

# THE MILITANT

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

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## THE MILITANT

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# In Brief

**'ARREST NAZI BOMBERS':** The site of the next Democratic party convention is a political prize now up for grabs. New York City officials just announced a lavish campaign to woo delegates there.

Also in the running is Los Angeles, and when members of the Democratic National Committee met in Washington, D.C., on April 3 to discuss where to hold their 1976 convention, they were met by picketers carrying signs saying, "No convention where Nazis run loose" and "Arrest Nazi terrorists in Los Angeles."

The demonstrators were protesting the failure of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley to arrest and prosecute members of the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front, which has publicly claimed credit for the February bombing of the Socialist Workers party's Los Angeles headquarters.

Bradley was in town to personally urge fellow Democrats to come to his city. Just prior to his arrival, a Democratic party aide tried to convince the picketers to leave. "Mayor Bradley will meet with you if you'll just stop picketing," they were promised. However, when Bradley arrived he gave the protesters a cold stare as he rushed through the picket line.

More concern about the Nazi violence was expressed by other delegates, including one woman who took a handful of leaflets on the Nazi attacks to distribute to the delegates inside.

**REED TO APPEAR ON BOSTON TV:** Evelyn Reed, author of the newly published *Woman's Evolution*, will be a guest on the "Woman '75" program on Boston's WBZ-TV (channel 4) at 12:30 p.m. on Friday, April 18. Reed has been appearing in cities across the country in conjunction with her book. Copies of *Woman's Evolution* can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. The price is \$4.95 for paperback, \$15.00 for cloth-bound.

**BRIGHTER SIDE OF THE DEPRESSION:** There has been a 10 to 20 percent drop nationwide in the demand for hospital space. And in New York City, at least, there was a 1.2 percent drop in garbage collected last year.

The reason for both trends, it appears, is that people have less money. A health-care study conducted by a private research firm found that people who have been laid off and have lost their group insurance account for part of the drop in the use of hospital beds. "During a recession, people think long and hard before they go into a hospital and take on a serious debt unless it's an emergency," a representative for the firm said. Another factor is that profit-hungry insurance companies are challenging many claims that they would have previously approved.

As for New York's trash, sanitation officials reported a decline in garbage collected in areas of Harlem, for example, where population and other variables have remained stable, clearly indicating that people are consuming less.

**THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN ST. LOUIS:** Barbara Bowman, the first Socialist Workers party candidate ever on the ballot in St. Louis, polled 2.8 percent (2,037 votes) in the race for president of the board of aldermen.

If the SWP is able to win more than 2 percent of the vote in the next city-wide election, it will receive automatic ballot status in the subsequent election—eliminating the need to petition.

**PROGRESSIVE AMENDMENT:** On March 3 a proposal to amend the United States Constitution to lower by three years the age requirements for both houses of Congress was introduced in the House of Representatives. The amendment, initially sponsored by forty-five House members, would set the age at twenty-two for the House and twenty-seven for the Senate.

**PUERTO RICAN CONGRESS OF NEW JERSEY:** At least thirty-nine New Jersey school districts have significant Spanish-speaking populations, according to a report released by the Puerto Rican Congress of New Jersey. Three cities—Union City, West New York, and Hoboken—have more than 50 percent Spanish-speaking students.

Puerto Rican parents are concerned that their children do not learn to appreciate the island's culture or learn to read and write Spanish, the group said. "There is a marked disparity between what Puerto Rican people want and the type of education being delivered." The congress called for placing a higher priority on grammar school education since many Puerto Rican youth drop out before reaching high school. The group also urged adoption of an affirmative-action program to hire more Spanish-speaking personnel, and proposed strengthening bilingual programs.

**CAIFI MEETING:** A standing-room-only audience of nearly 400 people attended a meeting sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

(CAIFI) at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale on April 3. Fariborz Khasha, field secretary of CAIFI, spoke on repression in Iran and efforts of the committee to win support for victimized opponents of the shah's regime. The release of the noted playwright Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi was announced. (See World News Notes in World Outlook section.)

The program included a screening of *The Cow*. The film, which is based on a work by Sa'edi, won the 1971 Best Film award at the Venice film festival.

Cosponsors of the meeting included the student government, the Graduate Student Council, and the Expanded Cinema Group.

**THE PROFIT MOTIVE STRIKES AGAIN:** In a 1972 book called *OSS—The Secret History of America's First Central Intelligence Agency*, R. Harris Smith, a former research analyst for the CIA, wrote that "corporations were more than generous in loaning their executives and resources for OSS service."

On March 15 Harris spoke at a meeting of spies and scholars linked to the CIA and gave an inkling of the type of considerations that may have prompted this unwonted corporate generosity. He explained that if the U.S. government were to state that it was going to end covert CIA actions against foreign governments, then "any number of multinational corporations would do it themselves."

"The fact is that Standard Oil, and other firms of comparable size, have their own covert branch and very often recruit out of the CIA."

**JUST A FEW GOOD MEN:** The CIA went to great lengths to recruit just the right type of person to work on that ship built especially to retrieve the Soviet submarine from the ocean floor. What were they looking for? "Two-fisted drinkers" who "didn't have extreme intelligence, but did have a great sense of loyalty to his country and his family," according to a report in the *Los Angeles Times*. And please, nobody who was ever in a union and no Jews or Blacks. The CIA didn't want any strikes on the secret mission and didn't want anybody on board with "possible involvement with Israel," the *Times* said. No justification was attempted for excluding Blacks.

**'GOOD SECRETS':** Meanwhile, CIA Director William Colby admonished newspaper publishers at their annual convention to stop using his agency as "the nation's number one sensational lead." There is much concern about all the recent publicity among foreign officials and governments as well as among American businesses who fear that their economic ventures abroad will be "destroyed by a revelation of their patriotic assistance to the CIA," Colby warned.

The CIA boss said that it was all right for the press to give away "bad secrets." "But I do make a plea that 'good secrets' be respected," he added.

The CIA chief was well received by the publishers, it was reported. —Nelson Blackstock

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# Stop the orphan kidnapping.

# No funds for war, no GIs to Vietnam!

By Caroline Lund

APRIL 9—As the disintegration of the Saigon army continues unchecked, the Ford administration has made a series of carefully calculated moves toward renewed direct U.S. military intervention in Vietnam. Under cover of some excuse, like "saving the orphans," or "evacuating friendly forces from Saigon," a landing of marines and other military operations are being considered.

It is only the government's fear of the reaction such a move would ignite in the United States and around the world that has, to date, prevented the U.S. rulers from carrying out their plans.

The ruthless and cynical men who are today meeting behind closed doors to discuss how to salvage their foothold in Indochina have proven time and time again that they will shrink

- On April 3, Ford declared at a news conference that "we have contingency plans to meet all problems involving evacuation" of Americans from Saigon and Pnompenh. He said such plans might include the use of troops "to protect American lives."

- ("Protecting American lives and property" is a familiar pretext for U.S. armed invasions of other countries. In 1965 it was used to explain the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic. In a matter of days 30,000 troops were occupying the country.)

- On April 4, the White House announced that four aircraft carriers were standing by in the Western Pacific to evacuate the 6,000 Americans still in Vietnam, along with 2,000 Vietnamese employees of the U.S. Embassy.

- On April 6, the Associated Press reported a buildup of U.S. naval forces off Vietnam itself, including "at least one aircraft carrier, three destroyers, a half-dozen amphibious ships and elements of a Marine Corps division."

- On April 7, Gen. George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the U.S. armed forces, said in Jakarta, Indonesia, that he was sure the sending of U.S. troops to Vietnam was "under active discussion" in Washington.

- Later that day, Ford made a speech in Las Vegas in which he urged Americans not to permit a "paralysis of willpower" in relation to Vietnam. At the same time, "high Administration officials" made it known to the *New York Times* that some top-level policy makers were advocating "that the United States must carry out some act somewhere in the world to demonstrate its determination to continue to be a world power."

## Children used as pawns

The White House knows it can get no popular support for direct appeals for military aid to the Thieu regime. Therefore it has disguised its continuing military backing with the rhetoric of "humanitarian" aid. In a display of cynical public relations gimmickry that would put to shame even past masters of the art like Nixon, Ford is using the children of Vietnam as pawns to justify continuing backing for Thieu and direct U.S. military operations.

"Save the children," Ford weeps. But what are they to be saved from if it is not U.S. bullets, U.S. napalm, U.S. bombers, and the U.S.-backed tyrant in Saigon?

Who made them orphans, if it wasn't



As disintegration of Thieu's army continues, U.S. official uses fists to keep S. Vietnamese off plane leaving Nha Trang.

the "humanitarians" in the Pentagon, the White House, and the State Department, who lied and lied for more than a decade about the real U.S. objectives in Vietnam?

Who made them homeless, if it wasn't Ford, and the men who went before him, directing the defoliation and carpet bombing of Vietnam from their comfortable offices in Washington?

But Ford's hypocritical "humanitarianism" was quickly exposed. Opposition politicians in Saigon made public a letter showing that the airlifting of hundreds of Vietnamese children to the United States was no more than a crude ploy. The letter quoted a deputy premier who paraphrased the U.S. ambassador to Saigon, Graham Martin:

"He stressed that this evacuation along with the millions of refugees abandoning Communist-controlled zones, will help create a shift in American public opinion in favor of the Republic of Vietnam. Especially when these children land in the United States, they will be subject to television, radio and press agency coverage and the effect will be tremendous."

## 100 children killed

More than 100 of the children died in a plane crash in Saigon April 4, as the hastily prepared airlift got under way. Others, strapped into cargo holds of giant planes, were near death from illness and dehydration when they landed in the United States. Some died during the journey.

Nonetheless, those who survived the journey were paraded in front of bright lights and cameras. Following the script, Ford himself was on hand to meet a planeload of children. Carrying a baby in his arms, Ford posed for the cameras.

In a communiqué from Hanoi, the North Vietnamese foreign ministry charged the U.S. "babylift" was kidnapping. "The communiqué asserted," Agence France-Presse reported, "that the same American planes that carried bombs, ammunition and arms to South Vietnam to 'massacre the people and devastate the villages' were being used to kidnap South Vietnamese children to the United States."

North Vietnam's Premier Pham Van Dong declared that "the American plan is unhealthy and abominable. There is nothing human in it. It is pure irony."

*Nhan Dan*, the North Vietnamese Communist party newspaper, pointed out that "the immediate aim of the

airlift is to try to make people throughout the world believe that many Vietnamese are anti-Communists to provide a pretext for perpetuating [United States] action in our country."

## Congress joins in

Members of Congress are also trying to get in on the exploitation of the Vietnamese orphans. A conference was organized on April 7 by politicians who favor a congressional appeal to Ford to expand the U.S. airlift of children to

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## Jackson: a secret deal

In a speech on the Senate floor April 8, Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) charged that the U.S. government had made secret commitments of military action to back up Saigon if necessary. Jackson charged that the secret agreements "envision fateful American decisions" but that their "very existence has never been acknowledged."

The White House refused to comment on Jackson's charges.

Jackson, long a hawk on the war, has recently tried to dissociate himself from the war to bolster his presidential campaign.

His Senate speech was a direct appeal to the American people's deeply felt hostility to secret diplomatic deals, arrived at behind their backs, and over which they have no say.

In his attempt to advance himself a few percentage points in the presidential polls, however, Jackson incurred the wrath of defenders of ruling-class prerogatives, such as James Reston, senior pundit at the *New York Times*. The following day Reston slapped Jackson down, accusing him of being "irresponsible."

Jackson's statement, Reston charged, went beyond the bounds of permissible conduct and raised "serious questions [about] the responsibility of the Senator." Whether or not Jackson's charges are true, Reston argued, is beside the point.

"Senator Jackson has added to the confusion and once more raised questions about his timing, his judgment and even his fitness for the Presidency," Reston declared.

## 'U.S. out now!'

In a statement issued April 9, coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) said that "the Ford administration is in for a rude awakening if it thinks that the American people will stand for U.S. military intervention to save the Thieu dictatorship."

NPAC organized mass antiwar demonstrations, including the April 24, 1971, and January 20, 1973, marches in Washington, D.C.

"Those of us who marched against the war are proud of what we did," the coordinators said, "and our demands remain the same: No U.S. aid to the Saigon regime! No U.S. troops to Indochina! U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!"

The statement was signed by NPAC coordinators Abe Bloom, Helen Gurewitz, James Lafferty, Katherine Sojourner, and John T. Williams.

from no crime, no barbarous act, to defend their world empire.

Antiwar forces in this country and abroad must sound the alarm: Not one soldier, not one bomber, not one penny more for the U.S. war in Vietnam!

## Step by step

In recent days Ford has moved, step by step, testing the reaction at each stage, to see how far he can go down the road of direct military action.



Ford flees reporters' questions on Vietnam, then strikes 'humanitarian' pose with Vietnamese child.



# Thirty years of struggle against

By David Frankel

The United States was the only major power to escape unscathed from World War II. The sole possessors of the atomic bomb, with an industrial base that in 1950 still accounted for 50 percent of total world production, the U.S. rulers believed they were entering what one publicist called the "American century."

Thirty years later, they have changed their tune. "Suddenly the world looks like a string of tottering dominos," wrote the worried editors of the *Wall Street Journal* March 19.

"A World of Woes," was the way *Newsweek* described the situation in its April 7 issue.

The designs of the United States to police the postwar capitalist world foundered on the rock of Vietnam. Despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism under six presidents, Washington has been unable to crush the revolution there. Today, faced with the prospect of one of the greatest defeats in their history, the rulers are afraid of what the consequences at home would be if they were to send troops and planes once again to bail out the Saigon dictatorship.

Why has Washington been unable to impose its will on Vietnam?

## French colonial war

Indochina, conquered by France in the nineteenth century, was the richest part of the French colonial empire. Paris moved to reclaim it immediately following World War II. But in Vietnam the French faced a government, headed by the Vietnamese Communist party under Ho Chi Minh, that had led the country to independence as the Japanese and Vichy-French occupying forces collapsed.

Although it held the whole country, and the masses of people were armed as a result of the struggle, the Vietnamese CP was soon to compromise the victory that had been won. It allowed imperialist troops to enter Vietnam under the pretext that they were needed to disarm the Japanese and Vichy forces. It even agreed in March 1946 to the occupation of the northern section of the country by French troops, who were already in control of Saigon.

Like their counterparts elsewhere in the world, the Vietnamese Stalinists tried to hold back the revolutionary struggle in accord with Stalin's vision of a world in which the wartime alliance of the USSR with Britain, France, and the United States would continue, with the world divided securely into spheres of influence among them. Stalin had agreed that Indochina would remain under capitalist control, and the Vietnamese CP did its best to carry out his orders.

In November 1946, the French launched their drive to reconquer Vietnam. The Viet Minh, the independence front led by the CP, was forced to fight for its life. In order to win popular support it had to change its position on social questions as well, supporting the expropriation of the large landowners, a step it had previously opposed.

The French imperialists committed 400,000 soldiers to the war effort in Vietnam. It wasn't enough. With the fall of the garrison at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954, the French were ready to give up.

By this time Washington was footing 80 percent of the French war costs. Its intent was to pick up the pieces of the old European colonial empires. On June 6, 1954, the *Washington Post* revealed that President Eisenhower considered asking Congress for a bombing expedition of 500 planes against the army besieging Dien Bien Phu. The use of atomic bombs was included as a possibility in this adventure.

However, the U.S. rulers concluded that after three years of an unpopular war in Korea, the American people were not about to tolerate the opening of a new one in Indochina. Instead, a conference to negotiate the future of Vietnam was convened in Geneva.

## Betrayal at Geneva

The very idea that a conference of foreign powers would determine the future of Vietnam was a violation of the rights of the Vietnamese people. Yet the governments of China, Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States were the ones who made the decisions at Geneva.

*New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin reported from Geneva July 24, 1954, "Evidence has accumulated here that Viet Minh leaders are not entirely happy about the peace settlement for Vietnam. A number of members of the Vietnam



Flushing out 'the enemy' in Vietnam. By 1969 there were 540,000 troops there.

delegation have declared openly that pressure from Chinese Communist Premier, Chou En Lai and Soviet Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov forced their regime to accept less than it rightfully should have obtained here."

The complaints of the Vietnamese were understandable. At the time of the Geneva Conference the Viet Minh controlled virtually the entire country. However, while the Vietnamese CP delegates at Geneva voiced complaints, they accepted the decisions of the conference.

The Geneva accords provided for the partition of Vietnam, with the southern zone to be ruled by a proimperialist puppet. After two years, free elections would supposedly be held and the country reunified.

The imperialists, of course, had no intention of letting the Vietnamese freely choose their form of government. "Elections in Vietnam, if held now, would in all probability result in a Communist victory," wrote the *New York Times* June 24, 1954.

Washington used the two years provided by the accords to entrench the dictatorship of Ngo Dinh Diem in the South. When the time came for the elections promised in the accords, Diem simply repudiated the promises. The "peace" accords had prepared the ground for a new war.

## 'Time bomb'

As Joseph Hansen explained in the July 26, 1954, issue of the *Militant*: "Another time bomb, that can set off the chain reaction ending in World War III when it blows up, was planted in Indochina July 21.

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

Diem's U.S.-trained and U.S.-equipped army reversed the land reform carried out by the Viet Minh in the countryside and unleashed a reign of terror against dissenters. Resistance grew, and by 1961 President Kennedy began sending U.S. "advisers"—at first a few hundred, but 16,000 by 1963—to help prosecute the war against the peasant rebellion.

Although the rebels in the South received hardly any assistance from Hanoi until after Johnson began bombing North Vietnam in February 1965, by that time the Saigon government was about to collapse. It was saved only by Washington's decision to escalate the conflict into what was to become the longest war in American history. By June 1969, there were almost 540,000 U.S. soldiers in Vietnam.

The savagery of Washington's intervention shocked the world.

The November 21, 1965, *New York Times* reported, "More sorties are now being flown by United States planes than in the Korean war, and the

nature of the guerrilla war makes it impossible to avoid killing innocent civilians as well as Vietcong. . . .

"By September about 5 percent of South Vietnam's rural population had fled into the cities and refugee camps. . . ."

In the December 1965 issue of *Ramparts* magazine, long before the massacre at My Lai, author Robert Scheer described an interview with one U.S. military leader. "The admiral suggested that if civilians chose to live in areas controlled by the Viet Cong, then they became the enemy. Such areas make up 70 percent of the countryside."

The ultimate logic of the imperialist war in Vietnam was summed up by the U.S. major who said of Ben Tre during the 1968 Tet offensive, "It became necessary to destroy the town to save it."

## Antiwar movement begins

But in trying to save South Vietnam for imperialism—and hopefully regain North Vietnam as well—the imperialists miscalculated. In their racist contempt for the Vietnamese, they underestimated the ability of the peasant masses to stand up against the most sophisticated military terror in history.

The planners in the Pentagon thought in military terms, but they were confronting a revolution, a mass social movement, not merely an army.

The ruling class also miscalculated in its contempt for the American people. Johnson and his arrogant band of policy makers thought that no atrocity was too big to cover up and no lie was too crude to sell to the American people.

They were soon proven wrong.

On April 17, 1965, growing antiwar sentiment was given its first major national expression as 20,000 assembled in Washington, D.C., in response to a call by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This was the initiation of a movement that was to transform American politics.

"The April 17 demonstration is only a beginning," wrote the *Militant* in its April 26, 1965, editorial. "The next step is to continue without letup the campus demonstrations and discussions . . . and to turn the campuses into citadels of opposition to the war. But the organization of protest should not stop there.

"The students are today in the forefront of the fight against the war in Vietnam, but by themselves they cannot stop it. The protest against the war should be carried to wider sections of the population who do have power—the working people, organized and unorganized, and the Negro freedom fighters."

In the following years, the student antiwar fighters were joined by significant contingents from the labor movement and the Black liberation struggle. However, the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance did not wait for this to



# U.S. imperialism in Vietnam

happen before throwing themselves wholeheartedly into the new movement.

As Farrell Dobbs, at that time the party's national secretary, explained at the September 1965 SWP convention: "Our job is to give full participation and support to the antiwar movement which we have every reason to expect to go forward. . . ."

## Something new

The antiwar movement was something new in American history—a mass movement against an imperialist war while the shooting was actually going on. From the beginning, the movement aimed its fire at Washington—a cardinal sin in the eyes of liberal ideologues who insisted on balancing every criticism of Washington with "equal blame" on the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

The refusal of the student militants to temper their denunciation of the U.S. role in Vietnam went hand in hand with their rejection of the guidelines of the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The antiwar activists rejected demands to read socialists, Communists, and other "subversives" out of the movement.

An enraged Norman Thomas, the leader of the Social Democrats in the United States, along with other "State Department socialists" and assorted liberals, red-baited the SDS march at an April 16 news conference. In an April 22, 1965, letter to the *New York Times*, Thomas denounced "young people so outraged by our napalm bombs . . . that they rush emotionally to embrace the Vietcong."

But the rhetoric of the cold war had little appeal for the participants in the new movement. They had refused to accept the destruction of Vietnam in the name of anticommunism, and they saw no reason to witch-hunt their own ranks on that same rationale. They were much more ready to accept a socialist who was opposed to the war than a "respectable" Democrat or Republican who supported the slaughter in Vietnam.

Thus, the principle of nonexclusion was established from the very beginning as a foundation of the antiwar movement. Everybody who was opposed to the war and was willing to work against it was welcome; no political tests or loyalty oaths were required.

## Three principles

Along with the principle of nonexclusion, the SWP and YSA supported two other concepts that were essential to the success of the antiwar movement. These were the insistence on the movement as a single-issue coalition, focused on the war, and the necessity for mass action in the streets.

The socialist concept of mass action as the way to end the war was counterposed to the idea of reliance on the peace promises of capitalist politicians on the one side, and to the perspective that the movement should spend its time organizing actions by a handful of individuals on the other.

During every election period a section of the antiwar movement, including the Communist party, attempted to turn the movement into an auxiliary force for the election of liberal capitalist office seekers. But it was the original "peace candidate," Lyndon Johnson, who drastically escalated the war in the first place. Despite the exhortations of the liberals and the Stalinists, the antiwar movement stayed in the streets.

Those who wanted to subordinate the antiwar movement to the campaigns of Democratic party peace candidates simply could not believe that the majority of the American people would ever be won to the antiwar movement. They wanted a substitute for the masses, and turned to the very capitalist parties that had started the war and were responsible for its continuation. The same lack of confidence in the masses was also the point of departure for those who supported the strategy of reliance on individual acts.

The partisans of civil disobedience, who saw individual acts of moral witness such as draft-card burning as the focus of the movement, and the small group of people who were so horrified by the war that they resorted to terrorism, favored methods of struggle that cut across the task of involving the masses of people in action against the war.

The concept of a single-issue movement followed from the need to organize masses of people against the war. The millions who marched in the massive antiwar demonstrations did not agree on many issues. They were brought together on the basis of their opposition to the war—which happened to be

the most important issue in American and world politics.

The power of those masses of people brought out by the antiwar coalition was demonstrated when Nixon invaded Cambodia and National Guard troops killed four antiwar demonstrators in Kent, Ohio. In a May 15, 1970, speech, former Chief Justice Earl Warren described the tumultuous upsurge provoked by these events as "a divisiveness in our society to a degree of intensity that has not been equaled in the past hundred years."

*New York Times* columnist James Reston said of Nixon, "He is increasingly up against the dilemma of getting out of Vietnam quicker than he planned or not being able to govern the country. . . ."

It was the fear of social turmoil at home, of "not being able to govern the country"—combined with the inability to crush the Vietnamese liberation fighters—that finally forced the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and the ending of Washington's air war against Vietnam.

## Effects of movement

The effects of the antiwar movement were not the result of any one demonstration or action. It took time for the understanding that the government lies to the American people as a matter of course—the famous "credibility gap"—to work its way through the population.

But it was the fact that the antiwar movement, beginning with the teach-ins in the spring of 1965, publicly answered and rebutted each government lie that ultimately created the atmosphere in which Johnson was unable to run for a second term in 1968, and, six years later, his successor was driven out of office because nobody would believe his lies anymore.

Largely because of the antiwar movement, the American people simply do not trust the capitalist government anymore.

Another effect of the antiwar movement on American politics was the destruction of the cold war climate. The refusal of the antiwar movement to bend to government red-baiting legitimized the idea of socialists and revolutionaries of all types participating in politics just like anyone else. From the beginning, Marxists participated in teach-ins and received a warm response, while State Department apologists were greeted with groans and boos.

It was the antiwar movement that destroyed the "national security" justification for government crimes in the eyes of millions of people. This was the argument used for continuing the war, for suppressing information about the war, and for trying to whip up sentiment against the antiwar movement. When Nixon tried to use it to suppress the Pentagon papers and the White House tapes, it just didn't go over.

The refusal to accept the imperialist definition of "national security" and the general distrust of the government has also resulted in the widespread unwillingness among the American people to

support military intervention anywhere in the world—be it the Middle East or Portugal.

Perhaps most important of all, the sight of hundreds of thousands of people marching in the streets year after year helped to legitimize the concept of massive, open protests against government policies—even in time of war. Today, both the NAACP, which is organizing the May 17 desegregation march on Boston, and the unions that are preparing for the April 26 march on Washington for jobs cite the example set by the mass antiwar actions of the 1960s and early 1970s.

## Paris accords

Faced with the impact of the mass antiwar movement, Nixon tried to save the situation in Vietnam through a Geneva-type deal. The result of this policy was the signing of the Paris accords in January 1973.

There were two sides to these accords. On the one hand, they reflected the pressure on the Vietnamese of Washington's massive military might, which had saved the Saigon dictatorship from defeat in the spring of 1972, and the political pressure exerted by Moscow and Peking. This was shown by the fact that the accords called for the establishment of a framework in which the capitalist-landlord regime in Saigon would be perpetuated.

On the other hand, the imperialists were unable to defeat the Vietnamese revolution by force of arms, and the accords provided for the complete withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an end to the U.S. bombing.

Writing in the February 9, 1973, *Militant*, Barry Sheppard explained:

"The next stage in Vietnam will be marked by instability. The accords reflect the fact that the liberation forces have been unable to achieve national liberation and reunification, and also that they have not been crushed. Two powers continue to exist in South Vietnam—the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, and the liberation forces based upon the peasants and workers. Such a situation is inherently unstable. One or the other of these forces must eventually predominate. The outcome can only be decided by struggle. . . ."

"The accords solve none of the social problems that have been at the root of the war, including land reform, political democracy, national independence, and reunification. . . ."

"What will be the position of Hanoi and the NLF [National Liberation Front] leaders as the class struggle unfolds in South Vietnam? This remains to be seen."

Now, two years later, with the Paris accords a dead letter and the Saigon regime close to complete collapse, the Vietnamese fighters are in a position to finally put an end to their country's thirty-year agony. The participants in the U.S. antiwar movement can be proud of the contribution they made toward tying Washington's hands at this decisive moment.



Washington, D.C., November 15, 1969. Mass antiwar demonstrations like this one were a major factor in forcing withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

# Peter Camejo hails victories of Vietnamese liberation fighters

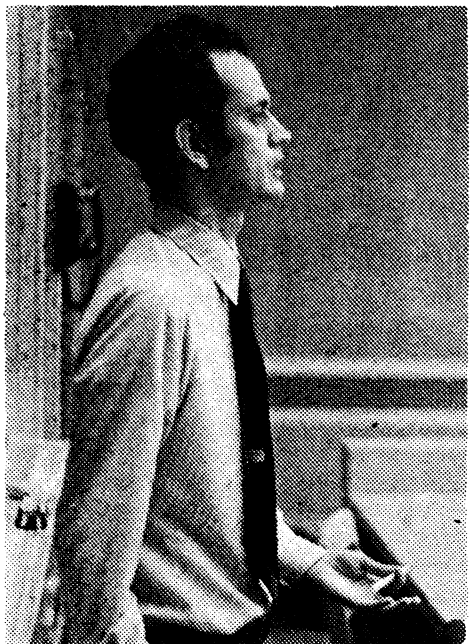
By Ruth Getts

DETROIT—Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo was repeatedly interrupted by applause at Indiana University in Bloomington as he explained the meaning of the recent sweeping victories of the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Camejo spoke to an enthusiastic audience of 130 students as he wound up a two-week tour of Michigan and Indiana that included radio and TV interviews, campus meetings, and a speech to members of Local 1880 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in Detroit.

"It's important for us to understand exactly what's happening in Vietnam," Camejo told the Bloomington audience, "because the capitalist press is trying to fool us. Have you seen the headlines? 'Defeat in Vietnam,' they say. I don't think it's a defeat. I think it's a tremendous victory! The headlines should read 'Victory in Vietnam.' For the first time in a hundred years the Vietnamese may soon have control over their own country.

"The Vietnamese people are showing that it is possible to fight United States imperialism and win. Colonial



Militant/Mark Rogers

CAMEJO: 'Vietnamese are showing that it is possible to fight U.S. imperialism and win.'

struggles all over the world will be strengthened by their heroic example."

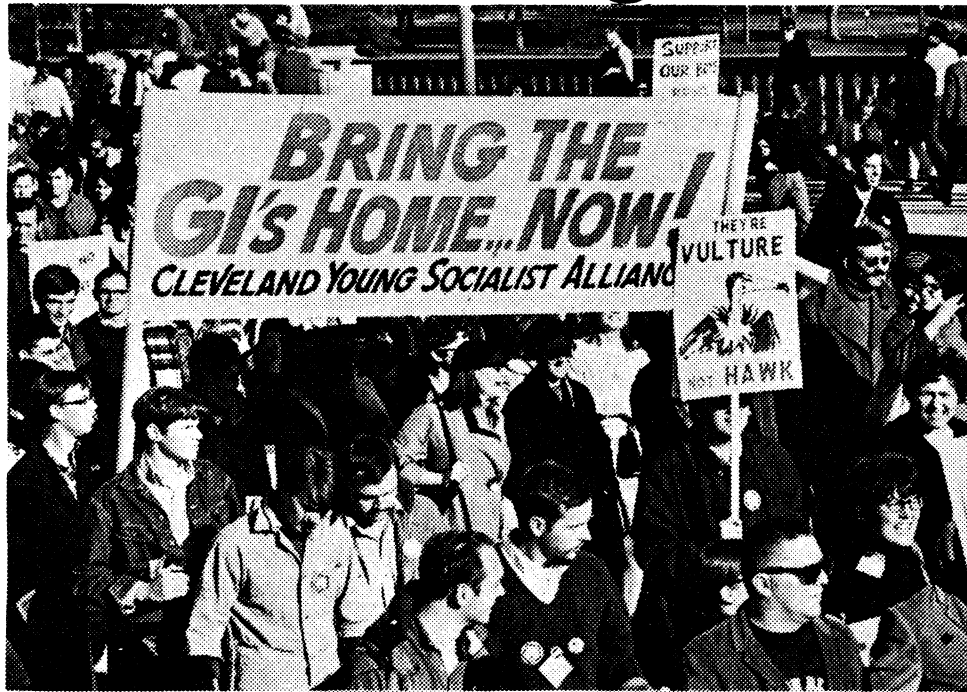
Camejo also explained the role the American antiwar movement played in making these victories possible.

"The average person does not know that right now the American people are one of the most important factors in this struggle," he said.

"When the U.S. government first sent troops to Vietnam, a small minority in this country began to go out and campaign against this war and explain to the American people, very patiently, that the war was wrong. We organized demonstrations and teach-ins in order to win the majority of people to the antiwar movement.

"We are now witnessing the gains of that movement right before our eyes," he continued. "For eight years the ruling class in this country kept telling the American people that those demonstrations were having no effect. But the demonstrations were not only having an effect, they were actually determining which way the war would go. The fact that we won the majority of American people to oppose the war is what is bringing the war to an end.

"The government dreams of masses of Americans arriving at recruiting stations, volunteering to 'save Saigon.' Then they wake up to what for them is the nightmare of reality. There hasn't been one single volunteer. They cannot get us, the American people, to fight



Washington, D.C., 1967. 'The fact that antiwar movement won the majority of American people to oppose the war is what is bringing the war to an end.'

their dirty war in Vietnam anymore."

Camejo talked about the implications of this for those struggling for social change.

"And just as we won the American people on the question of the Vietnam War, we can win them on many other questions. We can win them to support the right of Blacks to an equal education in Boston—to support the May 17 national demonstration against racist mobilizations in that city.

"We can go even further than that. We can win them to socialism. Today the socialist campaign is saying that the basic problem in our society is that profits are put before human needs. Capitalism is no longer a progressive system. It is creating not only racism, sexism, and pollution, but even the danger of a nuclear war that would destroy the entire world.

"It is the task of our generation, in our epoch, to end such a system and establish democracy in this nation. We must establish not only political democracy, but also economic democracy—a system whereby we decide what happens in this nation.

"The solution is to take the means of production we have now and use it to provide for human needs. Put everybody to work. We need to run our social system on a rational basis, and not on the basis of what will make profit for a few who come by their power and wealth by birth."

The audience responded with a standing ovation.

During his tour through Michigan and Indiana, Camejo spoke to students on about a dozen campuses. He also spoke to audiences in the Mexican-American community in Pontiac, Michigan, and on "Para mi Pueblo," a Spanish-language television program in Detroit.

He got a warm response from members of AFSCME Local 1880 in Detroit. The unionists were particularly interested in the recent revelations about FBI spying and harassment of the SWP and the Black liberation movement. Local 1880 has gone on record in support of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the SWP suit against the FBI.

Camejo also campaigned among postal workers at the main post office here.

The tour culminated on April 5 in a successful rally at the Detroit campaign headquarters. More than 125 people attended the affair and pledged \$2,800 to support the campaign.

After the rally, five people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance, including two young Black workers and a Black student from Wayne State University. Fifteen people have asked to join the YSA during the course of Camejo's tour in this region, and seventy new supporters signed up to help work on the campaign.

# Committee demands total, genuine amnesty

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Prominent actors, actresses, and producers appeared at a news conference here on Capitol Hill April 7 to demand universal, unconditional amnesty for draft resisters and deserters from the Vietnam War. The news conference was sponsored by the Safe Return Amnesty Committee.

"These kids did nothing wrong," said Richard Dreyfuss, star of *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*. Dreyfuss was himself a conscientious objector during the war and did two years' alternative service. He called President Ford's amnesty program, which ended March 31, a sham. Under Ford's program, deserters and resisters were supposed to "work their way back" to freedom, performing alternative service.

The vast majority of amnesty candidates rejected these terms, which they viewed as admitting guilt and accepting punishment for their opposition to the genocidal Indochina war. Only 22,500 of the 126,900 men officially eligible signed up to return under these conditions. According to Dreyfuss, the number of resisters and deserters is actually much higher, closer to one million.

Even many of those who agreed to the amnesty plan dropped out of the program in disgust before completing the process. Ten percent of those placed in alternative-service jobs have already been laid off.

Other entertainment figures appearing at the news conference included Peter Boyle, Joseph Papp, Michael Moriarty, Robert Balaban, Lynne Lipton, and Rob Reiner. Barbra Streisand, Carroll O'Connor, and Rita Moreno also endorsed the amnesty call.

John Tiller, whose two sons fled to Canada rather than serve in the war, also spoke at the news conference. "Ford's amnesty program was a ploy from the beginning to get Richard Nixon off the hook," he charged. He said his sons had refused to return under the phony program.

Tiller also warned that the U.S. government is now "trying every means in the world to get back into Indochina."

Participants in the news conference announced they would be lobbying in Congress for passage of two bills calling for unconditional amnesty. One was submitted by Sen. Philip Hart (D-Mich.), who also attended the news conference. The other was introduced by Rep. Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.).

The Hart bill calls for amnesty for all persons who "because of their principled objection to service in the Armed Forces of the United States, failed or refused to register for the draft or who refused induction or failed to be inducted into the Armed Forces or who were absent without official leave from the Armed Forces during the period from August 4, 1964, to March 28, 1973. . . ."

The Abzug bill provides amnesty for the period between January 1, 1961, and November 22, 1974. Like the Hart bill, it would also change many dishonorable discharges to honorable ones. In addition, Abzug's bill would provide amnesty to some civilians arrested during antiwar protests.

## Help distribute 'Bill of Rights'

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, say that workers have a right to a job. They propose a new "Bill of Rights for Working People" to protect us from the ravages of this system—unemployment, war, racism, and sexism.

They will join the April 26 "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO. You can help distribute copies of the Bill of Rights on April 26 or at your workplace, at union meetings, on unemployment lines, at community meetings, or at your school.

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

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

( ) Please send me one free copy ( ) in English; ( ) in Spanish. En-

closed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ copies ( ) in English; ( ) in Spanish. ( ) I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to support their campaign.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Business Address \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation/School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

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

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



## SWP Party Building Fund

# Put your tax rebate to work for socialism

By Barry Sheppard

The tax rebate we will be getting in May and June as a result of the bill that just passed Congress isn't going to do very much to solve the worsening situation for working people. It's not going to make up for lost pay for those who have been laid off. It won't close the gap between wages and rising prices.

For Congress and Ford, the tax rebate is basically a political gimmick designed to fool the American people into believing the government is really doing something about the depression.

Working people, of course, can use the extra \$100-\$200. It's not often that we get back anything from the federal government, and in these times any amount can be put to some good use.

The Socialist Workers party is appealing to readers of the *Militant* to consider seriously the following proposition: The best thing you can do with

your rebate is to put it to work helping the socialist movement. You can do this by contributing all or part of it to a special SWP Party Building Fund.

In the last few weeks, the *Militant* has been printing revelations about the FBI's systematic campaign of disruption and harassment against the SWP. This massive and sustained attempt to discredit and weaken the SWP was begun decades ago and is still going on.

Why has the FBI spent so much money, time, and effort against a party that, while growing, is still relatively small?

The guardians of capitalism who run this national political police agency fear the ideas of revolutionary socialism that are embodied in the program and practice of the SWP. They understand that the SWP is a different kind of organization from those that have been corrupted by Stalinism or have

given up the fight for socialism in favor of supporting "democratic" imperialism.

They know that the SWP has preserved and developed the revolutionary program of Marxism, and they have become alarmed at our position of growing relative strength on the left.

The FBI, as well as the tiny handful of rich families the capitalist government is set up to serve and protect, also knows that the SWP is serious about its ideas. They know that we intend to put them into practice by building a party that can lead the American workers in a victorious struggle for political power.

That's why the FBI views with alarm every foothold the SWP develops in the labor movement. That's why it tries to discredit the SWP in the Black movement. That's why it tried to whip up red-baiting against the party in the antiwar and women's movements, and why it used every manner of "dirty trick" against SWP election campaigns, long before Watergate—and since, too.

The rulers of this country have seen the SWP not only survive the years of witch-hunt in the 1950s but also begin to grow and gain influence among young people and every sector of the population that began to radicalize in the 1960s.

The ideas of the party are becoming more accepted among Blacks and workers and will be even more so as the big class battles that are shaping up take place.

And so the rulers do everything in their power, in protecting their system of privilege and profit that has inflicted so much horror on the world, to try to stop us.

They haven't succeeded, and they won't succeed, in this endeavor because we represent an idea whose time is rapidly coming and an organization that knows how to make that idea a reality.

Most of our members, supporters, and *Militant* readers are working people or students without much money. We could all use the rebate money for pressing personal needs.

But if we can pool our rebates, they will add up to a considerable figure—maybe not much compared with the millions the capitalists pour into the coffers of the Democrats and Republicans, but surely an important amount for a working-class party, a significant fund that can give a big push to expanding the socialist movement in the period immediately ahead.

We ask you to seriously consider this proposal and to fill in the coupon below. For two weeks, we will be taking initial pledges. This should give us enough information to set a goal for this exciting and important undertaking.

Clip and mail to: SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

( ) I am going to send my full tax rebate of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help the fight for socialism.

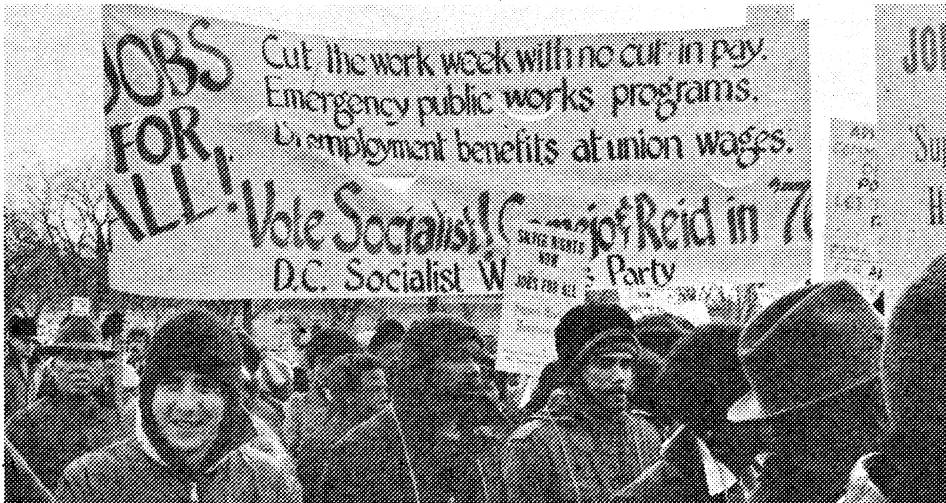
( ) I can pledge \$\_\_\_\_\_ from my rebate.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



Best use for your rebate is to donate it to the party that is fighting for interests of working people.

## Atlanta AFSCME protests cutbacks, layoffs

By Joel Aber

ATLANTA—In the past month, hundreds of public workers here, under the banner of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1644, have marched, picketed, and packed legislative chambers to demand economic justice.

AFSCME's new militancy comes in the wake of budget cutbacks, layoffs, wage freezes, and cuts in municipal services threatened by the Atlanta City Council, the Atlanta Board of Education, and the Fulton County Commission, which oversees Grady Hospital, the largest hospital in the state.

Three hundred Grady Hospital workers marched from the hospital to the state capitol March 3 to demand that the state legislature provide more funds for Grady.

At a March 8 general membership meeting, the union planned further direct action for the following demands:

- an 18 percent across-the-board pay increase;
- no layoffs or forced vacations;
- cost-of-living escalator clauses for all city, county, and school board workers to provide wage increases equal to each increase in the cost of living; and
- no cutbacks in public services.

The next two actions for this four-point program focused on the city council, which has already launched an assault on the wages of city workers by passing an enforced one-week vacation without pay for all city employees. This amounts to a 2 percent pay cut on top of the 12 percent already taken out of workers' pay-

checks by inflation in the past year.

The city failed to pay a promised 4 percent wage increase in January and has used swift terminations to lay people off.

On March 17, 700 city workers marched from Atlanta Stadium into the city hall, chanting "we want money." They packed the city council chambers and overflowed into the halls, booing the council members.

The council refused to let Local 1644 present its views, threatening to arrest Leamon Hood, international area director, and other AFSCME leaders, but finally agreed to a special council meeting March 21, at which AFSCME could have an hour.

At the March 21 meeting, AFSCME members discovered that the city fathers had parceled out their hour among every employee organization in the city, from the Fraternal Order of Police to the Laborers' International Union (LIU), which is carrying on a raiding operation against Local 1644 and is supported by certain council members.

An LIU spokesperson at the March 21 meeting charged AFSCME with "using Communist tactics" and advocated making behind-the-scenes deals with the city instead of marching and picketing.

AFSCME was told it had only ten minutes on the agenda. When Leamon Hood tried to speak longer, City Council President Wyche Fowler, a liberal Democrat, ordered police to physically evict Hood from the floor. All 300 AFSCME members at the meeting followed, leaving a handful of police and other "employee representatives" inside.

The city workers held a rally on the

front steps of the city hall. They decided to go back inside to get more time after each group had completed its ten minutes, only to find the city council doors locked.

Union members banged on the doors and yelled until the council unlocked the doors and allowed them in again. When no more excuses could be found to prevent Local 1644 from presenting its views, the council adjourned its meeting.

Bill O'Kain, secretary-treasurer of Local 1644, told the *Militant*, "They refused to let us speak for more than ten minutes, but they spent an hour and a half deciding how to spend \$300,000 to fix up the Bobby Jones golf course." The city is more receptive to the business interests than to its own workers, O'Kain charged.

The next direct action of Local 1644 focused on a March 27 school board

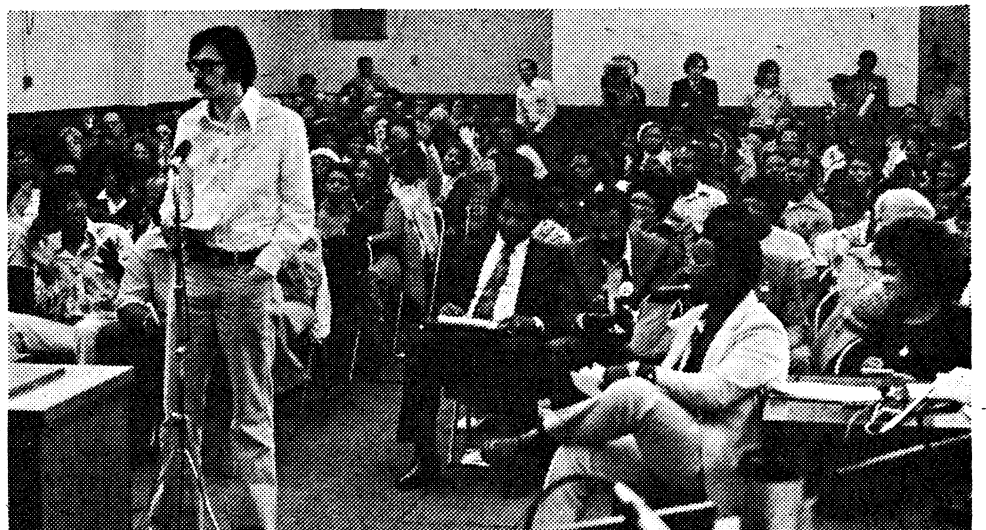
budget hearing. Three hundred public school employees packed the meeting from wall to wall.

One of the first AFSCME speakers was Mattie Justice, a cleaning woman. "I've worked with you for twenty years," she said, "and all I get is \$563 a month. My family can't live on that. We come to you meek and humble. We want more money and better working conditions."

"You are trying to make us pay for inflation, and we're not going to let you do that," O'Kain told the board. "When the price of paper doubled in the past year, you paid the money or you didn't get the paper. But when the price of supporting a family on school board wages goes up, you think you can get away without paying the price."

"We're not asking you, we're telling

*Continued on page 30*



AFSCME Secretary-Treasurer Bill O'Kain tells school board, 'You are trying to make us pay for inflation, and we're not going to let you do that.'

# NAACP leaders issue appeal for broad support to May 17 civil rights march

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, and Thomas Atkins, Boston NAACP president, spoke at a news conference at the civil rights group's headquarters here April 7 to urge a massive turnout in Boston for the May 17 march against racism.

Reading from the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court school desegregation decision, and noting its upcoming twenty-first anniversary, Wilkins asked for support from labor, community, campus, and religious groups and "everybody else" to "make this decision really come of age."

The May 17 march, originally proposed by Atkins, was endorsed by the executive committee of the NAACP

board of directors on March 6. It is also backed by the National Student Coalition Against Racism, the student and youth organization formed at a national conference in Boston February 14-16.

"The NAACP is using this occasion," Wilkins said, "to call attention not only to the twenty-one years that [the court decision] has been in effect, but to call attention [to the fact] that Boston—the cradle of the revolution—seems to be holding out with more violence, more threats, more harassment, than any Southern city."

The May 17 demonstration will be a countermobilization to the racist forces that have sought to halt court-ordered busing, and the march will demand full desegregation of Boston's schools and an end to racist assaults on Black students there.

Wilkins condemned the "violence of the Boston public" and announced that each of the NAACP's 1,800 branches will enlist support for the march.

The seventy-four-year-old civil rights leader urged renewed support for the high court's historic ruling that Black students are entitled to a public education equal to that of white students.

"In these days," the 1954 opinion said, "it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms."

Taking up where Wilkins left off, Atkins said, "While Boston is commonly called the cradle of the American revolution, today Boston is in revolt against the Constitution. . . .

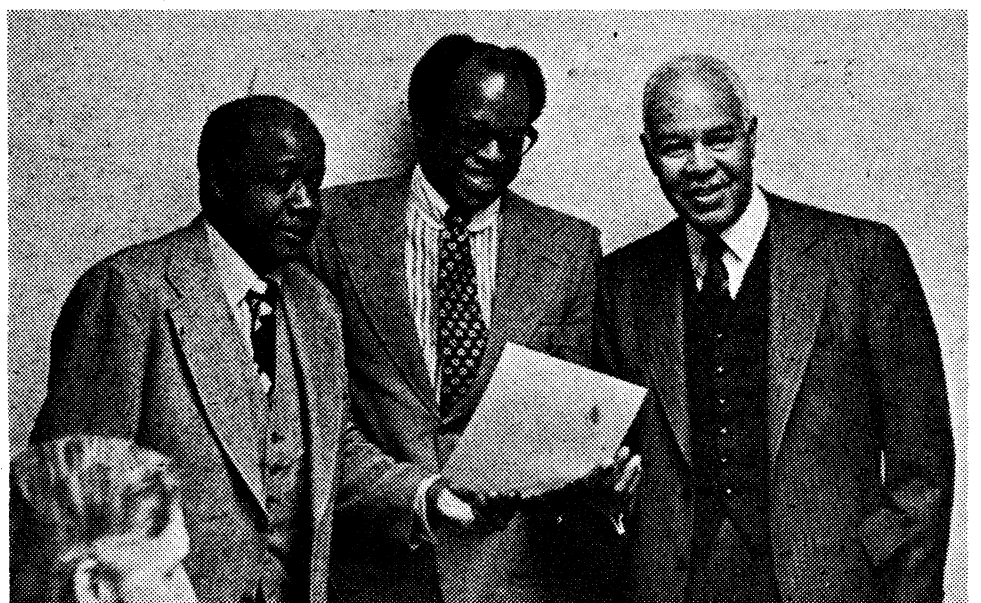
"We hope that the May 17 march and rally in Boston to support quality, desegregated schools will help to remind Boston that it is part of a union of the United States."

Choosing his words carefully, Atkins spelled out the NAACP's intentions.

"Our role has been to insist that the Constitution be read and applied in Boston. We hope the courts are not about to give way to mobs, however numerous they may be."

"We hope that through the May 17 demonstration, all cities, towns, and villages, and especially Boston, will get the message that school segregation is illegal," Atkins said.

Since the opening of school last fall the racists in Boston have carried out violent attacks on Blacks and have employed other forms of resistance to the desegregation order.



Militant/Baxter Smith

NAACP officials (from left) Gloster Current, Thomas Atkins, and Roy Wilkins at New York news conference. 'Get the message: school segregation is illegal.'

Recent Boston School Department figures show that white parents, hoping to sabotage the desegregation process, have kept up their boycott of schools targeted for desegregation.

Official city-wide enrollment has slackened by 8 percent this year, and on any given day 25 percent to 35 percent of the students don't show up. At South Boston High School, average white attendance has been about 425 students, compared with the 1,094 white students slated to attend.

One "community tutoring" project for white South Boston boycotting students, the *Wall Street Journal* found, has about 300 students in it and

300 on the waiting list.

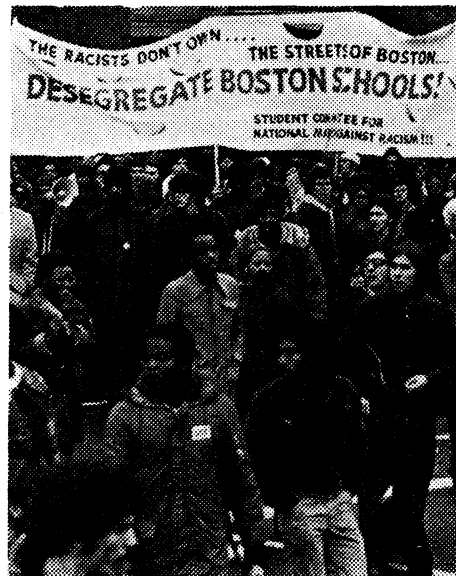
School officials have been complicit in the campaign of harassment and intimidation of Black students, whom they have victimized through suspensions. Although Blacks comprise about 38 percent of all students, they accounted for 60 percent of those suspended by school authorities.

In addition to that of the NAACP, the May 17 action has received the backing of many other groups and individuals committed to the goal of equal justice under the law.

In a recent memo sent out to NAACP leaders throughout the country, Gloster Current, director of NAACP branches, reported that "the March has caught the imagination of youth groups, fraternal organizations and NAACP leaders throughout the country who believe in the right of all American citizens to receive a meaningful desegregated education in our public schools. . . .

"We have less than two months to pull together all of the loose ends and to make this the most successful demonstration in the history of the Association. . . . We shall depend on you."

For further information contact the NAACP: National Office, 1790 Broadway, New York, New York 10019, telephone (212) 245-2100; Boston Branch, 451 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston Massachusetts 02118, telephone (617) 267-1058. The National Student Coalition Against Racism can be reached at 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115, telephone (617) 266-9665.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

Probing march in Boston last December. NAACP's 1,800 branches are enlisting support for demonstration on May 17.

## Support the march on Boston

Wear a May 17 button! To order this button, designed by 'Doonesbury' creator Gary Trudeau, write to National Student Coalition Against Racism, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115. Price: One dollar each, thirty-five cents for orders of ten or more. Orders must be prepaid.

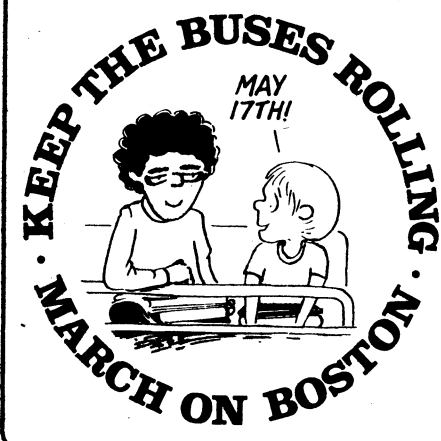
Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ button(s).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_



## Detroit coalition organizes buses for Boston

By Lee Artz

DETROIT—The formation of a broad coalition to organize support for the NAACP-called May 17 national march on Boston for school desegregation was announced here at a March 25 news conference at the executive offices of the Detroit NAACP.

Present at the conference were Joe Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP; Aretha Bailey, president of the Highland Park NAACP; Clarence Walker, of the Detroit Student Coalition Against Racism; and Ruth Hughes, chairperson of the Michigan Coordinating Council on Human Relations.

Claytee Artz, speaking for the newly formed organization, the Detroit May 17 Coalition Against Racism, said, "We feel that only by mobilizing the largest and broadest possible support

for school desegregation in Boston will Blacks in any city be able to make the decisions that affect the education of their youth, without the threat of racist violence.

"We are here to say that Jim Crow was killed in the sixties and we will not allow his resurrection in the seventies—because we are prepared to build a movement to protect the gains we have won in the last twenty years."

Madison announced that the coalition will set up offices at the Detroit NAACP headquarters. Bailey discussed the group's plans to raise money to subsidize buses to Boston. Hughes pledged that she would seek to involve the ninety-seven organizations belonging to the Michigan Coordinating Council on Human Relations in the coalition, to ensure a large turnout

from Detroit at the Boston march.

Walker reported that chapters of the National Student Coalition Against Racism are being formed throughout Michigan. There are now chapters in Lansing, Kalamazoo, Ann Arbor, and Mount Pleasant, in addition to Detroit.

At the news conference, statements of support for the May 17 coalition were received from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Black Secretariat of the Detroit Archdiocese.

The conference was widely reported by the media. There is strong interest locally in the situation in Boston because of its potential impact on school desegregation here. A suit filed by the Detroit NAACP—the first Northern desegregation suit—is still winding its way through the courts.

Michigan State Sen. Basil Brown plans to submit a resolution of support for May 17 to the state senate, and council member Erma Henderson will present a similar resolution to the Detroit Common Council.

Other endorsers of the action from this area include George Gullen, president of Wayne State University; Tom Turner, president of the Detroit Metropolitan Council AFL-CIO; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 1497; Milt Tambor, president of AFSCME Local 1640; American Federation of Teachers Local 2000; Wayne Staff Association, a campus employees union; Conrad Mallett, of the Wayne County Board of Commissioners; and several student governments in the Detroit area.



## April 4 King memorial

# Harlem meeting urges big turnout May 17

By Claire Moriarty

NEW YORK—"We need to see Black people in the lead—that's our whole struggle in a nutshell!" That's the way Joette Chancy, a national coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), views the upcoming May 17 march on Boston for desegregation.

The march, called by the NAACP, was the focus of a memorial meeting for Martin Luther King held at Harlem Hospital April 4. The spirited gathering was sponsored by the New York branch of the NAACP, the National Council of Black Churchmen, and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

A musical group performed, and at one point everyone in the audience of 200 joined hands and sang "We Shall Overcome," standing tall and swaying from side to side.

April 4 marked the seventh anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King.

Speakers at the meeting focused on building support for the May 17 march as the way to continue the struggle for equal rights for Black people.

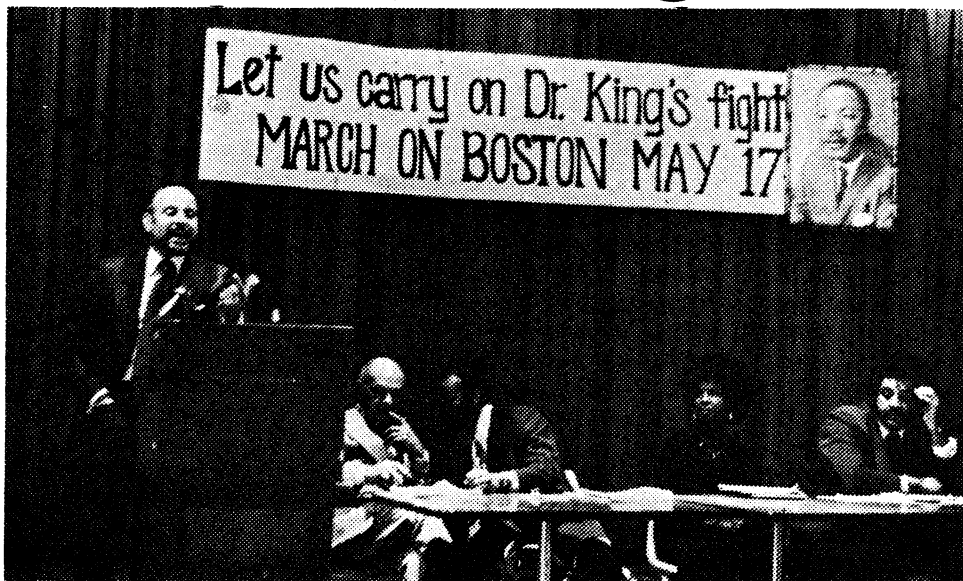
"May 17 is a rallying day in Boston," declared Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton. The struggle that began more than a decade ago in Alabama and Mississippi had, he said, come "up South to Boston—and to New York City. And we've got to take up that fight."

Bob Royal of the New York NAACP said, "We're not going up there straggling. We're going up strong and united. Let those folks up in Boston know we're going to win."

The president of the New York NAACP, Carl Lawrence, said it was important to arouse enthusiasm throughout New York for the May 17 demonstration.

As he introduced Sam Manuel, coordinator of New York SCAR, Lawrence spoke enthusiastically of the role played by the student coalition:

"They don't let anything stop them.



Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton addressing April 4 meeting. Civil rights struggle has come 'up South to Boston and New York.'

They're a new breed of politician."

Manuel said the "neighborhood schools" slogan of the racists was an updated version of the old "separate but equal" Jim Crow formula. "What it really means," he said, "is 'keep the niggers out.'"

"Once again," he continued, "it's time to take to the streets. We have to bring to bear the weight of the entire human race against this minority who are acting like they're no longer part of the human race."

Manuel introduced the next speaker, Lillian Roberts, who is associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Referring to the April 26 march on Washington, D.C., for jobs, which Roberts's union is strongly backing, Manuel said, "We consider skyrocketing unemployment to be part of a racist attack on the living standards of Black working people. NSCAR will be in Washington on April 26. We'll be there in force."

Roberts described "the human victories won in the past by the trade unions: the right to decent working

conditions and decent pay, the human dignity."

She said the union movement has a special obligation to demonstrate "that the barriers in Boston—and in Washington—can be attacked, that we will prevail."

She urged everyone to join the labor march on Washington and pledged participation in the May 17 demonstration.

Rev. Timothy Mitchell, of the National Conference of Black Churchmen, emphasized the importance of a national response to the racist offensive in Boston.

"If we allow this to go on in Boston, it will be a signal for racists all over the country to 'do what you want with the niggers.' We would see an unparalleled wave of overt racism."

May 17 will be a powerful statement to racists everywhere, he said. "The students were right eight years ago when they marched against the war in Vietnam. They showed us the way then, and we ought to line up with them in this fight too."

New York city council member from

Harlem Fred Samuel noted that the racists have been emboldened by the manslaughter conviction of the Black doctor Kenneth Edelin for performing a legal abortion in Boston.

Each of the speakers pointed out the centrality of school desegregation in the racist offensive. As Joette Chancy put it, "Busing isn't the issue—it's who's riding the buses. Whites have been bused into the Black community for years to go to [prestigious] Boston Tech and Girls Latin."

The audience responded with applause when Piri Thomas, the Puerto Rican author of *Down These Mean Streets*, said, "They have hate and lies, therefore they will have an ending. We have truth and love, therefore we shall go on forever. Dig it!"

Longtime civil rights activists at the gathering seemed delighted to see so many young people in the crowd—many of whom hadn't been born at the time of the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, which May 17 will commemorate.



Public Employee Press

AFSCME leader Lillian Roberts appealed for support to April 26 labor rally for jobs and May 17 march for desegregation.

## Boston busing battle

# Atkins: Phase 2 plan a 'capitulation to violence'

By Peter Seidman

BOSTON—At a news conference here April 4, Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, sharply criticized a proposed Phase Two desegregation plan that has been submitted to a federal district court. U.S. District Court Judge Arthur Garrity had requested the plan from a panel of educational and legal "masters" to serve as a guideline for the court-ordered extension of desegregation to all Boston schools next September.

Garrity is expected to rule on the masters' proposals and present a court-ordered plan for Phase Two by April 15.

Atkins labeled the masters' proposals "a massive capitulation to violence or the threat of violence" from Boston racists. He said this was "an impermissible basis for desegregative assignments."

"The plan would have the federal court itself order into existence permanent segregation in Boston, when desegregation could as easily be ordered," Atkins said.

The NAACP leader backed up this assertion with figures showing that the masters' proposed plan—which breaks the city up into one city-wide and nine "community" school districts—would "create permanently 95 percent white schools in East

Boston; permanent 80 percent white schools in West Roxbury; permanent 75 percent Black schools in the Burke district; permanent 70 percent white schools in South Boston; and permanent 70 percent Black schools in Madison Park's proposed district."

"For the federal court to issue such an order," Atkins declared, "would be tantamount to the court's becoming an instrument of de jure segregation."

A fact sheet distributed by the NAACP at the news conference reported: "Of the 163 schools proposed by the masters' report for use over the next two years, thirty-four would be over 64 percent white and seventy-four would be under 35 percent Black. This represents 66 percent of the total schools in the system."

Garrity's instructions to the masters were to come up with a desegregation plan that would make the composition of every school equal to the 50 percent white, 35 percent Black, and 15 percent "other minorities" composition of the city's schools as a whole. The masters' plan, however, aims only at making the racial composition of schools correspond to the racial composition of each district.

Given the highly segregated character of Boston neighborhoods, however, the NAACP points out that the

masters' proposals "would create segregation in 66 percent of the schools in the system, where there are clear alternatives which are readily available."

Moreover, the burden of even the limited desegregation measures outlined by the masters would, the NAACP points out, fall disproportionately on the Black community.

According to Atkins, "The report recommends the closing of thirty-five schools, twenty-one of which are Black or minority community schools. This recommendation is, itself, of unconstitutional impact because it disproportionately burdens the nonwhite communities and students with the process of desegregation."

"It forces a greater loss of community institutions upon these communities; it forces Black kindergarteners to be bused outside their areas, even though white youngsters, for the most part, can walk to the nearest school; it guarantees greater friction and conflict, since most of the violence was in areas to which Blacks were being bused rather than in areas in which Blacks lived."

One result of this aspect of the masters' proposal is that most busing to achieve desegregation will require Black students to enter what were predominantly white schools before

Phase Two. Atkins pointed out that it is exactly these schools where racist abuse of Black students has been most common.

Because of a "voluntary transfer" provision in the masters' proposal that allows the students to take the option of leaving desegregated schools in their community districts for city-wide "magnet" schools, it is feared that the masters' proposals create an incentive for racist terror to be directed against the bused-in Black students. This could encourage them to transfer to other schools.

Such a "fright flight" factor built into the masters' proposals would only serve as encouragement to more racist terror when schools open next fall.

When asked by reporters what the NAACP will do should Garrity approve the basic outlines of this masters' plan, Atkins replied, "No minor modifications will salvage this plan from a constitutional standpoint. . . . We can't conceive that the judge will not make major modifications."

The NAACP leader warned, however, that "the reason we're in this case in the first place is to get a court order for desegregation." In the event the court fails to order this, "we can't imagine someone not thinking we'd take further action."

# In Our Opinion

## April 26 & May 17

The following is a statement issued by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president.

Today working people are under attack from all sides. Millions are being thrown out of work and into a life of poverty and despair, with no end to the depression in sight. Inflation has disappeared from the headlines, but not from the supermarkets, where it still erodes our meager incomes. Schools are dilapidated and getting worse. Social services are being cut across the board.

All these problems come down the hardest on Blacks and other oppressed minorities, who are condemned to the worst housing, schools, and jobs, and the highest unemployment. At the same time, there is a growing attack on the most elementary gains won by the civil rights movement.

In the face of this crisis, the NAACP has called for a march against racism to be held May 17 in Boston, and the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO has called a mass rally for jobs in Washington, D.C., for April 26.

These calls for mass protest, by the largest civil rights organization in the country and by some of the most powerful trade unions, are unprecedented in recent years. They are products of an immense, rising tide of militancy and anger against the policies of the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

They can mark the opening of a new period in American politics: a period in which masses of working people, with the oppressed Black population in the forefront, take effective action, including big demonstrations in the streets, to defend their rights and standard of living.

The two actions, each with its own particular focus and demands, are closely linked. The resurgent racist offensive is a vital part of the bosses' overall assault against jobs and wages. "Don't blame us for the layoffs," they tell white workers. "Your problem is the Blacks, who are after your jobs, your homes, and your schools. Don't fight us; fight them."

To Black workers, they say, "Don't expect too much from this society. Don't push too hard or too fast, or we'll smash you down."

The labor movement's true interests lie in championing the just aspirations of its most oppressed members. The unions must not yield one inch in the fight against segregation and all other manifestations of racism.

We will be marching April 26 for *jobs for all* and for more federal funds for housing, schools, and social services—all demands that are of greatest urgency to Blacks. A massive mobilization on April 26 can strike a powerful blow against *all* the racist and antilabor policies of the government and can give a boost to the May 17 action as well.

We can make no mistake about the utterly reactionary character of the antibusing movement in Boston. It is backed by virulently anti-Black, antiwoman, and antilabor forces—the enemies of everything labor stands for. For this reason the union movement also has a big stake in making the May 17 march on Boston a big success.

While President Ford refuses to spend another penny for jobs, he demands billions of our tax dollars to prop up the corrupt dictators in Saigon and Pnompenh and to pay for the U.S. military apparatus around the world.

I have been campaigning among union members, the unemployed, Blacks, Chicanos, and students all across the country, and I know that their antiwar convictions are deeper than ever. The overwhelming sentiment of demonstrators in Washington will be: "Hands off Vietnam! No more money for dictators in Cambodia, Vietnam, or anywhere else! End war spending and provide jobs at home!" A mass turnout April 26 will be yet another step in tying the hands of Ford and Congress and averting a new U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

To provide jobs for all we need an emergency public works program to put *all* the unemployed to work at union wages on socially useful projects. By this standard, the jobs program put forward by the AFL-CIO organizers of the rally is timid and inadequate.

But a mass demonstration for "Jobs Now" will have its own dynamic, far beyond the limited perspectives of its official organizers. It will inspire union members with a sense of their real power, which lies in just such independent mobilizations, not in backroom deals with Democratic and Republican politicians. It will pave the way for even more powerful actions in the future.

Jobs for all!

Defend the rights of Black students!

All out April 26 and May 17!

# Letters

## Lexington grand jury

Since the *Militant* last reported on the case of six Kentuckians who were jailed for refusing to testify before a grand jury supposedly investigating Susan Saxe and Katherine Powers (March 7 issue), there have been some new developments.

The "investigation" has become a fishing expedition to compile general intelligence on women's, gay, and feminist groups all over the country. The FBI has gone to Cincinnati asking to be supplied with mailing and calling lists and names of women's and radical groups.

The six witnesses have faced much harassment from the FBI, including subpoenas, illegal surveillance, and FBI visits to their landlords, employers, and relatives. When they still refused to testify, they were jailed.

The judge who sentenced them quoted an 1800 ruling that gave the grand jury "broad and inquisitory powers" that are not to be curtailed. He sentenced the six to jail until they testify or for the life of the grand jury, which ends in April 1976.

The Lexington Grand Jury Defense is aiding the fight against FBI harassment and this abuse of the grand jury. We are trying to create a greater awareness of grand jury abuse nationally, through a demonstration to be held here April 8 as well as informational picketing at the Federal Building, publishing a brochure, and a general educational campaign.

Thank you for your assistance in informing the country. Anyone who wants additional information or to aid the defense should contact the Lexington Grand Jury Defense Fund, Box 1733, Lexington, Kentucky 40501. Sally Kundert

Lexington, Kentucky

## Proud spender

Please enter my subscription to your very worthwhile and much-needed newspaper. I am proud to put my money where it will do good.

L.Z.

Detroit, Michigan

## Twain's 'War Prayer'

The recent events in Cambodia and Vietnam, brought about by the imperialist nations, particularly the United States, bring to mind "Mark Twain's War Prayer":

"O Lord, our God, help us to tear their soldiers with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of the guns with cries of the wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; . . .

"For our sakes, who adore Thee, Lord, blast their hopes, blight their lives, protract their bitter pilgrimage, make heavy their steps. . . .

"We ask of one who is the 'spirit of love' and who is the 'ever faithful refuge and friend of all that are sore beset,' and seek His aid with humble and contrite hearts. Grant our prayer, O Lord, and Thine be the praise and honor and glory now and forever. Amen."

Charles Campbell

Brooklyn, New York

## FBI info

I have enjoyed reading your paper and receiving your often-agreed-with (though not always) opinions. The recent issue, March 28 [headlined "Secret FBI files"], was enlightening

in view of the efforts of candidate Ms. [Barbara] Bowman here to get info on FBI files.

I think that this is an important area which needs to be gotten to the bottom of with the avoidance of sensationalism or double-talk to confuse the solutions.

Here is a couple of bucks; working as a merchant seaman, it is almost impossible to receive weekly issues on ship (mail cost), but if I could receive the *Militant* for a couple of more months until I go back to work, that would be great.

Mark Lance

Webster Groves, Missouri

## Child abusers

As a subscriber to the *Militant* for many years, I have invariably read most of the articles from the first to the last page. I have always read Miguel Pendás's also, and have found them most informative.

However, I am forced to disagree with the article headed "Child welfare and social abuse" (March 21 issue).

You seem to equate "child abuse" with children of Chicanos who are "poorly clothed and fed." As a matter of fact, however, child abuse refers to the tiny infants and children who are deliberately burned with cigarette butts, thrown into boiling water in a bathtub, battered with fists, belt buckles—you name it—child abuse covers it.

I feel that the horrible economic situation will serve as a crutch for the most horrible kind of child abuse from parents who eagerly seize upon such a convenient excuse.

I think that the sooner we stop sympathizing with this undeserving element, the sooner will child abuse become as outmoded as chicken pox, polio, TB, and other diseases of the past.

Nellie De Schaaf

Chicago, Illinois

## No surprise

Thank you for running the letter in the March 21 *Militant* about the Prisoners Union.

One thing that I and others have found very interesting is the people being terrorized by these sick Nazis and right-wing forces out there.

We have to deal with those same people in here—police as well as certain inmates.

You may be surprised to find that there are many of those people working in prisons. But I guess it wouldn't be too surprising, for who else would want to work in here.

A prisoner

California

## Equitable system

After socialism is achieved in the United States, there will be the problem of how to structure our economic system so that it is the most just possible.

It seems that the present civil service testing system would be about the most equitable system for determining ability. After ability is determined, the workers could have the final say by elections, so a certain position will go to a qualified person. With time off for free education, any worker could aspire to any position he chooses.

There could be massive aid to further develop automation in all fields, thereby reducing the workweek till there might be something like a two-





## Suggestions for April 26

hour-a-day, five-day workweek.

When worldwide socialism is achieved, there might be something like an economic United Nations to guide international economic development.

There could also be ethnic self-determination. Under socialism there would no longer be any need for racism. I feel that socialism and ethnic self-determination must come at the same time because racism would be a rallying point for any capitalist reactionary moves.

I believe the saying "justice delayed is justice denied." The time has come. At this point in history the very survival of mankind is at stake; mankind has now advanced far enough technologically to make socialism possible and necessary.

Frank Spencer  
Cleveland, Ohio

### 'Blood-tingling valor'

In the February 1975 issue of *Air Force* magazine, Maj. Gen. John Murray (ret.) speaks:

"... the South Vietnamese are resilient. Despite the loss of considerable middle and top management support, and technical assistance from the U.S. defense attaché and defense contractors, they have braced themselves and faced up to budget scourgings just as well as they've faced the enemy. . . .

"The [Vietnamese air force] is compensating for fewer tactical sorties with larger bomb loads and the kind of blood-tingling valor that cheers the ground troops. . . .

"The air-ground team in South Vietnam is a valiant, proficient, achievement-proud force. One satisfying thing—if no more—can be said about us Americans in Vietnam. The South Vietnamese were ready when we withdrew our forces. . . ."

Now that the good general has had two months during which to build up an appetite, let's find out if he is ready to eat his words and bite the bullet.

Michele Mooney  
Los Angeles, California

### Unclear

I'd like to point out a small error in Dick Roberts's article "Why the crisis doesn't hurt GM" [March 28 *Militant*]. The article mentions "... Black communities in East Detroit, areas that depend mainly on Chrysler plants. . . ."

I'm from Detroit's east side. East Detroit itself is a city located northeast of Detroit. It is working class and almost exclusively white, with little heavy industry.

The way it's stated in the article, it isn't clear to the reader which you mean.

Margaret Thomas  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

[In reply—The article should have said the east side of Detroit. We regret any confusion that may have been caused by the error.]

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.

It could be that as many as 100,000 union members and unemployed workers will go to Washington in response to the call by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department to "rally for jobs." Almost certainly the stadium where the rally is being staged will be filled to its 54,000 seating capacity.

There is a difference between this rally and the one called by the United Auto Workers last February. At that time 10,000 unemployed auto workers gathered to urge Congress to do something about the sagging economy, and to listen to some Democratic politicians promise that "something will be done."

On April 26, when the larger delegation shows up, they will have more definite ideas about what ought to be done, and it is reported that they have reserved seats for every member of Congress to come and listen to their suggestions. This is a switch worth noting. It is one thing when a delegation goes to Washington to ask Congress what it intends to do, and it is another matter when a larger delegation comes back to tell Congress what must be done.

The AFL-CIO is demanding "immediate, massive federal efforts to create jobs for the unemployed." If Congress is persuaded to accept this demand and undertakes seriously to comply (an unlikely prospect at this juncture) it will need to appropriate at least \$50 billion for a massive public works program to start rebuilding the cities, reclaiming whole regions of devastated land, cleaning up polluted rivers and lakes, and carrying out other needed projects.

The specific proposals of the AFL-CIO are the release of \$9 billion for sewers and waste treatment plants; \$4.4 billion for highways; \$372.5 million for hospitals; a \$2 billion Accelerated Public Works program; full funding of the Public Service Employment Program; and expansion of federal youth programs. These are stopgap measures that the Democrats have promised but have done little about, their rate of progress being far slower than the rising rate of unemployment.

Another demand now raised by the AFL-CIO is for a

thirty-five-hour workweek. Some unions are demanding a thirty-two-hour week, others have revived the "thirty for forty" demand, thirty hours work for forty hours pay. This is a necessary part of the move to "put America back to work." It would immediately create plenty of jobs.

The idea of shorter hours is not new, and not bad. The great technological advances and increases in labor productivity since the battles for the eight-hour day dictate a further reduction in the hours of work today. It is a long overdue change.

There are various ways this demand could be concretized. A long-forgotten bill for the thirty-hour workweek was passed by the U.S. Senate in 1933, but failed in the House. It was introduced more than forty-two years ago by Hugo Black when he was a member of the Seventy-third Congress, before his appointment to the Supreme Court. It is time to reintroduce such a bill for consideration by the present "veto-proof" Congress.

Congress is full of excuses for its failure to provide jobs, the main one being lack of funds.

The federal government plans to spend \$100 billion on armaments this year, and seems to have no trouble raising it. So it ought not to be hard to reallocate at least half of it for a \$50 billion public works program.

As for private industry, despite all the poor-mouthing about "paper thin" profits, the corporations in 1974 had a banner year. Total reported profits grew by close to 14 percent, to \$140 billion, up from \$123 billion in 1973. So there ought to be enough money around for them to cut working hours to thirty with no reduction in weekly pay.

Many of the unemployed who go to Washington on April 26 will be interested in public works and shorter hours to create jobs. Their union representatives will take care not to appear to be too demanding. But unless Congress acts to create jobs soon, more unemployed will return to Washington again. And they are likely to be less polite the third time around.

## Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



## The FBI has a surprise for you...

WASHINGTON—Now that you know the government keeps files on everyone, from Boy Scout troop leaders to Groucho Marx, you may have been thinking you'd like to see your own files. Well, the FBI has a surprise for you.

The bureau has announced that if it doesn't have a file on you already, one will be opened if you write in asking to see your dossier. Catch-22? Nonsense. Just "record keeping."

It seems that the snoopers want to discourage the spiraling rate of requests for files. On February 19, new amendments to the Freedom of Information Act went into effect, making it more difficult now for federal agencies to refuse to release secret documents.

Since then, more than 800 people have flooded the FBI, CIA, and other agencies, asking for their dossiers. At the CIA, the number of requests quadrupled in one month. The agency says thirty-five people are now working full-time to process them.

Speaking of secret files, whatever happened to those congressional investigations into CIA spying?

The House Intelligence Committee, headed by Rep. Lucien Nedzi (D-Mich.), has run into a snag—how to keep its proceedings as secret as possible. The CIA is apparently pressuring Nedzi for assurances of "security."

In polite congressional parlance, this is known as "plugging leaks." According to the March 26 *Washington Star-News*, "CIA officials are said to be particularly concerned by a House rule that says that all committee business must be opened to access eventually by all 435 congressmen, some of whom are opposed to the CIA." Things could be worse for the CIA. Imagine if Congress had been so rash as to open up committee business to us citizens.

Meanwhile, others in Congress are pointing with alarm to the continued erosion of confidence in capitalist parties and politicians. Sen. Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.), for example, recently introduced a National Youth Political Participation Act, an "educational" project designed to restore faith in the system.

In motivating his bill, Montoya emphasized to his colleagues that such a project should aim at the very young—beginning at age eight—and at "working young people" as well as students.

"Educators and parents, employers and union leaders have all written to me this past year," said Montoya. "They have expressed to me their deep worry over the cynicism and bitterness of a growing number of young people with whom they work."

To prove his point, Montoya cited the latest survey done by *Who's Who Among American High School Students*. Conducted among 23,000 high school leaders, the survey found:

- 81 percent felt that elected representatives lack honor and integrity;
- 83 percent think that our system does not provide equal justice for all citizens;
- 73 percent believe most major political campaigns are crooked;
- 83 percent of those eligible to vote said they would vote as independents.

Senator Montoya said his political participation project would try to teach young people "the dangers inherent in letting [the capitalist] system disappear."

He will have stiff competition. Nuclear threats, unemployment, racism, and Watergate have already convinced many young people of the dangers inherent in letting the capitalist system continue.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



**He who gets gurbed**—Troubled by “contradictions,” Michael Garson quit as financial director of Maharaj Ji’s Divine Light Mission. He said declining revenue and nondeclining demands by the guru created a \$300,000 debt. “When the guru wants something, be it a \$30,000 car or a new house, he gets it,” Garson said. “It takes a lot of money to keep a guru,” he observed.

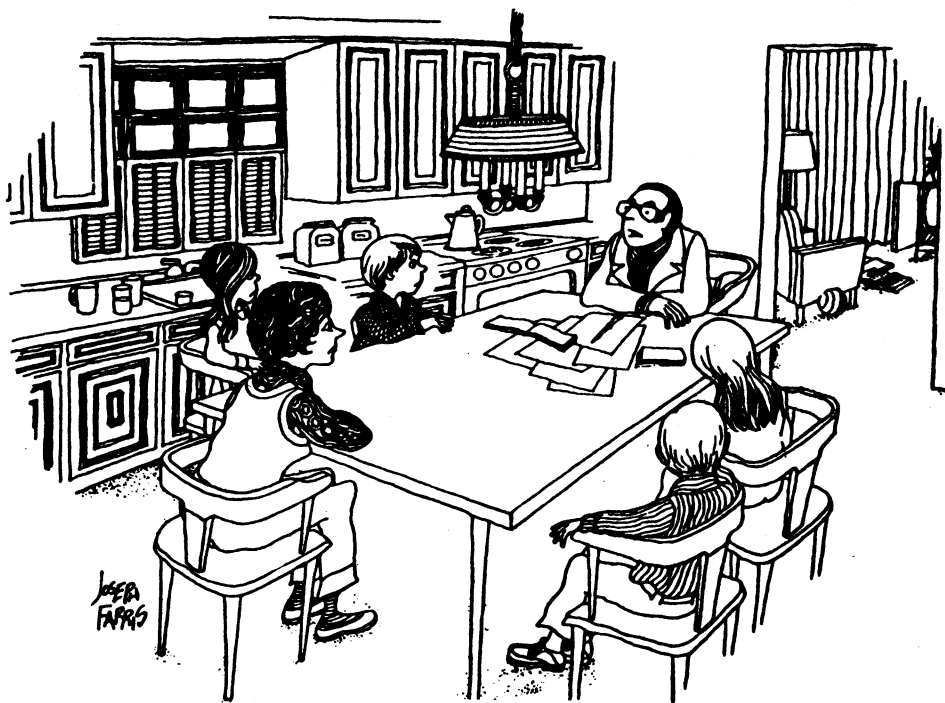
**Supersucker**—A British factory worker pleaded guilty to conning an ultrapatriotic priest out of \$48,000 by presenting himself as a member of a supersecret “Ministry of Civil Intelligence.” He made the father an honorary officer of the nonexistent agency. On one occasion he arrived with a bandage over his eye, explaining it had been shot out. The priest gave him money for a glass eye.

**Top trainees**—The government plans to invest \$48 million in a special

school site (gym and pool included, natch) to provide executive training to top federal officials. A suggested school motto: “Taping, tapping, and takin’.”

**Mouse mousse**—New York City’s Health Department cited the swank Bankers Club in downtown Manhattan for restaurant violations, including “mouse excreta on the floor of pastry preparation room.” The club secretary responded philosophically, “At least we’re in good company. The Yale Club was cited once too.”

**Happy hunting ground**—A government check revealed fourteen generals took costly hunting trips while “on duty.” The hunting took place at a former Air Force installation at Matagorda, Texas. Matagorda was reluctantly abandoned as a “practice bombing range” after it was established that its prime function was to provide officers hunting and fishing.



‘I’ve called the family together to announce that, because of inflation, I’m going to have to let two of you go.’

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### The white man’s justice

It’s hard to say what Christmas means to John Hill and Charlie Joe Pernasilice, two Native Americans. In a white man’s world that time of year is supposed to mean togetherness, a little tenderness, and a time for giving gifts. Christmas 1972 these two Indians received a gift from the white man they never wanted when the Wyoming County Grand Jury gave them the first indictment for the 1971 Attica prison uprising.

The white man’s grand jury said they killed a prison guard. The grand jury was supposed to investigate all crimes stemming from the prison revolt. But, funny thing, it only indicted prisoners. Forty-three men died, but the white man’s grand jury did not name any guards, cops, or state officials.

Just the other day the white man’s system of justice gave the two Indians another gift when it said they were guilty.

Somewhere the white man has a piece of paper that says that every citizen of this great land that

the white man brought his civilization to is entitled to equal justice under the law. When a citizen is accused of breaking a law and put on trial, the citizen is guaranteed a trial by a jury of his or her peers, the piece of paper says, and it must be true because the white man wrote it.

Strange, though, the two Indians didn’t see any other Indians on the jury that heard their case.

Another thing was odd: there weren’t any Indians on the grand jury, either. And most of the jurors on it had friends or relatives who were guards or prison employees at the time of the revolt.

Now one of the white assistant prosecutors says the white man’s grand jury wasn’t fair. He says it overlooked an assortment of crimes by guards and state troopers. He says if there was an “open and full” investigation these guards and state troopers could be indicted on murder, manslaughter, assault, reckless endangerment, hindering the prosecution, perjury, and conspiracy.

The assistant prosecutor resigned, and he gave a written report to the governor and the state attorney general.

The assistant prosecutor’s charge that the white man’s grand jury didn’t do its job only came to light after the two Indians were convicted. It was also reported that the governor has had the report for two months and the attorney general has had a copy of it for four months.

The next Attica trial will begin soon. It will be for one Black man who is accused, along with four other Blacks, of killing two white prisoners with a knife. The indictment came from the same grand jury that the ex-assistant prosecutor says didn’t do a fair job.

Now, the white man’s grand jury didn’t have any Blacks on it either. But somewhere, someplace, the white man has a piece of paper that says that every citizen of this great land that the white man brought his civilization to is entitled to equal justice under the law. When a citizen is accused. . . .

## The American Way of Life

### ‘Early obituary to American capitalism’?

Since last September the number of jobs provided by the United States economy has plummeted 2.6 million.

That’s the latest word from the federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, which pegged March unemployment at eight million people, or 8.7 percent of the work force. Two million of these have been out of work for fifteen weeks or longer, a significant measure of the severe hardships imposed by the depression.

The federal figures are notoriously understated, since they fail to include 1.1 million “discouraged” workers and another 3.9 million who are forced to work only part-time when they want full-time jobs.

The National Urban League checked into these slippery statistics and concluded that the real unemployment rate for Blacks was 21 percent in the last part of 1974—about double the government’s reported rate. By now, of course, the figure would be even higher.

The Urban League study also confirmed that layoffs are hitting Blacks in disproportionate numbers. For local government employees, for example, it found that 11.2 percent of Blacks are out

of work, compared with a 1.7 percent rate for whites.

More than half of the Black jobless were found to be ineligible for unemployment compensation for one reason or another.

Meanwhile, the government tries to console us with the assurance that inflation is “moderating.” What the news stories leave out is that wage increases are a lot more “moderate” than the 7 to 8 percent inflation rate now being reported.

Bureau of Labor Statistics figures reveal that the real purchasing power of the average worker’s paycheck has dropped 10.3 percent over the past twenty-eight months. Real wages are now at their lowest point since 1964.

And that, remember, is for those lucky enough to still have a job.

The possible political consequences of this mess are beginning to alarm some of the “experts” down on Wall Street, although lower wages and higher unemployment are exactly what they want.

The April 8 *New York Post* quotes “Siff of Siff, Oakley & Marks” as warning: “It may not be farfetched to envision massive unemployment-protest marches on Washington, with demands for drastic economic reforms.”

“He says the successful anti-war protest marches of the 1960s could prove to be forerunners of new action,” the *Post* reports.

Siff’s nightmare continues: “The jobless rate for young blacks is apt to average 50 per cent through 1977. This would be nearly double the 28 per cent rate that helped ignite the urban-ghetto violence of the mid-1960s.”

In the face of all this, Siff astutely observes that “the man on the street will probably conclude that the economy no longer functions properly.” The situation may encourage some “truly dangerous political demagoguery,” but, keeping a stiff upper lip, Siff insists he is “not writing an early obituary to American capitalism.”

Well, we’re not venturing any predictions on the exact date of the funeral, but one thing’s for sure: the number of eager pallbearers is growing every day.

—Andy Rose



# What parents are fighting for in NY Dist. 1

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—Parents of children in the public schools of New York City's School District One are campaigning energetically for a slate of pro-community-control candidates in the local school board election to be held May 6. I visited their Por los Niños/Save the Children campaign headquarters one recent Saturday to talk with some of the parent activists about their struggle.

The campaign office, located in the heart of the Puerto Rican community in Manhattan's Lower East Side, was vibrating with activity. A number of people were preparing to take out campaign tables to set up in shopping areas, several organizers were assisting them, and others were coping with the mountain of paper work that the electoral system requires of participants.

The first person I talked with was Dina Ramos, who works as a coordinator of bilingual teachers at Public

and over, in areas where there are children who don't speak English."

Does this still happen in New York City? "This is one of the things we're trying to stop. One of the problems that got people here angry was the large number of children being sent to special schools such as the '600' schools. These children weren't psychotic or neurotic!"

## Genuine bilingual education

Ramos believes that the remedies for what ails District One's schools are genuine bilingual education and "teacher accountability to parents." But the key to implementing these measures is community control of the schools.

If the Por los Niños slate wins a majority on May 6, she thinks the first priority of the new school board should be "reinstatement of the bilingual programs that were cut."

I left the office and walked to the corner of Sixth Street and Avenue A, where four activists had set up a campaign table in front of a supermarket. During a break in the activity, I was able to talk with one of the people registering new voters, Helen Brown, who had been on the corner for several hours in the biting cold and planned to remain there several more. Why?

"My child is Black," she explained, "and I want to see the Black studies program reinstated." She also emphasized the need to institute totally bilingual education in District One.

When parent-supported superintendent Luis Fuentes had been in charge of the district's schools, he began a number of multicultural and bilingual programs, but they were disbanded after the anti-community-control majority of the school board suspended Fuentes in August 1974. The school board majority has formulated its racist policies under the direction of United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker.

Helen Brown is a member of the Parent Association, which selected the Por los Niños candidates and drafted the campaign's platform. It is the body to which the candidates are pledged to be accountable if they are elected.

The first steps a community-controlled board should take, in Brown's opinion, would be the reinstatement of Luis Fuentes as superintendent and the rehiring of all the procommunity principals and administrative personnel that have been fired by the Shanker-controlled board.

## Anti-Shanker, not antiunion

I asked her about Shanker's charge that the parents are waging an "antiunion" campaign. "Of course not," she said. "Most of the parents here are working people. We're not antiunion; we're anti-Shankerism. Many teachers—UFT members—are support-

ing Por los Niños. What we're opposed to is particular policies of the UFT leadership."

Returning to the campaign headquarters, I found many people there who had not been there earlier. One of them was Linda Albertorio. I asked her: What's wrong with the schools that you're fighting to change?

"Plenty! We're not allowed to go inside the schools. We'd like to be able to go in and talk to the teachers, to find out how our children are doing—and see what's really happening inside."

How do they keep the parents out? "They lock the doors. They have police. They give you the runaround—tell you to make an appointment, but even with an appointment you're still

not allowed to go inside the schools."

The first actions a Por los Niños school board should take?

"Put the superintendent [Fuentes] back in, and all the people that got fired." That would include Albertorio herself, who had been working as a paraprofessional.

What does she think of Por los Niños's chances of victory in the May 6 election?

"I think we have a better chance this year than last year, because people are more aware of what's happening—especially after all the boycotts."

Dina Ramos, Helen Brown, and Linda Albertorio were all unanimous in answering my final question. Win or lose on May 6, they vow, the fight will continue.

為了子女  
POR LOS NIÑOS  
SAVE THE CHILDREN



Symbol of parent-backed campaign

School 188. She has a son who attends P.S. 34. Although she has a job and family responsibilities and attends school as well, she spends her Thursday nights and Saturdays working for the Por los Niños campaign. Why?

## Right of community control

"I believe in community control," she explains. "I believe that people who live in the community have a right to decide on the kind of education their children need."

Ramos is especially concerned about the problems Spanish-speaking children are confronted with in the schools. "Those of us who grew up in this country Hispanic had a hard time doing it. I was born in East Harlem and Spanish is my dominant language."

Because of that, she says, "I spent five years in 'speech therapy' classes. And I spent a year in a lipreading class because they felt that since I didn't learn English fast enough, then I must obviously have a hearing problem. I don't of course."

Worst of all, she adds, "I was placed in a class for mentally retarded children, which happens constantly, over

## Fuentes demands job back

By George Basley

NEW YORK, April 7—Luis Fuentes, suspended school superintendent in New York City's District One, reported for work today accompanied by about twenty parents and supporters from the predominantly Puerto Rican community. Fuentes confronted the acting superintendent, Leonard Lurie, whose appointment to the job was ruled illegal last week by New York City School Chancellor Irving Anker.

As word of Fuentes's action spread through the community, the number of supporters who came to join him at the superintendent's offices grew to more than one hundred.

Although Fuentes is formally barred by court order from entering school property in the district, police called in by Lurie refused to take

any action to remove Fuentes and his supporters.

Fuentes was illegally suspended from his job last August 8 by a five-member majority of the local school board. Since then there have been no hearings on the charges against him, and District One has been without a legal superintendent. The illegal appointment of Lurie was made without approval by a majority of the board and without the required public meeting.

Shortly before the Easter recess, however, one of the five board members who had brought charges against Fuentes changed her mind, withdrew her vote against Fuentes, and now supports his return to the superintendent's position. This action turned the anti-Fuentes forces on the board into a minority.



Luis Fuentes joined by supporters at his office

Militant/George Basley

# Support broadens for SWP suit against gov't

By Nelson Blackstock

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has announced that it recently received the endorsement of the National Alliance against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) for the suit the PRDF is sponsoring on behalf of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

That suit, which demands a halt to illegal surveillance and harassment by agencies such as the FBI and CIA, was responsible for the recent court-ordered release of secret FBI files on the Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") conspiracy to disrupt the Black civil rights movement and to sabotage

the election campaigns of socialist candidates.

Angela Davis, a Central Committee member of the Communist party, is a cochairperson of the NAARPR, which defines its purpose as the defense of all victims of political repression.

At a March 16 meeting in New York City the NAARPR executive board adopted a resolution stating in part: "The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression supports the legal action now being pursued by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance."

"This new national endorsement from the NAARPR is quite significant," said Syd Stapleton, national

secretary of the PRDF. "We think it opens the door to solicit the active support of NAARPR affiliates on the local level. A mailing has gone out to PRDF activists across the country alerting them to the new opportunities made available by the NAARPR's endorsement."

Another recent addition to the PRDF's broad list of sponsors is U.S. Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Support for the PRDF has also come from labor leaders in Cleveland, who mailed a letter to unionists in their area urging them to endorse the PRDF

suit.

"The labor movement has always been an early victim of any government restriction of democratic rights and has historically championed the rights of free speech and freedom of association," said the letter, which was signed by John Oster, president of the Lake County AFL-CIO and international business representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (Local 427); Jack Weir, president of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO; and Jean Tussey, president of the Cleveland Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and a member of the CLUW National Coordinating Committee.

# The Cointelpro Papers (Part 4)

## Malcolm X & the FBI Cointelpro operations

By Baxter Smith

After several months of disciplinary silence imposed for a brash statement Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad said Malcolm X had made, the lanky, sandy-headed Muslim minister broke discipline with remarks the whole world heard.

"Nineteen sixty-four threatens to be a very explosive year," he told a jam-packed news conference March 12, 1964, in publicly announcing his break from the Nation of Islam.

He said he was prepared to cooperate in local civil rights actions in the South and elsewhere, pointing out that every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of Black people.

"We should be peaceful, law-abiding," he said, "but the time has come for the American Negro to fight back in self-defense whenever and wherever he is being unjustly and unlawfully attacked."

Then he hurled a challenge to the government:

"If the government thinks I am wrong for saying this, then let the government start doing its job."

The United States rulers, of course, did think Malcolm was wrong, and they told their FBI to start doing their job—a job they may have tried to end on February 21, 1965, when three men gunned down Malcolm. But their work did not stop with Malcolm's death.

### Cointelpro

This is revealed in a batch of previously secret FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") memos that were recently bared in response to a Socialist Workers party suit to stop government surveillance and harassment.

Cointelpro was aimed at destroying socialist and Black organizations. In a 1967 letter publicized last year, J. Edgar Hoover gave his reasons for initiating a special Cointelpro operation against Black organizations.

"The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters."

The newly released memos present the fuzzy outlines of the FBI's earlier attempt to blackjack relations between the SWP and the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) after Malcolm's death.

Malcolm created both organizations after his break with the Nation of Islam. The Mosque was for Muslim activists, but the OAAU did not require religious adherence for membership.

In a May 25, 1965, letter to the New York bureau, Hoover wrote:

"It would appear that the apparent attempt by the SWP to exploit the followers of the late Malcolm X for its own benefit offers some potential for the institution of disruptive tactics."

On June 15, 1965, the New York office responded: "SWP influence on the followers of MALCOLM X would be disrupted by emphasizing the atheism of the SWP as opposed to the basic religious orientation of the MMI." Washington approved.

In August 1965 the New York bureau wrote to Hoover boasting that the operation had soured relations between the socialists and Malcolm's followers.

"It is believed probable that the disintegrating relations between the SWP and [the OAAU] can be attributed to the disruptive tactic authorized . . . and will result in a continued loss of influence by the SWP among this group of Negroes."

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Harlem activist Charles Kenyatta, who was prominent among Malcolm's followers, called the Cointelpro tactics "criminal," but said he was not surprised at the new revelations.

"When you have one man who was as great as Malcolm was, then you can expect these FBI and CIA tactics against him and his followers."

He said if there is anything to learn it is not to "let these petty tactics and differences divide us."

### Cointelpro not new

Although a new Cointelpro conspiracy against Black groups was launched in 1967, these most recent documents—and others—reveal that FBI harassment of the Black movement predates 1967.

Reflecting the U.S. rulers' fear and hatred of the Black struggle, especially militant or uncompromising organizations, the FBI and local police had singled out the Muslims for harassment and physical attacks in the early 1960s.

The *Militant* obtained a secret Los Angeles Police Department report on the Muslims and printed it in 1962.

"The men of this group are extremely dangerous," the report said, "further, they are a type of fanatic, and are willing to die for their cause, content if

they can take a caucasian, preferably a police officer (and this includes Negro police officers too), with them when they are killed."

The *Militant* ran an editorial responding to the cops' racist views. "For socialists and other champions of civil rights, the question of agreement or disagreement with the Black Muslims' demands for racial separation should in no way becloud the main issue—defense of the rights of the Black Muslims against police and political persecution."

Today, virtually every voice on the left—and even many ruling-class voices—are forced to pay tribute to Malcolm. But before his death they wouldn't touch him with a ten-foot pole.

With the exception of the SWP, radical organizations had fallen victim to the false propaganda that said Malcolm thrived on white hatred and was a general, all-around troublemaker and division-monger among Black people.

This was most clearly expressed by the Communist party. In an article in the CP's August 1963 *Political Affairs*, Stalinist leader Benjamin Davis said that the civil rights demonstrations in "Birmingham dynamited the irrational and irresponsible drivel of Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, whose antiwhite racism, anti-Semitism and backwardness, proved utterly bankrupt. . . ."

"The pursuit of either the Muslim black-versus-white policy or the Willi-

stand will add new power to the drive for Freedom Now."

Malcolm soon accepted an invitation to speak at a Militant Forum.

Malcolm spoke kindly of the *Militant*. At his first Militant Forum—he spoke at three—he said: "I think as I said earlier, the paper is one of the best I've read. We always encourage those in Harlem to buy it when we see it up there, or wherever else we may see it. It's a very good paper, and I hope they continue to have success—make progress."

Even when he was still in the Nation of Islam Malcolm urged Blacks to buy the *Militant* because of its forthright opposition to police attacks on the Muslims.

*Militant* staff writer Harry Ring interviewed Malcolm for WBAI-FM in January 1965, and in that same month the *Young Socialist*, the publication of the Young Socialist Alliance, interviewed him. Before the interview was published, Malcolm remarked, "This is the kind of editing it's a pleasure to read," when he saw the edited version.

Malcolm did not endorse DeBerry's candidacy, but he said he would "open some doors" in Harlem for his campaign. Before he left on his second trip to Africa in July 1964, Malcolm instructed his top leaders to cooperate with the socialist campaign in this fashion.

In January 1965, the YSA broached with Malcolm the idea of going on a YSA-sponsored tour of college campuses. Malcolm liked the idea but said he could not go until he returned from



Malcolm X addressing his first Militant Forum at New York's Palm Gardens, April 8, 1964.

ams' advocacy of armed insurrection cannot but be divisive of Negro unity," Davis wrote.

He was counterposing Malcolm's and Robert F. Williams's call for Black self-defense in the face of armed racist attacks in the South to reliance on the promise of civil rights bills and hand-outs from white liberals.

"Opposition to the hopelessness and abject defeatism of a Malcolm X is not a matter of competing for transient applause—it is a question of principle," according to Davis.

### Socialist responsibility

In contrast to the CP, the SWP saw it as its responsibility to support the political actions that Malcolm and the Muslims took against their oppression.

When Malcolm announced his break with the Nation of Islam, the SWP looked forward to working with him in whatever fraternal manner it could.

Clifton DeBerry, the SWP's 1964 presidential nominee, commented in a news statement on what Malcolm had to say.

"I heartily agree with Malcolm X that every militant civil rights struggle helps the Negroes understand the need for Black political power," DeBerry said. "I will do all I can in this campaign to rally support for these views. I am confident Malcolm X's

another scheduled trip abroad.

Malcolm opposed the Vietnam War and expressed interest in the SWP's participation in the coming April 17, 1965, antiwar march in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society.

All during his last year, Malcolm's views became more and more militant and anticapitalist.

The Harlem ghetto had exploded in revolt against grinding oppression in 1964, and militant nationalist beliefs—which Malcolm was best at popularizing—and Black awareness were catching on fast.

Malcolm's call for Black power was getting through to thousands of Blacks who were eager to listen.

His message also got through to a few people—including the FBI—who jerked in fear whenever they heard it.

It was a bright, spring-like Sunday when the sandy-headed Muslim minister unfolded his lanky frame behind a lectern at the Audubon Ballroom to spread his message—for the last time. From nowhere three men—who to this day have never publicly said who put them up to it—made their way to within what the coroner said was point-blank range. One pulled the triggers of the sawed-off, J.C. Higgins double-barreled shotgun he carried.

The gun, it was said, made an awesome sound.

## Malcolm X books

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY by Malcolm X. Edited by George Breitman. 192 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95.

THE LAST YEAR OF MALCOLM X by George Breitman. 169 pp., \$5.95, paper \$1.95.

MALCOLM X ON AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY. 74 pp., \$1.25.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MALCOLM X by George Breitman and Herman Porter. 60 cents.

MALCOLM X: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS by George Breitman. 50 cents.

MYTHS ABOUT MALCOLM X: TWO VIEWS by Reverend Albert Cleage and George Breitman. 50 cents.

TWO SPEECHES BY MALCOLM X. 50 cents.

Order from:

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# The Cointelpro Papers

Documents 1-4: Note reference to "Muslim Mosque, Inc., Internal Security—MMI" in document 1. FBI had targeted this group, founded by Malcolm X. Documents relating to FBI activity against Muslim Mosque, Inc., before Malcolm's assassination have not been released. Shortly after Malcolm's death, reports under this heading indicated "that a rather close relationship has developed between the SWP and the followers of the late Malcolm X. . . ." FBI headquarters in Washington instructed New York office to examine "potential for the institution of disruptive tactics." New York FBI proposed "emphasizing the atheism of the SWP as opposed to the basic religious orientation of the MMI." Washington approved. In document 4, New York FBI agents claim credit for what they characterized as "disintegrating relations between the SWP and the followers of JAMES WARDEN [Shabazz]."

SAC, New York 5/25/65

Director, FBI

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
INTERNAL SECURITY - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

Reference is made to New York letter dated 5/13/65 captioned, "Muslim Mosque, Inc., Internal Security - MMI."

Referenced letter points out that the interest of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Muslim Mosque, Inc., and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc., is obviously self-serving. It notes that the SWP hopes to exploit the death of Malcolm X and the feelings of his followers in an effort to win these "militant Negroes" to the Trotskyite cause.

It would appear that the apparent attempt by the SWP to exploit the followers of the late Malcolm X for its own benefit offers some potential for the institution of disruptive tactics. You are requested to thoroughly analyze this situation and submit comments and recommendations to the Bureau regarding possible disruptive tactics that could be utilized against the SWP in this connection.

NOTE:  
Referenced letter points out that a rather close relationship has developed between the SWP and the followers of the late Malcolm X, and the SWP hopes to recruit new followers by this means. This situation appears to offer some potential for the utilization of disruptive tactics against the SWP. New York is being instructed to analyze this situation and to submit comments and recommendations concerning possible disruptive tactics that could be used against the SWP in this connection.

SAC, NEW YORK

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS - SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet to NY, 5/25/65.

Since the death of MALCOLM X both the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI) and the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Inc. (OAAU) have been declining in strength and influence.

the SWP leadership has noted with dismay a strong tendency of the above organizations toward religious overtones. They see in this a loss of militancy and revolutionary zeal.

The SWP is, of course, a Marxist and atheistic organization. It is believed that SWP influence on the followers of MALCOLM X would be disrupted by emphasizing the atheism of the SWP as opposed to the basic religious orientation of the MMI.

Bureau approval is requested to instruct a selected few informants to emphasize in conversations regarding the SWP that the Party is anti-religious. It is believed that if this basic issue becomes commonly

known as a point of difference, it would serve to drive a wedge between the followers of MALCOLM X and the SWP, thus foiling efforts of the Party to recruit in this Negro field.

- 2 -

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY  
IS-SWP  
DISRUPTION PROGRAM

ReBulet, 6/28/65.

relations between the SWP and the former followers of MALCOLM X had been steadily deteriorating. The SWP felt that these people, now under the leadership of JAMES WARDEN (SHABAZZ), had lost all their former loyalty and no longer appeared to view the SWP with favor.

Whereas formerly MALCOLM X and JAMES SHABAZZ had been frequent speakers at SWP forums, the Party was now no longer able to attract this type of Negro leader. SHABAZZ is now regarded by the SWP as a "tyrant" and his followers no longer incline toward a militant organization such as the SWP.

It is believed probable that the disintegrating relations between the SWP and the followers of JAMES WARDEN can be attributed to the disruptive tactic authorized in relet and will result in a continued influence by the SWP among this group of Negroes.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Documents 5-6: In 1967, FBI initiated a special Cointelpro plot against Black groups. These memos outline FBI goals. Key was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah.'" Blanked out name of Black leader who "might have been such a 'messiah'" obviously refers to Malcolm X, whose death may have been related to FBI plot.

Airtel to SAC, Albany  
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truth that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. all aspire to this position. is less of a threat because of his age. be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community,

BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and racial statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Offices handling these cases and those of should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

## A chapter of labor history

# Organizing the unemployed in 1930s

For the next four weeks the Militant will publish excerpts from three chapters of *Teamster Politics*, a forthcoming new book by Farrell Dobbs. These chapters, which tell of the struggles of jobless workers during the Great Depression, take on a special relevance today as unemployment again spirals toward depression levels.

Farrell Dobbs was a central organizer of the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and the north-central states during the turbulent strikes and organizing drives of the 1930s. He is also a longtime national leader of the Socialist Workers party.

In sharp contrast to the conservative bureaucrats who rule the Teamsters union today, the Minneapolis Teamsters in those days followed a militant, class-struggle policy that included taking the lead in organizing the unemployed.

Under the leadership of Dobbs and other revolutionary socialists, the Minneapolis truckers emerged victorious from a bitterly fought strike in 1934, which, along with the Toledo Auto-Lite and San Francisco longshore strikes, signaled the beginning of the labor upsurge of the 1930s. They went on to make Minneapolis a union town and then to extend union power throughout the region.

Their eleven-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers, of which Dobbs was the central strategist, marked a turning point in transforming the Teamsters union into a massive, powerful union built on an industrial rather than craft basis. The story of those battles is told by Dobbs in his earlier books, *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*.

## By Farrell Dobbs

(First of a series)

While preparing this segment of Teamster history I asked Max Goldman,<sup>1</sup> an organizer of the unemployed in the 1930s, for his recollections about conditions and events during that period. One of my questions concerned the prevailing mood among workers who had lost their jobs because of economic depression.

"Let me illustrate," he responded, "what I consider the general reaction of the unemployed to the indignities of being on relief. I'm not speaking here of anger at the authorities, or of militant struggles waged by the jobless. It's the indignity of having to fill out forms and of being interrogated by relief interviewers: such as, how much money do you have, when were you last employed, why do you need relief, etc., etc.?"

"On the workers education program, a project developed after the Works Progress Administration was set up by Roosevelt, we used to write and enact plays dealing with the plight of the unemployed. I wrote one which didn't have much of a plot. The opening scene told how Mr. Smith, employed on a good job for years and years, comes home and informs his family he has been laid off and there is no possibility of his being rehired or finding a new job. The next scene has the family gathered in their living room. A woman in a fur coat, note pad and pen in hand, is seated before them and conducting an interview along the lines of the customary abusive treatment received by applicants for public relief. This scene had a devastating effect on every audience before which we played. Those present sobbed, lived again through their own bitter experiences, and hissed and booed our actress relief investigator."

During the first period of the depression, jobless workers had to depend entirely on Scrooge-like doling out of public relief by local agencies, as described by Max. Then, with the advent of

1. In another section of *Teamster Politics*, not reprinted here, Max Goldman tells how his experiences in politics and the labor movement led him in 1930 to join the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers party. Goldman has been a longtime activist and leader in the SWP.

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Minneapolis strikers defeat cop assault. Jobless workers stood shoulder-to-shoulder with Teamsters during 1934 strikes; afterwards, union established Federal Workers Section to organize the unemployed.

Roosevelt's New Deal in 1933, the federal government instituted a series of relief programs based on "made work." After one program had existed for a time, it was deliberately scrapped and replaced by another. Each such change threw into confusion whatever unemployed organizations had come into existence. The jobless lost at least part of the gains they had made through struggle, and in general they found it necessary to reorganize themselves and begin all over again in their fight with the government.

The third and most extensive of these programs was the Works Progress Administration. Its essential character was outlined by Goldman as follows:

"After the WPA was established the life-style and reaction of the great mass of unemployed differed from the previous period in two main respects. There were feelings of satisfaction at the outset over what they expected would be useful labor; also, gratification at not having to face relief investigators with requests for necessities like clothing, fuel, and other 'extras' beyond food and rent.

"The workers soon found, however, that there was not much satisfaction in working on WPA projects. In the cities they were usually paid \$60.50 a month, plus distribution of surplus food products. The wage was less in rural areas, around \$40.00 a month in northern states and even lower in the South. Whatever the rate, it was hardly enough to keep body and soul together. Besides, there was little dignity in the assigned work. Here and there something useful was accomplished, like the belt-line road around Minneapolis, or the murals painted by needy artists on post office walls and public buildings; but for the greater part it was unproductive, made-up, busywork."

### 'Leaning on a shovel'

"Considering the billions spent that could have been used to creative ends, it was like dumping products to maintain high prices and fat profits. The labor power of millions was wasted, so as not to upset the balance of the capitalist system. No wonder the symbol of WPA was a worker leaning



Farrell Dobbs

Bill Schleicher

on a shovel, and so also was the national song of the unemployed called 'Leaning on a Shovel.'

"How could anyone have any satisfaction in labor that often consisted of one group of workers digging a hole and of another group filling it up?"

Shortly before the WPA came into being, a new formation appeared within the Minneapolis labor movement, one that was to have a significant effect on later mass struggles against Roosevelt's stingy relief policies. In the spring of 1935, General Drivers Local 574 expanded its structure to include an auxiliary unit known as the Federal Workers Section. This unit was especially designed as a vehicle for organization of the unemployed under the local's direct sponsorship. Its creation marked a pioneer step in trade-union activity, and for that reason the way had been carefully prepared during the course of preceding events.

When Local 574 launched its 1934 campaign for bargaining rights in the Minneapolis trucking industry, there was great potential for support from the city's unemployed. The jobless were in a deeply rebellious mood. Generally speaking, they looked upon any struggle against the status quo as their struggle. Some among them were, of course, susceptible to being tricked into serving the bosses as strikebreakers; but that danger could be minimized if organized labor sought to promote united action by the employed and unemployed in defense of their collective interests.

Being conscious of those factors, Trotskyists in the General Drivers' leadership initiated policy measures designed to forge the necessary working-class unity. In effect they were saying to the unemployed: "Help us now to win our battle against the trucking employers, and we will then back your cause with the full power of our union."

Thousands of jobless workers responded to the appeal during the hard-fought trucking strikes that followed. Voluntarily accepting discipline in combat, they stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the strikers in defending picket lines against the cops. Many were arrested before the battle was finally won; scores suffered injury from police clubs and guns; and one of them, John Belor, gave his life for the cause.

A close affinity grew up between the truck drivers and the unemployed. The average Local 574 member thought it only fitting and proper to form the Federal Workers Section, so as to help those who had so loyally backed the union in its time of need.

Since the FWS had only auxiliary status, members of the unit were not accorded voice or vote in regular meetings of the union. There were practical reasons for that restriction. Efforts had been made to get the AFL central body in the city to sponsor a broadly based formation of unemployed, backed officially by the entire union movement. Nothing came of the attempt, however, so Local 574 undertook the full task on its own. All jobless workers were invited into the FWS, whether or not they had previously belonged to one or another trade union. A heterogeneous body was bound to



# : from new book by Farrell Dobbs

result, which could grow to considerable size. Its incorporation into the local, with full voting rights, would have distorted the basic character of the truck drivers' organization. Problems would have resulted that could only weaken the trade-union base upon which the unemployed movement was to be built, thereby putting the whole project in jeopardy.

Despite the restriction on voting rights thus made necessary, the jobless workers gained a lot from the overall arrangement. Affiliation with a strong trade union gave their movement unprecedented inner stability, a new measure of dynamism, and an enhanced growth rate. In addition, a member of Local 574's executive board, usually Grant Dunne, helped the FWS in dealing with city relief agencies and WPA officials. Such action signified that workers on relief were backed by the full power of the entire local in their clashes with the authorities.

## How FWS was organized

Although the Federal Workers Section functioned under the supervision of the union's executive board, it had full democratic rights in forming an internal structure and in shaping its own policies. The section had its own executive committee and, due to the peculiar needs of the unemployed movement, the committee was viewed as an open-end body to which personnel could be added as circumstances required. There was a steward formation, which consisted mainly of representatives elected on WPA projects. A grievance board was also established and, like all official bodies, it was accountable to the monthly membership meetings of the section.

After a time a special women's division was formed, primarily among workers on a large WPA sewing project. In this connection it should be noted that most of the FWS members were on WPA, mainly workers on labor projects. The section had only scattered influence among unemployed professionals.

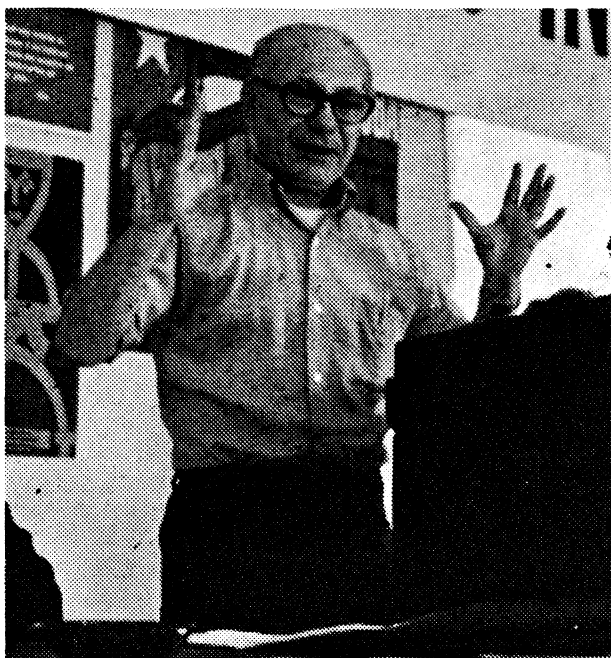
An effective leadership was soon consolidated within the section. It consisted of a staff whose members got no pay from the organization; all shifted for themselves economically, living generally on the same plane as the unemployed.

Responsibility for political leadership within the section fell primarily upon Max Goldman, who also spoke for it publicly on major occasions.

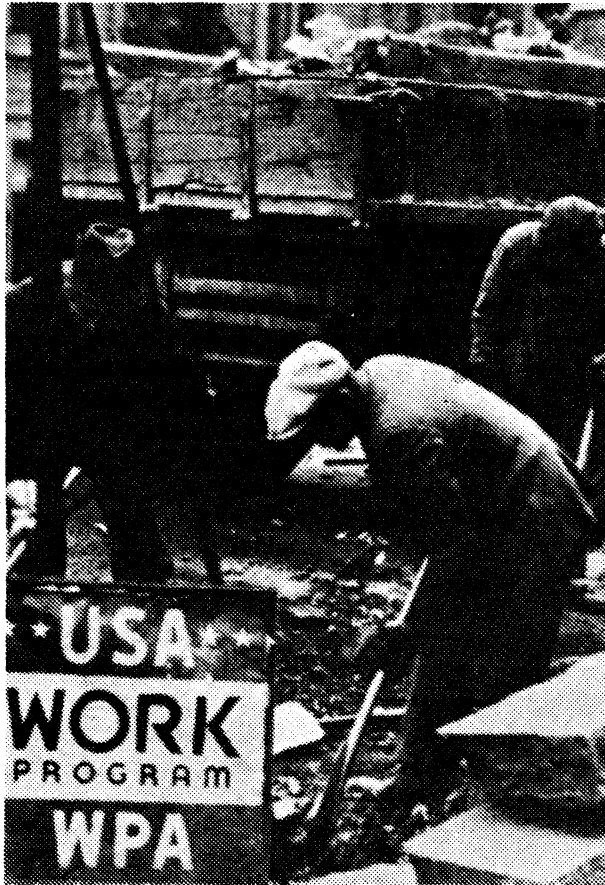
Right after the Federal Workers Section was formed, it began a fight for improvements in the local welfare setup. There were two immediate aims: correction of abusive practices followed by the city authorities; and an increase in the budgets allocated to families on relief.

A series of clashes with relief investigators and their superiors followed, which put an end to the worst abuses they had been heaping upon jobless workers. That accomplishment, in turn, helped to stimulate mass action in the battle for higher family budgets. When the city council held a hearing on the question, the unemployed turned out in force. Not only did they pack the council chamber; further demonstrations followed in which the determined workers held their ground against the cops.

The militant struggle forced the authorities to



Max Goldman at Young Socialist Alliance forum in 1970.



'How could anyone have any satisfaction in labor that often consisted of one group of workers digging a hole and another group filling it up?'

expand the food budgets for those on relief. Increased allowances were also granted for rent, clothing, utilities, coal, and medicine. Minneapolis had, in fact, emerged from the confrontation with one of the highest relief budgets of any city in the country.

Still another showdown took place when the WPA was established. Wherever possible, the unemployed were quickly removed from the city's relief rolls and put to work on federal projects. But the WPA paid only \$60.50 a month, which was below the budgetary level the city had been compelled to set for relief clients. Hence the transfers meant an automatic cut in income for the workers involved.

As a corrective, the FWS demanded that the city provide supplementary aid for WPA workers, so their income would remain equal to what they would have received if still on direct relief. Although the authorities resisted the demand, mass pressure forced them to grant it. In doing so, however, they insisted that the concession was temporary and would apply only during the winter months.

Electrified by the victories already won, the jobless workers began to join the FWS by the hundreds. So enthusiastic was their response, in fact, that the new, union-sponsored organization was able to move rapidly toward geographic expansion.

The FWS—armed with a class-struggle program—had already fought and won several battles against the relief authorities. In doing so it had earned the active support of thousands of needy workers in Minneapolis and Hennepin County as well as the respect and confidence of many depression victims throughout the state.

## Solidarity with unions

Besides that, Local 574's unemployed unit had provided significant forces to beef up the picket lines of several trade unions, and help had also been extended in other forms to prevent the bosses from starving out striking workers. In a recent taxi walkout, for example, the FWS had managed to obtain several hundred relief orders from the city authorities, which were then distributed to the strikers at regular intervals for the duration of the conflict. Through such acts of solidarity, it was winning increased backing from employed workers, along with support from the jobless.

Then, in the summer of 1936, it received still further impetus when Local 574 was reinstated into the International Brotherhood of Teamsters as Local 544. After that the FWS found new allies among the various local unions in the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, and fruitful relations were developed with two citywide AFL bodies: the Building Trades Council and the Central Labor Union.

This increased support quickly proved most helpful. In August of the same year, the capitalists engineered a new form of attack on the unemployed. They had interrelated objectives in mind: to pare the outlay of tax money for public relief by driving as many workers as possible off the relief rolls; and at the same time to force the victims into a desperate search for jobs, which they would have to accept at scab pay, thereby helping to reduce general wage levels. A campaign directed toward those ends was launched through a capitalist front called the Taxpayers Association, which raised a hue and cry about alleged "chiselers."

Buckling under the pressure, the city authorities decreed that a pauper's oath had to be signed as a prerequisite to receiving public relief. Those refusing to sign were denied further access to the dole, and criminal prosecution was threatened against anyone making a false statement in a relief application. The consequences were terrible for the jobless. Hundreds, who felt compelled to sign the oath so their children could eat, began to live in fear that they might be jailed on some technicality.

A fight against the vicious decree was promptly opened by the Federal Workers Section, acting with strong AFL support. Demonstrations were held and relief stations picketed. So heavy was the mass counterpressure mobilized by labor that the welfare board soon backed off from the new regulation.

## Mass action campaign

"Federal Workers Section of Local 544 Tuesday morning achieved one of the most significant victories in the history of the organization," the *Northwest Organizer*<sup>2</sup> on Thursday, April 8, 1937, reported. "After a campaign covering six weeks time the Board of Public Welfare was finally forced to grant the demand of the Federal Workers Section that supplemental aid, which had been granted as a temporary concession during the winter months, be made permanent and continued."

At issue was the question of supplementary city relief for workers drawing WPA wages. On the day of the breakthrough, Ed Palmquist, Max Goldman, and Roy Orgon represented the FWS in the culminating argument with the Minneapolis welfare board. Here is how Goldman remembered the mass actions leading to the victory that had just been won:

"We stormed every session of the welfare board, picketed city hall, organized mass meetings, and mobilized big demonstrations. We held all-night vigils at the homes of Farmer-Labor Party representatives on the board, and we got help from I. G. Scott, a Farmer-Laborite county commissioner, who made a public statement in support of our demand."

"At one point the FWS adopted a resolution declaring that—unless the supplement was granted—the workers would quit WPA and go on the public relief rolls, thus increasing financial pressure on the city. We got backing for this policy from the AFL Central Labor Union."

"In the end we won a year-round supplement for WPA workers, set up on a graduating scale. It started with \$9 a month for a family of three and increased for each additional dependent. The supplement began only with the third member of a family. Couples without children got none. But Minnesota families tended to run large, so a great majority on WPA were helped by the provision."

By June 24, 1937, as reported in the *Northwest Organizer* of that date, the Federal Workers Section had around 8,000 members on its rolls.

(Next week: National WPA strike)

2. The *Northwest Organizer* was the official organ of the Teamsters Joint Council in Minneapolis.

## Teamster history

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

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

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

By Linda Jenness

The rise of the civil rights and women's liberation movements in the 1960s spurred many battles against discrimination in hiring and promotions. Women and Blacks and other oppressed nationalities scored some victories in breaking into higher-paying positions long denied them because of racist and sexist practices.

Much of the hiring and job upgrading for women and minorities was the result of affirmative-action plans, often won through lawsuits. In essence these

CIO, have made it clear that they couldn't care less about the special plight of women and Black workers. Meany and other top union officials simply hide behind the seniority system.

### 'The American Way'?

When asked recently by a reporter if he didn't think some provision should be made for those who were only hired recently, Meany responded, "I stand by the contracts, and I'm sure that's part of our American setup, to stand by your contracts." In other words, to hell with women and Blacks.

ers in opposition to the aspirations of women and Blacks.

That is precisely how the bosses are using the seniority system today.

The labor movement must reject this divisive technique. Labor's answer should be: "We will use the seniority system the way *we* want it used. We are not hypocrites. Unless the gains made by the most oppressed sections of the working class through preferential hiring are now defended, they are meaningless. Unless those advances are protected, Blacks and women will have taken one step forward and two steps backward by the time the bosses

layoffs cannot be used to reduce the percentage of women or Blacks in a particular workplace. In other words, this means preserving a minimum quota of jobs for Blacks and women. It is based on the same consideration as preferential seniority: that discrimination in hiring should not be intensified by having women and Blacks be the first fired.

Another valuable demand is for plant-wide seniority rather than seniority by department or job category. This measure can reduce somewhat the vulnerability of women and Blacks to layoffs, since they often have lengthy plant-wide seniority but have only recently moved into better-paying job categories.

### Only partial solution

By themselves, these steps would be inadequate. They are useful only as a partial solution to discrimination within the broader context of a massive, united labor fight against *all* the layoffs.

The goal of jobs for all can only be won through the organized power of the union movement. The key demands are for an emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs at union wages, and for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay.

The trap, however, lies in counterposing the fight to stop the layoffs with the fight to end discrimination. They are not counterposed, but go hand in hand.

Winning jobs for all is a big task. It will require the united strength of all sections of the working class, and the unions should strive to overcome the divisions that exist. They need to win the support and allegiance of young people, the unemployed, women, and Blacks and other minorities. That can never be done by upholding racist and sexist privileges, but only by being the most stalwart fighters against discrimination.

To say we must demand jobs for all *instead of* defending the gains made by women and Blacks is ducking the issue—at best. Special consideration for women and Blacks, this argument goes, means *accepting* some layoffs. This hypocritical stance ignores one simple fact: so long as the labor movement has not mustered the power to win jobs for all, there *will* be layoffs. Insisting that strict seniority is a sacred principle means accepting some layoffs too—layoffs based on racist and sexist discrimination.

Preferential hiring was and is necessary to begin to compensate for the effects of discrimination and move toward real equality. By the same token, within the overall fight against the layoffs, special steps and special consideration must be given to women and minorities so they are not forced to suffer disproportionately.

Those who were not talking out of both sides of their mouth when supporting preferential hiring will now follow through and demand that the job gains of women and Blacks not be rolled back by discriminatory layoffs.

These questions are now under discussion within the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). As a union women's organization dedicated to ending the discrimination faced by women in the union, on the job, and in society as a whole, CLUW can play an especially valuable role.

Through panels, seminars, and literature, CLUW can first of all prepare its own members to fight within the union movement for a clear stance against discriminatory layoffs.

Second, it can begin to educate broad sections of the labor movement about the need to defend the hard-won gains of women and minorities.

Third, by setting an example on this issue, CLUW can take another step toward becoming the kind of organization that women, especially Black women, will look to as an unswerving defender of equality.

## How to protect jobs

# The debate over seniority and affirmative action



Militant/Fran Collet

plans amounted to preferential hiring, or quotas, to begin to correct the gross inequities faced by women and Blacks in the job market over the years. The gains were far from earthshaking, but they were a step in the right direction, a step toward achieving equality.

Today, massive layoffs have completely reversed the process. Instead of *preferential hiring*, there is *discriminatory firing* as hundreds of thousands of women and Blacks lose their jobs at a disproportionate rate.

March 1975 statistics from the Department of Labor report that there are 2,760,000 women twenty years old or older who are unemployed. A year ago the figure was 1,586,000. That's a jump of more than one million women out of work, and there are countless others who want and need jobs but have given up looking because they know it is a hopeless search.

The plight of Blacks and other minorities is just as dismal, with an official unemployment rate of 14.2 percent. Among Black teen-agers, the unemployment rate is 41.6 percent.

A crucial question facing the labor movement today is how to protect jobs—*particularly the jobs of those bearing the brunt of the layoffs*. A wide debate has erupted around this issue in which the faint-hearted, the fakers, and the fair-weather friends are all showing their true colors.

Conservative labor bureaucrats such as George Meany, head of the AFL-

The apologists for this racist position complain that any special consideration for Blacks or women is "divisive." But in reality it is Meany's position that plays right into the hands of the bosses, who are using layoffs based on strict seniority to divide the workers. Let's look at what seniority really means.

The seniority system is a limited gain of the union movement, and it has both positive and negative aspects. Fought for and won in the 1930s, seniority prevents the boss—to some degree—from firing whomever he pleases, thus protecting union militants and others the employers consider "troublemakers." Seniority also protects—to some degree—the older workers, whom employers would often like to replace with younger people that they could have work harder and could pay less.

This limited degree of control the unions have won over hiring and firing through the seniority system is valuable and should not be surrendered.

### Perpetuates discrimination

But there is another side to seniority. The plain fact is that when women and minorities have been frozen out of jobs and promotions for decades by discrimination, strict seniority can be used to *preserve and perpetuate that discrimination*. It can be used to uphold the relative privileges of white, male work-

are through with them."

Several different proposals have been made for protecting at least some job gains without destroying the positive features of the seniority system. None of them is a substitute for a massive labor offensive against *all* the layoffs. None of them is the answer for every situation or can be applied universally.

But they point in the right direction and are the kinds of answers that should be championed by the union movement.

### Preferential seniority

One proposal is that recently hired women and Blacks be given preferential seniority. That is, although only recently hired, they would automatically be given a higher seniority rating as partial compensation for past discrimination and as partial protection against layoffs.

This is only fair. It is hardly the fault of Blacks and women that they are the last hired, so they should not be forced to suffer under the "last hired, first fired" rule.

Special seniority provisions are not new to the union movement. Ever since World War II, for example, some unions have guaranteed men drafted into war their jobs upon return. In addition to their jobs, they were given the seniority they would have earned had they not been drafted.

Another proposal is to insist that



# World Outlook

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

APRIL 18, 1975

## Interview with Israel Shahak

### Chairman of Israel League for Human and Civil Rights exposes Israeli oppression of Arabs

[The following interview with Israel Shahak was given to *Intercontinental Press* in Jerusalem this February. Shahak, the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, came to Israel in 1945 as a refugee from the Bergen Belsen concentration camp. He was a supporter of Zionism until his views were changed by his experiences in the army during and after the June 1967 War. Since then, Shahak has played an increasingly prominent role in defending democratic rights inside Israel. The interview was conducted in English.]

*Question. In the mass media in the United States and in most West European countries Israel is portrayed as a democratic society. What is your opinion?*

*Answer.* My opinion is that this is the greatest deception of the twentieth century; and I am not speaking about hidden matters, I am speaking about completely official matters. Israel is about as apartheid as South Africa in reality. It is simply more hypocritical and more able to shape United States public opinion.

For example, take the official statistical abstract of Israel for 1974, which is issued by the Israeli Bureau of Statistics. If you open it at any table, let's say the table of births, deaths, infant deaths, and so on, you'll see that officially in Israel there are no Israelis. This is the first deception. When the *New York Times* or other United States papers use the word Israeli, they are lying, because inside Israel there are no Israelis. There are Jews, and non-Jews.

When Israeli statistics report how many infants have died in Israel, you will not find any statistics about Israeli infants. You will find Jewish infants and you will find non-Jewish infants. Sometimes you will find a total or a grand total. You will never find Israelis.

And it is not only for infants. If you look, for example, at the statistics on Israeli potatoes, you will see potatoes from Jewish farms, and you will see potatoes from non-Jewish farms. There are no Israeli potatoes in Israel. This is the definition of the Jewish state.

This isn't the only thing. If you go any place where there are so-called twin cities, like Nazareth and New Nazareth, you will see that the old Nazareth is an open city. Anyone can come, and by buying or selling or by agreement can dwell there. But in New Nazareth, the so-called Upper Nazareth, to obtain a flat you have to bring proof that you are a Jew.

A society in which such a thing is required for more than 90 percent of its inhabited areas has no other name than an apartheid society. Exactly the same proof is required in Johannesburg. The only difference is that people know about Johannesburg, but not about Nazareth.

This goes for many other areas too. For example, you have now an official plan in Israel for what is called the "Judaization" of Galilee. This means that the government thinks there are too many Arabs in Galilee, so it has decided officially and openly to confiscate some of their land, convert it into pure Jewish land, and settle only Jews there.

*Q. A few of the key areas where the oppression of Black people in the United States is most readily apparent are jobs, housing, and education. What is the situation of the Arabs within Israel in those areas, in comparison with that of the Jewish citizens?*

*A.* It is much worse than the situation of the Blacks in the United States, because the oppression and discrimination here is legal. To say it's legal means that the system of quotas against the Arabs operates in complete legality, without any legal recourse.

About ten days ago, for example, I read published protests from Arab students from the Bar-Ilan University. It's a religious Jewish university near Tel Aviv. The Arab students complained that the secret police prevented them from forming a committee to represent them. They said that the university has openly declared that any Arab student who does not sign a declaration that he is against the Arab students having a committee of their own will not receive a subsidy for his housing or any other social needs. I think such an open declaration would be impossible in New York.

Another thing is that every Jewish student who can bring proof that he is from a family having more than four children immediately gets an almost total deduction of his fees. But an Arab student, even if he can bring proof that he is from a family of twelve or fourteen, will never get any sort of deduction. Family deductions are applied only to Jews. And this is done openly, not secretly.

And a third thing: The university openly uses a negative quota against Arabs in many faculties. In some faculties, for example, geography and geology, Arabs are completely forbidden to enter. In others only a few are allowed. Again openly. And the number of Arabs who can live in the student housing project is zero.



Palestinian prisoners in an Israeli jail. Shahak, former inmate of Nazi concentration camp, has come under vicious attack from Zionists for his defense of rights of Palestinians.

The same thing goes for municipal grants. Every Jewish municipality receives a government grant of about 140 to 150 Israeli pounds per year per inhabitant. The same grant for Arab municipalities is from 7 to 20 pounds per year per inhabitant. The Druzes receive around 20, and the rest of the Arabs receive 7 to 10. Again it is open and legal.

We are on a much lower level than Blacks in the United States because there is no recourse. No one can even do the same sort of job that the NAACP does in the United States. There is no possibility of bringing any case about discrimination, even the most blatant, to any court, because in Israel there is no law forbidding discrimination against non-Jews. On the contrary, all discrimination against non-Jews is completely legal.

*Q. What about in the cities? What evidence can you give about housing discrimination?*

*A.* Cities in Israel are of two kinds. There are the bigger cities, like Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and so on, which are built on private land. There each landlord can discriminate or not as he wants.

But there is another category of cities, those built on land owned by the Jewish National Fund, in which everyone has to discriminate. In Upper

Nazareth, even if there are landlords who would like to rent a flat to an Arab, they are forbidden to do so by law. And if they do it in a hidden way, once it is discovered they are taken to court and heavily fined for breaking their contract.

*Q. What about discrimination in the area of schooling at the preuniversity level?*

*A.* First of all there are two completely separate school systems in Israel, a Hebrew one and an Arabic one. They are separated in statistics, as I said before, but they are also separated in other things.

First of all, the Arab school system is heavily discriminated against in every material area: no buildings, or bad buildings; almost no laboratories; bad teachers; bad teachers-aides.

The most important discrimination is in the area of schooling itself. The Arab students have to learn an enormous amount of Hebrew literature—including Hebrew religious material, the Bible, the Talmud, and so on—as well as Zionist literature, both in Hebrew and in Arabic translations. The Koran is taught less than 10 percent of the time allotted to the Old Testament. All Arabic literature written after the year 1800 is prohibited.

Even from the older literature there

*Continued on next page*

## ... 'It is much worse than the situation of Blacks in the

*Continued from preceding page*

is a very heavy concentration on poems praising the beauties of nature and so on. All poems that can be interpreted as nationalistic, even in a remote way, are prohibited. Most European literature and all Asian literature—the literature of classical China, for example—is also prohibited. They have to learn Hebrew literature instead. And of course they have to pass examinations in it. If they do not pass them they are prohibited from going any further.

**Q. What is the situation in schools in the big cities—where there are both Arab and Jewish communities?**

**A.** Completely separated. There is a school for Arabs, and there is a school for Jews. Jews are completely prohibited from sending their children to Arab schools, but Arabs can sometimes obtain permits to send their children to a Jewish school. Not in their own area, however, but in a different area, especially to a school in a different village, where there will be one Arab in a class of about a hundred Jews. Even this needs very special permission.

**Q. What about discrimination in jobs?**

**A.** Here the discrimination is like that in the United States. There is no legal discrimination, but you will find hardly any Arabs in what are called the nicer jobs. The Israeli Arabs predominate in three kinds of jobs. First, unskilled agricultural work. Second, unskilled or semiskilled construction work. Third, the lower-paying jobs in services, such as washing dishes.

**Q. When the Arab people protest against these conditions, what oppression do they face?**

**A.** Inside Israel the oppression of Arabs takes several aspects. First of all, one has to remember that in the so-called sole democracy in the Middle East we still have the defense regulations of 1945 by which the military authorities can arrest, imprison, exile, or limit the movement of any Israeli. However, these regulations are employ-

ed solely against Arabs. No Israeli Jew, including those who advocate terror, will ever be, let's say, exiled or imprisoned without trial. But many Arabs who advocate cooperation with Jews, or who are leftist, are imprisoned or exiled without trial.

For example, when an Arab friend of mine began to just sympathize with a Trotskyist group he was arrested without trial and given thirty-five days in a punishment cell in complete isolation without books or reading material. I should point out that punishment cells in Israeli prisons are especially horrible. The size can be something like one yard by two and a half yards, which means that the bed or lying space on the floor takes up nearly all the cell. The place where the man has to make use of the toilet is also inside this cell.

Practically every Israeli Arab who become sympathetic to any leftist group faces something similar. For example, take what is happening right now with another of my friends—Naif Salim—a poet in the village of Pekyin. He is a truck driver, and the truck he operates is from the town of Acre. A few months ago he received an order forbidding him to leave his village, so of course he cannot operate his truck. He cannot even go to Acre to bring it back home. He has six children and now has to live on the charity of his neighbors. All this not only without a trial, but without a charge. There are literally thousands of such examples.

**Q. What recent developments do you think are important to note?**

**A.** The most important development is the growing radicalization of the Israeli-Arab youth, especially the students, but also other young people influenced by the students. I mean now people who were born in Israel, who know Hebrew, who are socially integrated into their corresponding Jewish groups. They dress in the same clothes and they speak the same language, and so on, yet they are still persecuted and insulted.

This is the first time that there has been a significant number of Arab students in the universities. Now they



Israeli legal code allows government to expropriate Arab land at will. Above, sit-in at Arab village of Biram protests racist order by government, which forced villagers off their land.

are organizing, as I mentioned in the case of the Bar-Ilan University. When they are persecuted they take their case to the village, or to the little town they come from, and ask their people in the village to defend them.

As you know, in the 1950s the older generation of Israeli Arabs was persecuted even more. For every man that is arrested or limited or imprisoned now, there were then I suppose twenty or fifty. That generation was to a great extent broken. The younger generation, especially the students, is now radicalizing not only itself but the whole Arab community.

**Q. Can you give any current examples of persecution suffered by Arab dissenters?**

**A.** Yes, In Tel Aviv University there is an especially active radical committee of Arab students, and the following means of repression were employed against them.

Three members of the committee while walking on one of the main streets of Tel Aviv were suddenly stopped by the police. They were ordered to strip down to their underpants in the middle of the street, taken to a building that is not a police station, and beaten. I would call it torture, really, because they were beaten around their genitals. They were then turned loose and warned that if they continued to be active in the committee, they could expect similar treatment in the future.

Another case involves Arab students who rented a big house in the so-called Arab ghetto of Tel Aviv University, because they are prohibited from living in the student housing, or are allocated only a small area in it. The police visit this house every ten days or so at 2:00 o'clock in the morning. They order all the students to go down into the courtyard in their underpants or night attire and force them to stand about for an hour in the cold to be identified (it is now the middle of the winter in Israel and it is quite cold). The investigation is of course accompanied by slaps on the face and insults.

In addition, activists among the students are called in for talks with the secret police and threatened. When the "talks" are not successful, their parents or their uncles or their cousins are called in, and they are threatened. So every student activist knows that because he is active in the student movement, an uncle who might, for example, work for a Jew in the neighboring village can be dismissed. Again, there is no legal recourse.

**Q. What about the situation in the occupied territories?**

**A.** It is much worse, because there the people have no rights at all. In

particular, they have no right to organize. At least the Arab students in Tel Aviv still have a committee that is active. All committees, parties, organizations, trade unions, and so on are completely prohibited in the occupied territories. Any political activity, even closing the shops in protest, is prohibited.

The number of people being arrested is really enormous. During demonstrations in the conquered territories, Israeli occupation authorities are quite capable of arresting 10 to 20 percent of the adult male population. This was done at the end of November in the town of Jenin, where 15 percent of the adult population (meaning from fourteen years on up) were arrested and kept in prison for some days.

A second thing is that people in Israel cannot at least be exiled from Israel; they are exiled from town to village, or from one village to another village. But in the conquered territories, everyone knows that the delegates of Israeli democracy can come to a family in the early hours, at 2:00 or 3:00 o'clock in the morning, their favorite time. They can take the father, give him literally half an hour to pack, and then take him to the Jordanian or Lebanese border, exile him from his family, and forbid him ever to return. You see, unification of families applies only to USSR Jews. It doesn't apply to Palestinians. And as a matter of fact, Palestinians have no rights to be reunited with their families here.

A third thing is that the brutality of the police, the military police, and the army units is far greater in the occupied territories than within Israel. In Israel, even if there are beatings, they would be usually short. The people in the occupied territories, to the best of my knowledge, are horribly tortured.

**Q. What has been the impact among the Arab people, both those who are citizens of Israel and those who live in the occupied territories, of the recognition of the PLO at the UN?**

**A.** It had a very great impact in both cases, but a different one. Israeli Arabs know quite well the realities of Israeli society. They know that Israel is still a very strong state that has a very powerful army and very powerful support from the United States government. Therefore, in my opinion, their hopes weren't aroused very much. In the conquered territories, however, there was a big wave of hope among the great majority of the population. They thought that this United Nations business would immediately cause the Israelis to retreat from the territories, which of course didn't happen, and in my opinion won't happen for some time.

A second difference is that in the



Israeli soldiers guard Arab prisoners in 1967 war. Arabs in territories occupied since 1967 have no rights at all.



# U.S.--oppression and discrimination here is legal'

occupied territories most of the people living in the villages are not yet very conscious politically. In many areas, such as in the south of the West Bank, in the Hebron area, the hold of the feudal leaders is very strong.

Nevertheless, in spite of everything, 99 percent of the population in the conquered territories now regard the PLO as its complete representative. Or rather, not the PLO itself, but the majority of the population would say they'd vote for Yasir Arafat. It amounts to the same thing but—and I say it in criticism—with the recognition of the PLO goes a very great amount of personality worship.

*Q. Has this led to an increase in the repression in recent months?*

A. Yes, very much so. There was a horrible wave of repression at the end of November, and it still continues. For example, several hundred people were arrested in the Jerusalem neighborhood alone during the last week, and many people who were not arrested were taken out of their homes in the night, and as you say in America, "roughed up" a little, sometimes half-naked, and returned home. Given what they call a "lesson."

*Q. Have Israeli Arabs been subjected to the same repression?*

A. Oh no, they are treated much better. First of all, they are citizens and cannot be exiled. They can therefore shout back. When the three members of the Arab students committee were beaten in Tel Aviv, they immediately did a great deal to publicize it. They have Jewish allies, too, and not only us. We helped publicize the case, because we still have some freedom.

In the conquered territories the repression is so strong that you really have great difficulty even obtaining the names of those arrested. The very first thing that the family of the arrested person is told is that if they dare to tell the non-Israeli lawyers or human-rights activists like me, their boy will be tortured. And many of the families, especially the mothers, suffer in silence.

*Q. You have come under bitter attack from the Zionist officials and press for your defense of the democratic rights of the Arab people. What are they saying about you, and what are they threatening?*

A. Well, I will begin with the official things. There was a debate about me in the Knesset, in the Israeli Parliament, in which I was officially described by the minister of education as a notorious madman. The minister of justice also made a statement about me in Parliament, saying that I am a traitor, and that a special committee is assembling evidence against me. You see, I am a traitor first, legal evidence comes afterwards!

There were also calls for assassinating me. The *Jerusalem Post*, the English-language Israeli paper, called for putting a bomb in my laboratory. Or alternatively, to imitate the Soviet methods and put me in a madhouse.

Apart from this, there were attacks on me by the so-called Zionist liberals and Zionist doves. This only confirmed my belief that Zionist doves are the worst type of Zionists. They proposed that my passport be confiscated, that I be dismissed from my university post, that perhaps my citizenship should be taken away. All

of those things are possible under Israeli law. But all those laws, like the defense regulations, are usually employed only against Arabs. It would set a precedent if they were employed against a Jew.

So in the first place, it is this Jewish racism that has defended me. For example, a cheat and a hypocrite like Uri Avneri, who began by abusing me and saying that I "poisoned the wells of peace" in the Middle East, and that I make Palestinians more "extremist" than they should be, finished by saying that nonetheless my passport should not be confiscated because if they begin with Shahak, who will be next?

The second reason is that I am well protected from abroad. And not only by friends in leftist organizations, but by the good relations I have with parts of the establishment in various Western countries. After all, I testified before the American House of Representatives, and I must say to the credit of the chairman of the committee I testified before, Donald Fraser (from Minnesota, if I recall), that he wrote a letter in my support. There were also interventions from England and France.

As things stand now, a committee of officials from the Ministry of Justice is still looking for legal evidence of my treason, but they decided not to confiscate my passport or take away citizenship, "so as," and I am quoting the minister of the interior, "not to make a martyr" of me. Well, I am willing not to be a martyr.

I want to add one thing—that the university administration was extremely fair. The rector, the dean in American terms, defended publicly my right to free speech, and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is completely firm in defending my right to speak anywhere on any subject. But the danger from the government still exists, and whether it will decide to sacrifice me to the right wing remains to be seen.

So far I have been speaking about official pronouncements. Mr. Begin's party actually called on the Israeli radio for my execution. I can give you the very date—on December 2, 1974. So the real danger is that the Israeli government might sacrifice me to some movement of national unity. Well, I can only say I will give them a tough fight.

*Q. What is your opinion about the general political situation in the Middle East today, particularly the intentions of the Israeli government?*

A. I am almost certain that the Israeli establishment—I say establishment, not the government—is preparing with open eyes for war. When I say "establishment" I mean that in Israel decisions like this are not taken by the government; they are taken by some more or less informal body like Golda Meir's famous kitchen meetings—gatherings with influential generals, ministers, and personal friends. The decisions are then announced by statements and articles in the press. Therefore when [Premier Yitzhak] Rabin declared in the summer and more or less hinted during the last month that war is unavoidable, that is exactly what he meant. As far as Israel is concerned, war is unavoidable.

Based on what I have heard the spokesmen for the Israeli establishment say to their cadres, at meetings, in homes, and in many other places in which more or less important Israelis

meet, there are two reasons, political and financial, why they say war is inevitable. Israel's financial situation is horrible. Even with all the support from the United States it's becoming even worse. And Israeli official policy makes no effort to alleviate the situation.

According to official Israeli data, the Israeli external debt will reach \$8 billion in 1975, requiring payment of \$1.25 billion a year in interest. Now the support of the United States to Israel, the official support, is only \$2.5 billion yearly, perhaps a little more. This means that half of it will go merely for servicing the debt.

Israel is approaching bankruptcy fairly rapidly, and the only way for it to be saved from this is by waging a successful war. That would restore the flow of capital, not to mention the possible spoils from occupying the oil countries.

The reason for the onrushing bankruptcy is that until October 1973, there was an enormous flow of capital into Israel. Most of it was "black" capital—Mafia money, money from all kinds of

pish," they are becoming "impudent." They mean Arabs inside Israel or the conquered territories. And if the Arabs are becoming impudent, more soldiers are needed to keep them in order. The burden is becoming more or less impossible, so Israeli officials hope that a smashing victory will again restore the situation.

So far, that's what they explain. I will add to this that the major part of Israeli society is now in a psychological bind. They are like children who are reliving a dream—a dream, let's say, of a nice summer, or something like that. They just want to restore the "good times" of before October 1973, and they think that a war can restore it. Therefore, to a great extent, at least for the first week or two, they will find willing cannon fodder.

In my opinion, all this adds up to the fact that Israel will make a war as soon as possible. It will try to move as heavily as possible against the north, against Syria, for very obvious geographic and other reasons.

To show you how openly this is discussed in Israel, I will just quote an



'I am almost certain that the Israeli establishment . . . is preparing with open eyes for war.'

shady businesses in Europe, Iranian illegal money, and so on. This flow has completely ceased since the October war, but could be restored after a victory.

Three other reasons are political—or let's say military and political. First of all, in the present situation, Israel keeps an enormous number of people under arms. The number of people in the standing regular military service was increased. Their pay was increased to such an extent that a private soldier, or a private soldier in the border guards—the unit used to patrol the conquered territories—receives almost the same pay as I do, a professor with twelve years tenure.

In addition, a part of the standing army—that is, the regular soldiers, Israeli young people, from the ages of about twenty-one to thirty-five—are called up for reserve service. Something like an average of sixty days a year would be a low estimate. If they are from "crack" units, they can very easily be called up for 80 days, for 100 days, and even more. There are students of mine who were called up this year after the mobilization in April, and who had already served 80 to 100 days. Now I ask, How long can a society stand this?

And there is a third reason. As they put it, the Arabs are becoming "up-

article published in *Davar*, which is the official paper of the Israeli trade unions, the Histadrut, and also of the Labor party, the ruling party of Israel. The article was written by Dan Bavli, a well-known adviser to the military authorities ruling the conquered territories and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Now Mr. Bavli has no doubt that a war against Syria, at least, has to come, and he also suspects that this will not be the last war. Therefore he coined two phrases: "The next war, and the wars after the next."

He urged that Israel exact the greatest profit from the next war. Now what is this "profit"? Mr. Bavli is very sure that during the next war, as he puts it, Israel has to smash the Syrian army completely. But what would happen if the obstinate Syrians, after their army is smashed, continue fighting a guerrilla war? To prepare for this, Mr. Bavli proposes that Israel begin now to make some political overtures toward the Syrian minorities—Druzes and others—so that that they will continue to fight for Israel after this.

In a country in which a government paper can publish such an article—without a challenge, by the way—you can well understand in what direction the wind is blowing.

## War criminals released

### But Trotskyists are still in Mao's jails

Nearly 300 reactionary opponents of the Chinese Revolution were released from prison in the People's Republic of China March 19. According to Hsin-hua, "The war criminals released by special amnesty this time numbered 293 in all, including 290 war criminals originally belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, two war criminals of the puppet 'Manchukuo' [government] and one war criminal of the puppet 'Inner Mongolian Autonomous Government.'"

Now that the Stalinist regime in China has released these genuine counterrevolutionaries, what about the proletarian revolutionists who, if they are still alive, remain in Mao's jails? What about the Chinese Trotskyists who were imprisoned twenty-two years ago?

Is the Maoist regime going to stand before the international working class and try to claim that it is humane to release the blood-stained lieutenants of Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese imperialism but that the Chinese Trotskyists must continue to rot behind bars?

In December 1952 and January 1953, Mao's police arrested all known Trotskyists, their friends, relatives, and sympathizers—about 200 persons in all. No indictment was ever handed down. No public trial was ever held. Why? Because those arrested had obviously committed no crime.

Unlike the genuine counterrevolutionaries who have now been set free, their only "crime" was to have aired their revolutionary-socialist views publicly—a right guaranteed under both the 1954 constitution and the new one passed in January. In fact, these revolutionists were jailed precisely because they demanded that democratic rights be extended to all who supported the revolution.

The greatest irony is that many of these Trotskyists had—as founders and leading members of the Chinese Communist party—been jailed by China's former imperialist rulers and by the Kuomintang, perhaps even by some of the convicted war criminals who have now been released.

Who are these Chinese Trotskyists Mao judges to be more of a threat to the Chinese workers state than the Kuomintang counterrevolutionaries? They include:

- Chen Chao-lin, a founding member of the Chinese CP and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, a leader of the 1925-27 revolution. Chen, if he is still

alive, would be about seventy-five years old. He would now have spent thirty years in jail—seven under Chiang Kai-shek, twenty-three under Mao.

- Chiang Tseng-tung, a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement and a participant in the Shanghai uprising and general strike of 1925. If still alive, he would now be about sixty-five.

- Ho Chi Sen, a student leader in Peking in the early 1920s who joined the Chinese CP shortly after its formation. He played a leading role, together with Mao, in the 1925-27 expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup at Shanghai in 1927, Ho worked in the underground to help revive what was left of the Chinese CP.

- Ying Kwan, a student in France with Chou En-lai in 1920 and a leading activist in the Chinese CP in the Province of Anhwei during the 1925-27 revolution. He was jailed twice by the Kuomintang police in the 1930s. If still alive, he would be about seventy-five years old.

These are only four of the Trotskyist militants held as political prisoners in Mao's China. The jail sentences and persecution they suffered under the imperialists and their puppets testifies to their loyalty to the revolution.

Peking—"acting on instructions from Chairman Mao," according to Hsinhua—granted amnesty to 219 officers of Chiang Kai-shek's army, 21 Kuomintang party and government officials, 50 Kuomintang police agents, and 3 government officials who served puppet imperialist regimes. At the same time, the Mao regime refuses to even provide information on the fate of the Trotskyist militants it holds as political prisoners. Are they still alive? Have some or all of them been forced to undergo secret trials? What crimes have they been charged with?

If elementary proletarian democracy is to be observed in China, these militants must be released. We ask all organizations that support the Chinese Revolution to take a stand on this issue and to demand observance of the rights guaranteed in the Chinese constitution.

Two hundred ninety-three counterrevolutionaries have been granted amnesty at Mao's orders. In face of this, it is a monstrous violation of socialist democracy to continue to hold revolutionary-socialist militants as political prisoners.

## World news notes

### Protest murder of Dominican journalist

More than 200 persons, the overwhelming majority Dominicans, picketed the Dominican consulate in New York March 26. The demonstrators, shouting, "Stop government complicity with right-wing terror" and "Stop repression in the Dominican Republic," were protesting the murder of Dominican journalist Orlando Martínez.

The demonstration was called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and Derechos Humanos, a New York-based Dominican defense committee. It was supported by a wide range of political and civil-liberties groups, mainly from New York's Latin American community.

Martínez, a widely read columnist of the Dominican daily *El Nacional de ¡Ahora!* and managing editor of the weekly magazine *¡Ahora!*, was gunned down March 17 while driving his car. He had been threatened several times by right-wing terrorist groups recently and had unsuccessfully sought police protection.

In recent columns Martínez had called for thoroughgoing land reform, criticized efforts to apply a guerrilla strategy to the Dominican Republic, and argued against depending on bourgeois demagogues to lead movements for social change. He was well known for his consistent defense of Latin American political prisoners.

*El Nacional de ¡Ahora!* reported that thousands attended Martínez's funeral March 18, including top government functionaries. On the same day and the following one, demonstrations at high schools in three cities protesting the assassination were broken up by police, who used tear gas and fired shots into the air. More than seventy students and teachers were reported injured, and about forty persons were arrested.

In the United States, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo issued a statement of protest March 26. "I join with all those who are demanding that President Balaguer immediately apprehend the real murderers of Orlando Martínez and prosecute them to the full extent of the law," Camejo said.

### Abortion fight in New Zealand

New Zealand is on the growing list of countries where confrontations are taking place over the right of abortion. At the center of the controversy in New Zealand is Dr. Jim Woolnough, who was charged on February 27 with twelve counts of illegal abortion.

"Drop the charges," "Repeal abortion laws," and "Defend Dr. Woolnough" were among the slogans on signs carried by demonstrators in Auckland who greeted Woolnough as he left the courtroom after hearing the charges.

The Women's National Abortion Action Campaign (WONAAC) has called for demonstrations on April 28, the date set for a hearing on the charges against Dr. Woolnough.

According to the March *WONAAC Newsletter*, a poll conducted by a Wellington television station found abortion to be the main single issue of concern to women.

### Playwright leaves Iranian prison

Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi, a well-known Iranian playwright who had been imprisoned and tortured in the shah's jails, has been released, according to a March 26 press release from the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI). "Dr. Sa'edi," the release stated, "was kept in solitary confinement in Evin prison for more than eight months. He underwent torture and developed a heart disease and now is obliged to stay at home."

The release continued, "Since we know from [the] very obvious precedents of Jalal Al-Ahmad (killed mysteriously five years ago) and Samad Behrangi (drowned mysteriously six years ago) that the Iranian government acts brutally in the case of its dissidents, we hereby announce that we hold the Shah's government responsible for whatever has happened and might happen in [the] future to Dr. Sa'edi."

CAIFI called for continued defense of the other political prisoners still in jail. "Now," the release stated, "we feel more than ever, that the dissident writers of Iran should be defended against government harassment and torture. We will follow the cases of Dr. Ali Shariati and Ms. Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi [a jailed sociologist] with great perseverance until they too are released from the jails of the Shah."

More information on the cases of these political prisoners can be obtained from CAIFI, 156 Fifth Avenue, Room 600, New York, New York 10010.

### Rights gain for Somali women

"Since January, it's funny, but no one complains much about women having equality," a women's liberationist in the Somali Republic recently commented, according to a report in the *Los Angeles Times*.

On January 11 President Mohamed Siad Barre announced that "Somali women will now have equal rights with men in political, social, economic, and domestic life."

This ruling runs counter to Muslim religious teachings. When sheikhs, who are the country's experts on the Koran, protested the change, several were quickly arrested, and ten were executed by firing squads.

Reaction to the decision among other Arab League nations is credited with slowing down payment of \$100 million pledged to help Somalia combat the effects of a drought.

Look for it in the April 14

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# Colo. cops take aim at Escuela Tlatelolco

By Miguel Pendás

DENVER—The Chicano movement here has been subjected to persistent repression in the past two years.

On March 17, 1973, more than 200 Denver cops mounted an attack on a building of the Crusade for Justice that left one activist, Luis "Junior" Martínez, dead.

Last May, bombs placed in cars by right-wingers took the lives of six activists in nearby Boulder, Colorado. Some of the victims had been members of the Crusade and the Raza Unida party.

A particular target of the cops has been La Escuela Tlatelolco, a school operated by the Crusade at 1567 Downing Street. Denver police have carried out a steady campaign of harassment against parents, teachers, and students in the hopes of discouraging support for the school.

José Gonzales, principal of Escuela Tlatelolco, pointed out that the school's funding has been affected the most. Foundation grants are getting harder to come by. Individual contributions by parents and supporters have also diminished.

Goddard College, which accredited the college-level program at Tlatelolco, withdrew its sponsorship after the March 17 attack. So Tlatelolco no longer is able to give college credit or degrees. However, an increasing number of colleges now give credit to Chicanos for student teaching at the Escuela.

Some parents have taken their children out of the school in order to avoid the police harassment.

The whole neighborhood around the Crusade is heavily patrolled by police. In the daytime they very zealously give parking tickets to parents dropping off or picking up their children. Many parents have reported being followed by police.

Authorities have installed especially bright "riot" lights in the neighborhood that are supposed to cut down "crime." There is a 10 p.m. curfew for Denver youth, which is selectively enforced. As José Gonzales put it, "It all depends on what part of town you're in and what color you are."

After dances and other social activities sponsored by the Escuela, and after the weekly discussion sessions on Wednesday nights at the Crusade, police cruise around and pick up young Chicanos. If they are Tlatelolco students, they are sure to be frisked, threatened with detention at juvenile hall, interrogated, and ridiculed.

Despite everything, teachers and administrators agree that the Escuela is at a higher academic level than ever



At Escuela Tlatelolco, students not only learn academic subjects better than in public schools—they learn they can change society.

before. There is a good teacher-student ratio, and as a result of the personal attention, students learn more than at public schools. Chicanos feel at home in this bicultural school because there is no racism, and they are more motivated to learn.

Tlatelolco is first of all a movement school. While everything possible is done to help students in their chosen careers, they are also taught that this means little or nothing if they do not at the same time continue to work for the goals of Chicano liberation.

This is what really disturbs the authorities. They can see that Tlatelolco is helping to raise the consciousness of Chicanos as to the nature of the racist society we live in, and is helping to create liberation fighters.

"Education's always been political," says José Gonzales. In the public school system, "it's been right-wing,

conservative, status quo; we teach students that they can change society."

The aim of the police and right-wing attacks has been not only to have people abandon movement activity. They also hope to stigmatize the Escuela as a place run by violence-prone "militants," and thus to isolate the Crusade in preparation for even more brutal attacks in the future.

In their efforts to defame Escuela Tlatelolco the police have received consistent support from the news media, which report all the police allegations and fabrications as if they were fact.

The Crusade has filed a \$20 million suit against the *Rocky Mountain News*, a Denver daily, for the slander campaign they have helped to promote. Pretrial hearings will begin in May. In an important development,

representatives of the Campaign for Human Development have agreed to testify on behalf of the Crusade that they were influenced by the March 17 police attack into withholding funds from the school.

As Crusade leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales said, the Crusade has already proven their case against the defamers. Despite more than 100 arrests of Crusade members and supporters in the period following the March 17 attack, only one person has been convicted. The charges against the others have been so flimsy that it is apparent they are only being made as a form of slander and harassment.

One important frame-up case still remaining is that of Gary Garrison, a Chicano activist and a teacher at Tlatelolco. Garrison has been charged with throwing a bomb that never exploded into a paint store.

Support by the media has only encouraged the cops onto a course that is particularly ominous for the Chicano community. Hundreds of uniformed cops recently held demonstrations demanding to be allowed to use hollow-point ("dum-dum") bullets and shot-guns.

Before elected officials could act on it, the cops started using them anyway. These bullets are so deadly that they are banned for use in war by the Geneva Convention.

"The police will become awfully trigger-happy now that they have this feeling of power," said Corky Gonzales.

"The issue is more than just the bullet," he added. "The issue is giving the police a free rein to ask and get whatever they want for destructive measures against people. They feel they can shoot people at will. Anybody who makes a wrong motion is a dead man in this city."

While the general atmosphere of police repression in the Chicano community has increased and taken its toll, many activists feel just that much more determined to fight back.

The Crusade and Escuela Tlatelolco will not be destroyed so easily because they have roots in the Chicano community. And Escuela Tlatelolco has proven to be a tremendous asset in establishing these ties. José Gonzales points out that community attendance at cultural events such as performances of the Ballet Chicano has increased. The latest graduation ceremony was packed. Bookstore sales and revenue from film rentals have not been hurt.

"That's why the man hasn't been able to crack us," says Gonzales. "There are too many families involved."

## Colegio Cesar Chavez fights closing by gov't

PORTLAND, Ore.—On March 26, the Colegio César Chávez announced it will launch a major national campaign to stop the government's attempts to close the school.

On December 12, 1973, what was formerly Mount Angel College became Colegio César Chávez. As the colegio puts it: "The Colegio came into being because it was needed. The Colegio is a response—a response to an educational system which has systematically excluded Chicanos and other culturally different minorities from the traditional educational institutions of higher learning throughout the country."

During the past fifteen months, the colegio has become a center of educational and cultural activities for the Chicano community of Oregon. The majority of its students, staff, administration, and board of trustees are former farm workers.

When the colegio was established in 1973, it inherited two burdens from the previous administration. First, the school owed a \$1 million loan to the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Second, because of mismanagement by the previous school administration, the college had lost its accreditation.

These two facts have allowed the U.S. government to attempt to foreclose on the colegio. Ever since the colegio was established, HUD has been demanding that the new school pay the old debt. Last fall, the Chicano school and HUD negotiated an agreement that initial payments would be made in installments. The first payment was made in October.

The colegio agreed that once it received funds it had coming from the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), it would make the

next payments. But the money from HEW never came, because Federal Education Director Terrell Bell decided that no funds would go to the colegio until it regained its accreditation.

In March, HUD announced that since the colegio has fallen behind in its payments, it planned to foreclose. HUD ordered the Chicanos to vacate the buildings and the land.

On March 26 the colegio announced their response at a news conference. Administrator Sonny Montez stated: "We are hereby petitioning the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to forgive the amount owed on the indenture and award the colegio freely to the Chicano community of Oregon. We can never really grow and develop with a \$1 million debt constantly hanging over our head. We want the Department of HUD to fulfill

an obligation to the U.S. citizens of Mexican descent by eradicating the debt once and for all."

Since then, the students and colegio staff have been conducting an ongoing vigil on the campus. In addition, a number of support demonstrations have already taken place, and more are planned. At the same time as the news conference, pickets were thrown up at HUD offices in both Portland and Seattle.

A day later, a larger picket line was held at the Portland HUD offices. On Saturday, March 29, more than 200 students and supporters marched eleven miles from Gervais-Woodburn to the colegio to demonstrate their support.

Plans are now under way for a major demonstration to be held on Friday, April 25, at the state capitol in Salem.



## Target: Blacks, peace groups

# Protest CIA-army-police spy plot in D.C.

By Arthur Patron

WASHINGTON—Black, antiwar, and trade-union activists here have condemned a newly revealed local police intelligence program funded by the CIA and the U.S. Army.

At a news conference held March 29 outside D.C. City Council chambers, just prior to the opening of hearings on the police budget, the activists demanded an end to cop spying, public hearings into the illegal surveillance, and a halt to the shredding of secret files on the intelligence activities.

The news conference was in response to the release of a voluminous report by D.C. Police Chief Maurice Cullinane admitting extensive surveillance of the antiwar and Black movements during the years 1968 to 1973.

The stepped-up spying was a product of the government's fear of the millions of Americans who marched here in the late 1960s against the war in Vietnam, and fear of the local Black community, more than 70 percent of the city's population, which exploded in rebellion after the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King.

Josephine Butler, Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 2 delegate to the Greater Washington Central Labor Council, opened the news conference.

"Far from absolving the police department, Cullinane exposed a broad and extensive spy operation," she said, which included a "full investigative department set up to open files and to spy on every group and individual who supported an end to the Vietnam War, civil rights, women's rights, or the trade unions."

The Cullinane report states that:

- The D.C. police maintained individual files on political activists, including members of the present city council who participated in the antiwar and civil rights movements. A major portion of the files have been destroyed, according to the report.

- The police paid tuition for undercover agents assigned to monitor student antiwar activity.

- The Department of the Army gave \$150,000 to D.C. police in 1968 to aid in "monitoring the city" for any large-scale "disturbances" that might necessitate army intervention.

- The police have maintained a "formal liaison" with the CIA "since the late 1940s."

- This "liaison" has included the use of CIA cars, drivers, and radio equipment to monitor three major antiwar demonstrations in 1969 and 1970; specialized training by the CIA for "intelligence activity," photography and "locks and locking devices"; assistance in wiring "two lamps capable of intercepting oral communications"; and specialized training for CIA employees in "interrogation" by the D.C. police.

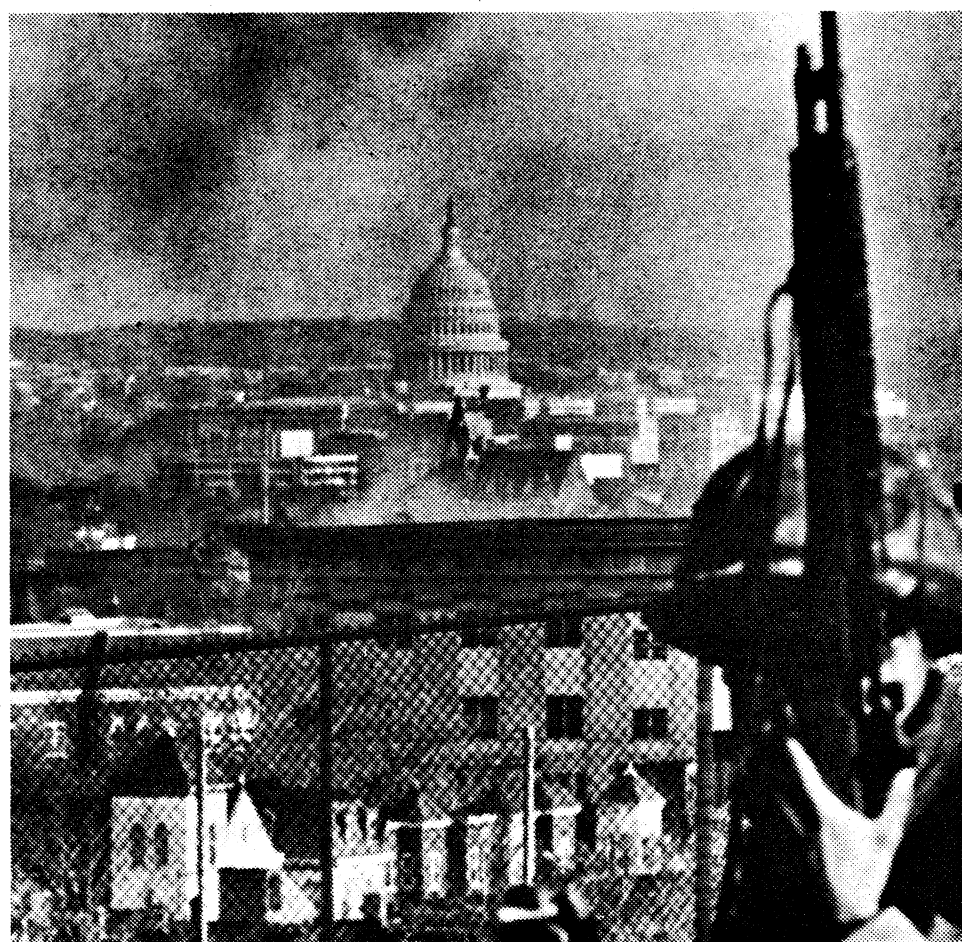
Also speaking at the news conference was Al Budka, 1974 Socialist Workers party candidate for chairperson of the city council.

"The police have admitted having a long-standing relationship with the CIA and the army. Who else?" he asked. "And who directs the surveillance? These are some of the still unanswered questions."

Citing renewed violence against supporters of civil rights, including the SWP, Budka pointed out that "official and unofficial government harassment has helped to create a climate where racists and right-wing terrorists feel that they can operate with impunity."

The statement demanding a halt to the spying has been signed by twenty-one activists, including Rev. David Eaton, All Soul's Church; Julius Hobson, at-large member, D.C. City Council; Brenda Brdar, D.C. Area Student Coalition Against Racism; Abe Bloom, Washington Area Peace Action Coalition; Arthur Waskow, Institute for Policy Studies; antiwar activist Barbara Bick; and Erich Martel, SWP candidate for D.C. School Board.

The police have claimed that the activity of the political intelligence division was just "information gathering." However, Robert Merritt, a former police informer in the antiwar



Washington, D.C., Black rebellion in 1968. Fear of Black community led CIA, army, and D.C. cops to plot together to spy on and disrupt Black movement.

movement, says he was instructed by his superiors to break into a local radical bookstore in 1971 and steal antiwar petitions; steal a bag of mail from the Institute for Policy Studies; disrupt antiwar demonstrations by giving demonstrators false information about rally times and locations; and destroy sound equipment used at the Mayday encampment in 1971.

The D.C. police and federal agencies have shown special interest in the activities of civil rights activists. D.C. Delegate to Congress Walter Fauntroy and six members of the city council, including Marion Barry and Julius Hobson, were all targets of the police

spying as a result of their support to the civil rights movement of the late 1960s.

During a recent television newscast, cameras focused in on a current police file kept on Operation PUSH. Included in the file was a leaflet distributed by the D.C. Area Student Coalition Against Racism calling on students to support the desegregation struggle in Boston.

Chief Cullinane has maintained that all the D.C. police intelligence operations were justifiable and should be continued.

He told the *Washington Post* on  
*Continued on page 30*

## Albany march planned

# Hill, Pernasilice convicted in Attica frame-up

By Kurt Hill

BUFFALO, N.Y.—The government's quest for scapegoats to obscure the crimes it committed in crushing the 1971 Attica rebellion claimed its first victims April 5 with the convictions of Attica Brothers John "Dacajewiah" Hill and Charlie Joe Pernasilice. The jury of eight men and four women found Hill guilty of murder and convicted Pernasilice of second-degree attempted assault in the death of prison guard William Quinn.

Hill faces a maximum life sentence and Pernasilice could get up to four years if the convictions are upheld.

The jury, after nineteen hours of deliberation, filed into the courtroom with eyes downcast as if ashamed of the action they were taking.

Many spectators and supporters of the defendants wept unashamedly as the verdicts were announced.

Following the verdicts, three county sheriff's deputies tore Hill from his wife despite his pleas for a little more time. As he was being led away, he turned with tears in his eyes, shouting, "Be strong, be strong!"

Pernasilice was led away in shocked silence.

Defense attorney William Kunstler emerged from the courtroom visibly stunned by the verdicts. He told report-

ers: "These are two innocent men who have been convicted after a trial in which perjured and fabricated testimony was offered."

State Supreme Court Justice Gilbert King will sentence the two Native Americans April 30. King, who had worked hand in glove with the prosecutor Louis Aidala during the trial, also denied bail to both men during their appeal of the verdicts.

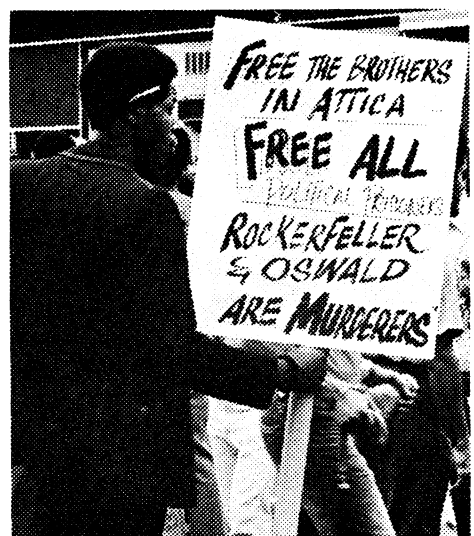
Expressing concern for the physical safety of the two young men, Kunstler said: "Why they can't be kept free on bail pending the appeal I will never know. Since this may involve their deaths in jail, I think that it was an act of utter vindictiveness, cruelty, and tyranny to remand them to jail at this moment."

The Erie County sheriff's department, which has custody of the two Attica Brothers, participated in the September 1971 massacre, which resulted in the deaths of thirty-nine prisoners and hostages. Their contempt for the defendants and their supporters was established early in the trial when deputies beat Pernasilice unconscious after he objected to their seizure of certain personal effects.

One of the alternate jurors who was dismissed as the twelve permanent jurors began their deliberations April 3

told defense attorneys that the deputy assigned to watch over the group had remarked to them, "We hate the defendants, their lawyers, and they hate us." The statement was an obvious attempt to influence the jury's decisions.

One fact the defense may use in its appeal of the verdicts is the slanted composition of the Wyoming County Grand Jury, which indicted Hill and Pernasilice. The jury, which is still sitting as an ever-present threat to prisoners who dare to testify for the



Militant/Candida McCollam

defense, contains many friends and relatives of Attica prison guards.

Another basis for appeal is the refusal of King to subpoena Nelson Rockefeller as a witness in the trial.

Rockefeller, who was New York governor at the time of the rebellion, had testified under oath before the House Judiciary Committee last November that Quinn was thrown to his death from a prison window.

The defense wanted to subpoena Rockefeller, since his sworn testimony directly contradicts the prosecution's claim that Quinn died as a result of beatings by the defendants. It absolves them of any blame in the guard's death.

While the convictions represent a setback for the defense, supporters of the Attica Brothers are continuing to gather support throughout the Northeast for a march on the state capitol in Albany April 28.

"Attica Now" has issued an appeal to colleges and universities to declare a moratorium on classes and to mobilize students for the Albany march to demand that the state "drop the charges now!"

Further information can be obtained from Attica Now, 1528 Jefferson Avenue, Buffalo, New York. Telephone: (716) 882-0254.

## Trotskyists launch election drive

# Political ferment mounting in Portugal

By Gerry Foley

From Intercontinental Press

LISBON, April 3—The campaign for the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections formally opened yesterday. *Diário de Lisboa*, one of the four afternoon papers in this city, described the result as a "poster war."

In the downtown area of Lisbon at least, the Portuguese Communist party seemed to be winning it. Its posters cover the area, virtually excluding those of all the other parties. In the industrial centers south of the River

*Future issues of the Militant will carry further on-the-scene reports on developments in Portugal from Intercontinental Press staff writer Gerry Foley in Lisbon.*

Tejo, Communist party posters cover almost every inch of available space.

The CP was the only one of the parties contesting the elections to launch its campaign with a central rally. Most of the posters on the walls of the main square here announce the meeting it held last night in the Palacio de Desportos. In the opening days of the campaign here in Lisbon, the CP's apparatus is showing a clear superiority over the electoral machinery of the other parties. Although the pollsters estimate that the Socialist party has a larger following than its principal rival on the left, its campaign here appears notably weaker.

The situation in the provincial centers could well be different. It may be significant, for example, that the Socialist party held its opening rally of the campaign in Faró, the main town in Algarve, the southernmost province, certainly one of the least industrialized areas in Portugal.

After two unsuccessful coups by conservative bourgeois forces trying to stop the ferment and process of radicalization, this campaign is taking place in a politically advanced context. The bourgeois parties are on the defensive, and the Socialist party has begun to try to dissociate itself from the PPD. The CP has also adopted a more radical posture. One of its most common posters says: "Who is afraid of the Communist party? It's the parasites."

The campaign reports on the radio are full of Marxist terms such as "capitalist exploitation" and "interests of the proletariat." The Socialist party is stressing that it is a "Marxist party."

However, despite its "Marxist" phraseology and some radical positions, the Socialist party appears suspect among the sections of the population that were in the vanguard of the resistance to the coup attempts. The reason for this fundamentally is that the bourgeoisie has been so

weakened by its failure to "restore order" that the survival of capitalism is clearly in question, and this raises the problem of the SP's international ties and perspectives very acutely.

In this situation, the SP's ties to West European Social Democracy and thus with imperialism tend to come to the forefront. Its central slogans of "socialism in freedom" and "national independence" take on anti-Communist and pro-"Free World" implications, although the SP leaders seek to put this in more palatable terms of a "third way," or "independent roads" to socialism.

At the April 1 rally in Faró, SP leader Mário Soares said: "The SP can guarantee to the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] that we will advance along an original revolutionary road not just because of our links with the European Social Democracy but also with all the European Socialist parties and with many Communist parties, such as the Romanian, the Yugoslav, the Italian, and the Spanish. Without the SP, the MFA would be condemned to be a prisoner of the CP, and the Portuguese road would be condemned to be a servile copy of the East European or Cuban people's democracies."

The ferment of revolutionary ideas that has so frightened the bourgeoisie since the fall of the Salazarist regime is continuing and may be reaching a new level. Although the MFA journal has adopted some ominous formulations regarding the groups to the left of the coalition parties, the only repression has come against the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian party), a Maoist sect whose semimilitarized demonstrations and extremist language and gestures seem exotic and frightening to most Portuguese workers.

Two Maoist groupings are participating in the electoral campaign, the União Democrático do Povo (UDP—Democratic People's Union) and the Frente Eleitoral Comunista (Marxista Leninista) (Communist Electoral Front [Marxist Leninist]).

### Trotskyist Electoral Activities

By comparison with "democratic elections" in the United States, the media coverage of all twelve parties putting up candidates is impressive. This has given the new Trotskyist organization, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), an opportunity to make an immediate national impact.

The young activists of the LCI moved very quickly to take advantage of this opening. They got more than



Lisbon headquarters of the LCI, only party in elections that calls for deepening the kind of mass mobilizations that defeated rightist coup attempts.

5,000 persons to sign up as supporters of the party and occupied a large building on the Rua da Palma, which they turned into their electoral headquarters.

It is a large, old building with two giant palm trees in front, visible from at least half a mile away. It is in a heavily traveled district of Lisbon on the main subway line and only a few minutes' walk from the central square of Rossio. A huge banner with red lettering hangs across the front. It is certainly one of the most impressive and accessible headquarters of any political party here.

The LCI is the only party in the campaign to call for carrying further the kind of mass mobilizations that defeated the September 28 and March 11 coup attempts, to call for basing the government of the society on such mobilizations.

In its April 2 issue, the Lisbon daily *A Capital* put the LCI first in its roundup of the positions of the parties. It quoted LCI representative Adelino Fortunato as saying: "It is necessary to consolidate the mass movement, based on the victories that have been achieved. We will fight for the nationalization of all the plants in the country and attack the foundations of the political power of big capital."

Fortunato defined the LCI's call for a workers government as follows: "The bourgeoisie still stands in the way of the masses. We are opposed to the capitalist ministers remaining in the government (specifically those of the PPD). We propose a workers government in which all the organizations of the working class would be represented (the rural associations, factory associations, unions, etc.) in order to offer a real guarantee that the interests of the masses will be upheld."

"Therefore, we cannot place too much stress on strengthening all the commissions already formed and on extending the process of forming the other workers associations that are urgently needed. This activity fits into an irreversible dynamic. We will gain the opportunity to hold a national assembly of workers which will form a united front of the working class."

Another LCI representative, Francisco Moreira, explained the goals of the campaign in this way:

"We will develop a plan for coordinating the activity of the working masses. In sessions and meetings, we

will explain the processes of self-defense and arming, the bases for a general strike and armed insurrection. We will also define the kind of socialism we want and are fighting for."

In an April 1 press conference, representatives of the LCI stressed their intention to use the campaign to promote proletarian internationalism. They called for abrogation of the Iberian Pact, which binds Portugal to Francoist Spain. They called for Portuguese withdrawal from NATO. They explained as well that they intend to make this aspect of the LCI campaign more concrete by including workers from other countries, notably Spain, in its activities.

A representative of the French section of the Fourth International, Paul Allies, was also present at this first press conference in the campaign.

### Workers Assembly

The call for a national assembly of workers was raised at a conference on March 29 of supporters of the LCI campaign in Leiria, a small town, three hours by bus from Lisbon. The meeting was held to explain the organization's positions to all those who signed up to put it on the ballot. About 500 persons attended, most of them in buses from Lisbon and Oporto.

In Lisbon the LCI holds forums approximately every other day on key questions. The one on March 27 dealt with the MFA. More than seventy persons, including a number of very young activists, attended. They stayed for hours of extensive analysis of the MFA.

Much of the LCI's campaign for a working-class united front has been directed against the claim of the Maoist groups that the CP is "social fascist." This aspect may take on more importance as the campaign develops, since both the CP and the Maoist groups are accusing each other of physical attacks.

The April 2 *A Capital* carried a statement by the Frente Revolucionária dos Estudantes Portugueses (Revolutionary Front of Portuguese Students) reporting that its headquarters on the Rua Fernão Lopes had been attacked by CP paste-up teams. On the other hand, the CP student organization said that its headquarters had been attacked in the early morning of April 2 by about seventy members of the MRPP.



Meeting of Armed Forces Movement, base of ruling military junta. MFA has banned one Maoist group from participating in elections.



# SWP leader testifies on how to solve crisis of the railroads

The following is a statement by Linda Jenness, a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, on the recently announced plan for government reorganization of bankrupt railroads in the northeastern section of the country.

Jenness presented the SWP's views at a public hearing March 24 in New York City. Hearings on the plan are being organized throughout the Northeast by the United States Railway Association, the government agency in charge of revamping the railroads in seventeen Northeast and Midwest states. The reorganization proposal is scheduled to come before Congress for approval late in July.

The plan recommends the establishment of a federally subsidized private corporation called Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail) to take over the freight-rail system in the Northeast, now run by six bankrupt rail companies, the largest of which is the Penn Central. The plan would abandon as unprofitable 6,200 miles of the 21,200 miles of existing rail service.

The Conrail proposal to restructure the country's northeastern railroads comes at a time when rail transport is generally conceded to be in a condition of "permanent emergency," if not outright crisis. The recently announced plight of the Rock Island line, one of the country's oldest, indicates this crisis is deepening and is not confined to the lines that are the subject of the Conrail plan.

The American railway industry has been declining for a long time. Before World War II, 60 percent of all freight was carried by rail. Now, although greater tonnage is transported, less than 40 percent of it is moved by the railroads. Since the Second World War, the work force has been reduced from about one and a half million workers to slightly more than a half-million.

Passenger service has all but disappeared, and passengers are discouraged from using the few trains that do operate through scandalously poor service.

The general deterioration of this once-powerful industry is so extreme that the real question has become whether to abandon it altogether or to rebuild it. We are for rebuilding it. But we don't think the approach contained in the Conrail plan is the way to begin.

First, before any more money is appropriated to the railroads, the public ought to know what has happened to the hundreds of millions of tax dollars that have already been pumped into this industry. It is obvious from the condition of the railroads that it hasn't gone into maintaining them adequately, let alone rebuilding

them. What is not obvious is where it has gone, because the finances are kept strictly secret.

The books of the rail corporations, both private and quasi-public, need to be opened to public scrutiny. Independent committees of working people need to be established to undertake the investigation with full powers to examine the records of all financial deals and transactions. The American people have a right to know what goes on behind the scenes in one of the largest and most basic industries in the country, and one in which they have such an exceptional investment.

What would such public committees be likely to find? If the results of the investigations carried out by the Interstate Commerce Commission and congressional committees in the wake of the Penn Central's bankruptcy on June 21, 1970, are any indication, it would show serious violations of public interest.

## Penn Central investigations

The Penn Central investigations disclosed that it was being used as a holding company by its owners to buy up hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of real estate and other corporations. These enterprises included water companies, apartment houses, hotels, golfing clubs, amusement parks, and an advertising firm. At the time of its bankruptcy, Penn Central was the seventh-largest U.S. corporation in terms of assets and the second-largest real estate owner in the country, after the Catholic church.

Moreover, Congress found that Penn Central paid excessively high dividends while showing an operational deficit. John Grimes reported in the *American Federationist* in September 1971 that "in one period, dividend payments totaled \$153 million compared to profits of \$118 million."

When Penn Central's assets were liquidated, the funds were not plowed back into the railroads for improvements, but used to pay off its creditors. These included New York's First National City Bank; Morgan Guarantee Trust; Equitable, Prudential, Metropolitan, and New York Life Insurance companies; and other financial giants.

This very same practice of pumping tax dollars into the coffers of the bankrupts' creditors could significantly escalate the cost of the Conrail proposal to the public. In his dissenting opinion on the constitutionality of the Regional Rail Reorganization Act, Justice William Douglas estimated that the figure could rise to as much as \$10 billion to \$12 billion. In other words, the government would bail out the northeastern railroads in the interests of their private owners and creditors.

In order to be able to better evaluate the Conrail plan, which calls for the establishment of a quasi-government corporation to run the northeastern freight lines, we should take a look at

how Amtrak, a quasi-public corporation, has functioned. If its books were examined, we could learn the many ways in which funds for this quasi-public corporation are siphoned off in the form of private profit at the expense of railroad improvement and maintenance.

All the ways in which profits are maintained at the expense of building and maintaining the railroads need to be brought to the full light of day because this is at the heart of the rail crisis. In order for the railroads to be run efficiently, profit making needs to be taken out of railroading altogether. The railroads should be operated instead as a nationally organized public service utility.

A public service utility such as we propose would qualitatively improve public transportation in the United States. It would develop a system of nationwide transportation that would get people quickly and comfortably from one place to another and move freight rapidly, efficiently, and inexpensively. There would be widespread public enthusiasm for such a system.

The obstacle to such a system is certainly not the absence of technical know-how. Even today, in Japan and Europe, a glimmering of the technical possibilities of improving rail transportation can be seen in operation.

Is there any good reason why the United States, the richest and most industrially advanced country in the world, cannot build the most up-to-date railway system and run it efficiently? There is not. The only reason we do not have such a system is because the people who own and control the railroads aren't interested in building it.

## Workers government

The present capitalist government is interested more in guaranteeing profits than in developing railroads for public interest. A workers government that was responsible not to the tiny handful of people who own the railroads, banks, oil companies, and other basic industries in this country, but to the majority of people, wouldn't tolerate the current mismanagement for a minute. Instead, it would take over the railroads and organize them into one big utility as part of a national democratically planned economy under workers management.

Its restructuring plan would mean seriously undertaking to rebuild the nation's rail system. Such a project would provide thousands of needed jobs—in contrast to the Conrail proposal, which will result in loss of jobs through line abandonments.

Whether under corporate management, bankruptcy trustees, or quasi-governmental authority, to run the rails for profits will mean essentially a perpetuation of the status quo. Railroads need to be run in the interests not of financiers, but of the public.

# D.C. rally cheers Joann Little

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Joann Little, the young Black woman charged with murder in North Carolina, was greeted with a standing ovation and clenched fists at an April 5 meeting here at Shiloh Baptist Church.

The 250 people present, nearly all of them Black, had come to express their solidarity with Little's fight for freedom, a fight that is evoking support in Black communities throughout the country.

Twenty-year-old Little is accused of first-degree murder in the death of Clarence Alligood, a white jailer at the Beaufort County jail in Washington,



Joann Little faces mandatory death sentence if convicted of murder charge.

North Carolina. Last August 27, when Little was imprisoned in the jail on breaking-and-entering charges, Alligood entered her cell armed with an ice pick and tried to rape her. Little fought back, stabbed Alligood with the pick, and escaped.

Fearing for her life after the state launched an intensive search, Little finally turned herself in. Pretrial hearings in her case start April 14 in Washington, North Carolina. The trial may begin as early as April 28.

"This is not only a fight for me, but a fight for every sister," Little told the support meeting. "If we don't stand together, this will happen again."

If convicted, Little faces a mandatory death penalty.

Many participants in the April 5 meeting were young Black women. They responded with special enthusiasm whenever the issue of women's rights was raised. Many clapped along as Imogene Stewart, a Black minister, sang the popular Helen Reddy song "I Am Woman."

Also speaking at the meeting were Karen Galloway and Jerry Paul, Little's attorneys; Rev. J.W. Johnson; and Yvonne Davis, from the board of directors of the Joann Little Defense Fund. Davis announced that National Organization for Women (NOW) chapters will be holding demonstrations and other protests on April 14 in Little's support.

The meeting here was sponsored by WOL radio, one of the city's major Black stations. Many of the speakers were Black media personalities or ministers.

Earlier in the day, a march to free Little, also organized by WOL disc jockeys, took place here. The day before, in Washington, North Carolina, 350 Blacks demonstrated in support of Little.



'For the railroads to be run efficiently, profit making needs to be taken out of railroading altogether.'

## Degradation of work under capitalism

**Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century** by Harry Braverman. Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974. 465 pp. with index. \$12.50.

What is the relationship between workers and the production process? That is, what kind of jobs do workers have? What is the effect of their labor on products? What kinds of machines do they use? What is the effect of the machinery on workers?

These questions occupy a central place in Karl Marx's analysis of the capitalist system. Measured by pages, in fact, Marx's description of factory life and the evolution of machinery in the early nineteenth century occupies more space in the first volume of *Capital* than any other subject.

For Marx viewed the exploitation of workers not only from the economic standpoint. Economically, Marx emphasized, capitalist society sees ever larger masses of workers concentrated under the command of ever larger accumulations of monopolistic capital. Monopoly ownership, in turn, is centralized in ever fewer hands.

The contradiction between socialized production and private ownership periodically threatens to throw capitalist society into crisis.

But Marx also emphasized the alienating effects of capitalist production on workers individually. There is an increasing separation between the worker and the finished product. Labor is more and more routinized. Automation through the advance of machines does not benefit workers; it brings speedup and increasingly dangerous working conditions.

The machine, which is supposed to aid the laborer, becomes the most immediate oppressor.

In *Labor and Monopoly Capital* Harry Braverman continues this strand of Marxian analysis—the examination of the labor process itself—into the twentieth century. He takes a close look at the effects of modern technology and managerial methods not only on workers in manufacturing industries but on clerical and service workers as well.

Braverman does not claim to have made more than a start of the discussion of "labor and monopoly capital." But it is a useful start and one that should be taken advantage of by those who are concerned with the contradictions of capitalism as they manifest themselves at the workplace.

### 'Scientific management'

Braverman's main theme is embodied in the book's subtitle: *The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*. He argues that far from raising the level of skills of most workers, technological advance under monopoly conditions increasingly eradicates the necessity of skill and makes work all the more degrading.

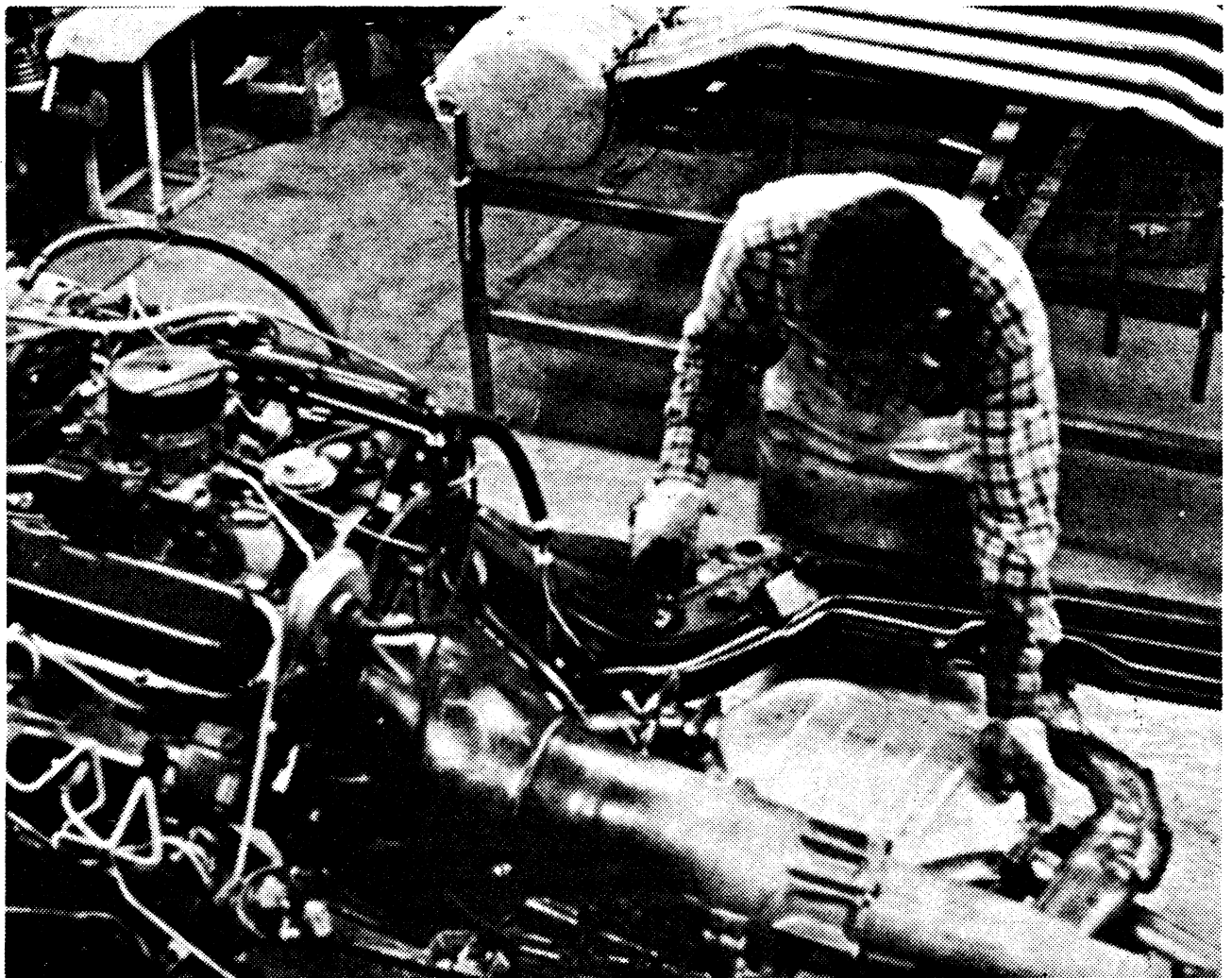
This evolution is traced to "Taylorism," or "scientific management," the managerial school of the late nineteenth century (named after its founder, Frederick Taylor) that came to dominate modern monopoly management technique.

Management seeks to shift decision making from the laborer to the manager. "The pivot upon which all modern management turns," says Braverman, "[is] the control over work through the control over the decisions that are made in the course of work."

"The essential element is the systematic pre-planning and pre-calculation of all elements of the labor process, which now no longer exists as a process in the imagination of the worker but only as a process in the imagination of a special management staff.

"Thus, if the first principle [of "scientific management"] is the gathering and development of knowledge of labor processes, and the second is the concentration of this knowledge as the exclusive province of management—together with its essential converse, the absence of such knowledge among the workers—then the third is the use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution."

Not only management but scientific advance



Technological advance under capitalism does not broaden knowledge and skills of workers. Understanding overall labor process is made exclusive province of management.

itself ends up dehumanizing the production process: "The unity of thought and action, conception and execution, hand and mind, which capitalism threatened from its beginnings, is now attacked by a systematic dissolution employing all the resources of science and the various engineering disciplines based upon it. The subjective factor of the labor process is removed to a place among its inanimate objective factors. To the materials and instruments of production are added a 'labor force,' another 'factor of production,' and the process is henceforth carried on by management as the sole subjective element."

Braverman's long chapter on clerical workers is one of the most helpful parts of *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. In the first place, he collects the necessary data to define and delineate this rapidly growing sector of the American labor force: by 1970 there were more than fourteen million clerical workers, almost 18 percent of the work force.

In the second place, he undercuts the "white collarist" conception of clerical labor. Clerical work is increasingly subject to the same Taylorism as manufacturing work: it is reduced to routine, and more often than not to routines that are deadlier than many industrial jobs.

"Contrary to the past opinion of many that office work was unlike factory work in that its complexities rendered it more difficult to rationalize," says Braverman, "it proved easier to do so once the volume of work grew large enough and once a search for methods of rationalization was seriously undertaken."

Braverman vividly describes the low-skilled and low-paying labor that office work like "data processing" actually is, no matter how high sounding the title: "The work is still performed in the brain, but the brain is used as the equivalent of the hand of the detail worker in production, grasping and releasing a single piece of 'data' over and over again."

Despite the exterior pretense that "computer programming" leads from the bottom to the top of the pay scale, Braverman notes, "it is in the nature of the organization of work around the computer system that, like factory work, it does not have the advancement ladder characteristic of the bank and

office of several generations ago."

Braverman quotes a report of the American Management Association on data-processing operations: "To be honest—we don't want people to take data-processing jobs as stepping stones to other jobs. We want permanent employees capable of doing good work and satisfied to stay and do it. To promise rapid advancement is to falsify the facts. The only rapid advancement for the bulk of nonsupervisory data-processing staff is out of data-processing!"

Unfortunately there are a few places in *Labor and Monopoly Capital* where Braverman introduces controversial—and highly important—subjects for Marxian political economy in a vague and possibly misleading way. Two cases should be mentioned.

### Postcapitalist societies

In the introductory chapter Braverman seems to suggest that the relations of workers to production in the Soviet Union are not too different from those in the United States, whereas in China there is some sort of "plan of incorporating the building of communism into the very process of industrialization."

Whatever the similar conditions that workers face in all factories, both the Soviet Union and China are *postcapitalist* societies. Braverman's book is a convincing attack on capitalist production, and he should stick to that subject unless he is going to make his viewpoint about production in the Soviet Union and China much clearer.

The second case concerns Marx's theory of surplus value. In a disappointing chapter enticingly called "Surplus Value and Surplus Labor," Braverman in fact does not define surplus value. Engels wrote that Marx's concept of surplus value "offered a key for the understanding of the entire capitalist production, provided you know how to use it." Braverman's failure to make the concept of surplus value clear weakens this and a few other parts of *Labor and Monopoly Capital*. But that is a subject that can be debated at greater length elsewhere.

As a whole, *Labor and Monopoly Capital* is an informative discussion of a central fact of everyday life, namely labor. It is highly recommended on these grounds.

—Dick Roberts



# Why San Francisco unionists like the 'Militant'

By Pat Galligan

At meetings of Local 4 of the Painters union in San Francisco, buying the latest issue of the *Militant* is a custom for many members. Roland Sheppard and Nat Weinstein began selling the *Militant* at their union meetings a few years ago.

Sheppard tells us: "At first, sales were quite modest—only a few copies at each meeting."

"Now, even though a number of members have subscriptions, we usually sell around fifteen papers," he said.

Sheppard adds, "People in this union want to keep up with what's happening. They want facts, and that's why they like the *Militant*. They are especially interested in coverage of the building trades and in union struggles in this country and internationally."

Local members expect to buy the *Militant* at their meetings. One night, Sheppard forgot to bring papers. After being pressed by a number of anxious customers, he had to leave the meeting to get some.

In many union meetings, factories and offices, in unemployment lines, and in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano neighborhoods across the country, working people are looking for answers that the government is unwilling and unable to provide. Increasing numbers of these people are reading the *Militant* to find out what socialists have to say.

Last week, 1,659 new subscriptions were sent in, bringing the total in our

Reprints of the special *Militant* feature, "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?" are available for distribution: Cost: 500 or more, 4 cents each; 100-499, 5 cents each. Order from *The Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

current drive to 7,148. Twelve areas are on or ahead of schedule.

Also, 8,504 copies of the April 4 *Militant* (headline: "Not one more penny for war in SE Asia") were sold in local areas. Twenty cities made their weekly sales goals. The Young Socialist teams sold an additional 1,420 copies.

As the scoreboard indicates, we are just ahead of schedule nationally in our campaign to obtain 9,000 new subscribers. A few cities with high

subscription quotas are behind, however. The effort of supporters in these areas is a crucial factor in reaching the national goal.

Selling subscriptions to co-workers is one way to boost the national effort. Steve Beumer, a Detroit bus driver, sells the *Militant* to other drivers. He always carries *Militant* prepaid subscription cards, and three of the eight cards he has sold so far have been to fellow drivers.

"Most of the people I work with are disgusted with the government," comments Beumer. "They want to know how to change things."

"They like the *Militant* because it proposes an alternative and how to implement it," he reports.

The call for the April 26 Rally for Jobs Now in Washington, D.C., should be the occasion for a special effort by our supporters to reach out to thousands of people this spring with the *Militant's* coverage of this important labor action and with its socialist program to fight unemployment.

The impact of *Militant* sales at plant gates has already been illustrated. In St. Louis, for example, the March 14 issue was sold outside a local engineering plant. Workers there posted that week's feature article, "Why can't everyone have a job?" in a prominent place inside the plant.

All our readers can join in the effort to spread the influence of the *Militant*. A former teachers union president from Allegheny County in Pennsylvania recently ordered twenty-two prepaid subscription cards. (They are available at the rate of eleven cards for ten dollars.)

He writes: "We teachers always considered ourselves working-class, have had strikes, and are militant. Why? Because we come from the homes of steelworkers and coal miners who have been exploited by the ruling class ever since we can remember."

"The subscription cards," he explains, "are for former school employees who were active with me during the hectic years."

A new subscriber in Madison, Wisconsin, writes: "Enclosed is a good check for \$16.00 for subscriptions for the following sixteen friends . . . Thanks a lot! Your paper is great; viva la huelga!"

Don't you know someone who should be reading the *Militant* every week?



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Selling the 'Militant' at recent demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C.

## Subscription scoreboard

| Area                  | Quota | Sold | %   | Chicago               | 500   | 163   | 33 |
|-----------------------|-------|------|-----|-----------------------|-------|-------|----|
| Madison, Wis.         | 25    | 27   | 108 | Albany, N.Y.          | 20    | 6     | 30 |
| Cleveland             | 300   | 296  | 99  | Champaign, Ill.       | 25    | 7     | 28 |
| Detroit               | 300   | 282  | 94  | State College, Pa.    | 25    | 7     | 28 |
| Lower Manhattan       | 300   | 276  | 92  | Charleston, W. Va.    | 30    | 7     | 23 |
| Washington, D.C.      | 300   | 273  | 91  | Worcester, Mass.      | 20    | 4     | 20 |
| Milwaukee             | 150   | 135  | 90  | East Lansing, Mich.   | 53    | 9     | 17 |
| Upper West Side, N.Y. | 300   | 267  | 89  | Edinboro, Pa.         | 30    | 5     | 17 |
| Pittsburgh            | 250   | 223  | 89  | Tallahassee, Fla.     | 25    | 4     | 16 |
| Oakland/Berkeley      | 500   | 442  | 88  | Amarillo, Tex.        | 15    | 2     | 13 |
| Bloomington, Ind.     | 50    | 44   | 88  | Mankato, Minn.        | 15    | 2     | 13 |
| San Diego             | 200   | 166  | 83  | San Antonio, Tex.     | 30    | 3     | 10 |
| Brooklyn              | 300   | 246  | 82  |                       |       |       |    |
| Logan, Utah           | 30    | 23   | 77  | Young Socialist teams |       |       |    |
| Twin Cities           | 300   | 229  | 76  | Missouri/Kansas       | 240   | 217   | 90 |
| Denver                | 275   | 210  | 76  | Northwest             | 240   | 196   | 82 |
| St. Louis             | 200   | 152  | 76  | Mid-Atlantic          | 240   | 173   | 72 |
| Sacramento, Calif.    | 25    | 19   | 76  | New England           | 180   | 124   | 69 |
| Seattle               | 200   | 150  | 75  | Rocky Mountain        | 240   | 164   | 68 |
| Houston               | 300   | 220  | 73  | Pennsylvania          | 240   | 142   | 59 |
| Baltimore             | 50    | 36   | 72  | Michigan/Indiana      | 240   | 141   | 59 |
| San Francisco         | 450   | 306  | 68  | Northern Calif.       | 240   | 116   | 48 |
| L.A. (West Side)      | 300   | 205  | 68  | N.Y./N.J./Conn.       | 210   | 95    | 45 |
| Philadelphia          | 300   | 197  | 66  | Upper Midwest         | 180   | 81    | 45 |
| Dallas, Tex.          | 20    | 13   | 65  | Ohio/Kentucky         | 240   | 103   | 43 |
| Louisville, Ky.       | 30    | 18   | 60  | Illinois/Wisconsin    | 240   | 78    | 33 |
| Ann Arbor, Mich.      | 30    | 17   | 57  | Texas                 | 240   | 66    | 28 |
| Atlanta               | 300   | 155  | 52  | Southeast             | 240   | 41    | 17 |
| Portland, Ore.        | 200   | 101  | 51  | Southern Calif.       | 240   | 32    | 13 |
| Boston                | 500   | 236  | 47  | General               |       | 59    |    |
| L.A. (Central-East)   | 300   | 120  | 40  | Should have to date   |       | 7,000 | 78 |
| Catskill, N.Y.        | 5     | 2    | 40  | Total                 | 9,000 | 7,148 | 79 |
| Nashville, Tenn.      | 40    | 15   | 38  |                       |       |       |    |

## Protest whitewash of police murder in Portland

By John Studer

PORTLAND, Ore.—This city's first public inquest into a police murder of a Black youth turned into a whitewash of the death of Rickie Johnson, a seventeen-year-old high school student.

On March 14, Portland cop Kenneth Sanford shot Johnson in the back of the head in an unoccupied house in North Portland. Sanford had entered the house disguised as a cab driver, holding his gun in a brown box supposed to contain Chinese food ordered at the house.

Sanford hoped to entrap anyone within into attempting a robbery. Two days earlier a cab driver was allegedly robbed delivering a food order to the same address.

Sanford was ordered to shoot to kill if an armed robbery attempt was made.

After entering the house, Sanford shot twice, hitting Johnson in the back of the head. He claimed that Johnson held a gun.

In addition to the murder of Johnson, there have been three other police killings of Blacks in the city in the last six months.

Under the pressure of a demonstration at police headquarters and de-

mands from organizations such as the Portland State Black Student Union, the NAACP, the Albina Ministerial Alliance, and the Urban League, an inquest was finally scheduled for April 2.

In preparation for the hearing, community meetings were held, and the Committee for Black Justice was organized.

About 400 people, mostly Blacks, attended the hearing. The size of the



crowd was a strong indication of the support for the demand that Sanford be dismissed from the force and brought to trial for murder. The crowd was so large that a separate room had to be set up with closed-circuit TV to allow everyone to watch.

The inquest brought out the depth of racism in Portland. It opened with the questioning of the cab driver, Marvin Zanzow, who claimed he was robbed on March 12. He was asked if he could identify a picture of Johnson as one of his assailants and he replied, "No, I can't. They all look alike to me."

A woman who lives across the street from the site of the shooting testified to the cops' racist abuse. She witnessed the arrest of a second Black youth alleged to have been in the house.

He threw his hands in the air, the woman said, after being shot at by police. She testified that three cops grabbed him, putting their knees on his neck and back. They called him a "motherfucker," and when he asked about his friend inside, they told him, "The bastard's dead."

After he was handcuffed, they threw him against the side of a cop car and roughed him up some more.

Testimony about the shooting established that Johnson was running away from Sanford when he was shot.

On the stand Sanford went to great lengths to describe the physical contortions he said Johnson went through in running away and pointing a gun at the same time.

Also, the gun Johnson supposedly threatened Sanford with was mysteriously found ten feet from Johnson's body in another room.

The state's attorney conducting the hearing assured the whitewash with his charge to the jury. He instructed them to consider nothing other than whether Sanford had "reasonable belief" that his life was endangered. If so, he asserted, the killing was "justifiable."

The jury voted 5 to 1 in the whitewash. The lone dissenter was also the only Black on the jury panel.

Reaction to the decision was swift and angry. Ellis Casson, president of the NAACP, called it a "sad day for Blacks in Portland." Johnson's father indicated that he is considering a court suit against the cops.

Members of the Black Justice Committee are mapping out plans for the next stage of the fight.

# Calendar

## ATLANTA

**PUBLIC WORKERS: VICTIMS, NOT CAUSE, OF INFLATION.** Speakers: Ron Relliford and Thomas Evans, members, AFSCME Local 1644. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

## BOSTON

**NEW STAGE IN PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION.** Speaker: Malik Miah, YSA national chairperson, author, *The U.S. Role in Southern Africa*; others to be announced. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## BROOKLYN

**MARCH AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT IN WASHINGTON APRIL 26!** Speakers: representative of New York Coalition to Support the March on Washington; Pat Wright, member, Coalition of Labor Union Women and AFSCME; representative of National Student Coalition Against Racism; others. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CHICAGO

**CONFERENCE ON PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM.** Fri., April 18, 8 p.m.: **Can socialism solve America's economic crisis?** Speaker: Linda Jenness, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. Ausp: YSA and Militant Forum. Sat., April 19, 4 p.m.: **History of the civil rights movement: its lessons for today.** Speaker to be announced. 6 p.m.: refreshments; 6:30 p.m.: smorgasbord dinner; 8 p.m.: **Prospects for socialism in America.** Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, member, SWP National Committee. Sun., April 20, 1 p.m. and 4 p.m.: two-part class on **The world economic crisis: inflation, recession, and the energy crisis.** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*, author, *Mideast Oil and U.S. Imperialism*. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$6.50 for entire conference. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (312) 427-0280.

## CLEVELAND

**OHIO-KENTUCKY REGIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.** Fri., April 18, 8 p.m.: **How to fight the racist antibusing offensive in Boston.** Speaker: Christina Adachi, 1974 SWP senatorial candidate in Pennsylvania. Sat., April 19, 11 a.m.: **FBI attack on academic freedom.** Speaker: Morris Starsky, victim of FBI harassment. 2 p.m.: **The revolutionary socialist youth movement: a recent history.** Speaker: Linda Jenness, cochairperson, Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. 6 p.m.: **Socialist Campaign banquet and rally.** Sun., April 20, 1 p.m.: **The continuing war in Southeast Asia.** Speaker: Robert Bresnahan, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland. Conference sessions in room 201-A University Center, Cleveland State Univ.; banquet and rally at Unitarian Society, 2728 Lancashire. Donation: \$2.50 conference, \$5.00 banquet. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (216) 391-3278.

## DETROIT

**UNEMPLOYMENT & INFLATION: LABOR FIGHTS BACK—THE APRIL 26 MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS.** Speakers: a panel of trade unionists. Fri., Apr. 18, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward

Ave. Donation, \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE 1-6135.

## HOUSTON

**MARXIST VIEW OF NATIONAL STRUGGLES.** Part of weekly socialist class series. Sat., April 19, 4 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Admission free. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (713) 526-1082

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**WAR AND REVOLUTION IN INDOCHINA.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, longtime leader of antiwar movement, author, *GIs Speak Out Against the War*. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Westside Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW HAVEN, CONN.

**CAN SOCIALISM SOLVE AMERICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS?** Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP 1976 presidential candidate. Wed., April 16, 8 p.m. Room 102 Linsly Chittenden Hall, Yale Univ. Admission free. Ausp: YSA, National Lawyers Guild, Progressive Party of Yale Political Union. For more information call (203) 776-8034.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**BILINGUAL EDUCATION UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Dora Fuentes, curriculum coordinator in school District Three; Catarino Garza, bilingual teacher and UFT member; and Naomi Vega, bilingual teacher in school District One. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**PORTUGAL: ONE YEAR LATER.** Speaker: Carl Finamore, SWP candidate for mayor of Berkeley. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## PHILADELPHIA

**SECRET FBI FILES.** Speakers: Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta, executive director, Black Economic Development Conference, mayoral candidate; Cathy Perkus, field director, Political Rights Defense Fund; Duncan Williams, SWP candidate for city council at large. Fri., April 18, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.** Fri., April 18, 8 p.m.: **Can capitalism solve America's economic crisis?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for the *Militant*, author, *Mideast Oil and U.S. Imperialism*. 112 Wilson Hall, Washington Univ. Donation: \$1. Sat., April 19, 12 noon: **FBI plot against the Black and socialist movements.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, former YSA national chairperson. 102 Eads Hall. 3:30 p.m. workshops. Donation: \$1. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

# ...Atlanta

*Continued from page 7*

you," said AFSCME local representative Willie Bolden. "We're telling you that unless our demands are met, you, Dr. Crim [school superintendent], will have to work in a school kitchen or

learn to use a floor polisher, because the school system can't function without us."

AFSCME members are becoming more and more impatient with the city and school officials, including Mayor Maynard Jackson, all of whom claimed to be on the side of labor before their election last year. It is becoming clearer to many that continued independent action by the union is the only way to win decent wages and save jobs.

# ...CIA

*Continued from page 25*

March 13, "The only way to determine if peaceful organizations will remain so is to continue to observe them."

At the city council hearings on the police budget, Cullinane explained that "intelligence is nothing more than information gathering" that "may have gotten a bad name from your Watergate syndrome."

He added that the upcoming AFL-CIO demonstration for jobs—scheduled for Washington on April 26—will be watched closely by police spies, as will any other national demonstrations held here.

Thus far, although city council members have been prime victims of the spying, the council has taken no action to end the surveillance.

# ...Vietnam

*Continued from page 3*

encompass all 18,000 orphans in Saigon-controlled areas.

The legislators were confronted, however, by charges of racism from a Vietnamese woman who has worked with refugees and from several Black people in the audience.

Referring to the discrimination Vietnamese children will face in this country, one Black person shouted at the legislators: "Do you think they'll be allowed in the South Boston schools?"

The Vietnamese woman, Nguyen Thi Ngoc Thoa, charged that some of the children brought to the United States "were being taken away from their parents against their parents' wishes."

Behind the so-called rescue of orphans is an attempt to bolster anticommunist propaganda claims that victory for the liberation forces will mean a "bloodbath" for Saigon residents. This theory is in turn used to argue for U.S. intervention.

The reality is the opposite. Refugees from the northern provinces of South Vietnam have testified that the real brutality comes not from the rebels but the Saigon troops.

A refugee from Pleiku was quoted in the April 8 *New York Times* as saying, "The people who escaped with us were more afraid of the rangers [Saigon's elite forces] than they were of the Communists."

The Saigon troops, he said, would go into a restaurant, order what they wanted, and "when the time came to pay the bill they put a hand grenade on the table and demanded the owner's money."

"But the North Vietnamese treated us well when they stopped us," he said.

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July-Dec. 1974 *Militant* bound volume, \$12.

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The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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**CALIFORNIA:** Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

**Los Angeles, Central-East:** SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

**Los Angeles, West Side:** SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

**Los Angeles:** City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

**Riverside:** YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

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**KANSAS:** Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

**MARYLAND:** Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8580.

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**Detroit:** SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

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**MINNESOTA:** Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

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4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

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**Upper West Side:** SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

**Ossining:** YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Chapel Hill: YSA, c/o Susan Love, 924 James, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514. Tel: (919) 933-4902.

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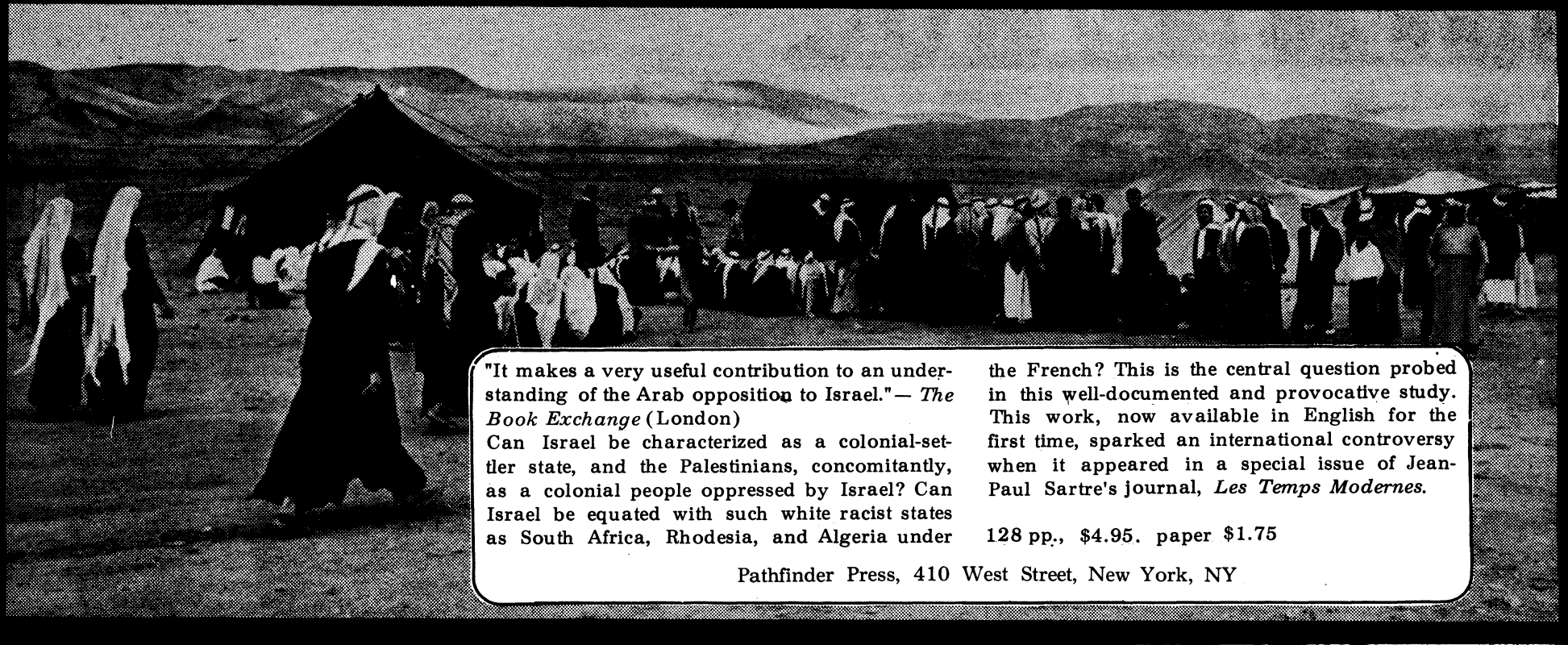
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Maxime Rodinson

# ISRAEL: A COLONIAL-SETTLER STATE?



"It makes a very useful contribution to an understanding of the Arab opposition to Israel." — *The Book Exchange* (London)

Can Israel be characterized as a colonial-settler state, and the Palestinians, concomitantly, as a colonial people oppressed by Israel? Can Israel be equated with such white racist states as South Africa, Rhodesia, and Algeria under

the French? This is the central question probed in this well-documented and provocative study. This work, now available in English for the first time, sparked an international controversy when it appeared in a special issue of Jean-Paul Sartre's journal, *Les Temps Modernes*.

128 pp., \$4.95. paper \$1.75

Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY

## HOUSTON

Educational conference:

### 'Socialist alternative to capitalist crisis'

FRIDAY, APRIL 18. HOW TO STOP ANTIBUSING DRIVE AND DEPORTATIONS. Speaker: OLGA RODRIGUEZ, member of National Committee of Young Socialist Alliance. 8 p.m. UNIVERSITY CENTER, LAFITTE ROOM, UNIV. OF HOUSTON.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19. PERMANENT REVOLUTION: SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST. Speaker: STU SINGER, Houston organizer of Socialist Workers party. 11 a.m.

IS THE U.S. HEADED FOR A DEPRESSION? Speaker: BECKY ELLIS, member of Houston Teachers Association and Coalition of Labor Union Women. 1:30 p.m. UNIVERSITY CENTER, LAFITTE ROOM, U. OF H. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

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A SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN WEEKEND

FRIDAY, APRIL 18

THE FBI PLOT TO DESTROY THE BILL OF RIGHTS

A panel of speakers, all of whom have been victims of FBI harassment — 8:00 p.m.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19

AMERICA'S REBEL TRADITIONS: A SOCIALIST VIEW OF THE BICENTENNIAL

Speaker: Stephanie Coontz — 11:00 a.m.

CAMPAIGN STREET RALLY — DOWNTOWN SAN FRANCISCO 2:30 p.m.

Dinner will be served at 6:30 p.m.

CAN SOCIALISM SOLVE AMERICA'S ECONOMIC CRISIS?

Featured Speaker: Ed Heisler — 8:00 p.m.

Entire weekend: \$6.00 (half price for high school students)

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## Socialist bookstores in your area

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ATLANTA: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

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# THE MILITANT

## April 26 rally in D.C.

# Unions mobilize to demand 'Jobs now!'

By Andy Rose

Thousands of union members throughout the East Coast and Midwest are mobilizing for a massive national "Rally for Jobs Now," called for April 26 in Washington, D.C., by the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

"Millions of us are out of work, millions more are afraid we'll lose our jobs . . . all of us are being robbed by inflation . . . it's time for the President and Congress to act!" declared an advertisement placed in the April 3 *New York Times* by New York area unions supporting the demonstration.

"Everyone is welcome—if you're working or unemployed, Democrat or Republican, union member or not, businessman, housewife, student, retired, or whatever—come with us," the advertisement urged.

The New York Coalition to Support the Rally in Washington includes the City University Student Senate, Newark NAACP, and various church and community groups in addition to major trade unions.

Speaking at an April 4 Martin Luther King memorial meeting in Harlem, Sam Manuel of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) stated: "We consider skyrocketing unemployment to be part of a racist attack on the living standards of Black working people. NSCAR will be in Washington on April 26. We'll be there in force."

Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), also

*For statement on April 26 action by Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president, see page 10.*

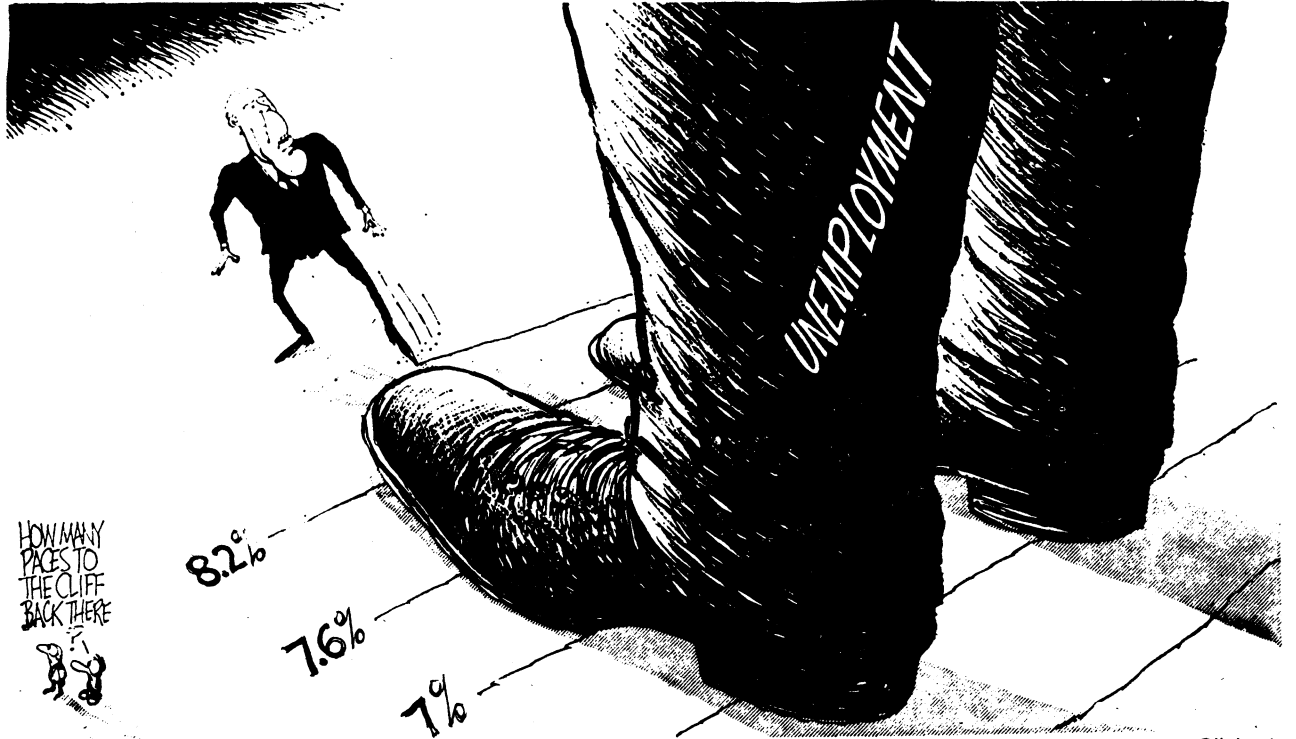
addressed the Harlem meeting and urged everyone to join the labor march on Washington.

A national steering committee meeting of NSCAR scheduled for April 12 will discuss how NSCAR can help organize student support for the rally.

Special trains and hundreds of buses have been chartered from New York for the demonstration. District Council 37 alone plans to bring 15,000 of its members to Washington.

The New York and New Jersey unions will stage a march from the Capitol to Kennedy Stadium, where the rally will be held.

An April 8 New York membership meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) voted unanimously to endorse the demonstration. CLUW



'OK, that's far enough—that's far enough—that's far enough—that's far . . .'

members are working within their unions to mobilize a big turnout, and CLUW has also established an ad hoc committee to help build the rally.

Charlie Brown, of the AFSCME Public Relations Department in Washington, told the *Militant* that calls are coming into the national union headquarters from as far away as Louisiana. He expects large delegations from New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Maryland.

Ten thousand placards, and thousands of buttons and hats, are being printed for AFSCME members coming to Washington, he said.

P.J. Chaimpa of the AFSCME regional headquarters in Baltimore said the outlook for participation from that area is "improving all the time."

"There are already forty or fifty buses scheduled and it's just starting to really take hold," he said. "There's all kinds of enthusiasm generating."

Chaimpa said President Ford's request for more military aid to Cambodia and South Vietnam was "all wrong."

"When he cuts lunch programs, cuts welfare, cuts

food stamps, and then goes for more firepower all over the globe—it's insanity," Chaimpa declared.

Frank O'Connell, a Washington spokesperson for the Transport Workers Union (TWU), predicted big turnouts of TWU members from New York and Philadelphia.

The response among TWU members has been "excellent," O'Connell reported, especially among airline workers, who have been badly hit by layoffs.

"We are aiming to bring 5,000 to Washington," a spokesperson for the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE) told the *Militant*. "We expect 3,000 from the New York-New Jersey area alone."

"Seventeen busloads are expected from our District 7, which covers Ohio down to Mississippi. Most of these people will be coming from Dayton, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky, where we have our largest concentrations and where the layoffs have been the worst," he said.

The IUE headquarters in Washington has printed posters and leaflets, which have been sent out to local areas for use in building the rally.

The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) has also endorsed the rally. Ralph Lloyd, an AFT spokesperson in Washington, said "huge" delegations of teachers will be coming from New York, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia. AFT buses will also come from Detroit, Cleveland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Baltimore, and Virginia, Lloyd reported, and of course there will be big participation from the Washington Teachers Union.

"You can assume the stadium will be filled," he said, "and the AFT will have a big part in that."

A *Militant* correspondent in Philadelphia reports there will be seven buses coming from the IUE and two from District 1199C, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers expects to bring 1,000 members from Philadelphia in buses and carpools.

United Steelworkers of America (USWA) President I.W. Abel, who is also head of the Industrial Union Department, has sent a message to all USWA districts and locals urging a big turnout. District 15 in the Pittsburgh area is organizing buses, and buses of steelworkers are also reportedly coming from Baltimore, Youngstown, and Chicago.

## IUE: 'Spend money for jobs, not war'

The following resolution was adopted by the executive board of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers last month. At the same meeting the board voted to mobilize IUE members for the April 26 protest.

Whereas, the Ford Administration has requested that Congress appropriate hundreds of millions of dollars for military use in Cambodia and South Vietnam; and

Whereas, the appropriation and expenditure of such funds will serve to continue the killing and destruction in those unfortunate countries and to perpetuate corrupt dictatorships that have used previous U.S. aid to line the pockets of members of the ruling military groups; and

Whereas, these dictatorships have been guilty

of killing, jailing and harassment of all opposition groups; and

Whereas, the funds sought for military purposes in Southeast Asia are desperately needed to alleviate unemployment and economic hardship in the United States; and

Whereas, the people of Cambodia and South Vietnam have suffered extremely from the ravages of war and deprivation;

Therefore, the executive board of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, CLC, resolves to inform members of Congress of:

—our opposition to further military aid to Cambodia and South Vietnam, and

—our call for humanitarian aid to the people of those two countries, preferably to be dispensed through United Nations or international relief agency auspices.