted on a referendum. The vote was 307 for the TOTE proposal, 312 against.

After the vote it was admitted that TOTE can gain nothing by moving to Tacoma, five hours' sailing time away. The freight is in Seattle and would have to be moved to Tacoma for loading, an added expense.

The whole dispute, a Puget Sound tempest, is not whether TOTE moves to Tacoma. It is whether longshoremen will give up their hiring hall protection.

The first principle of unionism is that workers on the job should not compete as individuals, but must unite and defend their common interests as workers against the boss. The same principle holds for all workers in different industries, different cities, different countries. This is better understood by workers who spend their lives in factories or on the docks than by union officials who sit in comfortable offices.

The officials of Local 19 ought to have gone to the Tacoma longshoremen and reaffirmed their common working rules for all companies, including TOTE. The union has no reason to play favorites among the bosses, and gains nothing from it. In this case the foolish Seattle union officials tended to paint the Tacoma local as the enemy.

As one working longshoreman here remarked, "Our officials were confused. They thought we elected them to represent the Port of Seattle."

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



What's in a name?

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in Manhattan's Eighteenth District.]

Changing street and avenue names in New York City is usually routine.

A member of the city council introduces a bill for the name change, a public hearing is held, and the mayor signs it into law. Pretty simple—no fuss, no bother.

Except that on May 14, Mayor Abraham Beame vetoed a bill, passed by the city council on April 13, to change the name of part of an avenue in Brooklyn.

The section of Graham Avenue in question is in Williamsburg, in a predominantly Hispanic section. The vetoed proposal? To rename it Avenue of Puerto Rico. According to the *New York Times*, "In the memory of City Hall observers, this was the first time a mayor had ever vetoed a name change, normally a pro forma act."

What moved the mayor to veto the bill were the signatures of 830 people who opposed changing the name. The mayor's statement was an affront to Puerto Ricans: "While the many contributions of our citizens of Puerto Rican descent ought not to go unrecognized, there is not reason whatsoever to change the street name of Graham Avenue, which has such traditional and long-standing importance to so many Brooklyn residents."

What kind of "traditions" inspired those who protested the name change? Did they appeal to Mayor Beame on the basis of the "long-standing importance" of the name Graham Avenue? No. Clearly, racist anti-

Puerto Rican sentiment was involved.

At the public hearing on the name change were a group of Italian-Americans carrying an Italian flag. One of them asked the bill's sponsor, city council member Luis Olmedo, what Puerto Ricans had contributed to this country.

Olmedo responded that thousands of Puerto Ricans have died in U.S. wars.

"What about inventions?" one of the flag toters asked. "What did they invent?"

The mayor's hypocrisy is typical of capitalist politicians. Tens of thousands of New Yorkers have demonstrated, picketed, marched, and sat in against the massive cutbacks and layoffs during the past year. But Democrat Beame arrogantly presides over the closing of hospitals, schools, day-care centers, libraries, and other social services that affect the lives and well-being of millions—without batting an eyelash.

Where is his concern for the thousands and thousands who are opposed to the layoff notices they have received? This kind of citizen outrage doesn't count with the politicians, because they are "saving New York"—saving it for the bankers and businessmen.

But changing the name of an avenue is not going to hurt the bankers' profits—so why the slap at the more than one million Puerto Ricans who live in New York? Because the administrators of this society think that it's a way to make Puerto Ricans feel degraded and unworthy. Maybe if our people feel inferior enough, they won't expect a job with a decent wage, a right to an education, or a community hospital.

[illegible]

By Andy Rose
(*Sixth of a series*)

The fight for militant, democratic unionism today is aided by an understanding of how the labor movement

The CIO was launched with the aim of organizing the millions of unorganized workers in the mass-production industries—organizing them on an *industry-wide* basis, not splitting them up into dozens of crafts. Out of necessity the new unions had to open their doors to all workers in the particular industry, Black as well as white.

At the founding convention of the United Steelworkers in 1942, fifty Black delegates formed a caucus and protested that the absence of Blacks in

The march itself was called off by Randolph just a week before it was to have taken place. But the movement did compel Roosevelt to issue an executive order formally banning discrimination in war industries and

establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee.

Based on these concessions and the wartime labor shortages, Blacks broke into previously all-white jobs. Women were also drawn into the work force in larger numbers than ever before.

CIO leaders have been credited with quelling strikes by racist white workers demanding the ouster of Blacks from these newly won jobs. That is true enough. But remember that during the war the CIO tops opposed *all* strikes—whether for segregation or for higher wages.

Illusions shattered

The war and the growing bureaucratization of the CIO shattered the illusions of Blacks. Typical was the attitude expressed by columnist Ralph Matthews in the February 18, 1950, *Washington Afro-American*. Matthews assailed "the new CIO policy which calls for conformity with America's traditional policy of segregation and Jim Crowism."

In the same year, a Black union leader explained bitterly: "Some unions have a Negro on the staff, or a committee to deal with these matters. But they have no power! Their only function is to *take care* of the Negroes, and they don't do that! Having a Negro on the staff is *just a show* for most unions!"

Blacks found that they had only themselves to rely upon. The Southern civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s arose outside the unions. It was based on the Black community, Black organizations, and Black leaders. Some unions gave token, verbal support, but their forces were never thrown into the civil rights struggle.

Militant, mass actions by Blacks—from the Montgomery bus boycott to the freedom rides, sit-ins, and marches—finally toppled the Jim Crow system of legal segregation. The task of rooting out social and economic discrimination still lies ahead.

The fight today

The fight today takes place in a new and different context. During the long postwar boom, Blacks continued to grow as a proportion of the work force. Black workers make up a large proportion of all the major industrial unions.

For the capitalists, Blacks play an indispensable role as superexploited low-wage labor and as a reserve army of unemployed.

To boost their profits, the capitalists are now pressing to roll back Black rights and deepen racial divisions in the working class. The issue is sharply posed around questions such as busing and affirmative action.

Will the unions stand up for the most oppressed sectors of the working class? Will they act to unify all working people in the fight to defend our rights and living standards? Will they overcome the limitations of the CIO's heritage?

Or will they defend the capitalists' program of racial oppression and discrimination?

The fate of the trade-unions hangs in the balance.

(Next: the steelworkers union today)

Further reading on—

Labor history and its lessons for today

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp., paper \$3.95

Books by Farrell Dobbs:
Teamster Rebellion 192 pp., paper \$2.45

Teamster Power 255 pp., paper \$2.95

Teamster Politics 256 pp., paper \$2.95

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

Sadlowski supporters triumph in steelworkers local elections

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO—Supporters of Ed Sadlowski, director of United Steelworkers District 31, have won overwhelming victories in local union elections in several of the district's big steel mills.

These triumphs—some by a more than two-to-one margin—are a measure of the strength of the movement that swept Sadlowski into office in 1974 on a program for militant and democratic unionism.

Early next year steelworkers will elect a successor to USWA President I.W. Abel, who has passed the mandatory retirement age. Although Sadlowski has not yet announced a campaign for the union presidency, these recent victories enhance the prospects for a successful challenge to the Abel machine.

Support for Sadlowski in his home local, Local 65 at U.S. Steel South Works in South Chicago, was registered April 28 when John Chico decisively defeated incumbent president Frank Mirocha. The vote was 2,228 to 1,304.

Chico's running mates on the Membership Committee Caucus Slate won eight of the ten other offices. Chico was financial secretary of Local 65 and served as Sadlowski's campaign manager in his bid for district director. Chico campaigned to "restore membership's confidence in Local 65."

"The president of Local 65 has failed to protect workers during a most crucial period of massive layoffs and shortened work weeks," he charged.

"If those on layoff knew that their jobs were being done by management or were being combined, they would be outraged, and justifiably so. If members on the job complain, Frank Mirocha answers that they should feel lucky that they're still working."

Mirocha was an outspoken advocate of Abel's pro-company outlook. During the campaign he explained that he favored the highest possible profits for U.S. Steel. "I want South Works to prosper, to expand, to make money so it can make jobs available."

He opposed the idea of workers having any say over company policies. "The company must respect the rights of the worker, and the workers must respect the rights of the company," he said.

Mirocha backed Abel's no-strike deal with the major steel companies, the so-called Experimental Negotiating



INCUMBENT FRANK MIROCHA: 'Workers must respect the rights of the company.'



CHALLENGER JOHN CHICO: 'No-strike deal is inconsistent with basic policies of trade unionism.'

Agreement. Chico blasted this pact as "inconsistent with the basic policies of trade unionism."

Mirocha tried a little bit of everything to win the election, including crude red-baiting. One of his ads in the *Daily Calumet* read:

"Mirocha is not one to sling mud—Election or not—is not a drunk—is not a brawler—is not supported by the revolutionary groups—an enemy of the Communist Party."

The Local 65 newspaper featured anticommunist articles by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and the anticommunist clause from the USWA constitution.

A week before the election was to take place, Chico's attorney, Leon Despres, had to go into federal court to prevent Mirocha from proceeding with an undemocratically selected election committee. USWA lawyers were flown in from Washington and Pennsylvania, reportedly at Abel's behest, to aid Mirocha.

After Judge Edwin Robson issued a temporary restraining order on the election, Mirocha agreed to expand the election committee with Chico nominees. The U.S. Department of Labor was brought in to supervise the election count.

Meanwhile, at Inland Steel in East Chicago, the largest mill local in the country, Sadlowski supporter Jim Balanoff defeated incumbent Local

1010 president Hank Lopez by a vote of 6,050 to 3,057. There were eight other candidates for president.

Balanoff's slate won eight out of nine other posts open.

Lopez, a strong Abel supporter, was unable to defend his scandal-riddled administration. The corruption was so flagrant that the USWA was forced to intervene into the local's financial affairs last year.

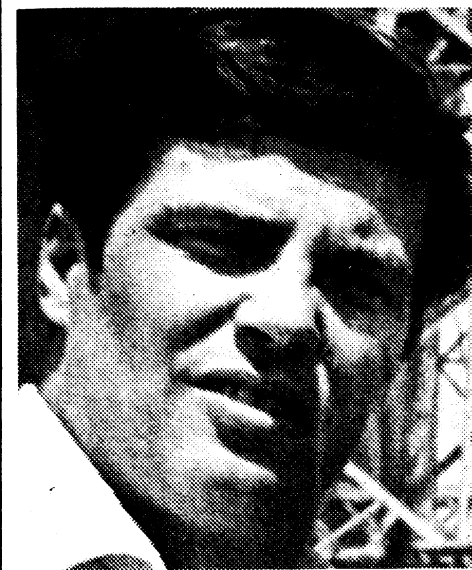
Lopez resorted to charges that Balanoff was a "communist." Not intimidated by this McCarthyite campaign, a record 12,000 members of the 18,000-member local voted.

The election result, Balanoff commented, was "a victory not just for myself but for all who want to see an end to the politics of corruption and incompetence in our union. . . . 'Our victory is a continuation of the clean-up effort begun by Ed Sadlowski when he defeated the 'Official Family' for District Director."

Norman Purdue, a Sadlowski supporter who was elected president of the 10,000-member Local 1011 at Youngstown Sheet and Tube, East Chicago, characterized the victories as "sending a message to Pittsburgh."

Steelworkers Local 1657 at two Interlake Steel plants in Chicago voted in Richard Alexander as president, another Sadlowski supporter.

'The message was loud and clear: steelworkers want their union back'



ED SADLOWSKI: Victories enhance prospects for national challenge to Abel machine.

Here's how columnist Bob Seltzer evaluated the Local 65 elections in the May 1 *Daily Calumet*, a Gary-South Chicago newspaper:

"The near-record 55 per cent membership turnout in Wednesday's United Steel Worker Local 65 officer election in South Chicago had a message loud and clear. . . .

"It's time for a change. It is clearly labeled for all bosses and would-be bosses. . . .

"The old order as exemplified by International President I.W. Abel; Local 65 President Frank Mirocha; 10th Ward Alderman Edward Vrdolyak; and Subdistrict Director Carl Alessi was soundly rejected here.

"You don't have to be a magician to read that. It is very, very clear. And it was not wasted on the steel workers. They want their union back.

"As a key member of the victorious

Chico group told me, 'They can't mistake this. This is a message to U.S. Steel and to Abel, the honeymoon is over.'

"At the international level this issue involved Abel, who took a personal hand in the Local 65 matter, and [a] former Local 65 president by the name of Edward Sadlowski. When Abel retires next spring, Sadlowski wants to succeed him. Abel doesn't want that. The only use Abel had for the Local 65 election Wednesday then was to embarrass Sadlowski. Abel wanted Sadlowski's supporter Chico to be defeated so he could ridicule Sadlowski for not carrying his own home local.

"It didn't go that way. Sadlowski gained enormous stature because not only was this his home local, a substantial effort was made to get rid of Chico."

Deadly alliance with Democrats

Behind defeat of San Francisco city strike

By Nat Weinstein

SAN FRANCISCO—After thirty-eight days on the picket lines, city-employed carpenters, electricians, plumbers, and other crafts workers returned to work here May 8.

The city and the unions are going through the motions of arbitration. But it is a foregone conclusion that the 1,900 crafts workers will suffer drastic wage cuts along the lines dictated by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors at the outset of the strike.

How did this defeat come about in San Francisco—known since the 1934 general strike as a union stronghold?

Why did top labor officials bluff about calling a general strike when they had not made any effort to effectively organize a simple strike of less than 2,000 workers?

Why did the heads of the Central Labor Council, Building Trades Council, Teamsters, longshoremen, and other unions fail to lift a finger to stop their members from crossing picket lines?

Why did the striking craft unions allow *their own members* on private construction jobs to cross city workers' picket lines?

Why weren't all the forces of the striking unions, including the thousands of unemployed building-trades workers, organized for mass picketing?

Why didn't the top labor officials take note even once of the open antilabor role played by Democratic Mayor George Moscone?

Waiting for Moscone

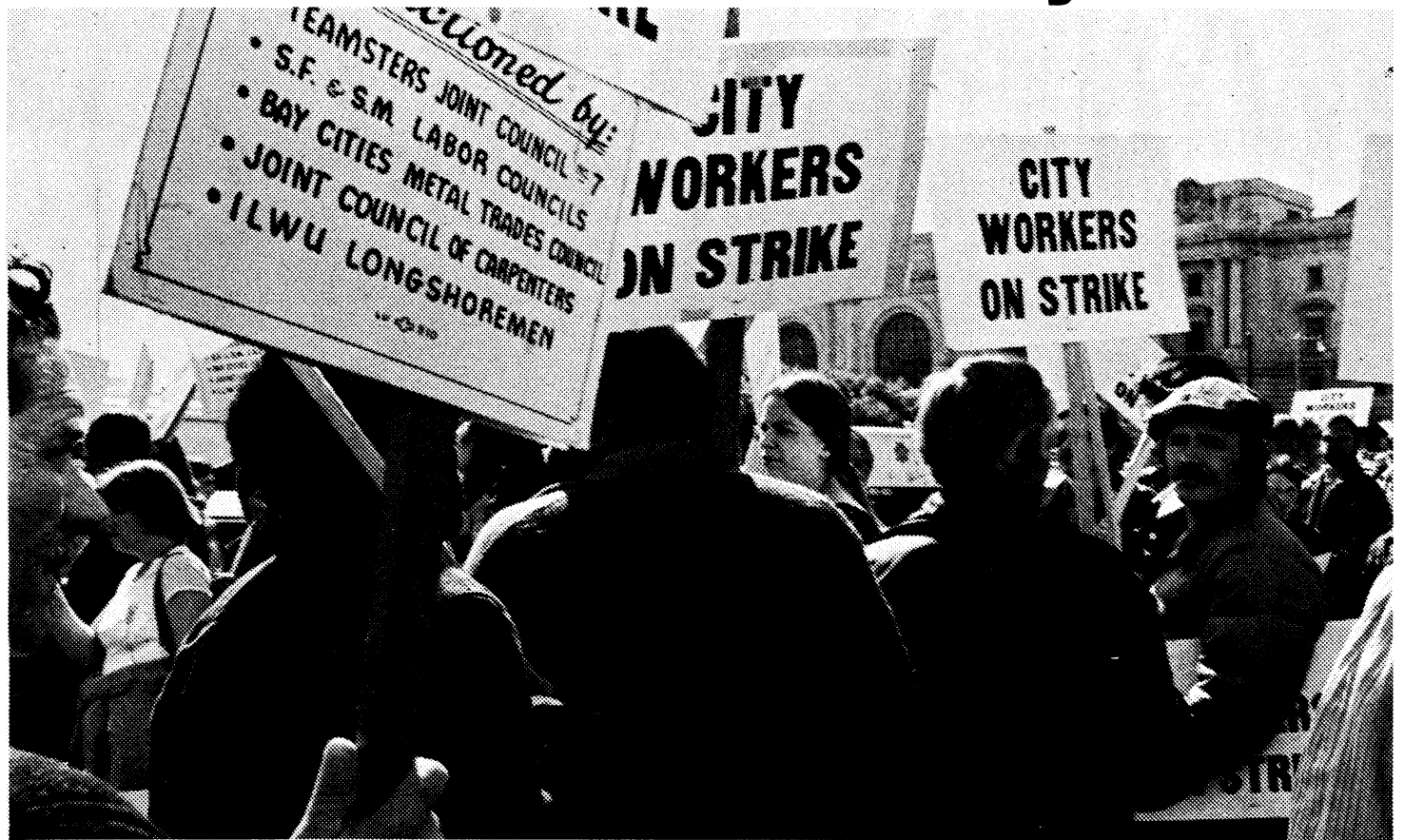
The answer to the last question holds the key to all the others. "Prolabor" Mayor Moscone was the last hope of the San Francisco labor officialdom to salvage some shred of credibility for their political alliance with the Democratic party.

When the board of supervisors enacted pay cuts for the crafts workers this spring, the labor tops waited expectantly for Moscone to intervene in their behalf. Growing apprehensive as the April 1 strike deadline approached with no sign of help from the mayor, they resolved to take "drastic" steps.

A news conference two weeks before the strike mustered the full array of union brass to declare that the pay-cut ultimatum, together with a "yellow dog" no-strike provision the supervisors demanded in all contracts, amounted to a "major onslaught" against labor.

The officials vowed to resist by any means necessary—all the way to a general strike.

They underlined their "solid labor front" by declaring that no city workers union would sign an agreement



Militant/Eric Simpson

Broad formal backing of strike was never translated into effective shutdown of city facilities, much less a general strike

until all were ready to sign on satisfactory terms.

The "solid front" collapsed within a week. Key unions representing the majority of city employees—including service employees, painters, hospital workers, Teamsters, and others—had already signed agreements on terms only slightly less harsh than those offered the remaining craft unions.

But the real state of negotiations was concealed from the union ranks.

Bureaucrats bluff

The threat of general strike, or any serious strike battle for that matter, was bluff. Worse than bluff. It was a last-ditch maneuver to appeal for intervention by Moscone.

The bureaucrats hoped the specter of turmoil and even bloodshed would give the mayor an excuse to soften—if only slightly—the merciless terms of the supervisors. They hoped in vain.

Moscone, loyal to his class, seized the opportunity to inflict a major defeat on the unions, even at the cost of shedding his "pro-labor" disguise early in his administration.

When their bluff was called, the blustering labor bureaucrats had to either pick up the gauntlet and fight—or flounder helplessly into certain defeat.

They chose to accept defeat rather than lead a head-on fight against the

Democratic party city administration.

The San Francisco labor bureaucrats, while donning the 1934 class-struggle war paint, shot 1976 class-collaborationist arrows! Thus disarmed, labor lost ground gained more than forty years ago.

Fear of fighting

A real fight, as the bureaucrats saw it, was far too risky. It would require mobilizing the ranks of the unions and inspiring them with the power of their own collective strength.

It would require elements of class-struggle organization: mass picketing, appeals for funds and public support, preparations to defend strikers against the repression of the courts and the terrorism of the cops.

Mass meetings would have been needed to keep the membership informed and permit their participation in decision making.

A daily strike bulletin would be needed to counter the lies of the capitalist media.

Leaders committed to a fight would have been impelled toward a strategy of winning over the masses of workers—organized and unorganized, Black and white, male and female—by pointing out the common interests of all workers.

They would have needed to put forward an alternative program for city finances, taxing the banks and corporations instead of workers and small property owners.

Such a fight would inevitably undercut the myth of "friendly capitalists" and the alliance with the Democratic party. It would have compounded the difficulties of the labor bureaucrats in promoting the next Democratic presidential candidate.

The present union leadership would see the unions crippled before they would embark on such a course.

Signal from Meany

While the San Francisco labor movement was being goaded by the Democratic party, AFL-CIO President George Meany delivered a major speech at a national teachers convention. He called for the defeat of antilabor Republican candidates in the next election, without once mentioning the events in San Francisco. It was an unmistakable signal that the AFL-CIO tops, irrevocably committed to the Democrats in November, would swallow any insult or injury.

San Francisco labor was not only disarmed through ineffectual strike strategy. Fundamentally, it was disarmed through years of labor political alliance with the capitalist parties.

The union tops had endorsed at one time or another nine out of eleven politicians on the board of supervisors, and then buried their heads in the sand while their "friends" openly prepared the assault on union wages and working conditions.

When these Democratic politicians unanimously backed Proposition B (a ballot measure paving the way for wage cuts) last November, the response of the union leaders was a weak-kneed campaign against it based on the feeble argument that Proposition B would cause "unnecessary strikes."

The propaganda war that isolated the craft workers from public support was also facilitated by years of labor collaboration with the capitalist parties.

The "hard hat" image earned for the craft unions by their leadership's pro-Vietnam War, anti-Black, antiwoman, and other narrow and self-centered policies made the unions an easy target in the capitalist game of divide and conquer.

This malignant image worn by the unions generally can only be dispelled by breaking from the source of the cancer: alliances with the capitalist parties.

Blaming the ranks

As was to be expected, the labor officials are already starting to blame the defeat here on the rank and file. But the display of class solidarity by the Municipal Railway (Muni) drivers is eloquent testimony to the contrary.

Despite concerted campaigns by the mayor and the media to stampede them back to work, the drivers of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A voted *three times* by overwhelming margins against crossing picket lines. They—not the craft unions—were the bulwark of the strike from the beginning.

The Muni drivers' solidarity stands out as a beacon pointing to the potential power of the workers, now shackled by the political strategy of the labor bureaucracy.

When this power is unleashed by a policy of independent labor political action, the door to the advance of all labor's interests will be opened wide.

Muni drivers repudiate strikebreaker in union vote

SAN FRANCISCO—Recent elections in Transport Workers Union Local 250-A here were portrayed as a referendum on the union's solidarity with the defeated craft workers' strike.

Incumbent President Larry Martin was identified with the Muni drivers' refusal to cross the picket lines. Challenger Paul Clark had been the key instrument of the San Francisco employers inside the union.

During the strike, rump back-to-back meetings were organized and petitions circulated in Clark's name. Although only a handful of drivers responded to these strikebreaking attempts, Clark was portrayed in the media as the real voice of the rank and file in opposition to "labor

boss" Larry Martin.

Martin and Clark came in first and second in a field of five candidates in first-ballot voting. Martin's failure to gain a majority was ballyhooed as a repudiation of the strike support policy.

The capitalist press, predicting a Martin defeat in the runoff election, chortled gleefully about the "imminent victory for union democracy."

But the Muni drivers came through again, reelecting Martin with 746 votes to Clark's 498 in the May 18 runoff.

The Muni drivers repudiated the bosses' attempt to gain in the union election what they were unable to achieve during the strike.

"The solidarity is still the same!" Martin declared. —N.W.

N.Y. community battles hospital cutbacks

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—"Somebody asked me where these [elderly] people will go if they close Gouverneur. They will go to the cemetery, that's what will happen to them."

The person speaking was Carolyn Lane, who recently retired as supervisor of emergency-room nursing services at Gouverneur Hospital. She had worked there since 1941.

Like many other supporters of the Coalition to Save Gouverneur, Lane has been fighting for years to establish a modern, full-service health-care facility in New York's Lower East Side. Now residents have been forced to take to the streets to protest drastic reductions in hospital services at Gouverneur.

On May 21 the Health and Hospitals Corporation, which administers New York's eighteen municipal hospitals, reaffirmed its decision to gouge \$7.49 million out of the Gouverneur Hospital budget.

This will mean terminating all emergency-room services and closing the 166-bed inpatient facilities. The hospital's ambulatory care program for outpatients will be curtailed by as much as 45 percent.

Three-fourths of the hospital's present staff of 850 will be laid off, according to Paul Ramos, a member of the Coalition to Save Gouverneur. "And that translates into about 85 percent of the services of this hospital," Ramos told the *Militant*.

The hospital has already lost more



Outside Gouverneur Hospital

Militant/Lou Howort

than 300 employees in the past fifteen months.

Community residents are afraid that Gouverneur will soon suffer the same fate set for other hospitals in predominantly Black and Puerto Rican communities. Sydenham Hospital in Harlem and Fordham and Morrisania hospitals in the Bronx have all been ordered to shut their doors.

The struggle for health-care facilities in the Lower East Side dates back to the 1930s, when people were calling for

replacement of the original Gouverneur Hospital, built in 1898, with a modern facility.

Conditions deteriorated to such an extent that the hospital lost its accreditation in 1959 and was converted into an outpatient clinic only.

In 1966 city authorities scrapped plans to replace the crumbling clinic with a new hospital. They proposed to build a nursing home instead. It took weeks of marches, rallies, and petitioning for the community to win a

partial victory: The city would build a hospital, but one without operating rooms or a maternity ward.

After repeated delays and more protests, a thirteen-story, 200-bed hospital finally opened in July 1972.

Residents in the area served by Gouverneur have reacted strongly to the latest attacks. Supporters of the Coalition to Save Gouverneur include settlement houses, poverty agencies, community councils, churches, and political clubs throughout the Lower East Side.

They have been occupying the hospital's administrative offices since May 6. Protesters also moved into the first-floor lobby recently, among visiting patients and staff people making their rounds.

Most of the staff is in sympathy with the occupation, although the doctors have not as a body either supported or condemned the action. Marches, rallies, and demonstrations have been held to demand no firings or cutbacks in services.

On May 21 a seventy-five-car motorcade traveled all over Lower Manhattan before returning to the hospital for a rally.

Members of the coalition vow to "intensify the struggle" to save their hospital, while also expressing solidarity with other facilities under attack around the city.

As one coalition leader put it, "We don't want them to save this hospital at the expense of any other hospital."

Newark hospital strike protests firings

By Judi Chertov

NEWARK—Four hundred union members and community supporters rallied May 22 outside United Hospitals Medical Center here to support a strike by hospital workers and to protest union-busting attacks by the administration and police.

Strike supporters picketed the hospital entrances and then came together for a rally and march around the hospital and through the surrounding community.

They chanted, "Hey, hey, what do you say, 1199 is here to stay!" and "No contract, no work!"

Picket lines were thrown up May 19 by District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees.

Joining the May 22 action were members of District 1199 from throughout New Jersey and New York,

as well as members of the Service Employees International Union, Office and Professional Employees International Union, and Newark Teachers Union.

Last October District 1199 won the right to represent 250 of United's 1,200 employees, including licensed practical nurses (LPNs) and lab technicians.

In April the union organized a rally to protest administration stalling in contract negotiations. The hospital, whose board of trustees reads like a "Who's Who" of Newark business, responded by firing twenty union activists. Most of those fired were LPNs, some with ten to twenty years on the job.

The strikers are demanding union recognition and reinstatement of those fired.

Pickets have faced severe police harassment. Nine were arrested the first day of the strike and three the second. Some of those arrested were brutalized by the cops.

In addition, police have set up a videotape camera to photograph all strikers and supporters on the picket lines.

At the May 22 rally, union member Anthony Rubilar of Jersey City was struck by a car crashing through the picket line. Police did nothing.

Mary Edmunds, one of the ousted workers, explained some of the grievances that underlie the struggle. She said arbitrary personnel policies at United deny employees any job security. Many are forced to train new workers, only to find themselves fired and replaced by their trainees.

Because of staff shortages, LPNs are doing the work of registered nurses. Graduate nurses just out of school are put in charge of entire patient floors.

Edmunds also explained that when a woman goes on maternity leave she loses all right to her previous job, regardless of her seniority.

District 1199 is calling for a starting salary for LPNs of \$181 a week, up from the \$142 they now get.

The hospital workers have won significant support from Newark's Black community leaders, including city council members and officers of the Urban League and Operation PUSH.

The city council passed a resolution at its May 19 meeting calling for reinstatement of the fired workers as the first step toward negotiations.

Denver cops murder Black in jail

By John Isenhower

DENVER—Carl Newland is dead. He died at the hands of the Denver Police Department. His crime was that he was Black.

Newland was picked up April 9 by Denver police after a holdup at a newsstand. Newland's resemblance to the holdup suspect was that he was Black. The description given to police was that of a short, clean-shaven man with a scar on his face. Newland was a hefty six-footer with a mustache and no scar.

The arresting officers took Newland to the scene of the crime. An employee there told police Newland wasn't the man they wanted. Nevertheless, police then took Newland to a holding cell in city jail.

At the jail Newland continued to protest his detention. Guards responded by entering his cell. Then, nearby prisoners heard "thumps" coming from the cell. They also heard Newland screaming for help. Then the screaming stopped.

Three new prisoners were soon placed in the cell with Newland. Daniel Trujillo turned the moaning

Newland on his side. Blood was seeping from the battered man's mouth.

"I hollered at the custodian that this guy needed some medical attention," Trujillo said. "They told me to shut up or I'd be in the same situation." Trujillo asked Newland what had happened. "He was mumbling something to the effect, 'Don't let them hit me no more.' He said, 'They're trying to kill me.'"

Then Newland's body "stiffened up. . . he spit out a glob of blood on his shirt. . . So I jumped up again and I hollered again at them, 'This guy needs some help.' He (a deputy) said, 'He's just drunk. Let him dry up in his piss.'"

The cops later dragged Newland from the cell and tried to revive him. When they couldn't do it, an ambulance was called. Newland arrived at the hospital at 11:45 p.m., four hours after having been taken to jail. He had never been accused of any crime.

Doctors diagnosed his ailment as a stroke. The stroke was caused by a

blood clot in the neck. The clot was caused by a blow. The preliminary autopsy listed his death as "homicide."

The public didn't find out about this until one month later when an article appeared in the May 9 *Rocky Mountain News*.

Following the revelations, Black community leaders held a news conference to "express their shock, grief, and moral outrage" over this brutal murder. They demanded that Mayor William McNichols appoint a "blue-ribbon citizens' panel" to conduct a thorough investigation.

Priscilla Schenk, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress, told the *Militant* that she endorses the idea of an independent investigation conducted by a commission selected by prominent Black leaders and community organizations.

For their part, Denver cops claim to be looking into the affair. Homicide detective James Burkhalter reports his investigation is "75 percent" complete, yet alleges he has not identified "any one person I can point my finger at."

Three more Palestinians killed

Israeli land grab spurs Arab resistance

By Steve Clark

Israel's merciless suppression of Arab protests on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River claimed three more lives in mid-May.

Sixteen-year-old Lena Hassan Nabulsi was shot dead May 16 in Nablus following a demonstration against the Israeli occupation. The city's Arab officials proclaimed two days of mourning and a general strike to protest the murder.

Another teen-age Palestinian, Abdulla Mustafa Haleb Hawas, was shot and killed the following day while watching a demonstration. A day later, twenty-one-year-old Muhammad Kurd was murdered by Israeli troops in an alley in old Jerusalem.

The killings occurred as Israeli troops attempted to quell a new outbreak of Arab protests against Tel Aviv's latest colonization scheme. Plans for new Zionist settlements in Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war were outlined May 9 at a meeting of the Israeli cabinet.

According to a May 10 dispatch from Jerusalem by *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith, the settlements will range from small agricultural villages to industrial towns." Smith said that Israeli officials "declined to disclose exactly how many new settlements are contemplated or their precise locations. One official said 'more than a dozen were involved,' while others suggested that the program would eventually include several dozen."

Later reports have pegged the figure at twenty-two. Sixty-eight settlements have already been established by Israel over the past eight years.

The Zionist regime coupled its land grab with a phony "concession" designed primarily for international consumption. Israel has become increasingly isolated since the 1967 war as a result of its dogged refusal to return Arab territories seized at that time.

The cabinet's "concession" was a decision to move a settlement of Zionist fanatics from one location on the West Bank to another "approved by the government." The establishment of this settlement, currently at Kadum, was one of the immediate causes of the outbreak of Palestinian nationalist demonstrations earlier this year.

An estimated 20,000 right-wing Israelis staged a two-day march through the West Bank in April to support the Kadum squatters. During Arab protests against this Zionist provocation, three Palestinians—including a six-year-old child—were gunned down by Israeli troops.

Given the worldwide opposition to Israel's expansionist aims, the government has formally taken its distance from the marchers' demand that the West Bank be immediately annexed and opened to unlimited Jewish settlement. But the government's decision May 9 shows that this is mere window dressing.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin outlined his regime's true intentions in a statement shortly after the rightist march. "We are strengthening the line of [West Bank] villages that will form the defensive line of the state of Israel," he assured his rightist critics. "No settlement was established in order to be evacuated."

Tel Aviv's determination to hold onto its 1967 conquests explains the murderous brutality it has employed to smash Arab protests. Since the current upsurge of nationalist demonstrations broke out last February, Israeli authorities have killed sixteen Palestinians—an average of more than one each week. Ten victims have fallen during West Bank protests; another six during

demonstrations inside Israel itself.

These killings have further tarnished Israel's already faltering world image. *Christian Science Monitor* columnist Joseph C. Harsch commented on this trend May 21.

"... each time an Arab youth falls to an Israeli bullet the world's perception of Israel is changed," Harsch said. "Those who once were seen as the victims of persecution begin to be seen as the persecutors. Arabs are being killed, not Jews. The bullets come from Israeli guns. Those who fall are falling in defense of their own homeland. Their cause is to keep Arab land in Arab hands."

This militant assertion of Arab rights has been especially embarrassing for those Zionists who have tried to portray their cause as a progressive movement for liberation. Israel's blood-stained hands have blown its cover; it stands exposed as a racist, colonial settler-state—similar in many ways to Rhodesia and South Africa.

The growing worries in Zionist circles were reflected at a recent meeting of the American Jewish Committee. James Marshall, a New York

lawyer, warned participants that young Jews today "will not be so intensely, so emotionally involved in Israel." He predicted they would be less willing to contribute to the United Jewish Appeal, an important source of funds for Israel.

Even Washington wishes that Tel Aviv would rein in its West Bank "hit squads" and strike a more flexible pose in negotiations on the occupied territories. The U.S. imperialists fear that their client state will gain a sordid reputation similar to that of Washington's Saigon puppets. Such a development would make it increasingly difficult to justify to the American people why their tax dollars are being used to arm this repressive regime.

Some Zionist doves, both inside Israel and out, have also urged Tel Aviv to temper its methods. They are concerned about the international consequences of more bloodshed. They are also worried by the radicalizing impact of recent events on Israel's Arab population—and to a lesser extent, on young Jews.

"Why don't we use tear gas or rubber pellets? Why do we need firearms to

disperse demonstrators? These are the most frequently heard questions in Israel now," correspondent Francis Ofner reported in the May 18 *Christian Science Monitor*.

None of these "solutions," however, speak to the fundamental issue at stake in the Middle East. "There is no end to these demonstrations as long as the Israelis build Jewish settlements on our land," vowed Hilmi Hannun, mayor of the West Bank town of Tulkarm.

More is at stake than simply the occupied territories. The Israeli state itself is based on the expulsion since 1948 of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, and on the subjugation of those who have remained.

Now the Palestinian people have begun a mass struggle to regain their homeland. Their just aspirations can only be met by the replacement of the Israeli state by a democratic, secular Palestine guaranteeing rights to Arab and Jew alike.

If the Palestinians have not been silenced by sixteen murders, then rubber bullets will surely work no better.

Arabs demonstrate in N.Y., Mich.

By Ike Nahem

BROOKLYN—Eight hundred people marched here May 16 in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and against United States aid to Israel. The spirited demonstration through Brooklyn's Arab community was called by the Palestine Day Mobilizing Committee, a coalition of Arab groups.

The march was held in response to a call by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries for a May 15 International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. On

May 15, 1948, Palestine fell to Zionist colonialism.

Endorsers of the demonstration included the Puerto Rican Socialist party, Socialist Workers party, Irish Republican Clubs of the USA and Canada, International Treaty Council of the American Indian Movement, the *Guardian* newspaper, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The march was kicked off by a contingent from the Arab School in Brooklyn, a cultural school and day-care center. The young people carried the bright red, green, and white Palestinian flag.

Chants and signs along the march route were in both Arabic and English. Among the chants were: "Palestine Yes, Israel No"; "Zionism is Racism"; and "Vietnam has won, Palestine will win." A particularly popular chant was "No U.S. aid to Israel, No cutbacks here." The Brooklyn College Young Socialist Alliance carried a banner that read, "Self-Determination for Palestine."

Rally speakers included Sami Albanna from the Palestine Day Mobilizing Committee; Umm Mohammed from the Palestine Women's Union; Ali Kaffa for the May 15 Coalition, a coalition of Arab organizations; and Sheila Ryan for the Palestine Solidarity Committee. The featured speaker was Zuhdi Tarazi, the PLO's permanent observer to the United Nations. The rally also featured Palestinian resistance songs and a dancing exhibition.

Jimmie Durham of the International Treaty Council of the American Indian Movement also spoke. "American Indian people feel closer to the Palestinian people than to any other people because we have had a common fate and will share a common destiny of victory against imperialism," he told the rally.

DEARBORN, Mich.—A rainstorm didn't dampen the spirits of 2,000 people who marched here May 15 to commemorate Palestine Day.

The Dearborn City Council had proclaimed May 8-15 Palestine Week. (Dearborn was also the first American city to place American intervention in Vietnam on a local ballot.)

At the rally after the march, County Commissioner George Hart read a proclamation from the Wayne County Board of Commissioners declaring May 15 Palestine Day. Wayne County includes Detroit.

The rally received a statement of support from Rabbi Elmer Berger of the American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism based in New York. Christian and Muslim clergy also spoke at the rally.

The march and rally were sponsored by more than forty Arab-American social, cultural, political, religious, and student organizations.

STOP ISRAELI
GENOCIDE
OF THE
PALESTINIANS



700 marched in Brooklyn demonstration

Militant/Lou Howort



Chou En-lai greets Iranian Empress Farah in Peking, 1971. Iranian rulers get royal treatment in China because of anti-Soviet policies.

China's bid for anti-Soviet bloc

By Dick Roberts

(Second of a series)

In initiating a much-needed discussion on China's foreign policy, the *Guardian* newspaper drew special attention to an interview with William Hinton, which it published in its May 5 issue. Hinton is the chairman of the U.S.-China Peoples Friendship Association, and speaks with authority about Peking's views.

The Chinese leadership believes that the Soviet Union is now "the main danger confronting the whole world," Hinton said. Peking campaigns internationally for strengthened imperialist military alliances against the Soviet Union. In areas concerning anti-Soviet military blocks, "unity is possible" between Peking and Washington, Hinton said.

Hinton's summary of the views of the Mao regime produces such an impact because of the blunt presentation of Peking's favoritism to the most rabidly reactionary anti-Soviet forces around the world.

Those who support the Chinese revolution, and who recognize that the 1949 victory of the Chinese masses was the greatest advance for the world revolution since the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia in 1917, now have an obligation, as the *Guardian* points out, to begin an objective and reasoned discussion of China's foreign policy.

A good place to start is with the factual record. What follows is a thumbnail sketch of Chinese international policies in the 1970s.

Even before Richard Nixon's 1972 Peking summit—and leaving aside the Vietnam War, which will be the subject of a separate article—the Chinese leadership had pursued policies along the lines of those described by Hinton.

- In Pakistan, in 1971, Peking supported the military dictator Yahya Khan, as Khan's troops attempted to drown in blood the Bangladesh national liberation struggle. At the height of the "pacification" of Bangladesh, Chou En-Lai dispatched a note to Yahya stating: "We are certain that, thanks to the contacts which you and your collaborators are increasing and thanks to all your efforts, the situation in Pakistan will be restored to normality." Washington also supported Pakistan, which is a member of the anticommunist CENTO

military alliance.

- In Ceylon, the same year, the Mao government supported the Bandaranaike regime as it brutally stamped out an uprising involving tens of thousands of youths. Chou wrote to Bandaranaike: "We are glad to see that thanks to the efforts of Your Excellency and the Ceylon Government, the chaotic situation created by a handful of persons who style themselves 'Guevarists' and into whose ranks foreign spies have sneaked has been brought under control."

- In the Sudan, in July and August 1971, Peking supported the military regime of General Nimeiry, which carried out a bloody decimation of the pro-Moscow Sudanese Communist party. Here, once again, Peking subordinated working-class solidarity against repression to its factional struggle with the Kremlin.

Red carpet for shah

- In Iran, Peking supports the shah. If there is a single aspect of Peking's foreign policy that is most difficult for supporters of the Chinese revolution to take, this is surely it. How similar the barbaric regime of the shah, with its CIA-trained SAVAK, the secret police, is to the hated and corrupt regime of Chiang Kai-shek that the Chinese revolution overthrew in 1949.

But Shah Pahlavi and the Princess Ashraf get the red-carpet treatment in Peking today as a result of Iran's role in anti-Soviet military alliances. As Pahlavi himself told *Newsweek* in 1973 "West Europe, the United States, and Japan consider the Persian Gulf as integral to their security, but they are not in position to guarantee this security. We do it for them." This is what endears the shah to Washington as well as Peking.

- In Japan and in the Philippines, Peking campaigns for the ruling governments to strengthen their military ties to the United States. Two of the largest U.S. bases in the world—Clark Air Force Base, the biggest outside the United States, and Subic Naval Base, headquarters for the U.S. Seventh Fleet—are in the Philippines.

- Peking's propaganda on Latin America claims that "Soviet social-imperialism has intensified its penetration" compared with the United States. This absurd charge is a veneer for Peking's direct

support to U.S. policies.

In Chile, Peking rushed to give diplomatic recognition to the Pinochet regime when it overthrew Salvador Allende's government in 1973. As the Chilean military gunned down political dissenters, the Chinese embassy in Santiago refused to admit people seeking refuge from the terror.

China then joined the United States in abstaining from a resolution adopted by the executive committee of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) expressing concern over the October 1973 Chilean events.

- In Puerto Rico, Peking also aids the United States. On August 20, 1975, the UN Decolonization Committee voted 11 to 9 to shelve a resolution on the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The resolution reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence." This stand is overwhelmingly supported by the Puerto Rican independence movement. The Chinese representative to the United Nations did not participate in the vote.

- Cuba is increasingly coming under Peking's fire, particularly because of Cuba's role in Angola of supporting the Moscow-backed MPLA. According to the March 12, 1976, issue of the official government weekly, *Peking Review*, "Its [Moscow's] dispatch of mercenaries from Latin America to invade Angola has caused widespread suspicion and anxiety in Latin America and has been strongly denounced by the Latin American people. At a luncheon . . . on February 24, Kissinger said: 'The United States will not tolerate a challenge to the solemn (Rio de Janeiro) treaty principle of non-intervention in this hemisphere. . . .'"

Thus Peking endorses the imperialist threats of Kissinger himself against Cuba!

'European security'

It is, however, the European theater that most preoccupies Peking's international propaganda. Practically every issue of Peking's daily news agency Hsinhua carries articles about the supposed threat of Soviet military aggression in Europe. A few recent examples:

May 8, 1976: "France must not count on its nuclear deterrent alone for national security, and it should retain a 'better equipped and better trained' conventional army in addition to a tactical and strategic nuclear force, stressed French President Giscard D'Estaing in a television interview. . . ."

May 9-10: "The need for Norway to strengthen its national defense in face of Soviet military threat was stressed by Norwegian conservatives at their party meeting held in Oslo. . . ."

May 14: "NATO held a joint air-force exercise over North Europe yesterday with a view to improving the front line defence capabilities of the NATO air forces charged with protecting Western Europe. . . ."

"Taking part in the exercise were dozens of aircraft from Britain, the United States, West Germany, Canada, Belgium and the Netherlands. . . ."

Peking's line, as we saw last week, has impelled Maoists in West Germany to oppose the struggle against NATO. In France, Maoists attack the struggle to democratize the army in order to allow recruits the freedom of political discussion.

Portugal

Peking's policies can also be gleaned from important international events that they do not cover in their press. Here, Portugal stands out. For virtually the entire past two years of revolutionary upsurge in this old bastion of European imperialism, Hsinhua has reported only the most superficial of details.

Pro-Maoist forces in Portugal contend that "Soviet social imperialism is the main enemy of Portugal's independence struggle." Along with Kissinger, Peking fears that a successful revolution of the Portuguese workers and peasants would be a blow to imperialism in Europe. Peking thus subordinates the needs of the Portuguese masses to its pro-NATO, pro-U.S. imperialist strategy.

To round this brief overview out, we should take a look at Richard Nixon's March 1976 visit to Peking.

The gloss in the bourgeois press is that Nixon's visit was "political mischief-making, half ego trip and half kowtow," as the editors of the *Washington Post* declared. But the trip takes on a special meaning viewed in light of Peking's emphasis on anti-Soviet imperialist armament.

Recall William Hinton's statement that Peking prefers "Heath to Wilson, Strauss to Brandt." Who is a better symbol of this in U.S. politics than the hated McCarthyite and veteran cold-warrior, Richard Nixon?

(Next: China & Vietnam, the real record)

Socialists have answer to soaring health costs

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

The federal Council on Wage and Price Stability issued a report on healthcare costs this spring. The report revealed some startling information about what it means to be sick in America. The council's findings provide dramatic evidence that health

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

Care has become a luxury item for more and more working people.

According to agency head Michael Moskow, during the first three months of 1976 "overall medical care services rose at a 14 percent annual rate, physician's fees at a 14.2 percent rate, and hospital charges at a startling 20.1 percent rate."

The council said that in the twelve months ending June 1975, the average family of four spent \$2,188 for medical care.

Hospital visits alone accounted for an average cost of \$1,017 per family. Between 1964 and 1971, the average bill for a simple appendectomy jumped by 80 percent, from \$592 to \$1,063.

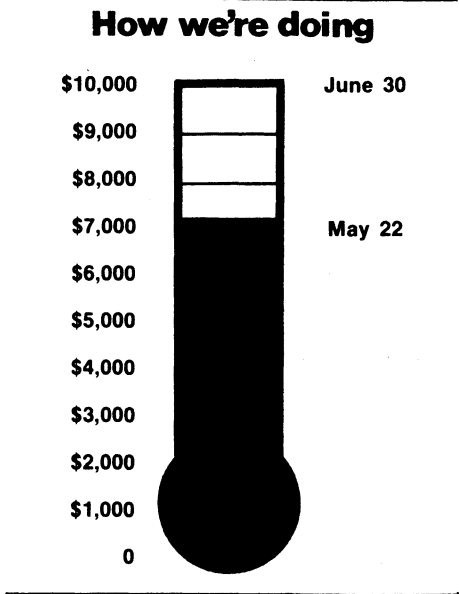
In the same period, costs for treatment of a heart attack rose 126 percent, from \$1,449 to \$3,280. Cancer treatment and maternity care rose by more than 50 percent each.

Adding insult to injury, the report concluded that because of heightened competition for patients between hospitals, new medical technology has been used as a prestige factor to lure patients, rather than to reduce costs.

In fact, the council reported, there are indications that spiraling hospital costs have not contributed to better health care at all!

This country's giant insurance companies benefit from these rising medical costs. They reap enormous profits by playing on the justifiable fear among working-class families that a major illness could wipe out an entire life savings.

Socialist Workers party candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid hold to a different view of what should happen when someone gets sick in America. They believe that free, high quality health care should be the right of every person—not the luxury of a privileged few.



Camejo and Reid are demanding that the massive health-care industry be taken out of private hands, and that hospitals, laboratories, clinics, nursing homes—all aspects of medical care—be controlled by the communities who use their services.

The right to free medical care is a central plank in the Socialist Workers party's campaign platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People." By contributing to the Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund, you can help print the hundreds of thousands more copies of the platform that will be needed before November.

This week supporters of the campaign boosted the total by \$1,164. The fund now stands at \$7,314.

Use the coupon below, and make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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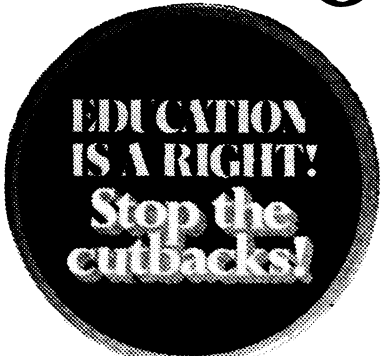
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This campaign button is available from the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. The button is yellow, red, and white lettering on a black background. The cost is 50 cents each.

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Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; 10:00 p.m. Tuesday, three days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Calendar

BOSTON
SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate; Carol Henderson Evans, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Mac Warren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.; others. Fri., June 4. Refreshments, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 8:00 p.m. Huntington YMCA, 316 Huntington Ave. (Northeastern stop on Arborway MBTA). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Massachusetts Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Making a revolution. Sun., June 6, 7:30 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395 or (617) 262-4621.

MILWAUKEE
QUE VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE: THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE. Speakers: Tony Baez, parent bilingual coordinator, Milwaukee School Board; Robert Schwarz, SWP candidate for

U.S. Senate; others. Fri., June 4, 8 p.m. United Community Center, 1028 S. 9th St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW ORLEANS
FBI CRIMES AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT, SOCIALISTS, AND DISSENTERS. A panel discussion. Fri., June 4, 8 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 3812 Magazine St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 891-5324.

SAN JOSE
CHICANO LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Two classes by Miguel Pendas. Sat., June 5, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. Sacred Heart Church (Multiperson Room), 974 Palm St. Donation: 50¢. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 295-2618.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau chief; Sandra Sherman, SWP candidate for San Jose City Council, Seat Four. Sat., June 5, 8 p.m. Sacred Heart Church (Multiperson Room), 974 Palm St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 295-2618.

...PSP

Continued from page 3

their workplaces, their neighborhoods, and their families.

Such tactics are a key part of FBI Cointelpro operations directed against socialist, Black, antiwar, and other dissident groups.

Alvarez charged that the attacks on the PSP must be viewed as "an attempt to hamper our political activity and our participation in the electoral process in Puerto Rico."

The PSP is running a full slate for various government posts. The slate is headed by Mari Brás, who is the candidate for governor.

Alvarez explained that many Puerto Ricans in the United States are here only for a short time and maintain their permanent residency and voting registration on the island. The harassment, he said, is designed to prevent

the PSP from reaching people with its election campaign.

Alvarez also charged that the FBI aims to hamper plans for a July 4 protest scheduled for Philadelphia. One of the main slogans for the action is "For a bicentennial without colonies." The PSP is playing a prominent role in the coalition sponsoring the action.

Mari Brás noted that of some 200 terrorist attacks against independence advocates in Puerto Rico—including three murders, several other shootings, numerous bombings, and two arson attacks against the presses of the PSP's *Claridad*—there have been a grand total of one arrest and no convictions.

Both Alvarez and Mari Brás stressed that these attacks had been directed against not only the PSP, but also the whole proindependence movement on the island and "all sectors of the progressive movement" in the United States.

You can help get new readers for 'Militant'

By Pat Galligan

WANTED: 1,169 new readers. That's how many people we have to sign up by May 31 to meet our goal of 5,500.

How can you help?
Show this issue of the *Militant* to some of your co-workers, classmates, friends, and neighbors.

You could start by pointing out the feature in the *International Socialist Review* section, the debate on busing.

Is there someone at work who's interested in important new develop-

ments in the unions? Point out the article on Ed Sadlowski's campaign to turn around the steelworkers union on page 25.

Then there's the article on the back page about the fight for child care in San Francisco. Flip through the paper, you'll find articles to interest other people you know. And, each week the *Militant* carries news, socialist analysis, and features they won't find anywhere else.

How about it?

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City	Goal	in	%				
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Cleveland		175	128	73			
San Diego		150	109	73			
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New York City		500	352	70			
Albany, N.Y.		10	7	70			
Toledo		10	7	70			
Newark		100	68	68			
Washington, D.C., Area		220	148	67			
Los Angeles		350	207	59			
Boston		250	144	58			
Bloomington, Ind.		50	28	56			
Atlanta		225	122	54			
Denver		150	75	50			
Champaign, Ill.		10	5	50			
Kansas City, Mo.		10	5	50			
San Jose		80	39	49			
Detroit		200	80	40			
East Lansing, Mich.		10	3	30			
Chicago		275	48	17			
San Francisco		225	26	12			
State College, Pa.		20	2	10			
General			279				
YSA teams		1,900	708	37			
Total		5,500	4,331	79			
Should have		5,500	4,900	89			

Houston	300	265	88
Richmond, Va.	30	26	87
New Orleans	100	86	86
Philadelphia	200	168	84
Baltimore	90	76	84
Indianapolis	25	20	80
Ann Arbor, Mich.	10	8	80
Seattle	175	139	79
Minneapolis	180	135	75
Milwaukee	150	113	75
St. Louis	125	94	75
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By Tom Kerry

A forty-year veteran of the labor and socialist movements shows how class-struggle ideas spurred the growth of American unionism, including: the Seattle general strike of 1919; the struggles of West Coast maritime workers in the 1930s; the role of the Communist party; and the part played by revolutionists in left-wing trends in the unions.

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THE ART AND POLITICS OF THE CINEMA SPRING 1976 ISSUE

The (Next To) Last Word on Lina Wertmüller (interview and article) / The Costa-Gavras Syndrome / VIVA ZAPATA!, Pro and Con / Fernando Arrabal talks about VIVA LA MUERTE / Carl Marzani discusses Union Films (1940's production group) / Point of Production: Films about Work and Workers / Soviet film-makers interview / Reviews of SWEPT AWAY, MILESTONES, DISTANT THUNDER, FOX AND HIS FRIENDS, WHITE LINE FEVER, EXHIBITION, ALLONSANFAN, Nazi cinema, etc.

NEXT ISSUE: Cinema in Revolutionary Portugal / Bunuel / German Cinema

CAMEJO ON VIDEOTAPE

The Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee now has available a black-and-white, fifty-five minute videotape of presidential candidate Peter Camejo. The tape, showing Camejo speaking at Florida State University, can be useful in publicizing the socialist campaign and giving more people an opportunity to hear the candidate.

The tape can be reserved by writing the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014; or telephone (212) 675-3820. The prepaid rental price is \$5, plus a \$5 refundable deposit.

Officers of the committee: chairperson, Fred Halstead; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

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THE MILITANT

'We need a movement for quality child care'

On June 8 San Francisco voters will vote on Proposition I. It reads: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that low-cost, quality childcare be made available to all San Francisco children. Childcare shall include infant care, pre-school, and after-school programs. Policy shall be made by the parents and faculties of each center. Funding shall be procured by the City and County of San Francisco."

In 1973, 97,000 voters adopted this same referendum question, then called Proposition M. However, the board of supervisors stalled implementation for two years. Now the board is putting the referendum up for another vote, claiming that working people will have to pay for the program through higher taxes. And according to board member Terry Francois, "To implement such a child-care program, other vital social programs would have to be drastically curtailed. San Francisco simply cannot fund a program of such magnitude without risking bankruptcy."

Francois added, "New York City provides a good example of what happens to a city which tries to do more than it can afford."

At a May 7 Militant Forum in San Francisco, Sylvia Weinstein answered the board's fraudulent arguments. Weinstein, a coordinator of Child and Parent Action—the group that initiated Proposition M—and the Yes on Childcare Committee, explained that funds should come from the banks and other big business concerns, not the already overtaxed working population. Excerpts from her speech are printed here.

To help organize for a massive "yes" vote on Proposition I, contact: Yes on Childcare Committee, Lulac Building, 3000 Folsom Street, Room 21, San Francisco, California 94112. Telephone: (415) 648-0303.

I think you can judge a nation by how it treats its young, how it treats its elderly, and how it treats its poor. This country is the richest country in the world. And yet the statistics on children are criminal.

There are 28 million children in this country under the age of eighteen who have mothers working, and more than 6.5 million of these children are under the age of six.

Naturally, if both parents are working or if a parent is single, their children need supervision. But there are only an estimated 4.3 million spaces available in child-care centers throughout the country. And of these, three-fourths are of inferior quality and should not be used.

At least 10,000 children under six are left alone during the day with no care or supervision while the parents work.

Over 500,000 children are cared for by another child under the age of sixteen. That means large numbers of children have to stay home from school.

And 1.2 million children are at home with a parent who is too handicapped or too sick to provide proper supervision. That is a national picture.

Now, in San Francisco there are 48,328 children under six with both parents or the single parent working. Most of these parents can't afford to pay thirty-five to forty dollars per week for private home child care.

What we need is a national movement for quality child care for every single child who needs it.

Studies on child development are showing that learning patterns and habits primarily develop during early childhood.

What we want to see is an extension of public education. We want to see quality, public child-care centers from age zero in every public school in the country. You've got the money for it and you've got the need for it.

Why doesn't this happen?

Now, I know that every single parent cares for children. The only people that I don't see caring for children are those

who would lose a little bit of money. I'm talking about the banks, the big corporations, and the insurance companies—the ones who would have to pay more taxes to finance expanded, low-cost, quality child-care centers.

Let me explain. In 1966 half of the general revenue in this state came from banks, corporations, and insurance companies. The other half came from sales and income taxes. But today, 16 percent of the general tax revenues come from these big business interests and 84 percent comes from us!

So what's happening is that poor people, working people, middle-class people, and small businesses are paying the majority of the taxes and getting the least amount of social services.

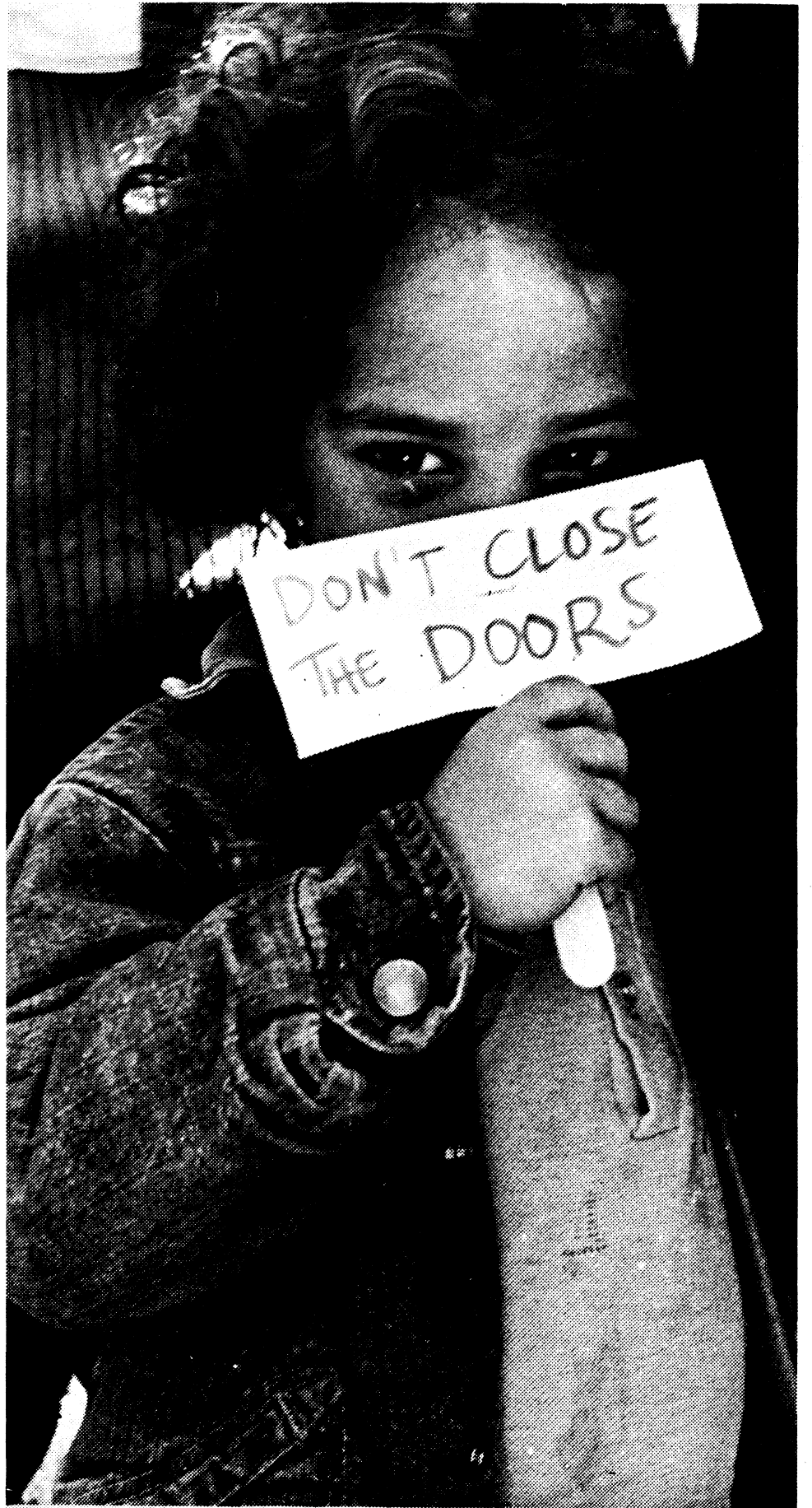
Do you know that in San Francisco we are not allowed to tax the property of the home offices of big corporations like the Bank of America? There are eighty big companies with home offices here. But the city does not have the right to tax their property. That has to be done through the state and the state reimburses the city. That's one of the reasons why you see a bank on every corner in this city, because it's cheap for them.

Nationally it's even worse. Nationally, the banks and the large corporations pay 14 percent of the total national tax revenues. The working people, on sales and income taxes, pay 86 percent.

People should know these things, because Terry Francois and the liberals on the board give us a song and dance saying, "No matter what you want, you can't have it because we have to tax the small homeowner." Or "If you want child care, we're going to take the seeing-eye dog away from the blind woman. And if you want child care, we're going to take that woman off of welfare or that man off of welfare."

What they're constantly doing is trying to get working people fighting against each other.

In the meantime, while we're all



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fighting, they're folding up the money and putting it in their pockets.

Another thing they're doing is forcing many women to stay on welfare. I had a conversation with a woman on welfare the other day. She had a job offer, but if she takes the job she can't have her child in a low-cost child-care center. She'd have to start paying thirty-five dollars per week. She'd wind up losing money if she went off welfare.

I don't know whether we will win on Proposition I, because we have power-

ful forces against us: the Chamber of Commerce, business interests, real estate—they're all opposed to child care.

These people are telling you that it's going to be too expensive. But the truth of the matter is that it is too expensive for the children and the parents *not* to have child care, to let the children's minds rot, to deprive them of friends to play with their own age, and to deny them some development and interests outside of the family. Every child needs this.