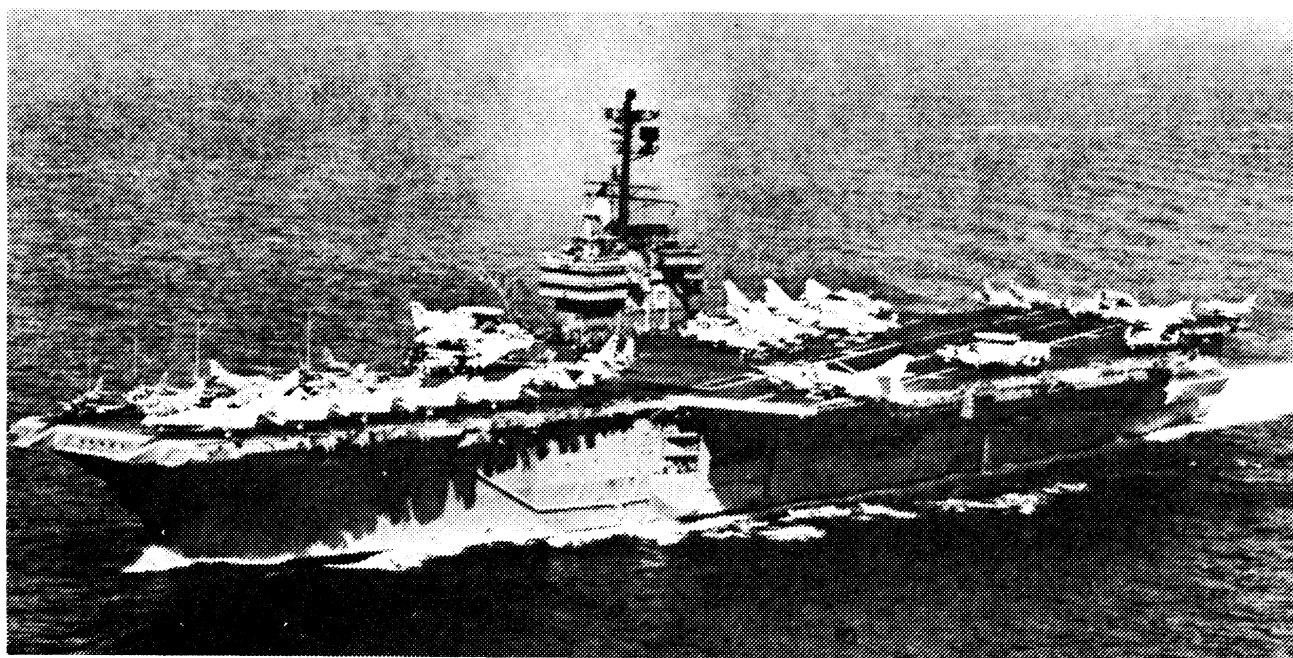


THE MILITANT

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

Get U.S. out of S.E. Asia now!

Lesson of Mayaguez provocation



Washington's gunboat diplomacy. Warships race into Gulf of Siam as U.S. presses 'abrasive foreign policy.'

MAY 15—Washington today is reveling in an orgy of imperial chauvinism and flag-waving militarism over the "success" of Ford's bloody armed assault to recapture the ship Mayaguez.

As the *Militant* goes to press, the

An editorial

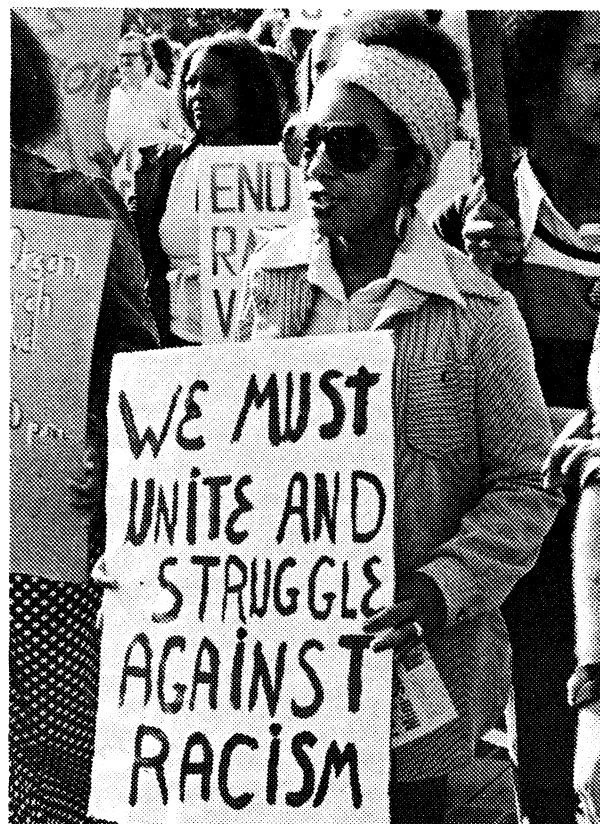
invasion force of U.S. marines is reportedly still fighting on Tang Island off the coast of Cambodia. But bipartisan choruses of "God Bless America" (or perhaps "From the Halls of Montezuma . . .") could already be heard from the White House, the Pen-

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Keep the buses rolling

Enforce the law on school desegregation

—See pages 3-8



Militant/Harry Ring

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In Brief

BOSTON PULITZER PROTEST: The May 5 Pulitzer Prize announcements prompted National Student Coalition Against Racism activists in Boston to organize a picket line at the *Boston Globe*. A prize was awarded to that newspaper for "massive and balanced" coverage of the desegregation controversy in Boston. The picketers were astounded.

"This award is an outrage and an insult to those Black students in this city being bused who have received little coverage in the pages of the *Globe*," said NSCAR in a statement to the media. NSCAR, which is helping to build the May 17 prodesegregation march called by the NAACP, said it "feels the great amount of coverage given to the activities of the antibusing forces and the comparatively little coverage given to prodesegregation forces only



Militant/Maceo Dixon

NSCAR protests prize to 'Globe'

emboldens the racist forces in this city to continue their vicious campaign of intimidation and physical attacks on Black people."

NSCAR provided the documented record of events unreported by the *Globe*, including the February NSCAR conference attended by more than 2,000 students.

ATTICA INJUSTICE: On May 8 a judge in Buffalo, New York, handed down sentences to the two Native Americans recently convicted in the government offensive against prisoners involved in the 1971 rebellion at Attica prison.

John "Dacajeweah" Hill was sentenced to twenty years to life on charges of murdering a prison guard, and Charlie Joe Pernasilice received two years for attempted assault. Defense attorneys William Kunstler and Ramsey Clark announced that they will appeal the convictions.

"A fabrication," is how defendant Hill described the charges in remarks to the court. "Have they ever thought about who were the real murderers of the forty-three people at Attica?" he asked. "Have they ever thought about the fourteen million Indians who have been killed by the white man?"

Meanwhile, judicial proceedings are under way for Black defendant Bernard "Shango" Stroble, who is accused of murdering a white prisoner during the rebellion. Chief Attica prosecutor Anthony Simonetti has refused to offer information on the prosecution's penetration of the Attica defense or to answer charges by his former assistant that "substantial evidence" of police crimes was being suppressed by his office.

BULLETIN—A four-year ordeal ended May 12 for Black activist Gary Lawton when a Riverside, California, jury acquitted him in his third trial on frame-up charges of murdering two policemen. Two previous trials ended in hung juries.

GEORGIA ABORTION PANEL: The newly formed Georgia Ad Hoc Committee to Defend a Woman's Right to Choose an Abortion sponsored a May 7 panel discussion among representatives of a broad spectrum of forces supporting abortion rights. The meeting was organized in response to a call issued by the Boston Committee to Defend Abortion Rights and the Edelin Defense Committee. Dr. Kenneth Edelin is a Black physician fighting a manslaughter conviction for performing a legal abortion in Boston.

Panelists included Myriam Richmond of the Black Women's Coalition; Cheryl Pence, president of the Atlanta chapter of the National Organization for Women; Susan Perry from the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Mary Martin of the Abortion Council at Grady Hospital, the major public hospital in Atlanta; Judy Havican of Summitt Medical Center, a large private abortion clinic; and Dr. Larry Baker, a member of the National Organization to Repeal Abortion Laws.

D.C. MARCH FOR ABORTION RIGHTS: Several thousand women marched in Washington, D.C., on May 11 to defend the right to legal abortions. The Mother's Day protest, termed a "Day of Outrage," was organized by Pennsylvania National Organization for Women and

cosponsored by Catholics for Free Choice. Demonstrators came from several states.

"Two, four, six, eight, separate the church and state," the marchers chanted as they passed by the Apostolic Delegation to the United States, which demonstrators called "the Vatican embassy."

One Catholic member of NOW charged that Roman Catholic bishops and cardinals across the country are funding campaigns to amend the Constitution to prohibit abortion.

J.B. JOHNSON HEARING: One hundred supporters of J.B. Johnson traveled to Jefferson City, Missouri, on May 13 for a hearing before the state supreme court on the Black youth's request for a new trial. Last December a court ordered a new trial for Johnson on the basis of irregularities in his original trial, but the attorney general appealed the decision. William Kunstler is Johnson's attorney.

Johnson was arrested in January 1970 following a frantic police search after the shooting death of a white cop in a St. Louis suburb. He was convicted of murder by an all-white jury, even though no witness could place him in the store where the policeman was killed.

IRANIAN ACTIVISTS EXPOSE SHAH: The shah of Iran's visit to the United States was greeted by a statement released by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. The committee outlined the atrocities committed by the shah's dictatorial regime, which was installed by a CIA-backed coup in 1953.

CAIFI reported that there is evidence that nine political prisoners who were "shot while trying to escape," according to an April 26 announcement by the Iranian government, were actually tortured to death.

CAIFI also reported that SAVAK, the shah's secret police, arrested an entire theater company, including all the actors and the director, as they were preparing to stage a performance of Maxim Gorky's *The Parasite* in Tehran. That was three months ago, and nothing has been heard from them since.

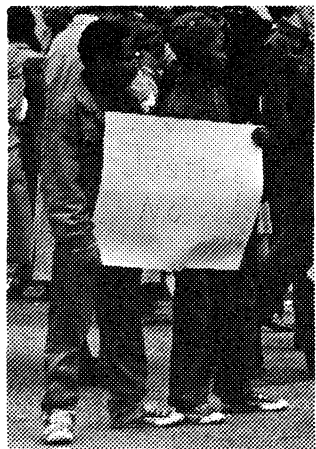
'RATIONAL' BOOK AWARDS: As the elite in the book-making business gathered in the Grand Ballroom of the Americana Hotel in New York City for the annual National Book Awards, 200 workers in the industry met in another part of the hotel for the first "Rational" Book Awards. Sponsored by the publishing division of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, the event was held "to dramatize conditions in a so-called glamour industry where starting salaries are still commonly as low as ninety dollars weekly, benefits are minimal, and job security virtually nonexistent."

Awards were presented in categories such as mail room, graphic services, stock room, and loading dock. Winner of the Fulfillment Award for Clerical Work was sixty-four year-old Sylvia Stern, who after twenty-four years with Simon & Schuster is making \$128 a week.

—Nelson Blackstock

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High court backs Boston busing; racists threaten new violence

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The May 17 national march on Boston in defense of school desegregation will be the second blow in the last seven days against this city's infamous, racist antibusing movement.

On May 12, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear antibusing appeals of the July 1974 desegregation order issued by Federal District Judge Arthur Garrity. The appeals had been filed separately by Boston Mayor Kevin White and the Boston School Committee.

The Supreme Court ruling was a rebuff to Boston's bigots, who had pinned their hopes for a reversal of city-wide busing on a favorable ruling.

The high court's decision makes the Garrity desegregation order the uncontested "law of the land" in Boston.

Yet another blow against the racists could be in the making. On May 10, Rita Graul, an aide to the notorious antibusing leader Louise Day Hicks, and Virginia Sheehy, both leaders of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), were ordered by Judge Garrity to show cause why they should not be questioned by NAACP attorneys concerning their knowledge of recent disruptions in South Boston High School. ROAR has organized repeated, violent attacks on Black students being bused to previously all-white schools.

The May 17 NAACP march, called to commemorate the 1954 Supreme Court ruling that overturned the "legal racism" of the Jim Crow South, follows by a week the issuing of Garrity's city-wide desegregation order, which includes areas not included in the "Phase One" order in effect this school year.

Garrity's Phase Two

The "Phase Two" portion of the Garrity decision, scheduled to go into effect next fall, will increase the number of students being bused from 17,000 to 21,000. It contains an overall increase in elementary school students being bused.

The order, however, exempts East Boston, the all-white neighborhood that, along with South Boston, has been a mainstay of racist opposition to school desegregation.

The Phase Two order goes far beyond the proposal drawn up for Judge Garrity by his four appointed "masters." The masters' plan would have drastically reduced busing as part of a generally "voluntary" approach to desegregation.



'Southie' racists demonstrate against school desegregation. Their leaders threaten 'chaos and violence' if new busing plan is implemented.

Boston's antibusing figures have been unanimous and vocal in their opposition to Phase Two. Democratic State Sen. William Bulger, a highly touted potential mayoral candidate, raised the racist specter of "white flight." Boston Mayor Kevin White, a liberal Democrat who has jumped on the antibusing bandwagon, said he was "bitterly disappointed" by the plan.

Louise Day Hicks fanned the flames of racist resistance as well. Predicting the reaction of her followers, Hicks stated the plan "will trigger rising tensions and chaos and disorder in the schools, followed by a mass white exodus from Boston."

"The plan," proclaimed Elvira "Pixie" Palladino, a major leader of ROAR, "is a prescription for chaos and violence."

These threats are designed to intimidate Black parents from sending their children to school. But the results of a *Boston Globe* poll on desegregation attitudes, released May 7, show that despite the campaign of intimidation carried out by ROAR, there has been a marked increase in support by the Black community for busing from a

year ago. The *Globe* stated that prior to school desegregation, 57 percent of the Black community favored busing. The latest figures note an increase to 65 percent of Blacks supporting busing for elementary school students and an even larger 77 percent in favor of busing for high school students.

While polls in general are not gospel, the results of the *Globe* survey reveal a substantial sentiment in Boston's Black community in favor of continuing and extending school desegregation through the use of busing.

Phase Two will mean a measure of forward motion for school desegregation in Boston, but Blacks have criticized the exclusion of East Boston from desegregation.

"If they are going to integrate the schools, it should be done all over the city," Sarah Clayton of Dorchester said in the *Boston Globe* of May 12. "I want the whole system to be a better one."

NAACP may appeal

Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins, at a news conference on May 12, lauded Garrity's proposal. The

edict, he said, "goes far toward eliminating the vestiges of segregation and discrimination which have afflicted Boston schools."

When asked about the exemption of East Boston from the desegregation order, Atkins said the NAACP "has the option to appeal" parts of the order.

"Are you satisfied with the order?" a reporter asked.

"No," Atkins said. "We have thirty days to appeal. We will be using that time to study all aspects of the plan."

The May 17 march, according to Atkins, will be the beginning of "the kind of national organizing and mobilizing to protest in this country against all of those people who want to go back to 'separate but equal.'"

Such a campaign is by no means finished in Boston. The opening of schools next fall will be stormy; Boston's bigots can be taken at their word when they threaten to escalate the violence.

In fact, the racist violence is continuing right now. Recently, fire bombings by whites in the Orient Heights housing project in East Boston drove five

Continued on page 26

Where city hall flaunts racist emblem

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The racist bigotry that has met court-ordered desegregation is now being flaunted in the front windows of city hall. Huge letters spell out ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), the name of the main antibusing organization in Boston, from the office windows of city council members Louise Day Hicks and Albert "Dapper" O'Neill. Both are Democrats.

ROAR has organized violent resistance to busing and has mobilized its thugs to break up meetings held by those ROAR disagrees with, such as a recent women's rights rally here.

For the past year, ROAR has held meetings in the city council chambers. People who have tried to observe the gatherings have been threatened and

have been escorted out by city council members, including O'Neill.

Boston's mayor, Kevin White, also a Democrat, has made no move to have the ROAR sign taken down from the public building.

ROAR's conspiracy to subvert the law and its frequent recourse to thuggery do not bother the racist guardians of law and order in Boston.

Along with the window display, posters and leaflets have sprung up throughout the city to announce ROAR's first national convention. It will take place May 17, the day when thousands of supporters of desegregation will be joining the NAACP-sponsored march.

The two events will take place miles apart, but the sound of marching feet

and chants in support of desegregation will echo in Boston long after the bigots and their friends conclude their conference.

More mobilizations like the May 17

probusing march will be necessary to defeat ROAR, to stop its acts of violence, and to get those four letters that spell "racist" out of the windows of city hall.



Boston city hall

Militant/Jon Hillson

Struggles are 'indivisible'

Black, labor, feminist leaders at N.Y. rally

By Lee Smith

NEW YORK—"The cradle of liberty has been rocking a little monster—racism!" Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, told a May 9 Emergency Rally to Stop the Racists, held at Public School Forty-one in Greenwich Village.

Atkins urged everyone to turn out for the May 17 march against racism in Boston, assuring the crowd of 150 that the march will be orderly and peaceful.

With Atkins on the program were New York Judge Bruce Wright; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.*; Cleveland Robinson, head of the Distributive Workers union; Nathan Schwerner, of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and father of slain civil rights activist Michael Schwerner; suspended Community School District One superintendent Luis Fuentes; Joette Chancy, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); and Bertram Harris, president of the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP.

Steinem addressed herself to the alliance between women's struggle for equal rights and the fight against racism. These struggles are "indivisible," she said, and often the enemies are the very same forces.

Robinson said that the fight for

human rights and the economic struggle of workers go hand in hand. "When people ask me when I take off my labor hat and put on my civil rights hat," he said, "I tell them I wear both hats constantly."

"Just as Little Rock was the key to desegregation in 1957," Nathan Schwerner said, "Boston on May 17 should help to unlock segregation in the North."

Luis Fuentes said that the fight for desegregation in Boston and the fight by parents in District One for control of their children's schools were "brother and sister struggles with the same aim—decent education for Black and Brown children—and the same enemy—white racism."

The program was introduced by Dorothy Ryan of the P.S. Forty-one Parent-Teacher Association and co-chaired by Leon Harris of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and Sam Manuel, coordinator of New York SCAR. Matthew Jones, who was one of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee freedom singers, provided entertainment.

Among those attending the rally were Willie DeLaPaz and Alvin Ross, activists in the SCAR chapter at

LaGuardia Community College. DeLaPaz, president of Adelante, a Latino cultural and educational organization at LaGuardia, and Ross, a Vietnam veteran, said the student council at their school reserved two buses for May 17.

"Our cause will win," Ross said, "because we have more to fight for than the racists do. Just like the Vietnamese—they won because their cause was just, and we will win for the same reason."

Both students said they felt May 17 would help to focus national attention

on the racist drive in Boston and the need to combat it. Blanche DeSouza, an elderly Black woman in the audience, agreed. "It's going to be a long fight," added DeSouza, who said she has been marching since the 1930s, when she helped found the first Bronx branch of the NAACP.

The May 9 meeting was sponsored by the Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, New York SCAR, the Village Independent Democrats, the Chelsea Reform Democrats, the Hudson Guild Council, the Chelsea Neighborhood Board, and the P.S. Forty-One PTA.



Militant/Rich Robohm

Speakers at May 9 'Emergency Rally to Stop the Racists'

B'klyn: 'We are united to march on Boston'

By Stephen Bloom

NEW YORK—A May 8 community forum at Brooklyn's First Baptist Church of Crown Heights drew seventy people to hear speakers on "The Fight for School Desegregation in Brooklyn and Boston." The event was sponsored by the Brooklyn Student Coalition Against Racism, Black Economic Survival, the Brooklyn and East New York chapters of the NAACP, and other community groups.

The theme of the meeting was sounded by Audrey Watkins, secretary of the Brooklyn NAACP, who was the evening's first speaker. "Your very presence here tonight," she declared, "proves that we are united and can unite our determined forces into one united march on Boston on May 17."

"This march . . . represents the

continuation of the efforts of the Negro people to secure the basic rights which every citizen in our country deserves: equal and quality education.

"The current struggle around busing," she said, "is a continuation of the struggle to free Black people from the terrors of the lynch hook, for the right to sit at the lunch counters, for the right to sit anywhere on the bus, and now for integrated schools."

The importance of everyone uniting to support the march on Boston was echoed by all of the other speakers on the program. These included city council member Samuel Wright from the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, the Reverend Samuel Austin of the Brown Memorial Baptist Church, Juan Marr from the national office of the

NAACP, and Claire Moriarty from SCAR.

Rev. Austin in his remarks pledged that a busload of young people from the Brown Memorial Baptist Church would be attending the demonstration to put, as he said, "our money where our mouth is."

The question of school desegregation in Brooklyn received considerable attention from the speakers, who pointed out that it is the same fight as that going on in Boston.

The issue of school desegregation in Brooklyn has recently been thrust to the fore with a new plan for high school attendance zones drawn up by the city board of education. The plan will go into effect next September.

This plan has aroused the ire of racist forces in some of the white

sections of Brooklyn, including Borough Park, Bensonhurst, and Bay Ridge. Whites from these areas have staged demonstrations of up to 3,000 people around the same "antibusing" and "neighborhood schools" slogans as the racists in Boston and other cities.

During the discussion period, Daniel Martin, an unsuccessful Black candidate for school board in District Eighteen during the recent election, talked of the near certainty of a renewed fight in that area, which is also affected by the rezoning plan.

District Eighteen is in Canarsie, which was the scene of a racist anti-busing school boycott several years ago directed against Black children from the Tilden housing project.

West Coast sets May 17 civil rights actions

By Omari Musa

LOS ANGELES—At a recent news conference here, Rev. Charles Smith, NAACP national coordinator for the May 17 freedom march on Boston, announced plans to mobilize people for the demonstration in Boston to support desegregated education.

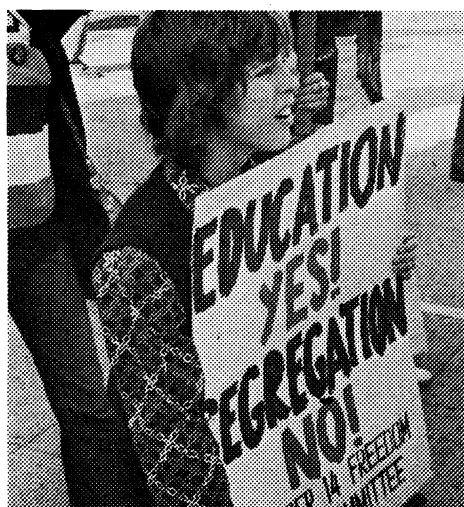
Virna Canson, western regional director for the NAACP, reported that demonstrations will also be held May 17 in Seattle, Portland, the San Francisco Bay Area, Sacramento, and Los Angeles.

"We must look in our own backyard," she said. "Here in Los Angeles, we have one of the most segregated school systems in the country. I call on everyone who supports quality education through desegregation to join the freedom march in Los Angeles on Saturday, May 17."

The importance of the Los Angeles march was underscored by a recent visit by Nathaniel Jones, legal director of the national NAACP. He spoke about the situation in Los Angeles. An appeals court recently overturned Los Angeles Superior Court Judge Alfred

Gitelson's ruling that Los Angeles schools must be desegregated.

At a public meeting Jones said, "Los Angeles and Boston are the most important combat fronts in the national fight to desegregate the schools. The reversal of Gitelson's decision further erodes the meaning of the May 17,



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Pasadena, California, Freedom March last December 14.

1954, Supreme Court ruling. . . ."

Support has continued to grow for the May 17 march in Los Angeles. Black city council member David Cunningham has proposed that the council declare May 17 "Freedom March Day" in Los Angeles. The Baptist Ministers Conference of Los Angeles and Southern California, which represents hundreds of Baptist churches, has endorsed the march and has promised to help turn out its congregations on this day.

The Community Relations Conference of Southern California, an umbrella organization including ninety-five groups, has appealed to its affiliates to mobilize their members for the march.

Labor-union endorsement has included United Auto Workers Local 216 and Social Services Union Local 535.

The organizing activities for the march have been directed from the offices of the Los Angeles NAACP. A May 17 march committee has been set up, which includes the Los Angeles Student Coalition Against Racism, the Committee Against Segregation in

Education in Pasadena, and community members.

More than 60,000 leaflets have been distributed already, and march organizers estimate that close to 100,000 leaflets will be distributed by May 17.

A special effort has been made by the May 17 committee to involve the large Los Angeles Chicano community in this march. In a letter written by Henry Dotson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP, to the Chicano community, he states:

"I believe it to be extremely important that Blacks and Chicanos march together on this day. On the surface it may appear that the struggle of Blacks and Chicanos for a decent education are separate. I understand that the major goal of the Chicano community has been the struggle for bilingual and bicultural education, while the focus of the Black community has been the fight against segregated education. Yet fundamentally the issue is the same, the right of all youth to receive the best education possible, and for our communities to decide what will best realize that goal."

Blitzing Boston for May 17

NSCAR office bustles as 'D-Day' nears

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON, May 10—The monotonous rhythm of the mimeograph machine was lost amid the jingle of the telephone, clatter of typewriters, and a score of young voices soliciting, questioning, imploring, and consulting here in the national offices of the Student Coalition Against Racism as anticipation rises, tension builds, and sometimes nerves fray with "D-Day" just a week off.

"D-Day" is, of course, May 17, the twenty-first anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

This May 17 will be marked in Boston and in other cities around the country with protest demonstrations against continuing school segregation, with a focus on the schools in Boston, where the desegregation effort has been met with periodic racist violence.

The May 17 protest was initiated by the NAACP branch here. It has since won the backing of the national NAACP and the student coalition.

The student coalition was launched at a student antiracist conference here in February, where the 2,000 participants felt that an ongoing organization had to be formed to meet and counter the racist resistance to school desegregation.

At four o'clock yesterday afternoon, a student volunteer was doubled over the mimeograph machine, monkeying with a knob to get the contraption working right.

The leaflets he was running off solicit help in marshaling the demonstration.

Students and young volunteers begin to trickle into the office to pick up literature and buttons for the rush-hour distribution. A couple of people left bent like tree boughs under the weight of their loads.

A poster on a wall indicates that 60,000 leaflets have gone out already and 13,000 buttons have been made up.

Today is the last Saturday blitz before the seventeenth, and coalition volunteers phoned everyone to get a big turnout.



Protesting march in Boston last December 14. NSCAR was formed by activists who saw need for ongoing action to defend school desegregation.

All of next week is "blitz week." Teams will go out to high schools in the mornings and again in the afternoons when they let out. There will be rallies at some high schools as well as teams to paste up posters and leaflets at night, says Ruth Getts, one of the volunteer office coordinators.

"The buildup has been going pretty good," she said. "Button sales, especially, are fantastic. We sold \$600 in buttons on the April 26 labor march for jobs in Washington, D.C."

"We usually sell about ten or twenty dollars in buttons an hour," she continued. "Next week we hope to go on a real effort at the housing projects."

"We've been getting calls and letters for information from all kinds of groups and individuals," she said, pulling out a letter from a group of prisoners at Trenton State Prison in New Jersey, requesting materials.

"A lot of the requests are cutouts from the ads that have appeared in the *Militant*," she added.

Posters on the walls and in the entryway to the coalition offices make it clear that the group has been involved in struggles aside from the desegregation issue, although that remains the group's focus.

There are leaflets on the Joan Little

case, the Edelin defense, and one on a meeting on Black women and abortion. Leaflets on the struggle against cutbacks at several colleges in New England are also available for distribution.

In one corner of the coalition offices at 720 Beacon Street, a volunteer was phoning Black radio networks with a taped statement from Julian Bond, the civil rights activist, who is supporting May 17. Bond is urging the "peaceful

integration of Boston's school system."

On blitz Saturday dozens of student volunteers are on the streets with the message about May 17.

Teams have gone to Harvard Square in Cambridge, Dudley Station, and the Warren Street Mall in Roxbury, a Black neighborhood, and to other places.

This correspondent goes out to Roxbury with a team, where Blacks are very receptive. Many have already heard of the call for the demonstration and say they plan to attend.

At Dudley Station there is a car with loudspeakers on its roof and a guy talking through them, informing shoppers of May 17.

Newsmen from the *Boston Globe* and two TV stations are on the scene and recording the goings-on.

Scores of leafleters busy themselves in the hot sun all day long and grow weary. Two become hoarse and a few are sunburned. One says he is pooped, and another is so tuckered out all she can do is sit with her head cradled in her arms.

But by the end of the day they have distributed 300 buttons and 20,000 leaflets, which is not bad for the last blitz Saturday before D-Day.

To order NSCAR buttons...

Wear a May 17 button designed for the National Student Coalition Against Racism by "Doonesbury" creator Garry Trudeau. Price: one dollar each, thirty-five cents each for orders of ten or more.

Clip and sent to NSCAR, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____



500 at Laney College antiracist teach-in

By Michele Smith

OAKLAND, Calif.—A crowd of 500 students, 90 percent of them Black, attended a teach-in at Laney College here May 8 on "How to Fight Racism."

The teach-in was jointly organized by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

Speakers included Angela Davis, a leader of NAARPR and a Central Committee member of the Communist party; Rashaad Ali from NSCAR; Miguel Angel, professor of La Raza

studies at Laney; and Henry Bryant, head of Black studies at Laney.

Ali discussed the history of the civil rights movement and said that the struggle for school desegregation in Boston is today the battleground to see that the gains of the 1960s are not rolled back.

He urged all antiracist fighters to help organize support for the national May 17 demonstration in Boston and for the local support action called by the NAACP.

"The back of Jim Crow was broken by the civil rights movement of the

sixties," Ali said, "and today it is our job to dig a hole and bury Jim Crow forever."

Angel called for Chicanos and other oppressed minorities to support the May 17 action. A defeat in Boston, he said, would be a defeat for all minorities. "The only times we have ever made any gains," Angel added, "it was through massive independent struggle in the streets, separate from the Democratic and Republican parties."

Bryant spoke eloquently on the history of racism in this country, emphasizing that racism is not simply a matter of one group disliking another, but rather a conspiracy by those who hold power.

Davis declared her support for the May 17 action and said that the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression was working throughout the country in solidarity with May 17.

President Ford gave support to the racist antibusing forces, Davis pointed out, when he refused to send federal troops to Boston to protect Black students from racist mob violence.

After the teach-in a number of students met with Ali to discuss building a Student Coalition Against Racism chapter at Laney. "That is just what this campus needs," one sister stated, "a fighting organization."

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—A voluntary assembly to hear a panel of speakers on the fight against racism in Boston drew 250 students, half of them Black, at Central High School here last week.

The students listened attentively to August Nimtz, Minneapolis coordinator for the May 17 antiracist demonstration; Harry Davis, head of the Minneapolis school board; and Pippa Holroyde, a leader of the Central High School chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

A group of students from Central will be going to the May 17 march in Boston.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—As of May 10, the NAACP and the Student Coalition Against Racism here have already filled five buses to Boston.

In addition, four Unitarian churches have chartered two buses, and the Americans for Democratic Action has chartered a 120-seat airplane.

Button sales and leafleting at high schools and churches have aroused considerable interest in the NAACP-sponsored demonstration. Black churches have made generous contributions to the Washington-area SCAR.

SCAR has also been given two and a half hours of radio time on three stations to publicize the march.



Angela Davis at teach-in cosponsored by National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and NSCAR.



How civil rights victories were won: myth versus reality

By Wendy Lyons

May 17 marks the twenty-first anniversary of the historic U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation. This decision marked a turning point in the struggle against Jim Crow, the legalized segregation of Blacks. It gave an impetus to a mighty mobilization of Blacks and their allies in the following years—a mobilization that succeeded in ending Jim Crow.

How the battle against Jim Crow was won holds important lessons for today. The liberal Democrats, such as the Kennedys, have tried to spread the myth that it was the Democratic party politicians who were responsible for such gains as the civil rights acts of the 1960s.

Nothing could be further from the truth. It was the independent, militant actions of Blacks themselves, along with their allies, that compelled the politicians to take action. The record shows that far from being friends of the struggle for Black rights, the liberal Democrats did everything in their power to hold back that struggle.

Empty promises

In the aftermath of the 1954 court ruling, the struggle against the most overt forms of racist oppression, including denial of voting rights and segregation of public facilities, was accelerating. Blacks were encouraged by the fact that the "law of the land" was on their side, and they sought ways to turn the noble words of the Supreme Court into concrete gains.

During the 1956 elections, the liberal Democrats, seeking the Black vote, promised they would see to it that a civil rights bill was passed. They pledged a fight to amend Senate Rule Twenty-two, which allowed unlimited filibustering. The Southern Democrats relied on the filibuster to kill civil rights legislation. But Lyndon Johnson, then the Senate majority leader, who was with the Southern (Dixiecrat) wing of the party at that time, announced his firm opposition to any amendment of Rule Twenty-two.

When the liberal Americans for Democratic Action proposed that he step aside during the debate on Rule Twenty-two, Senator John Kennedy rushed to his defense. Kennedy made a speech praising Johnson and urging the entire Democratic party to rally behind him.

While Kennedy and Johnson were blocking the possibility of civil rights legislation in the halls of Congress, however, masses of Black people in Montgomery, Alabama, were taking matters into their own hands.

In 1955, Rosa Parks, a Black woman, had refused to yield her seat on a pub-

lic bus to a white woman and was arrested. The Black community in Montgomery began a year-long boycott of the city's buses. Martin Luther King first came to prominence in this struggle.

On December 21, 1956, several weeks after the debate in Congress over Rule Twenty-two, the boycott finally forced an end to segregation on the Montgomery buses.

The *Militant* of December 31, 1956, reported, "Two white men sat behind a Negro on a bus in Montgomery, Ala. last Friday. One of the whites said loudly: 'I see this isn't going to be a white Christmas.' The Negro looked up, smiled and said: 'Yes, sir, that's right.'"

Kennedy in office

In 1960 John Kennedy was elected president, and he appointed his brother Robert attorney general. While civil rights activists throughout the South were devising new tactics in the fight against Jim Crow, the Kennedys were busy conciliating the Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic party.

In an analysis of John Kennedy's State of the Union message to Congress in 1962, the January 14 *New York Times* had this to say: "A conciliatory gesture of potentially great effectiveness, particularly in winning Southern Democratic support for controversial administration measures, is the president's current policy on civil-rights legislation. No civil-rights bill was submitted on behalf of the Administration last year and none is expected this year."

But despite inaction in Washington, the ranks of the civil rights fighters were being filled with young people, Black and white, who were convinced the time had come for action.

One of the new tactics used by these young activists was the freedom ride. Students from all over the country poured into the South to force compliance with federal laws prohibiting segregation on interstate travel facilities. They were greeted with arrests and beatings by Southern authorities.

In May and June 1961, more than 100 freedom riders were jailed in Jackson, Mississippi, and most of them were forced to remain in jail to work off \$200 fines at \$3 a day. A Black minister was beaten by a guard for failing to call him "sir."

Demand government action

As the racist authorities of the Southern states continued to defy the law, demands were made on the Kennedys that they use the power and authority of the federal government to force the racists to give in.

As attorney general, Robert Kennedy was directly responsible for upholding federal law. But instead of using his power to protect the freedom riders, Robert Kennedy called, on May 24, for a "cooling off period." Uriah Fields, who had been a leader of the Montgomery bus boycott, wired Kennedy, "Isn't ninety-nine years long enough to cool off, Mr. Attorney General?"

As the freedom ride movement spread to other parts of the South, exasperated leaders of the movement visited Robert Kennedy, demanding to know why he didn't stop racist Southern officials from arresting the freedom riders. According to the June 17 *New York Times*, Kennedy told the group that "nothing further could be gained at this time by continuing the demonstrations."

'Look for yourself'

On October 12, 1961, Mississippi NAACP officials wired the president and the attorney general to "come to Mississippi and have a look for yourself" at the racist violence going on in the state.

High school students in McComb had been conducting a heroic fight against segregation. They staged sit-ins at local dime stores and the bus terminal. Five were arrested for "breach of the peace."

When the five returned to school, they were refused admittance. In protest, 116 students marched on city hall. The demonstrators were attacked by whites, and all 116 were arrested.

A month earlier, John Hardy, a leader of the movement to register Blacks to vote, had been hit in the head with a gun by a voting clerk in Tylertown, Mississippi. Hardy was arrested for "breach of the peace."

A few weeks later, Herbert Lee of Amite County was shot to death by a state official. There was no prosecution of the official.

Likewise, there was no response from either of the Kennedy brothers to the plea from the NAACP to come to Mississippi.

On April 17, 1963, the federal Civil Rights Commission issued a report on Mississippi saying, "Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote." The commission urged President Kennedy to consider withholding federal funds from Mississippi until state officials stopped violating the U.S. Constitution.

Kennedy flatly refused. Instead, he appealed to the racists. He said, "I hope the people of Mississippi would recognize the assets that come with the

union as well as what they may feel [are] the disadvantages of living up to the constitution." For Kennedy the racist mobs were the "people" of Mississippi!

Criticism of FBI

Criticism of the FBI began to mount during the civil rights movement. The FBI was supposed to investigate violations of federal law, yet it invariably failed to find the lynchers, arsonists, and snipers terrorizing civil rights workers.

In April 1963, Robert Kennedy termed the growing criticism of the FBI "unwarranted and unjustified." He called the agency "the greatest investigative body in the world."

The FBI was good at investigating, all right—investigating the civil rights movement. Kennedy was well aware of the fact that while racist murderers were going unapprehended, the FBI was busy keeping tabs on and harassing civil rights leaders. He ordered them to do it.

In the March 9, 1975, *New York Times*, Nicholas Horrock disclosed that in 1961 Robert Kennedy had ordered a "national security" investigation of Martin Luther King. In addition the FBI followed "a consistent practice of anonymous telephone calls, sometimes to make false fire alarm reports at locations where Dr. King was to speak and in other instances to friends and associates of Dr. King trying to sow distrust among them," Horrock reported.

Between 1963 and 1965, the FBI recorded 5,000 of King's conversations. And at the 1964 Democratic party convention, President Lyndon Johnson ordered the FBI to shadow King closely and report directly to him.

The harassment of King was just part of the government's campaign, begun under the Kennedy administration, to destroy the Black movement, as the recently disclosed FBI Cointelpro ("Counterintelligence Program") documents illustrate.

Battle of Birmingham

In April 1963 a new wave of antisegregation demonstrations began sweeping the South. Heavily industrialized and unionized Birmingham, Alabama, became the scene of the most militant activity.

By May 5, more than 1,100 demonstrators had been arrested. On May 8 large numbers of Black students stayed out of school to demonstrate. One thousand were arrested that day. As the protests proceeded day after day, the nation watched on television

Continued on page 25

The YSA: for those who want to do something about the problems of today

By Nan Bailey

Think about it a minute. Things were really different just a few years ago—at least for most of us. Of course, there was the war in Vietnam, and some of us faced the possibility of being drafted and killed. But, by and large, it looked as though the American dream was still out there, if we wanted a piece of it. Things were even getting better for Blacks and other minorities and for women too, they told us. Security it was called, and it was ours for the asking. At least it seemed that way to a lot of us.

But suddenly, that has all changed. There's no security at all in this country anymore. Every single day we discover problems and more problems that directly affect our lives. An economic crisis is squeezing working people. They are stepping up the attacks on the recent gains of oppressed minorities and women. The prospects for a college education dwindle as tuition costs push college beyond the reach of our pocketbooks.

The list of things we cannot do is growing each

Nan Bailey is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance.

day. And each addition is another limitation on what we have come to expect as our rights.

Many of us can't get jobs, especially if we are young and Black, or Chicano, or Puerto Rican. Those of us who are fortunate enough to have jobs can't get paid enough to keep up with rising prices. We can't afford an education. Women don't have equal rights. Blacks can't have an equal education. And none of us can trust the politicians who are in charge of making all the decisions.

But while the list of things we can't do is increasing, the list of those things we can do in the face of today's problems is narrowing to two clear choices: We can accept the problems. Or we can do something about them.

More people are beginning to choose the latter. They are beginning to search for solutions, to think for themselves; and many thousands are beginning to act.

Black rights

This week thousands are responding to a call made by the NAACP to serve notice on the racists who have attacked Black rights and Black lives in Boston—notice that their violence and their threats will not be tolerated. Our protests this week are demanding desegregation of the schools and equal educational opportunities for Black students in Boston and every other city in the country.

Several thousand students have been involved this spring in fights against tuition increases and budget cutbacks that are jeopardizing their educations. In Newark, New Jersey, high school students—30,000 strong—have gone on strike to protest the city's proposed cutbacks in education, which include the layoffs of several hundred teachers.

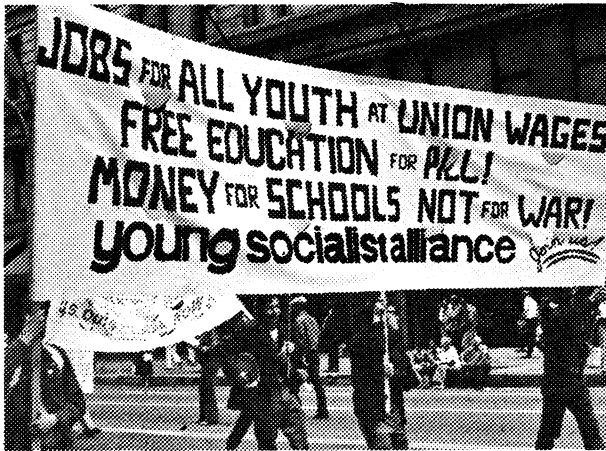
On April 26, some 60,000 working people and unemployed demonstrated in Washington, D.C., demanding "Jobs for all!" And 1,000 women marched in Boston May 3 to defend Dr. Kenneth Edelin in a protest culminating a week of nationwide activities in defense of a woman's right to abortion.

These protest movements are extremely important. Every single democratic right that we enjoy today was fought for and won through struggle.

It took a revolution in this country to win the Bill of Rights—the simple democratic rights we exercise every time we write a leaflet, make a speech, or engage in protest demonstrations. It took a civil rights movement just to get rid of *legalized* segregation in the South. It took a massive antiwar movement—in conjunction with the heroic efforts of the Vietnamese freedom fighters—to force the U.S. government out of Vietnam.

The problems of this society are not superficial or temporary problems. They won't be rectified with superficial or temporary solutions. They are problems whose roots are imbedded in America's social and political system.

The Young Socialist Alliance is a nationwide organization of young people who think that the socialist transformation of America is the only real answer to these problems. We think that the

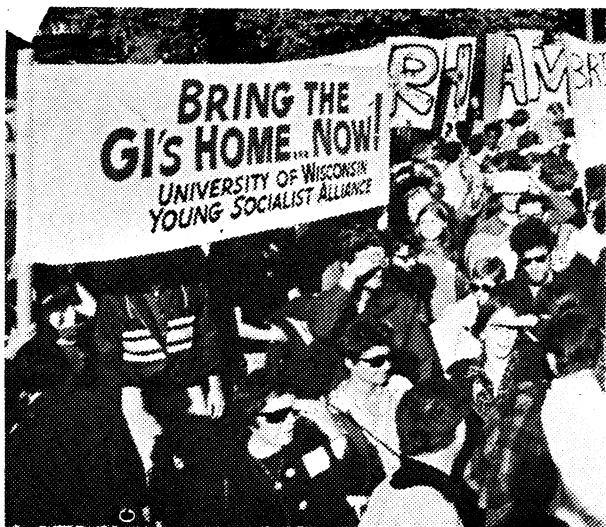


The YSA seeks to unite students and young working people in defense of living standards.



Militant/Don Gurewitz

YSA members have been among most active organizers for antiracist actions such as May 17 march.



Militant/Harry Ring

The mass antiwar movement helped bring GIs home and paved way for Vietnamese victory. YSA was in forefront of fight.

American people will reach the same conclusion. That will happen through their involvement in struggles to defend their standard of living and to combat the oppression they face. These struggles are going on today, and that is where YSA members center our activity.

We were among the leaders of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia. The SMC was a central organizer of the largest antiwar actions this country has ever seen.

Our movement is part of the worldwide rebellion of young people. We hail the historic victory of the Vietnamese as a victory of all humanity—a victory

that will provide an inspiration to other oppressed people around the globe.

We are supporters of the African and Palestinian freedom struggles, and we are active in the defense of Latin American political prisoners and other victims of oppressive regimes around the world. We support the struggles for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe against the bureaucratic regimes that distort the accomplishments of the economic transformations of those countries.

After the racists began their campaign of attacks on Black students in Boston last fall, the YSA made a decision at its national convention to throw all of its forces into organizing a movement against the racist attempts to halt desegregation of the Boston schools. YSA members have been among the most active participants in the work that made possible this week's protests against racism in Boston and other cities.

We helped to organize many of the protests and picket lines in defense of Dr. Edelin. We joined in the April 26 march for jobs and urged others to participate. We were out there in the student anticutback struggles, in the defense of Joan Little, and in protests demanding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

We are an active part of each of these important struggles, but we are more than that.

A necessity

We say that socialism is not only a possibility, but a necessity in the United States today. We face more urgently than ever before the problem of survival. And in order to survive, we will have to do away with the social system that threatens our survival.

No sane person can be satisfied with the current state of this society. It has bred violence, chaos, and suffering for millions within its borders and around the world. It is organized, not to meet *our* needs, but those of the few who rule.

We don't even have, for example, a simple, democratically elected council that meets to count up the number of people who live here and on that basis decide how much food needs to be produced, how many houses need to be built, what kind of quality of medical care needs to be provided.

Instead, these decisions are made by a few businessmen on the basis of what will be *profitable* for the food industry, the housing industry, and the medical industry from year to year.

What we need is a society that's organized in a way that makes some sense. A society that places our needs first. And that kind of society will never be a reality until we join a fight to make it possible. If we don't do that job, no one else is going to do it for us—not Ford, not Rockefeller, not Edward Kennedy, and not George Wallace.

The YSA opposes both the Democratic and Republican parties and their politicians. Those parties are run in the interests of the bankers and corporation owners who control them. We are campaigning instead for the Socialist Workers party candidates, Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

Doing away with this corrupt system is no utopian fantasy—it's the only reasonable alternative. But if a socialist America is ever going to be realized, *we* have got to be its architects and builders.

The prospects for socialism in this country are as good as we choose to make them. The most important single thing that you can do is to join us in turning those prospects into a reality.

Join the Young Socialist Alliance

The Young Socialist Alliance is a multiracial, revolutionary youth organization for high school and college students and young working people. We are a national organization of activists with chapters in cities and on campuses across the country.

We want you to join us in our fight to create a better society.

If you want to become a YSA member or find out more about us, just contact us at the address listed in the Socialist Directory on page 26 or fill out the attached coupon.

Mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

☐ I want to join the YSA.

☐ I would like more information about the YSA.

Name

Address

City

State Zip

Bilingual education and desegregation

By José Pérez

BOSTON—One issue in the school desegregation fight here that is of particular concern to Chicanos and Puerto Ricans all over the country is what impact court-ordered busing will have on the bilingual education programs that serve 4,000 Spanish-speaking students in Boston.

This city has a rapidly growing Puerto Rican population, composed overwhelmingly of first-generation immigrants who have arrived in the country within the last fifteen years. One state agency estimates that the Puerto Rican population of Boston went from 1,200 in 1960 to 18,000 in 1972.

Latino enrollment in Boston public schools went from 2,500 in September 1969 to 6,000 in September 1974. The overwhelming majority of the "Hispanics" listed in the official public school figures are Puerto Ricans.

The educational system of Boston has been a disaster for those immigrants. The graduating classes from 1965 to 1969 included only four Puerto Ricans. In 1969, 75 percent of all "Hispanics" were held back in school; only 13 percent wound up in the grade level corresponding to their age. Of the 2,500 Latinos who enrolled in all grades in 1969, only 250 were in high school, that is, 10 percent. Of those, fewer than 10 had graduated from high school by June 1970.

Bilingual education law

In response to this situation the state legislature in 1972 enacted a law requiring a three-year "transitional" bilingual education program for all children whose native language is not English. This included reading and writing in both English and the native language, and courses in the history and culture of the students' nation. In addition, traditional subject matter was to be taught in the students' own language until they were able to handle the classes in English.

The bilingual program is based on "clusters" of classrooms in a relatively small number of schools, which makes the proportion of Latinos in those schools much greater than their proportion in the system as a whole.



Puerto Rican parents picket in front of Boston School Committee offices protesting attempts to undercut bilingual education. Parents demanded Spanish-language program be retained under desegregation orders.

This clustering allows for a more rational division of labor within the staff and more facilities and resources specifically designed for bilingual instruction. Any attempt to make all schools "equally" Latino would mean the destruction of the clusters and, therefore, the present programs.

The racist Boston School Committee has for years systematically promoted a dual school system, which provided an inferior education to Blacks and other minorities. When they were faced with a court order to desegregate the schools, stemming from the suit filed by the NAACP, the school committee tried to pit the Black and Puerto Rican communities against each other by making a political football out of bilingual education.

In December 1974, the school committee's lawyers submitted a desegregation plan for "Phase Two" that had been drawn up under orders from U.S. District Judge Arthur Garrity. This so-called December 16 plan would have scattered bilingual classes throughout 40 of Boston's 200 schools. Twenty-seven of these schools would have had

only one or two classrooms devoted to the special program for Spanish-speaking children.

This was seen by Puerto Rican parents in Boston—and correctly so—as a frontal attack on the right of their children to receive bilingual education. In response, the Parents' Committee to Defend Bilingual Education was organized. The committee demanded the right to participate in the court hearings on the December 16 plan and the other plans that were being considered for Phase Two.

To demonstrate to Garrity that it represented the sentiments of the community, the committee presented him petitions containing 2,000 signatures. Also, a demonstration of several hundred was organized in front of the offices of the school committee to demand a halt to the plot to undercut bilingual education. As a result, the committee won the right to represent the Spanish-speaking community in the court proceedings.

No contradiction

The main point the parents pressed before Garrity was that there was no contradiction between maintaining bilingual programs and desegregating the schools. They pointed out that clusters of Spanish-language classrooms could easily be placed in schools with a large percentage of non-Spanish-speaking students.

Moreover, the parents pointed out, bilingual programs—just like desegregation—were a method to correct inequality in education and have been recognized as such by court decisions.

The NAACP, which brought the original desegregation suit, welcomed the participation of the Spanish-speaking community in the case and supported the proposals of the parents' committee.

The parents also asked that special consideration be given to two bilingual programs that comprise the overwhelming part of two schools—the Rafael Hernández elementary school and the Fenwick middle school.

The Hernández school is the model elementary-level bilingual program for the Boston system. Because of the large number of Spanish-language classrooms in the school, it is able to develop and experiment with techniques that are then applied in other schools.

The Fenwick school is dedicated to programs for older students who know little or no English and whose Spanish-language skills are also poor.

In both these cases the parents asked that the schools be kept substantially unchanged, despite the racial "imbalance." This "imbalance," the parents pointed out, was not a result of segregating Puerto Rican children into the worst schools, but of offering these students special programs to help make up for past discrimination.

The parents and teachers of the Hernández school also joined in the demand that their school not be broken up.

In late January of this year, the school committee submitted a second desegregation proposal. This one included substantial concessions to bilingual education, but it would not have desegregated the schools. It proposed "voluntary" busing instead of mandatory busing. This was another maneuver designed to trick the Spanish-speaking community into supporting a plan for continued segregation. But it didn't work, because the parents' committee refused to endorse the plan.

Perspectives unclear

What will happen to the bilingual education programs in the next school year is unclear. Partly it depends on the content of Garrity's May 10 order for Phase Two, the details of which are not yet available.

However, activists in the parents' committee contacted by the *Militant* prior to May 10 felt that their initial protests had a great impact and that many of their demands would be accepted, especially since the NAACP supported their position in court.

Officials of the Boston public school system now say that they too support the concept of clustering.

However, it would be a mistake to think that the racist lynch-mob inciters from the school committee have had a change of heart and now support the right of Puerto Ricans to an equal education.

On the contrary, further attacks on the bilingual programs can be expected. Possible avenues of attack include the following:

- This is the third year of the state-mandated bilingual programs in Boston public schools. The law requires that each student that qualifies spend a minimum of three years in the program. Will the students who started in the program in September 1972 now be forced out? School officials told this reporter they don't want to "protect" the Spanish-speaking students "too much."

School officials admit that they have carried out no studies, compiled no statistics, and made no attempt whatsoever to determine the effectiveness of the Spanish-language program. They don't know whether students thrown into English-language classrooms next September will be able to learn in them.

- Once students leave the bilingual classes, will they have an opportunity to continue studying their native language, culture, and history? School officials "don't know."

- Given the rapidly increasing enrollment of Spanish-speaking students, are bilingual programs being undercut by overcrowding, underfunding, or lack of staff?

No one knows. Boston school officials don't even bother to keep an accurate count of how many students participate in the Spanish-language program. They have offered estimates ranging from 1,800 to 2,500. Documents submitted to the federal courts, however, demonstrated the figure is more than 4,000.

- How many have been pushed out of school because of a lack of adequate

Continued on page 26

Visit to bilingual school

BOSTON—The Rafael Hernández elementary school has in many ways become a symbol of the fight of Puerto Ricans in Boston to preserve bilingual education in the face of school committee attempts to destroy the program.

As you walk into the office of the administrator of the school, the first things you notice are two very large banners in Spanish and English that say, "I am proud to be Puerto Rican." On the walls there are dozens of posters—travel posters, advertisements for film showings in the community, political posters. One says, in Spanish, "Days of struggle in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution."

Lydia Martín, a young Puerto Rican who is teacher-in-charge of the school, explained to me that because the Hernández school is the experimentation center for the Spanish-language bilingual program in Boston, they have substantial leeway and more resources to carry out projects that would be vetoed elsewhere.

She told me about the angry reaction of the predominantly Puerto Rican staff of the school when

they heard about the plans to transform the school into simply another elementary school. They called a meeting and together with several dozen parents sent a letter to Judge Arthur Garrity demanding that the school be kept the same.

As soon as I walked into the school I noticed the lack of the jailhouse atmosphere that usually pervades "educational" institutions. I looked into one classroom where a geography class was in progress. Under a large Puerto Rican flag the teacher was pointing to a map of the island. The stars and stripes of the United States were nowhere to be seen.

I spent several hours at the Hernández school trying to determine why this particular bilingual program, with only 170 students, had figured so prominently in the protests of the Puerto Rican community against the proposals to undermine bilingual education. What I saw led me to conclude that at the root of the community's reaction was not only the need for bilingual education, but also the desire to have that education be under Puerto Rican control.

—J.P.

Ford attacks Cambodian patrol boats, lands marines despite Thai protests

By David Frankel

MAY 14—The world has been put on notice once again that there will be no peace in Southeast Asia as long as U.S. imperialism retains a foothold there. Only days after President Ford declared that the "Vietnam era" was over, Washington was sending U.S. marines into Thailand and sinking Cambodian ships.

Today, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved a resolution backing Ford's acts of war.

Just as Lyndon Johnson did when he escalated the Vietnam War, Ford has pointed to the agreement of congressional leaders as justification for his reckless military action. But such action is easier to begin than to end, and it can easily evolve further than the imperialists themselves expect.

Peace leaders urge action

MAY 14—Antiwar forces in the United States are responding rapidly to Ford's new acts of aggression in Southeast Asia. Today, more than 100 students rallied at the University of California—San Diego to oppose Ford's war moves; and in Boston, 50 people turned out for an emergency picket line on one hour's notice. Other emergency actions are being planned.

Today, coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition, which organized massive demonstrations in the past to bring the troops home from Vietnam, issued the following statement:

"Once again the U.S. is embarked on a course of brutal aggression against the peoples of Southeast Asia. The attacks on Cambodian ships by U.S. warplanes, and the invasion of Thailand by U.S. marines—against the expressed will of the people and government of that country—can lead only to more killing and devastation.

"The National Peace Action Coalition appeals to the American people and to the worldwide antiwar movement to take action now to let Ford know that we will not stand for a new round of senseless slaughter of Asians and American GIs.

"An emergency response of demonstrations, picket lines, and rallies can make our voices heard.

"Stop the bombing!

"Bring the troops home now!

"U.S. out of Southeast Asia!"

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

Riding roughshod over the protests of the government of Thailand, Ford has ordered more than 1,100 marines airlifted into that country, along with helicopters and combat equipment. Meanwhile, ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, headed by the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea*, are moving into position in the waters off Southeast Asia. The entire U.S. military force in the western Pacific has been placed on alert.

The pretext used to justify Ford's brutal actions—the seizure of the U.S. cargo ship *Mayaguez* by Cambodian forces—does not stand up to even the most casual examination.

Ford's fulminations about "an act of piracy" cannot change the fact that the ship was taken within eight miles of an island claimed by Cambodia, which also maintains a twelve-mile limit for its territorial waters.

"The State Department was not ready to discuss the international legal aspects of the seizure," reported Philip Shabecoff in the May 13 *New York Times*.

Its reluctance was understandable. As Shabecoff explained, "Some department lawyers acknowledged that the seizure might be open to controversy because of the proximity of the ship to the small island in the Gulf of Siam."

Neither Ford nor the Democratic-controlled Congress seemed very interested in the legal niceties, however. "The President's charge that the Cambodians had committed an 'act of piracy' drew support on Capitol Hill," reported the *Times*, "even though State Department lawyers said the term was not legally correct."

The real pirates

The real pirates lost no time in speaking up. Sen. James Buckley from New York demanded "immediate clinical air strikes" against Cambodia, sufficient to "hurt." Senator Clifford Case (R-N.J.), who was coauthor of the 1973 amendment supposedly barring U.S. combat activity in Indochina, said that Ford would be justified in undertaking "police action" to recover the vessel. Case did not mention the fact that the entire Korean War was waged by the United States under the polite terminology of "police action."

Senator Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) suggested that if Washington didn't show some muscle, "this is just an indication of what we're going to find from every dinky little nation in the world."

After suffering five years of U.S. bombing attacks, the Cambodians are more than justified in halting any U.S. ship violating their territorial sovereignty. Not only was the *Mayaguez* carrying military cargo, but it entered Cambodian waters shortly after the Cambodians had challenged a Panamanian and a Korean ship in the same area. It is highly unlikely that Washington was unaware of these earlier incidents.

Did the U.S. imperialists have a hand in arranging the scenario for this confrontation? It is certainly possible. A similar incident, in which U.S. naval vessels provoked a confrontation with North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin in 1964, was engineered by the Johnson administration in order to get authority from Congress for expanding military operations in Indochina.

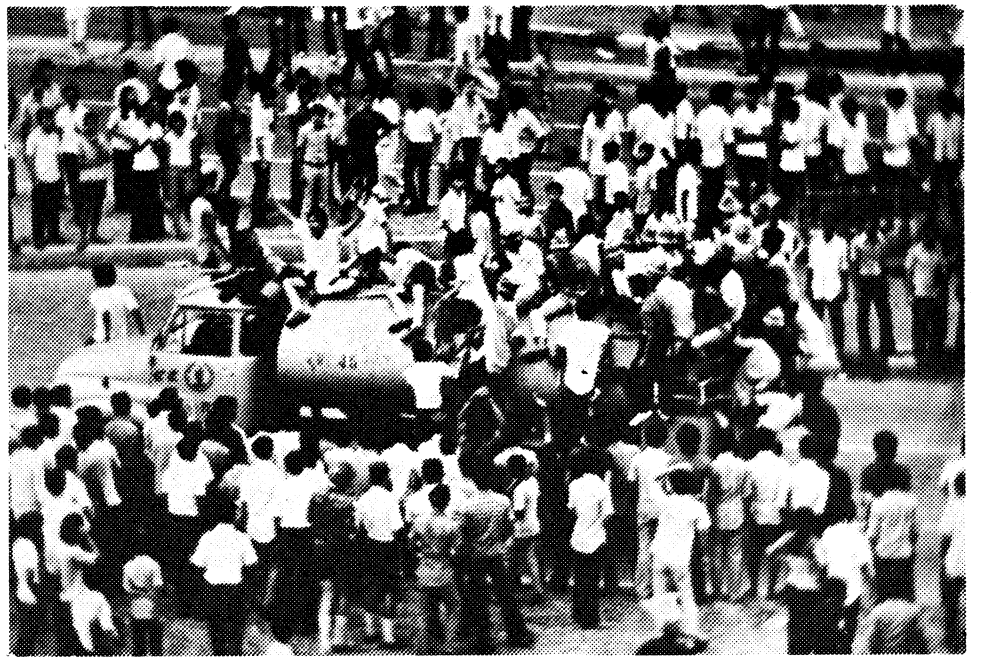
In any case, it is clear that Washington immediately seized on the *Mayaguez* incident for its own ends. U.S. ships are often taken by the governments of Ecuador and Peru without provoking military retaliation by the Pentagon.

The dispatch of troops and warships before the Cambodian government had even made a statement on the matter showed that the Ford administration was worried about more than one freighter—saving the lives of its crew was not even a factor in its calculations. The imperialists want to demonstrate to the world their continued readiness to use their military power to maintain U.S. economic and political interests abroad.

Kissinger pushes hard line

In a May 12 *Chicago Sun-Times* dispatch Thomas Ross writes: "Secretary of State Kissinger is urging President Ford to respond to the defeat in Vietnam with a tough, even abrasive, foreign policy."

"Kissinger is understood to be arguing strongly against the view that the lesson of Vietnam is that the U.S. must lower its profile and guard against the



Thai students demonstrate in Bangkok in 1973. U.S. domination of Thailand was one issue that provoked student protests and fall of old government.

interventionist impulse that led to the debacle in Southeast Asia."

In the May 14 *Times* Shabecoff reported, "High-ranking Administration sources familiar with military planning said privately that the seizure of the vessel might provide the test of American determination in Southeast Asia that, they asserted, the United States has viewed as important since the collapse of allied governments in South Vietnam and Cambodia."

Neither Moscow nor Peking has issued even a statement on Washington's new aggression in Indochina, let alone taken any action. As in Vietnam, they have stood aside and let the U.S. imperialists proceed unchecked. The only mention of the events came from Teng Hsiao-ping, the third-ranking member in the Maoist hierarchy, who told reporters in Paris that "there is nothing that China could do" if Washington decided to invade Cambodia.

In demonstrating its determination to hold the line against further revolutionary advances in Southeast Asia, the U.S. government has carried out a virtual invasion of Thailand. Public statements by the Thai government that the bases in that country should not be used for military action against Cambodia are being ignored.

Thai Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj set a deadline of May 15 for the withdrawal of the U.S. marines that landed over his protests, threatening "drastic action" if they were not removed by then. United States domination of Thailand was one of the issues that led to the fall of the previous military regime there late in 1973, and demonstrations against U.S. interference in Laos and Thailand are

again occurring.

The landing of marines in Thailand is a calculated violation of Thai sovereignty designed to establish Washington's continued military role there.

When Ford ordered U.S. fighters based in Thailand to attack and sink the Cambodian ships—ships that for all Washington knew may have been carrying some or all of the American seamen supposedly being saved—Prime Minister Pramoj correctly labeled the act "madness."

'Doves' back Ford

Despite the growing international and national protests against Ford's moves, the so-called doves are backing him to the hilt. The strongest criticism that liberal Sen. George McGovern could come up with was the suggestion that Ford should have waited two or three days before unleashing the bombs.

Philip Shabecoff wrote May 13, "The seizure of the American ship has also created virtual unanimity among Congress and the Administration. . . . It has been a long time since these two branches of government have been in accord on any issue involving Indochina."

Actually, the tactical differences between the liberals in Congress and the Ford administration on how to police the world have faded into the background amid strong expressions of bipartisan support for a "strong America" in the wake of the Vietnam debacle.

As liberal Democratic Sen. Walter Mondale recently explained, "The Vietnam situation does paint a differ-

Continued on page 26

Thais in U.S. protest invasion

By George Johnson

LOS ANGELES—The sending of U.S. marines to Thailand was denounced in a strongly worded telegram sent to President Gerald Ford the night of May 14 by an ad hoc coalition of Thai organizations in the Southern California area.

The message castigated Ford's action as one of "arrogance," adding that it "is an act of aggression and is against the will of the Thai people."

Moreover, the coalition pointed out, the action "interferes in our internal affairs" and "is an obvious violation of Thai independence and sovereignty." The Thais charged that the sending of marines "is an attempt to intimidate our people."

Concluding that "it is obvious you are attempting to draw us into another Indochina war," the coalition demanded that Ford "withdraw all marines from Thailand and all other U.S. military personnel immediately."

The group also sent a message to Thai Premier Kukrit Pramoj, requesting that the government of Thailand "take a strong stand" by demanding the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. military forces from the country.

The ad hoc coalition that signed the telegrams includes the following organizations: Bitak Thai, Union of Thais in the United States, Center to Protect Thai Democracy, and Thai Group in Long Beach.

Continued from page 1

tagon, and Capitol Hill. (For an earlier Cambodia story, see page 9.)

The Democrats and Republicans hardly care that the marines were beating down an open door—reports indicate that the Cambodians had already released the crew of the Mayagüez before Ford struck. The purpose of the assault was to make a show of the “abrasive foreign policy” called for by Kissinger after the liberation of Cambodia and Vietnam—to prove, as Republican Sen. Barry Goldwater demanded, that no “dinky little nation” could defy the U.S. military colossus.

Defense Secretary Schlesinger boasted of Washington’s “firm and measured response,” referring to the sinking of Cambodian patrol boats, the destruction of Cambodian airfields, and the invasion of Tang Island, with an as yet unknown toll of Cambodians and GIs killed. This slaughter was a “much needed and timely” demonstration that averted a “weakening of international order,” the Pentagon chief claimed.

The “doves” in Congress jumped on the bandwagon to cheer Ford’s gunboat diplomacy. Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield hailed the invasion as “a difficult decision but the right one.”

The U.S. assault was strongly condemned by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, who today issued the following statement:

“We unequivocally condemn Ford’s brutal attack on a country that has already suffered so much death and devastation from U.S. bombs and bullets. It is an act of naked aggression and an open threat against any country that doesn’t toe the line dictated by U.S. imperialism.

“Washington bears full responsibility for the bloodshed. The ship Mayagüez, by the government’s own admission, was carrying military cargo through Cambodian territorial waters when stopped by the Cambodians. As the government of Thailand pointed out, the ‘piracy’ was by the United States.

“The Pentagon war makers, having just suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Cambodian and Vietnamese liberation fighters, have been openly seeking a pretext for a ‘show of force’ to prove they can still police the world.

“To underline its arrogance and utter contempt for the peoples of Southeast Asia, the White House prepared the ‘rescue’ operation by sending more marines into Thailand against the explicit wishes of the Thai government. We declare our full solidarity with the workers, students, and peasants of Thailand and Laos, who have demanded that all Americans and American installations be immediately withdrawn from their countries.

“The Mayagüez provocation is further proof that there will be no end to the killing in Southeast Asia until all U.S. troops, CIA agents, ‘advisers,’ planes, warships, and bases are completely removed.

“Ford’s aggression was met with a swift response by antiwar leaders and activists in this country, including supporters of our campaign. This response helped demonstrate that the bipartisan consensus in Washington does not represent the views of the American people, and that further U.S. war moves would be met with a massive response. If Washington tries to maintain a foothold in Laos or Thailand, against the growing resistance of the Laotian and Thai peoples, the need for action may not be far off.

“The Democrats and Republicans in Congress, ‘hawks’ and ‘doves’ alike, put aside their tactical differences and closed ranks behind Ford’s imperialist aggression. A few have feebly suggested that they would have liked more ‘consultation.’ But not one has stood up to say, as the Socialist Workers party says, that the United States has *no right* to bomb, invade, or do anything else except get out of Southeast Asia now!

“The people of this country were not consulted on this latest military adventure. The vast majority of Americans are firmly opposed to squandering more of our resources, or spilling more blood, in Southeast Asia.

“There will be more such adventures, more GIs sent to die for Wall Street’s profits, more episodes that bring the world to the brink of nuclear annihilation—so long as the rulers of this country can carry out such acts against the will of the American people.

“We call for taking the war-making powers out of the hands of the White House and Congress and for letting the American people decide these questions.

“As the socialist candidates for president and vice-president, we demand:

“*Hands off Cambodia, Thailand, and Laos!*

“*U.S. out of Southeast Asia now!*

“*Disarm the war makers!*

“*We urge you to join us.*”

May 17 support

On May 3, the Indiana Student Coalition Against Racism held a very successful statewide steering committee meeting where most regional SCAR chapters were able to send representatives. Every participating group contributed to the discussion and the resulting decisions made about ISCAR’s plans for getting a large number of people to Boston on May 17.

In the last two weeks, the May 17 march has gained significant support in various areas of Indiana—especially in Bloomington, where many local politicians and church and student groups have voiced their support for the desegregation march on Boston, both financially and politically.

The many people marching under the Indiana banner will be only the first beneficiary of this successful work. See you in Boston May 17!

Thom Mindola

Bloomington, Indiana

For abortion

In answer to Gerald Kinman, who opposes abortion [letter, May 9 *Militant*], I would like to say—yes, a fetus is part of a woman’s body until such time as it can function on its own, usually the second trimester. Until this time, it is a parasite and has all the attributes of a parasite. It is not a “being in its own right” until it is able to live outside the mother (its “host”).

I became pregnant by choice, enjoyed my pregnancy, and I enjoy my child even more. I wish this same joy to every child and every mother.

It is wrong to force a woman into motherhood. The question is not whether we have abortions, but whether they will be legal and safe—or illegal and dangerous.

Kathleen Sodja

Minneapolis, Minnesota

New reader

A brother next door to my cell has just introduced me to your newspaper, which I find very interesting. I’ve heard it mentioned a few times in the past, but could never acquire the address.

But now that I have your address, I’d like to know if I can be added to your mailing list. Financially I am incapable of affording it, due to my environment.

I am a Chicano interested in the struggles of the minorities. I receive other papers, but they don’t cover as many topics as you do. For instance, I just read about the attempts on Fidel Castro’s life, which is new to me, and I’d like to know more about it. I receive three to four papers and none of them have mentioned it.

I’d appreciate it very much if I can be added to your mailing list.

A prisoner

Illinois

No patience

On the evening of May 6, a rally was held in Washington Heights, Manhattan, protesting the projected closing of Francis Delafield Hospital. More than 500 people jammed the basement cafeteria of the hospital and listened to speeches by local politicians and community figures.

Resentment against Mayor Abraham Beame’s proposed elimination of hospital services in the area ran very high. The warmest reception of the evening was given to

Lillian Roberts of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, who said, “Someone has to speak for the have-nots. A hospital is a matter of life and death. Let Beame be the murderer. I won’t be!”

Democratic Assemblyman Herman Farrell, sensing what was in the air, pointed out that school and hospital closings tend to hit “poverty areas” first—entirely true. His solution?

“Write the mayor so many letters that his mailman gets a hernia.”

Farrell looked somewhat uncomfortable during the more militant speeches. Angry, militant people are likely to support actions and solutions that are not on the Democratic party’s agenda.

Many hospital workers were at the rally, and *Temperatures Rising*, a radical rank-and-file hospital workers paper, was distributed. Young Socialist Alliance members distributed several hundred copies of the “Bill of Rights for Working People” and reprints of Fred Halstead’s *Militant* article “Why can’t everyone have a job?”

Robert Auld

New York, New York

Semana Chicana

Last month, a *carnal* and I had the opportunity to travel up to San Jose for a cultural/educational week, *Semana Chicana*. It was held at California State University in San Jose, March 31-April 4.

Semana Chicana is basically a nationalist event, presenting Chicano history and struggles—struggles from the past and up to the present.

Total attendance for the week exceeded 5,000. Naturally, almost all those participating were Raza, with a small sprinkling of Blacks, Asians, and whites. Ages ranged from *bebidos* to *viejitos*.

The program included such well-known people as Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales of the Denver Crusade for Justice and Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers. Also there was Daniel Valdez, well known for his nationalistic and heart-warming songs. Teatro Campesino did a skit that was very appropriate for the occasion. There were many, many more speakers, *teatros*, and singers. All in all, in a pure Raza style.

Why nationalism? Why Chicano? Why not! Nationalism made it possible for Chicanos, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans to think culturally and politically about their particular situation. For each of us, it united our Raza so we could better fight our oppressors and our oppression.

Our strength was mobilized in a more positive and effective way. With that strength—that nationalism—we took to the streets in numbers to defend our basic rights—the right to unionize, to equal education, to housing, etc. What’s more, we’re still doing it.

Nationalism caused all this, and that’s why it’s good. San Jose just proved it again.

Dario Porras Martínez

Los Angeles, California

Call for investigation

Teamster leader and veteran antiwar activist John T. Williams is leading a call for a legislative investigation into the assassination of his nephew, George Payton, Jr., a Black community leader in Charleston, South Carolina.

Williams, a business representative of Teamster Local 208 and a

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



The real Debs tradition

"The workers are the saviors of society [applause]; the redeemers of the race; and when they have fulfilled their great historic mission, men and women can walk the highlands and enjoy the vision of a land without masters and without slaves, a land regenerated and resplendent in the triumph of freedom and civilization. [Long, continued applause.]"

Those are the words of Eugene V. Debs, taken down at a mass meeting in New York on December 10, 1905, in support of revolutionary industrial unionism and the socialist future.

It is inspiring to read the speeches of Debs, the great American socialist agitator. His life was devoted to the struggle against capitalist exploitation, and everything he said and wrote was a ringing denunciation of injustice and the greed of the employing class.

As often happens with the heritage of great individuals, the name of Debs is sometimes invoked today by those who are alien to everything he stood for. The most conservative strata of the entrenched union bureaucracy, advised by a mercenary band of intellectual sycophants and hangers-on, are plucking at the mantle of Debs to disguise their allegiance to capitalism.

This furtive operation is conducted from a deliberately obscure political clubhouse called "Social Democrats USA," where a small monthly paper, *New America*, is published, and where ceremonial dinners to honor its members are occasionally held.

Recently, United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel was the honored guest of Social Democrats USA at their "Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner." Without any visible sign of embarrassment, Abel accepted the Debs award. And it may be that he did so largely out of ignorance.

He paid tribute to Debs with a quote from Norman Thomas, who mistakenly thought of himself as a Debs disciple. "Debs' vision of a truly cooperative society, a brotherhood of races and nations and, with it, an end of bitter poverty and war, was never more important

than it is today. His dream is our necessary hope," quoted Abel.

This may do for ceremonial occasions. It is certainly a far cry from what Abel says and does normally. His support of the war in Vietnam; his endorsement of the Democratic party and its racist, prowar program and candidates; his collaboration with the steel corporations and complicity in the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, which forfeits the right to strike—all this is the exact opposite of Debs's unalterable opposition to the capitalist system and his class-struggle policy for the union movement of his day.

Why, then, do these present-day top union officials belatedly remind themselves that the labor movement is indebted to Debs? Why do they try to identify with the Debs tradition, or what they would like others to think is the Debs tradition?

A few years ago Debs was never mentioned in these circles. Not only Debs. Socialism, the radical beginning of unions, even the great strike battles of the 1930s and '40s were not talked about sympathetically. These union officials refused to support the civil rights marches and demonstrations of the 1960s, and they denounced and opposed the antiwar demonstrations.

They are anxious now to make it appear as if they have something in common with Debs because they sense that the economic crisis has changed the mood and temper of the working class. And they are right about that. Socialism is becoming a popular idea. Many workers are eager to learn more about socialism.

They won't learn much from those who pretend to honor the Debs tradition by conferring honors upon themselves. It is better to go back to Debs and listen to what he said. One of the best ways is to pick up a copy of *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, published several years ago by Pathfinder Press (410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, 320 pp., \$2.75 paper). It is a compilation of his greatest speeches. This is Debs firsthand. It is dangerous to accept twice-removed imitations and distorted interpretations.

coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition, recently told me the story of his nephew's killing.

Payton, a Charleston attorney who nearly unseated the late Mendel Rivers in a 1968 congressional race, was murdered March 18. A man walked into his office and shot him once with a gun equipped with a silencer. Payton had just finished a race for state senate, which he lost in a Democratic party primary runoff.

Payton's funeral saw a mass outpouring of 10,000 mourners. Williams went to Charleston for the funeral. There prominent Black community leaders joined him in a call for an investigation.

According to Williams, Payton had held community political discussion meetings attended by as many as 1,000. His campaigns had included such proposals as removal of the sales tax on household needs, creating child-care centers, and the lowering of utility rates.

In a statement issued in Charleston, Williams said the proposed investigation was "predicated on the realistic assumption that Payton's execution had, perhaps, far-reaching motives which . . . could involve persons in noticeable positions of influence."

According to Williams, the Charleston police don't want to have anything to do with such an investigation. He said that the Charleston police chief has maintained that the killer could not have been part of a conspiracy because he also was Black and was probably only a deranged or disgruntled client of Payton's.

Williams, however, has stressed that the assassination was carried out in a cool and calculated manner and that "a 'hit man' can be contracted in any color."

Alan Hicks
Los Angeles, California

Party Building Fund

Since we are retired and pay no income tax, we expect no rebate. So we are forwarding ten dollars' Social in-Security money.

We just look for the *Militant* to keep us informed in this isolated bit of reactionary USA. Solidarity with the Socialist Workers party.

A.A.
Napa, California

Setting it straight

In my article in the May 9 *Militant*, "Attica frame-up: gov't conspiracy unravels," I inadvertently made a factual error. Early reports had indicated that former FBI informer Mary Jo Cook's notes were totally destroyed in the mysterious fire that swept her home. But later information has revealed that the notes, while damaged, remain intact. This will allow their use in future Attica trial proceedings.

Because the *Militant* prides itself on the accuracy of its reporting, I would suggest that we set the record straight.

Kurt Hill
Buffalo, New York

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.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Malcolm would have celebrated

"All it took was a rifle, some sneakers, and a bowl of rice," as Malcolm X was fond of describing the Vietnamese victory over French imperialism in 1954. "And a lotta heart."

Had Malcolm lived until today he would have been one of the first to celebrate the Vietnamese victory over U.S. imperialism in 1975—ten years after his death and nearly fifty years after his birth on May 19, 1925.

Besides being a militant, unrelenting fighter for Black rights in the United States, Malcolm was an internationalist. He realized that the triumph of the Vietnamese in 1954 was a victory for all colored peoples of the earth.

"The dark people are waking up," he once said of the struggles of peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. "They're losing their fear of the white man."

Malcolm gained tremendous inspiration from the Vietnamese struggle. As the foremost spokesperson for Black liberation in his time, he would sometimes link the two struggles in his speeches.

"When the twenty-two million Black Americans see that our problem is the same as the problem of the people who are being oppressed in South Vietnam, and the Congo, and Latin America . . . , then we approach our problem as a majority that can demand, not as a minority that has to beg."

Malcolm was speaking out on Uncle Sam's crime in Vietnam before antiwar consciousness was very deep.

But Malcolm's antiwar consciousness predated only by a short time the antiwar sentiment that other Blacks would soon express. And those who were not vocalizing antiwar sentiment from a podium, or on a campus, or in the streets, were harboring it nonetheless.

The *Philadelphia Tribune* conducted a seven-week survey of Blacks in that city on the war. On April 6,

1968, it printed the results:

Get out of Vietnam—84.5 percent;

Stop bombing, negotiate—11.0 percent;

Support President Johnson's policies—4.5 percent.

The crime of the Vietnam War chafed on an already wary Black population. Bitter experiences following previous wars, and decades of racist oppression, found Blacks at the very start of the Vietnam War in a different and suspicious mood.

No longer did they consider participation in one of America's wars a chance for social betterment for themselves. No longer were they eager to sign up to fight for "freedom" for others. Uncle Sam's examples of "freedom," when viewed through Black eyes, seemed to have the mark of "freedom" Blacks have experienced for hundreds of years. Or as Malcolm once said of Sam's "freedom":

"Two or three American soldiers can get killed way over in South Vietnam and he'll send battleships—sticking his nose into somebody else's business. He wanted to send troops down to Cuba and make them have free elections there. And this ole cracker don't have free elections in this country."

The inspiration Malcolm received from the colonial revolution was shared by the entire Black movement for equal rights and freedom. The Vietnamese struggle spurred on the growth of nationalist consciousness and struggles by Blacks throughout the United States.

There is a measure of historical justice in the fact that the Black struggle in this country, in return, played a role in tying the hands of the imperialists and making victory possible for the Vietnamese.

The deep opposition of Blacks, including many GIs, to the war and their refusal to accept the need to sacrifice to maintain white rule over Indochina was not the least of the factors forcing Washington to give up in Vietnam.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Epitaph—According to *Rolling Stone's* Vietnam correspondent, graffiti scrawled on a wall at Saigon's Tan Son Nhut airport declared, "Will the last American out of here please turn out the light at the end of the tunnel."

Ethics dep't—In a poll, 60 percent of young business managers said that if they had been members of the Nixon team they too would have helped him cover up Watergate. But 69 percent disagreed with the following: "One cause of the decline of political morality is that it has now sunk to the lowest level of American business morality." Like nothing could sink that low?

Try a nearby sewer—Arguing against a proposed statute that would end smoking in the Colorado legisla-

ture, one witty member observed that it would end the hallowed practice of making deals in smoke-filled rooms.

Morality pays—"Christian colleges that resist pressure toward pagan conformity on the whole are doing better financially."—Dr. Elton Trueblood, a leading Christian educator.

Travel tip—For senior citizens considering moving abroad to stretch retirement dollars, *Moneysworth* magazine notes the present favorable rate of exchange with Chile. The magazine adds: "If you should decide to try Chile, make sure you avoid any semblance of leftist leanings. . . . As for reading, your best bet might be to toss out all your books but the collected

works of Ayn Rand and a dog-eared copy of *Mein Kampf*."

Fourteen-cent difference—Those who insist there's not a dime's worth of difference between a liberal and a conservative should consider the case of California Assemblyman Willie Brown. A leading liberal, Brown introduced a bill to increase the minimum wage for prisoners from two cents an hour to sixteen cents. The bill would not alter the present maximum of thirty-five cents.

Thought for the week—"I wish I had never heard of the White House."—E. Howard Hunt, plumbers' foreman on the Watergate job, en route back to jail.



'Any leftovers?'

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



Puerto Rico's depression: made in USA

Last week I outlined the human toll the depression is taking in Puerto Rico. This column will be devoted to looking at why the depression has hit this U.S. colony so hard and why the "solutions" proposed by the Puerto Rican government will only make matters worse.

In the late 1940s, the government of Puerto Rico, in collusion with the businessmen of the United States, set up a program to industrialize the island. The program was based on "incentives" to ensure that U.S. companies that invested in Puerto Rico would reap gigantic profits. The main "incentives" were a huge unemployed labor force, compelled to work at very low wages, and a 100 percent exemption from any taxes for up to thirty years.

Sure enough, in the context of a booming world capitalist economy, many factories were opened up, jobs were created, and the standard of living of working people rose.

It didn't work that well—unemployment never went below 10 percent, and hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans had to come to the United States to get jobs—but the profit charts were very impressive. So U.S. government propagandists baptized Puerto Rico a "showcase of democracy" and declared the

incentives program an "economic miracle."

By the late 1960s, problems began to appear. Light manufacturing plants, which employ many workers, began to close down, both because their tax exemptions were running out and because they could find even cheaper labor in other countries.

Moreover, the whole economy was directly in the hands of U.S. interests, and the profits being made—up to \$1 billion a year—were being exported to the United States instead of being used for further industrialization. Investments had been made on the basis of Wall Street's needs. The island produced what it did not consume and had to import what it did consume.

When the economic contraction began in the United States, it hit Puerto Rico with a vengeance because the bulk of the economy is tied up with trade with the United States. The newest import from the United States was the depression. It was the inevitable and foreseeable result of the thirty-year campaign to make the island a wholly owned subsidiary of Wall Street.

Last March, Governor Rafael Hernández Colón presented to the legislature his plan for dealing with the crisis.

The first set of measures he proposed are designed to close a \$200 million budget gap opened up by falling tax revenue. These include an income tax hike, a freeze on the wages of all government workers, and the layoff of 36,000 public employees—almost 5 percent of all the people who still have jobs in Puerto Rico. This represents a brutal assault on the standard of living of Puerto Rico's population.

The other part of the governor's proposal is to "sweeten the pot" for U.S. manufacturers by subsidizing, out of tax money, 25 percent of the wages of workers employed in new factories that have a labor force of 500 or more.

But right now the monopolies aren't too interested in making massive investments—they don't have enough markets to keep open the factories they already have.

And to the extent that a few factories are opened up under this new incentive, it will make Puerto Rico's problems worse in the long run. A smaller proportion of the wealth produced by those factories will stay in Puerto Rico, and the economy will remain dominated by that of the United States, which is what got Puerto Rico to where it is today in the first place.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Secretaries' Bill of Rights

National Secretaries' Day is usually celebrated by mayors and governors complimenting their "gals" on the fine work they do and by a few bosses bringing flowers for the office. A "Pride and Progress Rally" held in Chicago on April 23 was more appropriate. The rally demanded enforcement of a Secretaries' Bill of Rights.

The rally was sponsored by Women Employed, an organization fighting to improve working conditions for women who work in Chicago's downtown Loop. The action was part of a campaign by WE to get the Secretaries' Bill of Rights adopted in every office in the Loop.

"Secretaries are professionals," begins the Bill of Rights. "We are invaluable to the smooth functioning of any office. We are proud of our skills as well as our decision-making and organizational abilities."

Seven rights are demanded by the secretaries: the right to recognition as professionals and individu-

als; the right to develop potential; the right to fair hiring and termination practices; the right to clear job descriptions and reasonable work loads; the right to equitable salaries; the right to adequate health care; and the right to a secure retirement.

A recent meeting of sixty legal secretaries, organized by the Legal Secretaries Council of WE, underlines the popularity of the Secretaries' Bill of Rights. The council, which is in contact with women in about seventy law firms, decided that its first project would be to get the endorsement of Chicago's top ten law firms for the Bill of Rights.

Less than two years old, WE has already scored some victories. Through sex-discrimination suits, WE forced Continental Bank to pay \$13,000 in back wages to eight women and Continental National Assurance to pay a total of \$25 million in back pay to all its women employees.

A committee of WE that concentrates on defending temporary office workers has had meetings with

several temporary hiring agencies. These meetings resulted in some agencies, including Kelly Services, Inc.—one of the largest in the country—agreeing to provide their employees with life insurance and written office policies. In addition, they agreed that any negative reports from employers passed on to the agencies would be given directly to the secretary. Without this the secretary has no means of refuting the report, or even knowing that it exists.

Other activities include attempts to meet with the Democratic governor of Illinois, Dan Walker, to insist that he implement affirmative-action programs and protect working women from sex discrimination.

WE is growing in membership. It is gaining respect, not only in the Chicago area, but around the country. And WE's Secretaries' Bill of Rights can be a good organizing tool for secretaries everywhere in their fight to gain the recognition, job security, and equality they are due.

Election violations reported

Shankerites win majority in District 1 election

By Cliff Conner

NEW YORK—A slate of anti-community-control candidates committed to United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker has won six of the nine seats on District One's community school board in Manhattan's Lower East Side.

The other three seats were won by the Por los Niños/Save the Children coalition, which is fighting for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in District One. The May 6 elections were, as in years past, fraught with Shankerite irregularities and illegalities.

The 6-to-3 majority, if allowed to stand, will place the Shankerites in a stronger position than they previously held. They will now be able to take measures that require the sanction of two-thirds of the board members, which they could not do before.

The election result places the struggle for community control on the defensive. However, the racist forces that are hell-bent on holding down the educational level of District One—where some 75 percent of the schoolchildren are Puerto Rican, 15 percent are Black, and 5 percent are Chinese—can still be held in check through a determined mobilization of the parents and their supporters.

The fundamental source of strength of the struggle for community control lies not in the relationship of forces on the school board, but in the schools and in the community.

Although the school population is only 5 percent white, more than 50 percent of those registered to vote in the district are white. As in previous elections, the Shankerites geared their campaign to mobilizing the white voters through appeals to racist fears and relied on a well-financed machine to get them to the polls.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Despite election gains for Shankerites, racist forces can be held in check through continued mobilization of community.

On election day, Por los Niños pollwatchers had their hands full reporting, protesting, and documenting violations on the part of the UFT-backed "Brotherhood" slate. Por los Niños activist Katherine Sojourner told the *Militant* of a U.S. Justice Department official's comment that she had observed enough irregularities to warrant a lawsuit to overturn the elections.

Another Por los Niños supporter, Mona Collier, who was asked by the coalition to compile a list of the voting irregularities, said, "There were a lot of flagrant violations. Many of the polling places opened late. At several schools the official lists of parent voters were not present, and parents

were told to return later. Some schools had no interpreters, as required by law."

Collier also told of cases where Shankerites were passing out "Brotherhood" slate palm cards—lists of candidates that a voter can refer to while marking the ballot—and telling people they were for the Por los Niños slate. Many instances were reported of board of elections inspectors electioneering for the Brotherhood slate. "At one polling place," Collier said, "a poll watcher saw an inspector marking ballots."

When poll watchers asked the inspectors for their names, many refused to give them. Some even ripped up the forms for reporting violations, "but we

salvaged some of the pieces," Collier said.

While the official inspectors, of course, are nominally nonpartisan, their cozy relationship with the Shanker camp is like that of Pentagon generals with Lockheed and Boeing executives. UFT campaigners of previous years turned up this year as election inspectors and vice versa.

The elections revealed some other interesting features of the UFT campaign. For one thing, while the "Brotherhood" slate included Black and Spanish-surnamed candidates, all six of its winners are white. It was no accident; the Shankerites rigged their palm cards to assure that result.

The May 7 *New York Times* identified one Max Green as a "U.F.T. official running this year's campaign for the union's Brotherhood slate."

"Mr. Green," the article continued, "said yesterday he had 300 volunteers working for him, plus 40 high-school students whom the union paid \$37.50 each for their services." First of all, Green's "volunteers" were mostly teachers who were relieved of teaching duties for the day. But virtually all of these teachers—and this is a positive omen for the future of the community-control struggle—had to be imported from other districts. The UFT members in District One itself are for the most part no longer reflecting Shanker's bitter hatred toward the community they teach in every day. A few have been won over to active support of Por los Niños, while most have at least been "neutralized."

The high school students Green paid were not told in advance what they were being hired to do. Many were Puerto Ricans from poverty-stricken neighborhoods, to whom \$37.50 was a real windfall, but they walked off the

Continued on page 26

Boston mayoral race

Socialist campaigns for school desegregation

By Baxter Smith

may-or-al race: any act of running for election to the office of mayor; usually involving campaigning around issues concerning the needs of a given city.

BOSTON—There is a race for the mayor's office in a fall election here.

In this birthplace of American democracy, where patriotic rebels 200 years ago made their choice between freedom and tyranny, however, there is only one campaign that comes anywhere near meeting the needs of this city. It is the campaign of Norman Oliver of the Socialist Workers party.

Oliver's campaign—during this bicentennial celebration—symbolizes the revolutionary ideals of those patriots who believed that equal rights should be guaranteed to all citizens.

Oliver's campaign is the only one that is unequivocal in its support of democratic rights, especially Black students' right to an equal education.

"It is only on the foundation of equality that we can work together for a real, meaningful education for our children," Oliver said. "The first thing I would do as mayor is enforce the complete desegregation of all Boston schools."

Oliver, who is the only Black mayoral candidate, is up against three Democratic contenders, none of whom support equal rights for Black students.

Incumbent Mayor Kevin White, one contender, has vacillated on desegrega-

tion since the beginning of school last fall. Of the Phase Two desegregation plan for next September, White said he was "bitterly disappointed" because it will add to the "disruption" of the city and guarantees "a continuation of the present level of tensions and hostility throughout the city." White is a liberal.

The two other Democratic contenders, State Sen. Joseph Timilty and State Rep. Raymond Flynn, are active backers of the racist antibusing forces.

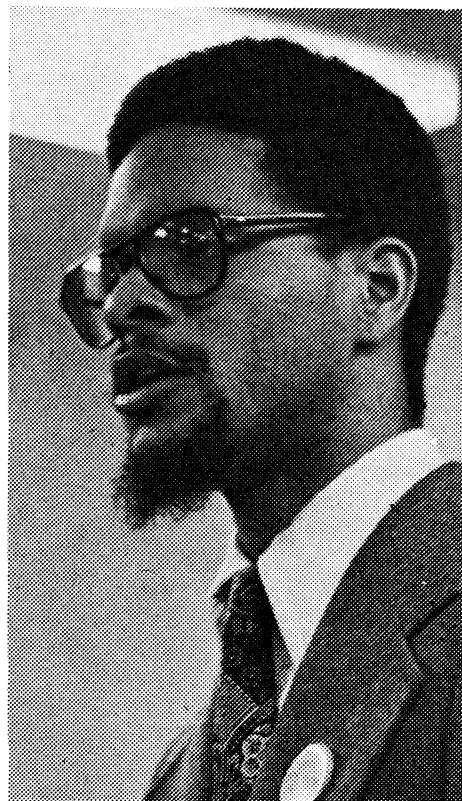
If Phase Two is implemented, according to Flynn, Boston will become "only a city for the poor."

Oliver's campaign not only supports on paper Black students' right to an equal education, it has backed that right in the desegregation struggle itself. His campaign has endorsed and helped to publicize the May 17 NAACP-called march for desegregation. And because of his support for desegregation, Oliver has already won backing from Blacks here.

In an opinion poll commissioned by the *Boston Globe* and published last week, 11 percent of Blacks "found Oliver completely favorable." Fifteen percent found Flynn favorable, 25 percent found Timilty favorable, 68 percent found White favorable. (Those polled could list more than one candidate.)

An indication of the kind of support that Oliver's campaign is capable of generating was apparent during his appearance at street rallies May 10 to build support for the May 17 desegregation demonstration.

"The only practical way to break down a system of forced inequality, forced segregation, and forced exclusion of Black youth from Boston's better schools is through busing," he told shoppers at a rally in the Black community. "That's right, mister. You're right," an elderly couple that



Militant/Maceo Dixon

NORMAN OLIVER: "The first thing I would do as mayor is enforce complete desegregation of Boston schools."

stopped for a moment told him.

Oliver was getting a good response. "Oh yeah, the march," "Yeah, I got it," "Right," and "I'll be there," were typical responses.

Several people were standing outside a supermarket. A young Black man who carried groceries to waiting cars had a May 17 button on his lapel. He was taping up a May 17 poster. "It's a little crooked, but that's all right," he said.

There were also some gypsy cab drivers lounging around trying to make a buck. One of them had heard of the march but was skeptical about it.

"We don't need no marches," he complained. "We need federal troops. They should have had federal troops from the beginning, then there wouldn't be this mess now. There wouldn't be no need for a march." He was adamant.

Oliver explained that he agreed that swift use of federal troops may have prevented some of the racist reaction, but Oliver said mass action was needed to force the government to take action—such as sending troops to uphold the desegregation law.

"But—," the man began. Oliver went on explaining the importance of May 17 for a minute or two.

"Hey, mister," the cabby said as Oliver finished and was turning away. He blushed, then he asked for a leaflet.

Oliver's campaign headquarters is located at 655 Atlantic Avenue, Third Floor, Boston, Massachusetts 02111. Telephone: (617) 482-8050.

Party Building Fund

SWP's vision of the world socialist future

By Barry Sheppard

One *Militant* reader sent in \$100 to the special Socialist Workers party tax rebate fund in anticipation of receiving his tax rebate. He writes, "This is the first time I have ever sent money to a political party. I was rather shocked to learn that the Socialist Workers party could have gotten its views from me, so close are my views and the party's."

He adds, "Those people in Washington represent my bosses, not me."

People new to socialist ideas often express dismay over the fact that there are a number of different groups in the United States claiming to be socialist. Why can't they all get together?

The answer to this question is that the different major currents calling themselves socialist are actually very deeply divided over fundamental questions—including the question of what socialism itself means.

In day-to-day politics, the sharpest disputes between the tendencies on the Left are over strategy and tactics, in

Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

the class struggle here and on a world scale. I want to discuss the related question of the basic differences between the tendencies over what socialism is all about. What kind of society will the workers build when they are the "people in Washington" in place of those now there, who "represent the bosses"?

There are three main tendencies in the world working-class movement. One is the current known as the social democracy. There are right and left wings within the social democracy. For example, the Social Democrats USA are virulent supporters of the reactionary positions of the Meany-Shanker wing of the union bureaucracy on everything from supporting Washington's war in Vietnam to opposing the struggles of Blacks. The Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee re-



Militant/Dennis Scarla

U.S. workers will take power away from capitalist class and establish most democratic state in history, based on cooperation and abundance for all.

presents a more left-wing current.

The basic characteristic of the social democratic view of socialism, of both its right and left wings, is that they look upon socialism as a reformed version of capitalism. They would preserve capitalism in a modified form that would somehow ameliorate conditions for the working people. So "socialism" to them is more like a glorified New Deal than a new society.

Another major current calling itself socialist is the Stalinist movement, whether of the Moscow or Peking variety. Parties supporting this view are apologists for the bureaucratic regimes that deform and stunt the workers states of the USSR and China.

They claim that "socialism" already exists in those countries. They equate socialism with the totalitarian, brutal, backward methods of rule—inherited from the past—of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

The Stalinists, to buttress their claim that they have achieved socialism, believe socialism can be built upon an isolated foundation of backwardness, while capitalism still dominates the advanced countries.

The third current is the revolution-

ary Marxist one, represented in this country by the Socialist Workers party. It holds to the view of socialism developed by Marx, Engels, and Lenin. These great thinkers saw socialism as a stage beyond capitalism, based upon greater material wealth than capitalism has ever achieved and upon the decisive victory of the workers over capitalism on a world scale.

Socialism will be marked by the withering away of special privilege, of classes, of all national and sexual oppression. It will be marked by an unparalleled growth of freedom and culture in all spheres. The organized force and violence of the state will not increase under socialism as the Stalinists of all stripes claim, trampling Marx, Engels, and Lenin's teachings underfoot, but will itself wither away. Socialism will lead to a society where all vestiges of class society and its institutions will have been eradicated forever.

We cannot jump into socialism all at once, even when the workers take power. There will be the transitional phase of a workers state.

Unlike the USSR or China, which are workers states deformed by the

existence of the privileged bureaucracy, a healthy workers state in the United States will be the most democratic state in history. It will rest on organs of direct workers democracy like the Soviets, or workers councils, that were set up by Russian workers in 1917, and which were later crushed by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Once the U.S. workers take power from the capitalists, capitalism as a world system will be decisively broken. This, together with the enormous productive capacity of the United States, means that there will be no Stalinist deformation here, and the transitional period to socialism will be relatively short.

The Stalinist bureaucracies will be swept aside by the Russian and Chinese workers, and we can expect that the workers in every country will quickly dispose of their own capitalists if they haven't already done so. The construction of socialism on a world scale will begin.

This vision of a socialist world of cooperation and abundance is in stark contrast to the idea of a reformed capitalism presented by the social democrats, or the model of a Stalinist "people's democracy." You can help bring this socialist world closer by adding your efforts to the SWP Party Building Fund.

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 _____

Teachers' strike postponed

Seattle Blacks press fight against school cuts

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE, Wash.—A threatened strike by the Seattle Teachers Association has been postponed indefinitely.

The postponement was a letdown for thousands of teachers who, along with parents and students, have staged large demonstrations in the past month to demand increased state funding for the public schools. Without more state funds, massive cutbacks and teacher layoffs are in store.

STA members voted overwhelmingly last month to authorize a strike if the legislature failed to act. Although neither the house nor senate has moved to provide funds, STA officials bowed to pressure from the governor, legislators, and the daily newspapers not to strike.

With a teachers' strike postponed indefinitely, the focus of the school struggle has shifted to Seattle's Black community.

When Seattle voters turned down a special school levy April 8, the eleven schools in the predominantly Black Central Area were the hardest hit.

At least 1,669 teachers and staff have been notified that they will be fired at the end of the year. This total includes 251 of the 381 teachers and staff in schools in the Black community.

Many Central Area residents have taken part in the demonstrations in Olympia, the state capital, in recent weeks. But the principal object of the community's anger is the Seattle School Board.



Militant/Toby Emmerich

Students from Garfield High School initiated this demonstration of 5,000 in Olympia April 15.

It is the school board that has ordered the drastic cutbacks, claiming they are dictated by economic necessity.

Eugene Peterson, chairperson of the Central Area School Council, disputes this claim. Peterson says the school board is right in pointing out the need for emergency action by the state to fund the schools. He says there is also a need for a long-range funding solution that would eliminate school levies.

"But the board is ignoring the short-term situation. Whether the state gives them 60 percent, 75 percent, or 100 percent funding, in the next biennium they will have money," Peterson said.

"Our position is that the school board is mandated to spend those monies both efficiently and effectively. And we argue that the most efficient and effective use of the money in our area would be to continue at a progressive level, at a full level, the programs and services in our area."

This plan would allow schools to be operated for about 120 days after school opens next fall. By that time, the council believes, the legislature should be able to come up with extra funding.

The Central Area School Council, formed in 1969, is elected from school attendance areas in the Black commu-

nity. It has used demonstrations and a successful school boycott to force the school board to implement programs beneficial to minority students.

Many of these programs were designed in consultation with educators, parents, and students. The most striking indication of their success is a sharp decline in "dropouts" from Central Area's Garfield High School.

In June 1974 the council scored a victory when the school board agreed to desegregate Garfield through "the development at Garfield of exemplary academic and occupational programs designed to attract students from the entire district."

Peterson described the results: "For instance, last year the board committed \$150,000 in terms of desegregation money. This allowed Garfield to bring in an orchestra teacher, beef up the language arts and social-studies program, and Garfield is the only high school right now that has two curriculum specialists."

But the school-levy failure has provided the board with an excuse to renege on its promises to the Central Area.

Cutbacks at Garfield will leave only six courses out of twenty now offered in language arts. Anthropology, sociol-

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Reid launches West Coast campaign tour; urges students to organize against racism

By Linda Jenness

BERKELEY, Calif.—Students at Berkeley High School assembled Tuesday morning, May 13, for a teach-in about the antiracism struggle in Boston and to organize support for the May 17 solidarity demonstration to be held in Oakland, California.

The 2,000 students, about 40 percent of whom were Black, applauded and shouted "Right on" when Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of the United States, told them about the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and the victories against Jim Crow.

"We sat in at lunch counters, libraries, and museums throughout the South," she said. "We waded in at public beaches. We rode in, challenging the segregated seating arrangements on city buses."

"I had just graduated from high school, and I can remember the agony of those times. But I can also remember the pleasure of winning. It was especially pleasing to me to see whites stand up, for a change, when we rode the city buses."

Reid urged the students to build the same kind of movement to fight the racists in Boston and other cities today, a movement, she told them, "that is prepared to move, and move in numbers."

The teach-in was sponsored by the Northern California Student Coalition Against Racism and was chaired by Richard Navies, head of Black studies for the Berkeley Unified School District.

NAACP representative Ron Bolden told the students that the May 17 demonstrations are going to "let Gerald Ford—who says he doesn't think the court order to desegregate the schools is the best way to get quality education—know that we couldn't care less what he thinks! School desegregation is the law of the land!"

Speaking for SCAR, Rashaad Ali joined Reid, Bolden, and Navies in urging the students to join hands with their brothers and sisters in Boston in a united stand against racism by demonstrating on May 17 in Oakland.

"That woman up there brought it all back," a Black student told this reporter



REID: "We sat in at lunch counters, we waded in at public beaches, we rode in on segregated buses."

ter after the teach-in. "You forget. And sometimes you think the Boston thing is over because what that woman said is true—it's not in the papers or on television. But she brought it all back."

After the school assembly, several students gathered around and wanted copies of Reid's itinerary while in the area so they could hear her speak again.

From the Berkeley High School rally, Reid went directly to California State University at San Francisco for another rally sponsored by Northern California SCAR.

Reid's tour in the Bay Area marks the beginning of her national campaign as the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party. During the next three weeks she will travel up and down the West Coast, stopping in Los Angeles, San Diego, Portland, Seattle, and Vancouver, Canada.

Reid's campaign for vice-president follows her challenge to Richard "Boss" Daley in the mayor's race in Chicago. After collecting more than 66,000 signatures on petitions, Reid became the first independent candidate ever to appear on the ballot against Daley.

"It was a campaign," Reid tells her audiences, "that put socialist politics on the map in Chicago. We not only took the socialist message to tens of thousands of people, but gave Daley and the rest of the Democratic and Republican party politicians a taste of what's in store for them in the future."

Reid was welcomed to the Bay Area at a rally on May 10, sponsored by the San Francisco and Berkeley-Oakland socialist campaign committees and attended by more than 200 people. Also speaking at the rally was Roland Sheppard, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of San Francisco.

Jobs a priority

Reid told the rally that the fight for jobs is a priority in the face of the massive layoffs and the growing number of workers "dumped on the unemployment line."

"Every level of worker has been hit by this attack," she said, "professional, skilled, and semiskilled, blue-collar and white-collar alike. If you still have a job, you live under the fear that it might be gone tomorrow, or next week, or next month."

"I think my opponent—Nelson Rockefeller—should spend some time explaining to unemployed workers how to live without a job. He's certainly managed it quite well. He's never done an honest day's work in his life."

Bomb threat

Toward the end of the rally, the socialists received a bomb threat from an anonymous caller, and the building was quickly evacuated. No bomb was found after a thorough search of the premises.

Following on the heels of the bombing of two Socialist Workers campaign offices in the Los Angeles area, one of which caused extensive damage and both of which had murderous intent, the bomb threat in San Francisco

underscores the concern for the safety of the socialist candidate. Los Angeles is the next stop on Reid's tour.

"My campaign committee is demanding Secret Service and Los Angeles police protection for me while I am in Los Angeles," Reid stated at a May 12 news conference. "Given the fact that there have been twelve bombings in Los Angeles in the last three months, that the Nazis have openly admitted to two of them, and that there have been no arrests, I feel that both the Secret Service and the Los Angeles police must guarantee my safety while in that city."

That evening at a meeting sponsored by the Delancey Street House, a rehabilitation center for ex-prisoners and ex-drug addicts, 150 people heard Reid explain the need for working people to fight for implementation of the "Bill of Rights for Working People." The Bill of Rights for Working People, the campaign platform of the socialist candidates, demands the right to a job, the right to free medicine and education, the right to a secure retirement, and other rights to protect working people from the current attacks on their standard of living.

"Just as the first Bill of Rights—which guaranteed freedom of speech, assembly, religion and other rights—was won through struggles of people united to defend their own self interests, so will this Bill of Rights for Working People be won only when we all stand up together and fight for it," said Reid.

"We want and need your help in this campaign," she said. "Take this Bill of Rights for Working People to your friends, your relatives, your co-workers. Come with us to meetings on the campuses, in the communities, and before trade unions; come with us to unemployment lines and to demonstrations. Help make this the kind of movement that can really challenge this rotten government of the rich and bring about a society that meets our own needs."

During her first three days in the Bay Area, Reid also spoke to audiences at City College of San Francisco and at the University of California at Berkeley.

Distribute Bill of Rights for Working People

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are campaigning for the right of Black students in Boston and elsewhere to desegregated schools and the use of busing if needed to achieve equal education.

They defend the rights of Blacks and other oppressed minorities to equality on the job, in housing, and in education.

They support struggles against discriminatory layoffs and the right of oppressed minorities to live in the neighborhoods of their choice.

Camejo and Reid propose a "Bill of Rights for Working People" that includes the right of all workers to a job, decent housing, and a decent education, and the right of Blacks and other oppressed minorities to control their own affairs.

Help distribute the Bill of Rights for Working People at your school, workplace, or in the Black community. It should be read by all those looking for a way to fight back.

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

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

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

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ copies.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

() I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.
() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to help support the socialist alternative.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

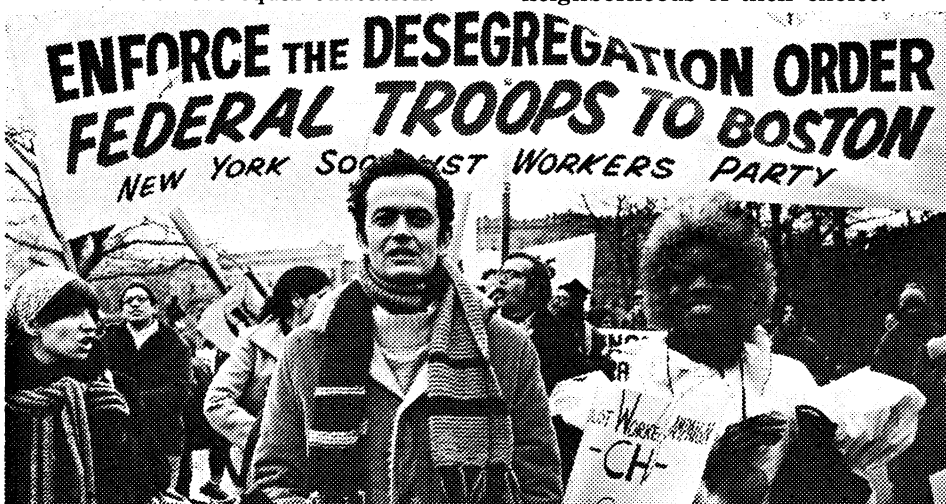
Telephone _____

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.



Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid at December 14 march for desegregation in Boston.

...why CIA spies on Peter Camejo

Continued from back page

The Peruvian rulers, who wanted to sentence Blanco to death, were instead forced to retreat, sentencing him to twenty-five years at the infamous island prison of El Frontón.

Camejo was active in the United States helping USLA to publicize the case and raise funds to support Blanco's family. In 1970, Camejo paid his first visit to El Frontón.

Food and shoes

"I had come to bring money for the prisoners—money to buy food for Blanco's children, money to buy pants for another prisoner, and to buy shoes for a third," Camejo explained.

"While there, I had the opportunity to meet with Blanco and discuss the efforts to win his freedom. I also met and talked with Eduardo Creus, an Argentine revolutionist who had been jailed with Blanco. Creus was sentenced to seventeen years.

"I also visited other political prisoners at El Frontón, including Héctor Béjar, who had been a guerrilla leader, and Ricardo Gadea, a leader of the 1965 guerrilla movement and a brother-in-law of Che Guevara."

Camejo explained that his trip to El Frontón was similar to those he made to other Latin American countries on behalf of political prisoners. "It is these trips that the CIA 'warned' in its cables about me to places like Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Bogota," he said. "My 'crime,' apparently, was to buy a little food and a few scraps of clothing for the victims of U.S.-backed dictatorships in Latin America."

The international campaign to free Blanco finally succeeded in December 1970, when the Velasco regime declared a general amnesty. Creus was released a month later.

Since that time, however, Blanco has been deported from Peru, and he has lived in Mexico, Argentina, and Chile. In Chile he narrowly escaped the butchers who carried out the 1973 coup. Today he lives in exile in Sweden.

One of the Latin American cables on Camejo also reveals the efforts of the CIA to prevent actions in solidarity with Vietnam.

The cable, sent to Buenos Aires on April 13, 1971, warned that massive antiwar actions were scheduled in the



Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco (right) with Argentine comrade Eduardo Creus in photo smuggled out of El Frontón prison for a Lima magazine. Camejo visited the two prisoners in 1970 to bring aid from supporters in U.S.

United States on April 24. The CIA noted that the SWP and YSA were playing a prominent role in organizing the demonstrations. In addition, the Fourth International had issued a call for antiwar actions around the world on that date.

This apparently led the CIA to prepare for antiwar marches anywhere there were Trotskyists. "Only SWP member recently in your area, best hqs [headquarters] knowledge, is Peter Camejo," the cable informed the Buenos Aires CIA station.

Nearly a million people marched against the war in the United States on April 24, and thousands marched in Rome, London, Paris, Montréal, and

Toronto. "Everywhere I went in Latin America, I urged people to join us on April 24, but in many countries, repressive regimes made it impossible for antiwar activists to openly demonstrate," said Camejo.

"In 1972, however, when SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness toured Latin America," he recalled, "there were antiwar marches and rallies in many countries she visited, including Peru and Argentina."

Domestic spying

Camejo's files also confirm that the CIA engages in massive domestic spying. "In one report alone," said Camejo, "the CIA covers my campaign

for U.S. Senate in California in 1968, efforts of the YSA to defend victimized members of the Black Panther party, and campus speeches I gave in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

"This surveillance directly contradicts Douglas Dillon, vice-chairperson of the Rockefeller CIA commission, who claims that there is no evidence of massive domestic spying by the CIA," Camejo pointed out. "Dillon's remarks amount to a whitewash of ongoing illegal CIA activity."

Referring to his ninety-one files still under lock and key at CIA headquarters, Camejo asked, "How can the 'investigation' of the CIA be complete without the full disclosure of the files on myself and the thousands of other political activists?"

The unreleased material on Camejo that the CIA admits having is the following:

- Nineteen interagency and intraagency classified memoranda;
- Forty-nine classified documents;
- Thirteen agency documents based on non-CIA sources; and
- Ten information reports spanning the years 1966 to 1970.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has announced that it will appeal the CIA's decision to withhold these files.

Attorneys for the PRDF are also planning to appeal a decision of the FBI to withhold *all* its personal files on Camejo, despite a request for the files under the Freedom of Information Act.

FBI Director Clarence Kelley, in a letter to Herbert Jordan, claimed that Camejo's files consist of "investigatory records compiled for law enforcement purposes, and it is considered the production of such records would in this instance interfere with enforcement proceedings."

"This is a lie," Camejo charged. "There are no such 'enforcement proceedings,' nor is there anything illegal in my activities. The FBI and CIA spying against me and other members of the SWP and YSA is political harassment pure and simple."

"We know that this harassment is going on right now, in the middle of my campaign for president. Through our suit against government spying, we intend to expose this Watergating of socialist candidates and try to bring a halt to crimes of the CIA, FBI, and other secret-police outfits."

Camejo interview on Radio Havana

In 1969, Peter Camejo visited Cuba as a guest of the Cuban government and was interviewed by Radio Havana. A transcript of that interview appears in the CIA's files on the socialist presidential candidate. Below are excerpts from the transcript released by the CIA to Camejo under the Freedom of Information Act.

[Text] Announcer: Student leader Peter Camejo of Berkeley University recently came to Cuba as one of a group of North American students. He is a member of the Socialist Youth Alliance and a leader of the student movement at this university. He is a native of the United States, although his family is Venezuelan.

He was imprisoned in his homeland on several occasions for his activities for the North American Negroes and against war, especially the war imposed by Yankee imperialism on the heroic Vietnamese people. Today Peter Camejo speaks about the development of the student movement in the United

States and what the students are fighting for.

Camejo: The student movement, especially in California, but also throughout the country, has been developing since 1964, the time of the great strike in Berkeley which brought the student movement to its present stage in the United States. It has (?existed) before but not with the strength it has now.

It first began with a struggle for the right to speak, what is called over there "free speech." After this, it was the war in Vietnam which made a big (?impact) on the movement. Now it is the struggle which the press is reporting each day at San Francisco State College and also at Berkeley and in other (colleges), such as Madison, where they have called out the National Guard, which resembles the regular armed forces of the United States.

These struggles are for the rights of the Negro people. What is happening is that during the last year Negro students began to organize and fight for

more rights in the universities—that is, to protect the rights of the Negro people within the universities in order to have classes on the history, the true history, of the Negro people and to have more Negro instructors and more Negro students. . . .

Announcer: (?Is there not) in the United States, Camejo, a very strong movement growing against the war?

Camejo: Yes, the movement against the war really began in 1965 when Johnson began to pour bombs on North Vietnam, and this movement has now become a mass movement.

In April 1968, we were able to carry out a strike of more than a million students, but more important than this was the demonstration we held of a half million persons, which included many people of the working class, on 15 April 1967.

This was the biggest demonstration we ever had. It was put on by the antiwar movement.

Now, during the last stage, what has

happened, and what is more interesting, is the new antiwar movement among soldiers. . . . When the soldiers themselves understand that the war is a war against the people of Vietnam and not a war to defend them, when they see that they must die for nothing, this armed force would not be able to win or fight any war, and everyone knows it. . . .

Therefore, the student movement is already working to protect and help the soldier who is turning against the war and organizing. And we await April 6 which will be a great day in the United States, in the history of the United States, because that day will be the first day on which we will mobilize, throughout the country, reaching six or seven of the largest cities. We are going to have demonstrations by the soldiers against the war in the streets of the United States.

For this purpose we have tried to achieve unity among all the different groups (who are) against the war in the United States in order to work together so as to accomplish this.

Documents 1-2: Censored CIA 'information summary' on Camejo, dated December 16, 1969. Jury later found Camejo not guilty of conspiracy charges stemming from Moses Hall sit-in. Mario Savio, referred to in document 2, was a prominent figure in earlier Berkeley Free Speech Movement.

A San Francisco State News article dated 20 October 1968 refers to the Subject as one of five speakers at the Socialist Campaign Conference in Berkeley, California, in October of 1968. The article refers to Subject as the Socialist candidate for U. S. Senator from California,

1

running against Max Rafferty, Republican; Alan Cranston, Democrat; and Paul Jacobs, Peace and Freedom.

An article appearing in the Berkeley Gazette on 23 October, 1968 refers to conspiracy charges against the Subject stemming from the Moses Hall sit-in at the University of California. In this article Subject is described as the leader of the YSA and his age is given as 27. He was specifically charged with urging a crowd at a Sproul Hall rally to invade Moses Hall to protest the denial of academic credit for a course taught among others by Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party.

In an article appearing in The Militant, 25 April 1969, Subject is described as a spokesman for the S/P, who just returned from a three months visit to Cuba. He had addressed an overflow meeting of 250 at Dwinelle Hall at the University of California on 4 April 1969. The discussion in the meeting centered in large part on the S/P's disagreement with the Cuban leadership on the invasion of Czechoslovakia and on the S/P view on the need for the development of a structured workers' democracy in Cuba. According to the article, a great majority of those in attendance favored the S/P position of supporting the Cuban revolutionary government while presenting its own independent, and in some cases differing, views on various issues. Subject had spoken on the previous day on the achievement of the Cuban revolution to a rally of 500 students in the Sproul Steps free speech area.

An article dated 24 October 1968 from the Oakland Tribune revealed that Subject's voice for three years had risen above all others in the Berkeley protest scene and that he has become the Mario Savio of the day. To lawmen in the area, he is known as a Trotskyite Communist professional agitator. They further described him as a member of an upper middle class Venezuelan family who came to Berkeley after being defeated as a SWP candidate for the New York City Council.

2

Documents 3-4: CIA cables aimed at tracking down Camejo as he traveled throughout Latin America.

Message to Bogota 6 Aug 70

1. SUBJECT IS PETER MIGUEL CAMEJO GUANCHE AKA PEDRO MIGUEL CAMEJO, PEDRO VALDEZ, PETER VALDEZ, BORN 31 DECEMBER 1939, NEW YORK, NEW YORK. 5 FT 10 IN TALL, 150 POUNDS, BROWN HAIR AND EYES, MEDIUM COMPLEXION, SLENDER BUILD, SCAR ON RIGHT CHEEK. AS OF DECEMBER 1969 HELD U.S. PASSPORT J-1418295. AS OF DECEMBER 1969, CAMEJO WAS ORGANIZER FOR AMERICAN TROTSKYIST SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

2. CAMEJO REPORTED ENROUTE BOGOTA FROM CARACAS, IF NOT ALREADY THERE. INTERESTED ANY INFO RE HIS ACTIVITIES/CONTACTS, ONWARD TRAVEL, ETC., WHICH COMES TO STATION ATTENTION.

3

Message to Buenos Aires, 13 Apr 71

1. 24 APRIL DEMONSTRATIONS ARE BEING SPONSORED BY NATIONAL PEACE ACTION COALITION (NPAC), WHICH IS DOMINATED BY TROTSKYIST SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP), THE SWP'S YOUTH ORGANIZATION YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA), AND THE YSA INFLUENCED STUDENT MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM. DEMONSTRATIONS ALSO BEING ORGANIZED 1-8 MAY BY NPAC RIVAL, PEOPLES COALITION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE WHO RECENTLY AGREED CO-SPONSOR 24 APRIL DEMONSTRATIONS.

2. ONLY SWP MEMBER RECENTLY IN YOUR AREA, BEST HQS KNOWLEDGE IS PETER C A M E J O

4



Camejo addressing 25,000 at Boston rally against invasion of Cambodia in May 1970. In 1971, CIA cabled Buenos Aires to warn of possible antiwar demonstrations, noting that Camejo was 'recently in your area.'

Did 1973 Paris 'peace' pact aid Vietnam victory?



Nixon regarded accords as scrap of paper, pledged direct U.S. intervention if Thieu needed it. But mass antiwar sentiment, heightened distrust of government, stopped Washington from carrying out promises.

By Dick Roberts

What role did the 1973 Paris accords play in the April victory of the Vietnamese national liberation struggle? The debate over the meaning of the accords and the attitude that supporters of the Vietnamese Revolution in the United States should take toward them remains important because it involves basic questions of revolutionary strategy that will arise again in the course of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

While it is still too early to know the precise governmental form that will emerge in Saigon, one thing is certain: it will be superior to any government that could have been established within the framework of the 1973 agreement. The accords:

- Called for a cease-fire in place between the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam (PRG) and the Saigon regime. The agreement stated that the "two South Vietnamese parties undertake to respect the cease-fire and maintain peace in South Vietnam, settle all matters of contention through negotiations and avoid all armed conflict."

- The accords consequently sanctioned the continued existence of the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon. As one of the "two parties" in South Vietnam, the Saigon government commanded in 1973 a million-man army and the third-largest air force in the world.

- The agreement permitted virtually unlimited U.S. backing of Saigon. This included financial support, the "one-for-one" replacement of military hardware, and the continuance of U.S. troops as "advisers" in civilian dress. It further allowed U.S. forces to encircle South Vietnam by remaining in Thailand and the coastal waters.

- The accords envisioned the formation of a new government through "free elections" under the sponsorship of the "National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord." Since the Thieu regime had veto power in forming this council, any government emerging from it would include Saigon as a major power.

- The 1973 agreements called for the reunification of Vietnam by "peaceful means," through negotiations "between North and South Vietnam."

The United States had made important concessions, above all, ending the murderous bombing as

well as promising to withdraw the remaining uniformed military forces. But greater concessions were wrung from Hanoi and the PRG.

The *Wall Street Journal* called the terms "quite favorable" and declared that the United States had attained its "minimum objectives." The ultraconservative *New York Daily News* put it more crudely: "In essence, Hanoi accepted the proposal Nixon made last May 8, when he ordered intensified bombing of North Vietnam and mining of northern harbors."

The *Christian Science Monitor* declared that the accords were "not as satisfactory as successive American presidents probably would have liked," but supported the settlement because it "preserves a non-Communist government in South Vietnam. There is a fair chance that some kind of non-Communist government—although not necessarily president Thieu's—will survive in that tortured land."

But despite the weighty concessions forced from the liberation fighters, Saigon never recognized the cease-fire.

Newsweek's Vietnam War expert Maynard Parker admitted in the January 1975 *Foreign Affairs* that "almost from the moment the agreement was signed, President Thieu took to the offensive in an attempt to eradicate the Communist ink spots [areas controlled by the liberation forces]. . . . The second phase, which began on Jan. 4, 1974, with a speech by Thieu ordering the Army 'to hit them in their base areas' and ended in May, 1974, resulted in a marked increase in large-scale offensive operations."

Under these circumstances, the PRG fought back.

By January 25, 1975, the PRG charged that Saigon had violated the cease-fire agreement 533,000 times in the past two years. Estimates place the total number of Vietnamese killed on both sides of the civil war following the Paris accords at 350,000.

The bloodshed perpetrated by Saigon's counter-revolution all the more weakened its base among the South Vietnamese masses and forced Hanoi and the PRG to continue to fight. It was evident beginning last winter that the Ford administration believed only a massive increase in U.S. military backing could stave off Saigon's collapse.

The White House, present and former generals, and the secretary of state marshalled themselves to rally Congress to back a stepped-up war. U.S. spy planes flew over North Vietnam in a blatant provocation. The president asked for additional hundreds of millions of dollars. But Congress did not budge. Why?

Watergate

The rulers of this country were in a weaker position in 1975 than they had hoped for or expected when they signed the accords in 1973. For one thing, the profound antiwar sentiment continued to spread, with most Americans believing the war had been wrong from the very beginning.

The Watergate revelations focused increased attention on the illegal activities of the White House here and abroad. And, by 1975, the country was in a deepening economic crisis, with the American people in no mood for more sacrifices in Southeast Asia.

Even as early as April 1973, *Time* recently revealed, Watergate had acted to prevent U.S. reescalation of the air war against North Vietnam. "In April 1973," said *Time*, "less than three months after the Paris agreement was signed, the Nixon Administration decided to end the truce by resuming U.S. bombing raids against North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces. . . ."

"After Nixon had given his final, formal approval to resume the bombing, however, he learned that his counsel John Dean had begun to talk to the Watergate prosecutors. Nixon knew that the renewed bombing would spur violent criticism in Congress, in the country at large and all over the world. . . . Loath to deal with simultaneous severe criticism on two major fronts, he rescinded his approval of the raids." (May 5, 1975.)

Henry Kissinger recently told an NBC commentator that "in January '73 we did not foresee that Watergate would sap the executive authority of the United States to such a degree that flexibility of executive action inherently would be circumscribed."

On top of Watergate came the energy crisis and the close support of Washington for the oil trusts as they gouged people all over the world for profits. There was the inflationary explosion followed by depression and massive unemployment across the land.

When the revolutionary advance in April of this year led to the collapse of Saigon's armies, Washington was virtually paralyzed.

As has been proved by the exposure of Nixon's secret letters to Thieu, the White House had committed the Pentagon to intervene again in Vietnam in a massive way if the revolution threatened to topple the Saigon dictatorship.

At the last moment, Ford himself invoked the Paris accords as grounds for a cease-fire, which he hoped would give the suffocating puppets a last breath of life and the Pentagon a beachhead in Vietnam.

But Ford could not rescue Thieu. Rep. Thomas O'Neill of Massachusetts, the House Democratic majority leader, told reporters after Ford's April 10 speech asking for massive funds and the right to use troops in South Vietnam that "there would have to be a complete turnaround in the opinion of the American public" for Congress to comply with Ford's request.

The dictatorship that had been sanctioned by the 1973 accords was crushed and its military police forces were annihilated.

Where the accords gave the PRG only the areas it then occupied, today its flag flies over all of South Vietnam.

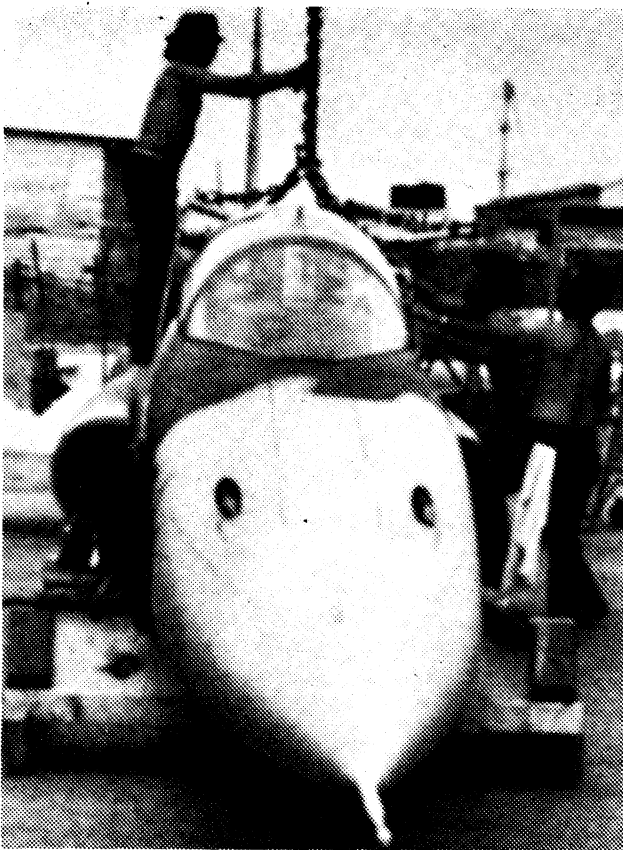
Role of Moscow & Peking

It is not surprising in the light of events that those in this country who were among the loudest defenders and promoters of the Paris accords up to the very end—the Moscow-line Stalinists of the *Daily World* and the Peking-line Stalinists of the *Guardian*—have not said a single word about the accords since victory was achieved.

Even as late as April 16, in the same week Ford was calling for a return to the Paris accords, Irwin Silber declared in the *Guardian*, "the Paris Peace Accords represented an historic victory for the Vietnamese people"; and he proclaimed the objective of the Vietnamese to be to "seriously implement the Paris Agreement."

Did Silber want the revolutionary advance to halt on the outskirts of Saigon and form a capitalist coalition government with elements of the Thieu regime and "neutralist third forces," as the accords had called for?

Or was Silber merely calling the accords "an



Before and after accords, Pentagon rushed planes, tanks, and tons of ammunition to South Vietnam. . .

historic victory" in order to throw sand in peoples' eyes?

The problem that Silber faces is that the events of the last month have clearly demonstrated that major provisions of the 1973 accords *had to be bypassed* in order for the liberation forces to come to power. This historical experience demonstrates that the 1973 accords did not fully satisfy the needs of the Vietnamese revolution. The accords were imposed on Vietnam by Washington with the close complicity of Moscow and Peking.

And it is the role Moscow and Peking played in bringing about the accords—not the needs of the Vietnamese liberation struggle—that explains the position the Stalinists take on the accords.

The year 1972 was a year of brutal betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the Stalinist bureaucracies.

Peking first, and then Moscow, had greeted Richard Nixon with pomp and ceremony as U.S. bombs rained down in Vietnam, turning back the spring 1972 offensive of the liberation forces.

The American antiwar movement had begun to mobilize against Nixon's bombing but, as Barry Sheppard explained in the January 19, 1973, *Militant*, "Moscow agreed to proceed with the scheduled Nixon visit and, except for a few routine phrases of 'solidarity' with the Vietnamese, Moscow did exactly nothing. This cut the ground out from under the antiwar movement. Masses of people believed that the war would soon be ended, with the 'assistance' of Moscow and Peking. Nixon was thus able to defuse the potentially massive antiwar response to his unprecedented escalation of the bombing."

From Nixon's Moscow visit in May 1972 down to the signing of the accords the following winter, the Pentagon escalated its military aggression while Moscow and Peking kept support to Hanoi at an eyedropper level. Both powers made no secret of their support to Nixon in the 1972 U.S. presidential elections.

And when the accords were signed, Moscow and Peking hailed them as a great victory. Leonid Brezhnev, head of the Soviet Communist party, boasted about Moscow's role in bringing about the accords and declared that "a road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam." (*Daily World*, February 1, 1973.)

The truth of the matter is that a "peaceful democratic" road was not at all in prospect for the Vietnamese people. The accords had finally been initiated January 23, 1973, following one of the most murderous bombing sprees in the history of the war.

In its front-page editorial, the February 2, 1973, *Militant* declared:

"The agreement by the U.S. to halt the bombing and to withdraw its remaining troops from South Vietnam is a long-sought-for victory for the Vietnamese people. It is also a victory for the antiwar movement here and throughout the world. But imperialist intervention in Vietnam is far from ended."

There were basically three reasons why the Trotskyist movement held that certain provisions of the accords were an obstacle to further advance of the Vietnamese revolution:

First, they did not call for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces. This permitted Washington to arm and finance the Thieu regime, and it left the Pentagon in a position to reescalate direct U.S. intervention should the opportunity prove politically feasible.

Second, the accords implicitly recognized the right of the United States to negotiate a settlement for Vietnam. A call for support to all provisions of the accords would, in effect, recognize Washington's right to impose terms on the South Vietnamese people.

Third, the provisions of the accords did not spell out a path for victory of the Vietnamese revolution. Barry Sheppard wrote in the *Militant* February 16, 1973, "The road to victory for that struggle cannot be the road outlined in the accords."

"The two administrations and two armies that face each other in South Vietnam represent irreconcilable class forces," Sheppard continued. "The Saigon regime is based on the landlords and capitalists and defends their interests. The PRG and NLF [National Liberation Front] are based on the peasants, workers, and other oppressed layers."

"This situation is highly explosive. After so many years of war and revolution, the South Vietnamese people face huge social problems. None of the basic questions, including land reform, national liberation, and reunification, which have been at the root of the war and which so many courageous Vietnamese died fighting for, have been resolved by the accords. . . .

"The accords say that reunification of North and South Vietnam will come about 'peacefully' and through negotiations between North and South Vietnam. This also is impossible so long as the Thieu regime remains. North Vietnam is a workers state. Saigon presides over a capitalist state. Reunification is impossible before capitalism is overthrown in South Vietnam."

Stalinist dilemma

The Trotskyist position on the accords was based on defending the needs and goals of the Vietnamese liberation fighters. The Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party argued that the antiwar movement should continue to direct its fire at the main enemy, U.S. imperialism. Only the immediate and total withdrawal of U.S. forces would bring victory to the liberation struggle.

This appeal went directly to the masses of Americans. Trotskyists maintained that the accords were no business of the United States and that it should get the troops out completely once and for all.

This clear-cut stand put the Stalinists in an indefensible position.

An editorial in the January 6, 1973, *Daily World* declared, "A condition for massing millions for peace actions is to guard the movement against Nixonite ideological assault—a kind of chemical-bacteriological warfare to corrupt the minds of peace-loving people. . . .

"One strain on Nixonite CBW is Trotskyite anti-Sovietism. It crops up in the oddest places, but is none the less noxious for that."

These words revealed the true concern of the Stalinists. They feared—and still fear—criticism of the role Moscow and Peking played in relation to the Vietnamese struggle.

The refrain is taken up in the May 7, 1975, *Daily World*: "The socialist countries extended vast aid over the years to the liberation forces in Indochina;

preeminent was the military, economic, and diplomatic aid of the Soviet Union," claims *World* writer Erik Bert.

Bert ignores the real meaning of the détente, he wants people to forget about toasts to Nixon, and he forgets that at least some military details were known to the whole world. *Moscow did not make modern SAM-3 and SAM-4 anti-aircraft missiles available to Hanoi as Nixon's B-52s rained bombs on North Vietnam*. At the same time, even *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett called the SAM-2 missiles Hanoi had received from Moscow "relatively antiquated."

If the Paris accords were a result of the détente—as Brezhnev and Mao boasted along with Henry Kissinger—then they must be a "victory." That was how the Stalinists hailed the accords. And that was how the Stalinists helped to disorient the antiwar movement.

Hanoi's position on accords

But Hanoi's position on the accords was no less disorienting. Hanoi also claimed the accords were a victory.

If Hanoi had explained directly to the international antiwar movement why it had been forced to compromise with Washington, if it had appealed to the antiwar movement to continue with the struggle to get U.S. forces completely out of South Vietnam, there can be little doubt that the antiwar movement would have persisted in strength—and that the loss of 350,000 Vietnamese killed, as the civil war persisted twenty-seven months after the accords, could have been reduced.

Hanoi did not do this. As the U.S. troops were withdrawn, as the U.S. bombing was stopped, and as the world Stalinist press proclaimed that victory was at hand in Vietnam, the world antiwar movement was demobilized.

This course could have had far different results. It should be remembered that Washington *compromised* in the accords, but did not give up. The Nixon "game plan" was evident to all.

Washington hoped to gain time. They hoped the détente would serve to distract people from the bloody civil war that continued in South Vietnam as Thieu escalated the counterrevolution. Ultimately, under the pretext of the Paris accords themselves, the Pentagon could reintroduce its forces.

Farfetched? That is exactly what did happen in Indochina between the 1954 Geneva accords and the Kennedy administration's initial moves to send thousands of U.S. "advisers" to support Ngo Dinh Diem in the early 1960s.

At the time of the French collapse at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Eisenhower administration believed that antiwar sentiment in the United States and around the world precluded a U.S. rescue operation. But not many years later, and under the pretext of the legitimacy of the Saigon regime established by the 1954 Geneva accords, the White House began to send the thousands of U.S. "advisers" in.

Study of this history gave Trotskyists all the more reason to try to keep the antiwar movement focused on its central task, U.S. withdrawal, and not "implementation of the accords."

In the end, of course, the 1973 accords were never implemented. All of the provisions that stood in the way of the revolution were superseded by it. And the realization of the objective of total withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam proved to be the key to winning the independence struggle.



. . . but proved unable to stop Saigon army, which had virtually no social base of support, from crumbling before advance of liberation forces.

'Daily World' declares opposition to socialist revolution in South Vietnam

By Caroline Lund

From Intercontinental Press

On May Day the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party issued a statement hailing the collapse of the Saigon puppet government and the ouster of the American imperialist forces from Vietnam as "a victory for all those throughout the world who are fighting oppression and exploitation."

The statement was published in the May 9 issue of the American revolutionary-socialist weekly, the *Militant*.

The American Stalinists did not like that statement. They took it up at once in an article signed by Erik Bert, which appeared in the May 7 *Daily World*, the newspaper that reflects the opinions of the Communist party U.S.A.

What Bert objects to most strenuously is the SWP's advocacy of socialist revolution in South Vietnam.

The SWP statement holds that it is now possible in Vietnam to achieve not only self-determination and unification of the country but also "a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit."

Erik Bert is in complete disagreement:

"The SWP statement concludes with a call for a 'workers and peasants' government independent of 'the landlords and capitalists and their military machine, which supported the U.S.-created puppet government.' It warns that 'reconciliation' with the remaining capitalist-landlord forces would mean 'going against the desires and interests of the masses.' It calls for 'the establishment of proletarian democracy,' the establishment of a 'government based on soviets as exemplified in the October, 1917, revolution in Russia.'

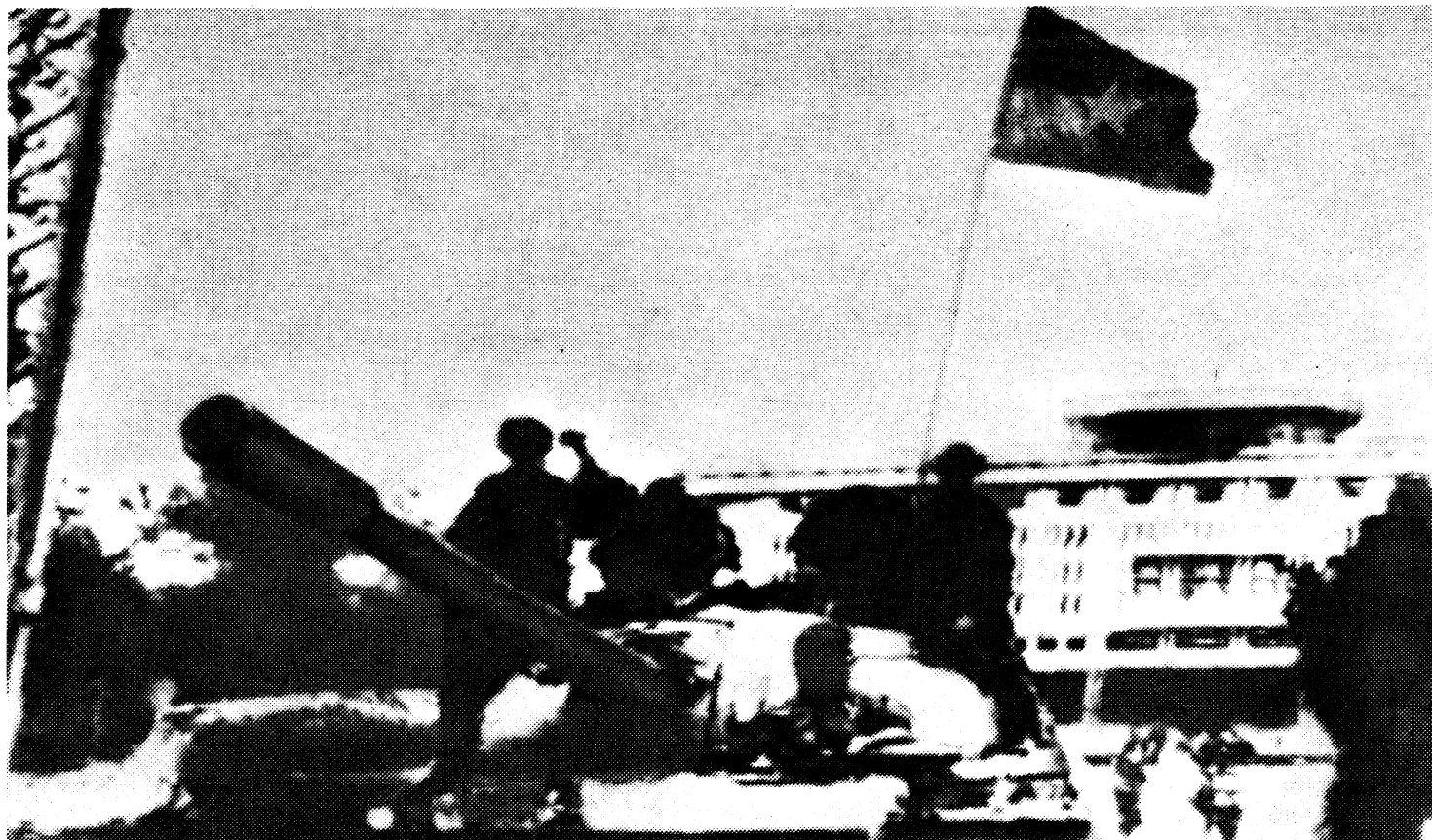
"This projected course is 'revolutionary' in phrases and counter-revolutionary in intent and direction. . . .

"The token of that counter-revolutionary intent is the failure to mention, in the course of the long statement, the Vietnam Workers' Party, the heart and soul of the Vietnamese liberation struggle.

"That is not forgetfulness. It is a signal that the demand for a 'government based on soviets,' and similar 'revolutionary' goals, will be directed against the Vietnam Workers Party. That is the 'perspective' which the Trotskyites projected as 'revolutionary.'"

By labeling the SWP's support for an anticapitalist revolution as "counter-revolutionary," Bert shows that he is against overturning the capitalist system. He is also against establishing a government based on the mass organizations of the workers and peasants in the pattern set by the Bolsheviks in the October 1917 revolution in Russia.

Is that the position of the Vietnam Workers party? Quite possibly it is. The leaders of that party, like Bert, received their early training in the



Liberation forces reach presidential palace in Saigon. For them to establish a workers and peasants government, based on democratically elected councils as in Russia in 1917, would be 'counterrevolutionary,' according to U.S. Communist party.

school of Stalinism—which is not the school of Leninism.

Yet under the pressure of events they may find themselves—as at certain times in the past—compelled to go further along the path of revolution than they expect, or Bert would approve.

The SWP statement notes that "the upsurge in South Vietnam and the crumbling of the puppet Saigon government have already carried the Provisional Revolutionary Government [which is led by the Vietnam Workers party] well beyond its stated program of 'reconciliation' with the now collapsed Saigon regime."

If the Vietnam Workers party, in line with Bert's views, opposes the pressure for a workers and peasants government, for anticapitalist economic measures, for organs of workers democracy, then sooner or later Vietnamese militants will certainly come forward to lead the masses in a struggle for these demands, which accord with the historic perspectives opened by the Bolshevik Revolution.

'Preeminent' aid?

The *Daily World's* hack is particularly upset by the SWP's criticisms of the role played by Moscow and Peking; that is, the charge that the two Stalinist bureaucracies failed to provide adequate support to the Vietnamese liberation fighters. This treacherous conduct greatly delayed the victory and increased its cost in blood and suffering.

Bert does not specifically defend Peking's role. Either he agrees with the SWP in this instance or he considers

his bread to be buttered only on the Moscow side. He says:

"The socialist countries extended vast aid over the years to the liberation forces in Indochina; preeminent was the military, economic, and diplomatic aid of the Soviet Union."

As "proof" he cites a statement by the Provisional Revolutionary Government extending "warm thanks" to "all socialist countries" on the day of its victory over the Saigon regime.

However, the SWP statement does not deny that both Moscow and Peking provided military aid and that this aid was important in enabling the Vietnamese to continue their struggle. It simply states the fact that this aid was inadequate in view of the scale of the American imperialist aggression and the ability of both workers states to provide much more.

In 1971, for example, Moscow's military aid to North Vietnam—\$100 million—was less than one-tenth of the total foreign military aid it granted. Egypt, Iraq, and India all received significantly more than Vietnam.

The SWP declaration states its agreement with Che Guevara on this point. Guevara's view was that Moscow and Peking from the beginning of the war should have treated Vietnam as "an inviolable part of socialist territory."

If Brezhnev and Mao had done this—that is, if they had joined together in making it clear to Washington that the bombing of North Vietnam would be considered the equivalent of an attack on Moscow or Peking—this would have forced the Pentagon to weigh very carefully the prospect that further escalation of the attack would result in a powerful response from the world's two largest workers states.

Bert refers to the "diplomatic aid" provided by Moscow. What is he talking about? The way Brezhnev clinked glasses of champagne with Nixon as that infamous figure carpet bombed North Vietnam?

The *Daily World's* hatchet artist claims that the SWP's criticism of the Kremlin is "in polar contrast to the outlook of the Vietnamese liberation forces."

In fact, the Vietnamese Stalinists themselves, in a cautious and indirect way, voiced criticism of Moscow and Peking as their country suffered under the murderous assault of Nixon's B-52s.

An editorial in the August 17, 1972, issue of *Nhan Dan*, organ of the North Vietnamese Stalinist party, stated: "In other words, to carry out the 'Nixon doctrine' U.S. imperialists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war.

"For the socialist countries, safeguarding peace and carrying out peaceful coexistence cannot be separated from the world movement of independence, democracy and socialism. If this is aimed only at caring for the narrow, immediate interests of a country, it will not only harm the revolutionary movements of various countries, but, in the end, will bring to these very countries incalculable losses and make them give up their lofty internationalist duty. . . ."

Antiwar movement

Moscow and Peking even refrained from helping to mobilize antiwar actions on an international scale.

In face of the default of Moscow and Peking it fell to the Trotskyist movement to take the political lead in organizing an effective international antiwar movement. This movement eventually grew so powerful that it played a primary role in forcing an end to direct U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

Erik Bert lies in denying the highly active role of the SWP in building the antiwar movement. Proof that he lies can be found in the letter of thanks sent to the "Chairman, Socialist Workers Party" by P.N. Thach of the Prime Minister's Office of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The letter, referring to an SWP picket line at the French consulate in New York on January 25, 1947, reads, in part: "We were deeply moved by your big demonstration in New York in favor of the struggle for Viet-Nam's independence. On behalf of President HO-CHI-MINH and the Government of Viet-Nam's Republic, I convey to you and your organization our gratitude. . . .

"It was the first time American people openly supported our present fight."



'Daily World' is especially upset by reminder that Soviet leaders welcomed Nixon during murderous 1972 bombing of North Vietnam.

Cops play dumb

More right-wing terror in L.A.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The city administration here now bears responsibility for yet another right-wing terrorist attack. On Wednesday, May 7, around 10 p.m., a fire bomb was ignited at the door of the Midnight Special, a radical bookstore in the Venice section of Los Angeles.

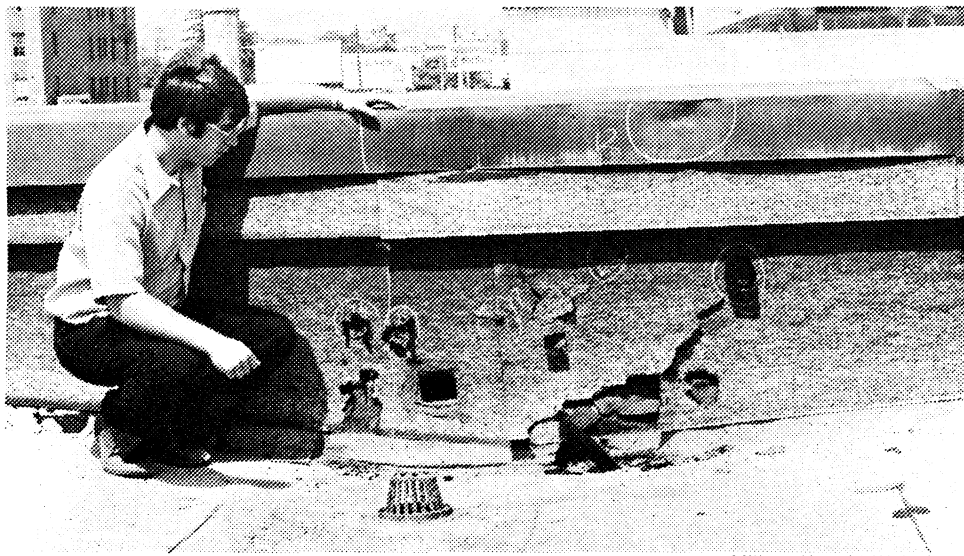
The store was already closed, but two people were in a back room. They heard a noise outside, which they said sounded as if a shelf of books had fallen down.

When they went to the front, they saw flames eating under the entrance door. With a nearby fire extinguisher, they were able to put out the flames inside the doorway and douse the firebomb burning outside. If they had not been present to do this, the entire structure—an old wooden building—would have certainly gone up like a matchbox.

The police were notified and, with the cooperation of representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund, the media as well.

On the scene, the police seemed as concerned with the fact that the media was present as they were with collecting clues about this latest in a continuing wave of murderous attacks.

No group has taken responsibility for the arson attack. However, a branch of the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front is active in Venice, and in neighboring Culver City there is a significant concentration of Cuban counterrevolutionary exiles. Both



Fragments of pipe bomb found on roof of SWP hall. Cops at first said it must have been 'firecracker.'

groups have taken credit for various of the earlier attacks on the Socialist Workers party and others.

Meanwhile, protests and mounting publicity have forced some action by the authorities in relation to the May 2 bomb attack on the Westside campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers party.

The hall is actually located in Santa Monica, a separate municipality immediately adjacent to Los Angeles. So it was the Santa Monica police who responded when the pipe bomb exploded over the roof of the SWP headquarters at 12:30 a.m., May 2. They searched the roof that night and found nothing. They said it had been a "large firecracker designed to harass."

Although the attack was obviously related to the February 4 bombing of the Central-East SWP hall, which the Los Angeles Police Department claims to be actively investigating, no Los Angeles cops appeared.

The next day, SWP campaign activists searched the roof of the Westside headquarters and found an exploded eight-inch pipe bomb. The Santa Monica police came to take it away. They agreed it was a bomb but indicated they weren't convinced it had been exploded over the roof. The explosion the night before still could have been just a firecracker, they said. Anyone, they observed, could place a burned-out pipe bomb on a roof.

Several days later, however, a delegation of concerned citizens organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund

met with an aide to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley concerning the continuing series of attacks. Several television stations covered the meeting.

Later the delegation met with the Los Angeles United States attorney.

The next morning—five days after the bombing—a crew of Los Angeles police officials and a representative of the FBI appeared at the Santa Monica headquarters to make an investigation.

They marked off and methodically searched the roof of the building. They found thirty-four separate fragments of the pipe bomb, including the exploded detonator, proving conclusively that a lethal pipebomb, not a "firecracker," had in fact been hurled at the building. A dozen people were inside when the bomb was thrown.

Meanwhile, there are continuing efforts to mount sufficient pressure on Bradley to compel him to see to it that his police department puts an end to the bombings by jailing the bombers.

On May 8, at California State University in Los Angeles, Bradley addressed an outdoor dedication ceremony. As he talked, a dozen people in the front row held aloft placards for him and the television cameras, demanding that he put the right-wing bombers behind bars.

Those attending the ceremony received copies of an open letter to the mayor citing some of the recent terror attacks and demanding action. A number of people added their names as signers of the letter.

Canada: Black activist ordered deported

By Tony Thomas

On April 28, a Canadian judge ruled that Black activist Rosie Douglas must be deported from Canada. The ruling was communicated to Douglas on May 8.

Douglas has been one of the leading Black activists in Canada over the past ten years and has received awards and citations for his work in the Black community from many groups, including the National Black Coalition, Canada's major Black organization.

Douglas was among ninety-seven students charged in connection with the 1969 struggle against racism by Black and other students at Sir George Williams University in Montréal.

All the students had been charged on the basis of the same evidence against them, including twenty-six students from the Caribbean with student visas in Canada. Douglas had received landed immigrant status, a step that conditionally entitled him to permanent residence in Canada.

Nonetheless, Douglas was one of five Black students who were victimized and was imprisoned for seventeen months at Leclerc prison in Québec. While in prison Douglas led a program of educating and organizing prisoners that received commendations from Black organizations and even an offer of a job from the Canadian solicitor general.

Despite this, the Canadian government branded him as a "risk to national security" and ordered him deported from Canada.

Douglas is a native of Dominica, an island in the Caribbean. In that country repressive laws were enacted last November that give police and ordinary citizens the right to kill anyone suspected of being a member of an "illegal" subversive association.

If deported back to Dominica Douglas could face death or other victimization. A book he has written about conditions in Dominica has been banned there as "subversive."

The Toronto-based Committee Against the Deportation of Rosie Douglas has carried out a broad campaign against Douglas's deportation in the past few months. Black and student activists and defenders of civil liberties have endorsed his case, as have a number of leaders of the New Democratic party, Canada's social-democratic labor party.

The defense committee has seen the case as part of an attempt to stir up racism against Caribbean and other nonwhite immigrants in Canada.

A statement by Douglas's defense committee branded the deportation ruling as "an act of political victimization." Douglas is appealing the ruling to Canada's Federal Court of Appeals, although activists in the committee say that he can be deported at any time.

The defense committee is asking that statements in support of Douglas be sent to Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, at the House of Commons, Parliament Building, Ottawa, Ontario, with a copy to the Committee Against the Deportation of Rosie Douglas, P.O. Box 194, Station P, Toronto, Ontario.

June 20 rally

LOS ANGELES—The Political Rights Defense Fund will hold a public rally to protest the continuing wave of right-wing terrorism here. The rally will be held Friday, June 20, 8 p.m., at Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles (one block east of Vermont Avenue).

Among the initial sponsors of the rally are Southern California American Civil Liberties Union Director Ramona Ripston; Rev. Peter Christenson of the First Unitarian Church; James Burland, public affairs director, Pacifica station KPFK; and Dr. Isadore Ziferstein of the University of California at Los Angeles faculty.

Protest messages sent to Bradley

The May 2 bomb attack on the Socialist Workers party, coupled with previous attacks on the party and other groups, has evoked new protests. The following are excerpts from some of the messages sent to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has appealed for further protests demanding that Bradley take effective action to stop the terrorists. These should be sent to Mayor Tom Bradley, City Hall, Los Angeles, California 90012. Copies should be sent to the PRDF, Post Office Box 57031, Los Angeles, California 90057.

It is outrageous that after ninety days of political bombings there is still no action by the responsible officials. . . . A Nazi thug boasts in the public press of the "success" of their terrorism. Must this go on until people are killed?

Charles Garry, attorney
San Francisco, California

I am writing you to urge you to exercise all powers invested in you to stop the right-wing bombings that your fine city is experiencing. . . .

Saundra Graham, member, city council
Cambridge, Massachusetts

I urge you take affirmative action against the assault on civil liberties. The democratic process cannot be subverted by neofascist thugs, lest all of us find ourselves soon the victims of such vigilantes.

Rev. Muhammad Kenyatta, candidate for mayor
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

While not a socialist (I'm a Democrat), I feel strongly that the rights of all political parties must be protected in a democracy. Therefore I hope you are making strenuous efforts to bring the culprits to justice, just as you would if the First National Bank had been the victim.

Howard Willits, former state legislator,
Oregon

Mayor Bradley's refusal to act in apprehending these right-wing terrorists or to provide protection for the Socialist Workers party can only be taken as complicity in the face of these attacks. A full-scale investigation should begin at once, and those found responsible prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

Michael Ponaman, student chairperson,
University Assembly, University of Massachusetts
Boston, Massachusetts

It is, of course, most difficult to judge any situation from a distance. But you can imagine my concern, and the concern of others, when we hear of such attacks being repeated. Please allow me to urge you again to take all necessary steps to apprehend the perpetrators of these attacks and bring them to justice.

Rev. David Grayson, Urban Missioner,
Pennsylvania Diocese, Episcopal Church
Pennsylvania

UFW rallies for lettuce, grapes, wines boycott

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—One thousand spirited demonstrators turned out in New York City May 10 in an enthusiastic show of support for the embattled United Farm Workers.

The march, which was supported by the New York-area AFL-CIO and most of its affiliated unions, proceeded through several miles of downtown Manhattan to a rally at Union Square.

Among the unions with contingents in the march were the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199; District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; the New York Letter Carriers Branch 36; and the United Federation of Teachers.

Among the labor officials speaking at the rally was Victor Gotbaum, executive director of AFSCME's District Council 37. Gotbaum declared:

"This is not a struggle against the Teamster workers; this is a struggle against Frank Fitzsimmons and the corrupt leaders of the Teamsters union, which is in league with the growers."

One speaker after another stressed the importance of redoubling the efforts to spread the boycott of all non-UFW grapes and lettuce and Gallo wines.

"This fight," said William DuChessi, secretary-treasurer of the Textile Workers Union, "has to be won in the supermarkets of this country. The workers in California and Arizona cannot do it alone."



One thousand people, including many trade unionists, marched in New York May 10 in support of United Farm Workers.

Other speakers included U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; and Richard Chávez, New York State boycott director for the UFW.

Dolores Huerta of the UFW concluded the rally by leading the crowds in chants of "Viva la huelga!" "Viva la causa!" and "Down with Gallo!"

This protest was one of several recently held across the country in support of the UFW boycott of scab lettuce, grapes, and wines. The produce being boycotted includes all iceberg lettuce and table grapes that do not have the UFW label.

Also hit by the consumer action are all wines produced by the Gallo com-

pany, including a number of wines that do not say Gallo on the bottle. All of the company's wines are easily recognizable, however, because they list Modesto, California, on the label as their place of manufacture. Only Gallo makes wines in Modesto.

SAN FRANCISCO—Close to a thousand people heard César Chávez speak at California State University at San Francisco on May 2. His speech was the culmination of "Boycott Gallo Week" on the campus.

During his talk, Chávez thanked a number of groups that had helped organize and publicize the week's activities, including the Associated Students at that university, United Professors of California, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The week had been kicked off with an April 29 rally of 350 people, followed on subsequent days by films and seminars.

Other activities in the San Francisco area included a rally scheduled for May 10 to protest the stabbing of Juan Pérez, a full-time organizer for the San Francisco boycott house. The protest is directed against the police, who arrested Pérez and let the store owner who stabbed him go free. Charges have been dismissed against Pérez, but none have yet been brought against the store owner who attacked him.

Kent State memorial held for murdered students

By Chris Rayson

KENT, Ohio—May 4 was the fifth anniversary of the "Kent State massacre," and the occasion was marked by activities at that Ohio campus.

In the midst of the protests that swept campuses following the United States invasion of Cambodia in May 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on a peaceful demonstration on the Kent State campus. The killing of four students and the wounding of nine others spurred a massive wave of student strikes.

A memorial service at Kent this year drew one thousand people. In the best-received speech, Tom Grace, one of the wounded students, hailed the victories in Vietnam and Cambodia. To thundering applause, he said, "The only tragedy for all of us is that those who shot us at Kent haven't been brought to the bar of justice, and we know who they are: [Ohio National Guard Gen. Silvester] Del Corso, [Ohio Governor James] Rhodes, [former U.S. Attorney General John] Mitchell!"

Other speakers included former Senator Eugene McCarthy, antiwar activ-

ist Elizabeth McAlister, and Benson Wolman, director of the Ohio American Civil Liberties Union.

After the memorial service, 200 stayed for a rally organized by several groups that were active in the antiwar movement. "The victory in Vietnam is a living tribute to those who died in the fight against the war," asserted Mike Alewitz, a founder of the Kent Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and a National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"One week before the liberation of Saigon, President Gerald Ford went to Tulane University to give his surrender speech. It was symbolic that he gave it at a college campus, and it was directed at you and me and the thousands of us who marched and demonstrated against the war," Alewitz said.

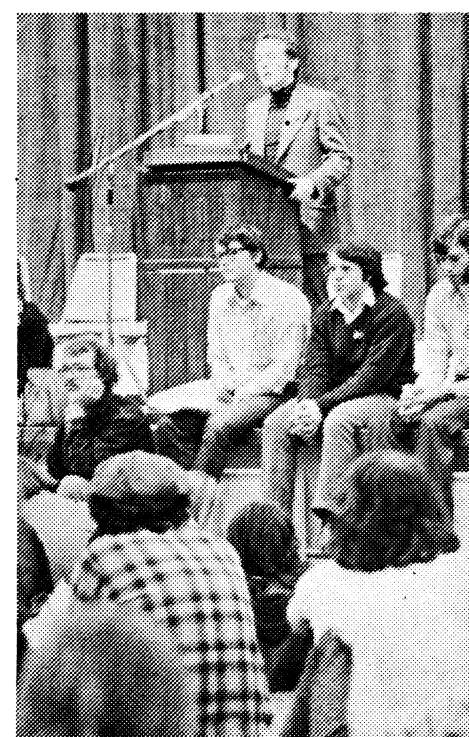
Sue Gaines spoke on behalf of the Gainesville 8, Vietnam veterans framed on charges of conspiring to violently disrupt the 1972 Republican convention in Miami. Representatives of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Revolutionary Student

Brigade also spoke.

The Young Socialist Alliance sponsored a forum attended by seventy-five people. Robert Stamps, who was seriously wounded five years ago, told the forum that while in the hospital he had been shown a file containing photographs and other evidence of extensive FBI surveillance of himself and other students prior to the shootings.

Also speaking were Bill Arthrell, one of twenty-five students indicted on trumped-up charges growing out of the shootings, and Robert Bresnahan, a former Kent student now running for mayor of Cleveland on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

Referring to the early days of the antiwar movement at Kent, Bresnahan said, "What we in the antiwar movement did was to take to the American people an idea that was at first unpopular but in their objective interest and convince them of it. That is why we socialists are so optimistic about finally creating a humane society in this country and around the world."



YSA's MIKE ALEWITZ: "Victory in Vietnam is living tribute to those who died in fight against war."

3,000 picket against racist cutbacks in N.Y.

By Joan Quinn

NEW YORK—Chanting, "Hell no, SEEK won't go," and "They say cutback, we say fight back," 3,000 students picketed in front of Gracie Mansion on May 8.

This demonstration was the culmination of more than a week of protests against the city's proposed \$6.6 million cut in the SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge) program of the City University of New York. Since the city funds are matched by the state, the cutbacks would really amount to \$13.2 million.

The SEEK program provides tutoring, remedial study, and financial aid for 11,000 Black, Puerto Rican, and Asian students on twenty-two campuses in the CUNY system. SEEK is an essential part of CUNY's open-admissions policy. The planned cuts

would have the effect of cutting off thousands of students who can only attend school because of the SEEK program. This rollback is aimed directly at minority students, who comprised less than 4 percent of the students at CUNY before the establishment of SEEK in 1969.

The cuts in SEEK, following on the heels of earlier cutbacks in the CUNY system, are a part of a continuing effort by Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame to balance the city's budget at the expense of city services and education.

The demonstration at Gracie Mansion was called at a broad meeting of SEEK students, counselors, and faculty, and student organizations. Spontaneous protests had already broken out on many of the campuses following the announcement of the cuts. At

Hunter College 700 students rallied the week before, demanding that the cuts not be implemented.

The New York Student Coalition Against Racism mobilized to build the demonstration and put out a leaflet pointing out the link between the fight against the racist cuts in SEEK and the desegregation struggle going on in Boston.

Students from more than a dozen campuses came to the demonstration in chartered buses or formed feeder marches from their campuses.

Milton Martin, speaking for the SEEK directors, pointed out that this kind of demonstration "is what we need to keep SEEK."

Franklin Williams, of the board of higher education, called on the students to continue the protests and

asserted that the board would never implement the cuts. Other speakers who pledged solidarity with the demonstration included Jay Hershendon, president of the University Student Senate, and State Sen. Carl McCall.

After the demonstration a meeting of some of the participants decided to go back to the campuses and discuss further action. Most of the students at the demonstration seemed to doubt that the board of higher education could or would halt the cuts and agreed that further action is needed.

The major obstacle, they felt, however, was the imminent closing of school for the summer break. Everyone agreed that the demonstration was a positive first step in telling Beame and the rest of the city administration that the proposed cuts would not pass by without a fight.

Starsky tours Ga., Minn.

Atlanta debate: hear W'gate criminal or victim?

By Sandra Shapiro

The front page of the May 8 *Atlanta Journal* carried equal-sized pictures of two men. Under one photograph was the caption: "Ex-White House counselor, John Dean, commenting on Watergate explains he was blinded by ambition." In bold capital letters under the other photograph were the following words: "Morris Starsky, ex-Arizona State University teacher, says FBI got him fired."

The appearance of both men in Atlanta followed a month-and-a-half-long controversy over an invitation by the Georgia State University Student Government Association for Dean to speak for a \$3,000 fee. The dispute, which has brought national attention, has involved public debates, picket lines, news conferences, and articles in Atlanta's daily newspapers and the campus press.

The *New York Times* reported March 29 that Dean was canceling his national lecture tour amid public outcries over his enormous speaking fees. "At Georgia State University yesterday, a coalition of civil-liberties groups said the student government should 'sponsor the victims, not the architects, of Watergate,'" the *Times* wrote.

Despite protests from those opposed to paying the convicted Watergate criminal, the student government



Minnesota Daily/Phil Hernandez

MORRIS STARKY: Blasts FBI threat to academic freedom on national speaking tour.

rescheduled Dean's GSU appearance for May 8. The same student government, ignoring appeals from Atlanta Political Rights Defense Fund supporters, refused to give even one penny to bring Morris Starsky to campus.

Starsky is a plaintiff in the PRDF-sponsored suit brought by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist

Alliance to bring a halt to Watergate-style harassment from federal agencies. Starsky became the victim of FBI poison-pen letters while fighting threats against his teaching position as a result of his socialist and antiwar activity. He was in Atlanta as part of a speaking tour to explain his fight for academic freedom.

The student government's refusal to allocate funds for Starsky's appearance did not keep him off campus. Starsky marched on a picket line and gave a widely publicized news conference outside the meeting where Dean spoke.

Later, Starsky addressed a meeting of his own at GSU and also spoke to twenty professors at Agnes Scott College, where a collection raised forty-five dollars.

The *Atlanta Voice*, a Black newspaper, interviewed Starsky and plans to publish the secret FBI files concerning the Black movement that were turned over as a result of the PRDF suit.

Before his arrival in Atlanta, Starsky was in Minnesota, where the largest meetings of his tour took place. One hundred fifty came to hear Starsky at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota. The campus has been the scene of protests over the firing of two nontenured professors there.

Prior to the meeting, Professor Robert Jones, who had been fired from his teaching position in Colorado for his antiwar activity, and several students distributed a leaflet.

"Members of the Gustavus community have an opportunity to see and hear Thursday, May 1, 1975, an extremely powerful and dangerous man!" the leaflet said. "So powerful and dangerous is Dr. Morris Starsky that the United States Government with all the power and governmental machinery at its disposal for coping with its 'enemies' found it necessary to seek, by clandestine efforts, to destroy Dr. Starsky professionally."

Another 130 people came to see and hear Starsky at St. Cloud State College, and 90 turned out at the University of Minnesota campus in Minneapolis, where the American Association of University Professors and the American Federation of Teachers cosponsored his meeting. The AAUP also sponsored a meeting for Starsky at Hamline University in St. Paul.

On April 24 the Stewards Council of the Graduate Employees Organization at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor passed a formal resolution endorsing the PRDF. Starsky had appeared before that union body earlier in his tour.

Milw. meatcutters in bitter strike to save union

By Bill Breihan and Bernie Senter

MILWAUKEE—A strike by 750 meatcutters here, now in its sixteenth week, has emerged as a significant union struggle in Wisconsin.

Local 248, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, struck January 25 to back up their demand for wage increases to offset rampant inflation. The eight meatpacking companies involved, united into the Milwaukee Independent Meatpackers Association, are trying to lower the base pay rate.

The bosses also hope, by defeating the strike, to eliminate the union as bargaining agent for the meatcutters.

The companies have recruited about 300 scabs, some from as far away as Colorado, but most from among Milwaukee's unemployed. In an interview with the *Militant*, Local 248 Secretary-Treasurer Ed Bobrowicz said he believes that this happens partly because the labor movement has neglected the problems of the unemployed and unorganized.

"We've tried to ignore these problems," he said. "Then when we're confronted with a situation like we are

now... everyone says, well, what can we do? The thing to do is to guarantee that those unemployed people have an opportunity for a decent job. And that becomes a political question."

Local 248 sent a busload of strikers to the April 26 AFL-CIO demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C. "As far as Local 248 is concerned," Bobrowicz said, "we're going to support any type of action like this. I personally think that this kind of action can spark something the labor movement needs desperately."

The strike has taken a heated course. Police and company agents have on several occasions provoked violence on picket lines and at demonstrations.

On April 22 the police, who have daily escorted scabs in and out of the struck plants, carried out a vicious attack on two picket lines. Six strikers were arrested, and a number of pickets required hospital treatment for their injuries. Two of the cops' victims have been charged with felonies, the rest with misdemeanors.

The strikers have sought and won support from Milwaukee's Black and Latino communities and from the rank

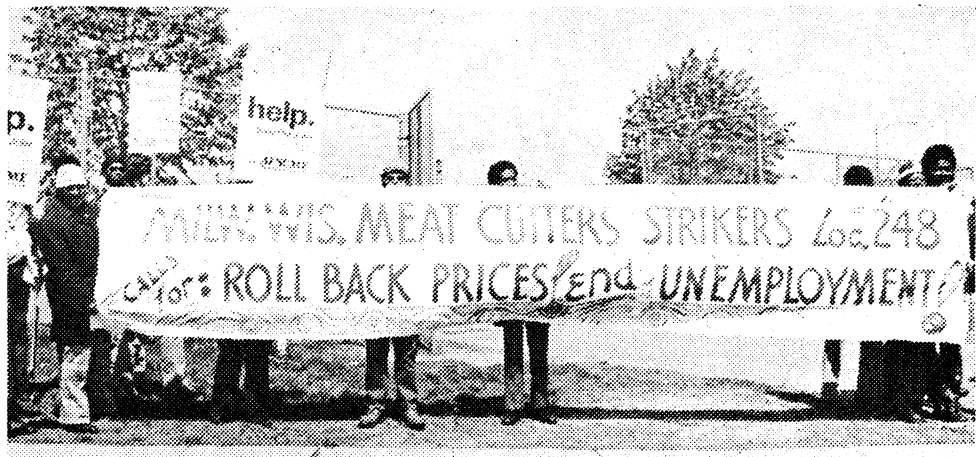
and file of other unions. Despite court injunctions, picketing has been regular and has drawn participation by workers from many unions. The local has also called several rallies and demonstrations and is now organizing a city-wide boycott of scab meat products.

"In order to get the message across, you have to have demonstrations geared to public exposure," Bobrowicz explained.

"We're not getting any help from the

news media at all. It's only newspapers such as yours that are useful to us, and we welcome it."

Although there is no early end in sight for their struggle, the strikers remain optimistic and determined. "Our ranks are solid; we're holding tight," one strike leader said. "The employers were able to score a major victory against us during our 1971 strike. They will not succeed this time."



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Milwaukee strikers at April 26 demonstration for jobs in Washington, D.C.

Oregon SWP presents case against disclosure

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—On April 28, Oregon Assistant Secretary of State Richard Banton heard testimony from the Socialist Workers campaign committee objecting to the civil penalties ordered against the committee by the secretary of state. The socialists have refused to disclose the names and addresses of their campaign contributors as required by Oregon's campaign finance law.

The secretary of state, Clay Myers, has been especially diligent in his efforts to force the socialists to comply with the disclosure law. In December he went into court to compel disclosure of the identities of those contributing twenty-five dollars or more to the 1974 Socialist Workers campaign. A judge

ordered the socialists to comply with the disclosure law.

Before levying the civil penalties for noncompliance—not less than ten dollars per day—the law permits a hearing to consider any mitigating circumstances. Those circumstances, the socialists argued at the April 28 hearing, are the systematic government harassment and surveillance of the Socialist Workers party and of supporters of the Socialist Workers campaigns.

Caroline Fowlkes, 1974 SWP candidate for Oregon labor commissioner, testified about the disturbing visits by FBI agents to her family over the past three years. Portions of the FBI documents released in the SWP's lawsuit against federal government agencies

were submitted.

A decision will be made sometime in June.

This decision may be influenced by the broad support won for a legislative bill to add an exemption provision to the disclosure law. A similar provision in Minnesota's campaign finance law—allowing exceptions if disclosure would cause threat of economic reprisals, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion—won the Minnesota Socialist Workers campaign committee an exemption from disclosure under that law last year.

Public hearings on the Oregon bill were held April 10. Speaking in favor of an exemption provision were Hollis Ransom, former chairman of the Multnomah County Democratic Party

Central Committee and currently Oregon chairperson of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws; Olga Rodriguez, youth coordinator of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee; a representative from the American Civil Liberties Union; a supporter of the McCarthy presidential campaign; and others.

Lanny Swerdlow, editor of *Northwest Gay Review*, submitted a statement in support of the bill outlining the chilling effect the law has for gay people who fear harassment if it were disclosed that they contributed to a controversial political group.

Common Cause, the "citizens' lobby" group, submitted a statement in opposition to the bill. Action by the House Elections Committee was deferred.

Bill Kitt: revolutionist for half a century

By Milton Alvin

When Bill Kitt died April 12, 1975, he had fifty-one years of revolutionary activity behind him.

In 1924 as a young man of twenty, he joined the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and became a Wobbly—an itinerant worker, picking up whatever jobs could be found, and making propaganda for revolutionary unionism. Although he was rather reticent in his ways, saying little of his own past life, it is known that he worked for the railroads in the West for a time as a gandy dancer—a laborer on a section gang.

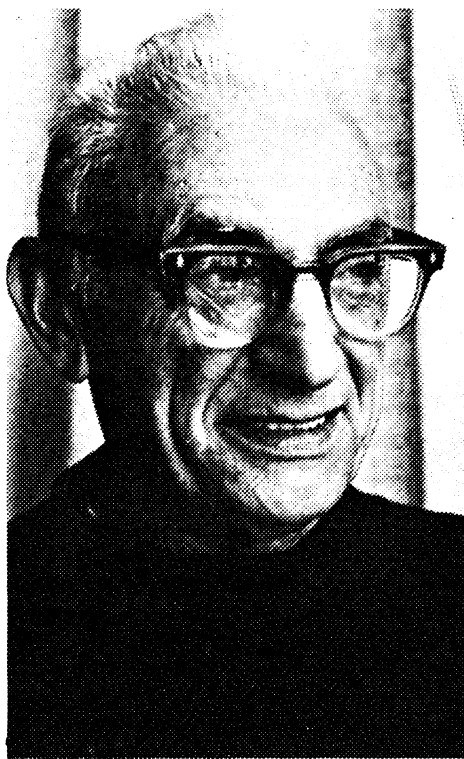
In 1931 he met Sam Gordon in New York City. Sam was a member of the Communist League of America, the American Trotskyist organization at that time. He recruited Bill into the league after a lot of discussion, which was necessary to win him away from the syndicalism he had learned in the IWW.

Bill recently wrote a description of the first time Gordon took him to the league's headquarters, where he met James P. Cannon.

"It was in an old loft building on East Tenth Street. We walked in the entrance and entered a tiny office on the left. It was furnished with an old desk and chair, and there in those bare surroundings I was introduced to Jim Cannon," Bill recalled.

"He evidently knew I was coming (in those days the recruitment of one person to the movement was a big event) and asked me a few questions about myself. He then spoke about the significance of the Russian Revolution, the dispute between Stalin and Trotsky, and the revolutionary potential of the American working class.

"As he strode up and down the narrow room, he stated his firm belief in the ultimate victory of socialism," Bill continued. "It was not only his words that moved me, it was also the overwhelming feeling that he gave me—that here was a man who had the determination and the iron will to fight against all odds for his convictions. When he finished, I was speechless."



Militant/Asher Harer
Bill Kitt joined Wobblies in 1924, became a Trotskyist in early 1930s, and was active in SWP until his death last month.

At one time or another Bill was in many party branches, including New York City, Buffalo, Detroit, Toledo, Minneapolis, Los Angeles, San Diego, and, finally, San Francisco.

In each of these cities he always played an active and often a leading role in the party's work. Leadership came naturally to Bill. His knowledge of the movement, his experience in many important events, and his warm and patient personality merged together to make him the kind of party member that others had confidence in and raised to leadership positions almost as a matter of course.

My own acquaintance with him began in 1941. We were both members of the New York Socialist Workers party's "city committee" and its "bureau," a smaller body that met day to day. Bill occupied the post of trade-

union director.

The party had only recently concluded a long, drawn-out internal struggle against an opposition that was moving to the right and preparing to adapt to American capitalism. This struggle ended in a split in 1940. One result of this dispute was a new recognition among party members of the necessity to be among workers in factories, shops, and other places that would enable them to be active in the unions.

Bill's experiences enabled him to be of great assistance to members in locating jobs in industry and in guiding them in union work once they got hired.

Although he was in his late thirties, Bill got caught in the draft—in a "limited service" category. I recall Jim Cannon giving a very moving speech at Bill's farewell party.

Bill spent about six months at a camp near El Paso, Texas. The time turned out to be not a waste. The army put some weight on him and changed his color from New York paste-white to a sunburned brown. They fixed his teeth and gave him his citizenship. Up to then he had been an alien, having been born in London.

Soon after his discharge the party asked Bill to go to Buffalo to work in the SWP branch in that city. He found a very small branch with about eight members and some sympathizers. It soon grew to be one of the largest branches in the country.

As Bill worked, the branch progressed. The members in the unions achieved much during the very difficult war years, even though they were harassed by the FBI and a red-baiting journalist, who gave Bill a lot of publicity. Many times this reporter actually helped the SWP by contrasting Bill's activities and statements to those of the Communist party, which was enthusiastically supporting the imperialist war.

The harassment continued into the McCarthy era, when the FBI would follow him to his jobs and warn the

boss about him. Because Bill and Clara, his wife, refused to sign a loyalty oath, they and their sons were forced to leave a government housing project. The FBI stooped so low as to threaten Bill with deportation if he did not agree to furnish false information about a party member with whom he had political differences.

An opposition to the party's political positions developed in the Buffalo branch. Despite Bill's efforts to defend the party's Marxist viewpoint, the branch was eventually lost to the SWP.

Bill and Clara and their two sons moved to San Diego. The political situation in that city was also difficult. When Bill arrived, a party branch in the usual sense of the word did not exist. But hard work and some help from the national organization combined to build a viable branch in San Diego, and much of the credit for this belongs to Bill.

Bill was in both Toledo, Ohio, and Minneapolis during the historic strikes in those cities that paved the way for the CIO in the thirties. An old friend of Bill's wrote me the following anecdote:

"The last time he was in San Diego, in 1974, we recalled that the day he arrived [in Toledo in 1935] the morning newspaper carried a headline, 'Kill 'em Kitt notorious red arrives in Toledo.' He arrived during the Toledo Chevrolet strike. There were five other strikes going on at the same time, and we organized a 'March of Labor' to picket all five every day."

Of course the "kill 'em" appellation attached to Bill was absurd to anyone who knew him—his gentleness, polite manner, and patience.

In his last years, spent in San Francisco, Bill did not enjoy good health, and advancing years made it impossible for him to play the kind of role he had previously. However, he did spend as much time as he could in meeting with and talking to the younger generation of the party and giving them the benefit of his vast experience and knowledge. I am sure that they have profited from this.

Sit-in protests gov't closing of Chicano school

By Fred White

PORTLAND, Ore.—U.S. government officials have agreed to meet with Chicanos from Mount Angel, Oregon, who have been fighting government moves to close the Colegio César Chávez there. On May 8 the regional director of the Department of Housing and Urban Development reported that HUD Undersecretary Dick McGraw had agreed to schedule a meeting with colegio representatives in Washington, D.C., on May 13.

This latest development came in response to demonstrations by colegio supporters following the May HUD-initiated foreclosure of the \$1 million mortgage on the Chicano-oriented school. Almost immediately after the foreclosure decree, picket lines were established at HUD offices in both Portland and Seattle.

On May 7 an exceptionally well-attended news conference, along with a sit-in by sixty colegio supporters, was held at the HUD offices in Portland. "Even though a decree of foreclosure has been entered against Colegio César Chávez, our position has not changed," Sonny Montes, administration director of the school, told the media. "We are still petitioning the U.S. government to forgive the million-dollar debt. . . .

"We will stage a series of peaceful

sit-ins at HUD offices beginning today for two hours. We will add an hour to our sit-in each day until we receive a response from HUD indicating that they are ready to sit down to serious negotiations."

About 90 percent of the colegio's students are Chicanos, and the majority of the students, faculty, administration, and board of trustees are former farm workers. The academic program is related to the needs of the Chicano community, and the school has supported such causes as the United Farm Workers. People from the colegio plan to participate in the May 17 march against racism.

When Chicanos took over financially troubled Mount Angel College and changed the name to Colegio César Chávez, they inherited a \$1 million debt to HUD. After the colegio failed to make a \$10,000 payment this February, HUD demanded a "peaceful surrender" of the school.

At an April 28 court hearing, it was agreed that foreclosure on the mortgage would be postponed one week to give HUD time to take steps to have the colegio's facilities declared surplus government property and turned over to those using them. However, after failing to act on this agreement, HUD had the mortgage foreclosed on May 5.

The previous day it was learned that several weeks earlier the FBI had rented a room in a Benedictine convent across the street from the colegio in order to spy on Chicanos at the school. Montes told this reporter that he thinks the FBI may be responsible for circulating slanderous rumors that the colegio is stocking arms and preparing Molotov cocktails.

After HUD agreed to undertake the Washington negotiations, Montes told supporters: "If negotiations in Washington aren't to our satisfaction, we will be back here next Wednesday. Meanwhile, we will continue our political campaign to pressure the government, to get new support, and to solidify that support which we already have."



Sonny Montes speaking at May 7 news conference at HUD office in Portland

What our spring circulation drive accomplished

By Pat Galligan

The *Militant's* spring circulation campaign was successful in integrating sales of single copies and subscriptions with the wide range of other activities socialists participate in.

During the eleven-week sales campaign, an average of 9,075 *Militants* were sold. This is 94 percent of our initial goal of 9,700 single-copy sales each week.

Supporters in Cleveland, Nashville, St. Louis, and San Francisco made their sales goal each week of the campaign.

While spring sales were down from the fall average of 11,300, the figure represents an increase over last spring's average sales of 8,400 copies.

In addition, we surpassed our goal of obtaining 9,000 new readers, with a total of 9,176 new subscriptions during the nine-week drive.

Most of the *Militants* sold each week, as well as the bulk of the subscriptions, were sold by local units of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. In addition to sales, these socialists were involved in stepped-up

political activity on a number of fronts—among them the struggle against racism, the fight for jobs, and socialist election campaigning.

From the outset of the circulation campaign, sales of single copies of the *Militant* and subscriptions were seen as an important way for our supporters to get out the truth about the fight for school desegregation in Boston and other struggles against racism and to mobilize support for the May 17 demonstrations.

Thirty-six percent of our weekly sales were in Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities. Also, more than 1,000 new subscriptions were sold door to door in these neighborhoods.

Militant sales on the campuses also helped to win support for the struggle around desegregation. Twenty-five percent of weekly sales in local areas were on the campuses. Also, the fifteen Young Socialist teams visited campuses from coast to coast, selling a total of 11,600 copies of the *Militant* and 2,020 subscriptions.

Because of the sales campaign, thousands of people were able to read about what's really happening in Boston and how the Black community and students are organizing against the racist offensive—information that the *Boston Globe*, Pulitzer Prize to the contrary, and the other capitalist-owned media have consciously suppressed.

Another focus projected at the start of the campaign was a special effort to reach more working people with the *Militant's* analysis of the economic crisis and the socialist proposals for fighting back.

At demonstrations for jobs throughout the spring, *Militant* salespeople found considerable interest in what socialists have to say. California unionists bought 125 *Militants* at the march for jobs in Sacramento on March 8. At a similar action in Los Angeles on March 26, seventy-five *Militants* and five subscriptions were sold. At the April 26 march and rally in Washington, D.C., more than 1,600 demonstrators bought copies.

Supporters in a number of local areas organized sales at workplaces and at union meetings. In Chicago, for example, an average of sixty-four *Militants* were sold each week at area plant gates and at meetings of two public employees unions.

This spring, the *Militant* became a familiar sight at unemployment offices in a number of major cities. Twin Cities supporters sold sixty-five copies

of the May 9 *Militant* in jobless lines.

Throughout the campaign, our supporters found that our paper is becoming widely recognized as an alternative source of news and analysis and an organizer of political activity.

For example, the *Militant* is the only newspaper that has reprinted selections from the FBI Cointelpro files. Interest in seeing firsthand how the government has conspired to disrupt the antiwar, labor, civil rights, and socialist movements convinced many people to buy single copies or subscriptions during the campaign.

The *Militant's* thorough coverage of rapidly unfolding events in Southeast Asia and its firm stand on the side of the liberation fighters was another reason many people decided to subscribe or buy a single copy.

Recognition of the role of the *Militant* was expressed by one man who bought the paper at "The War Is Over" celebration in New York's Central Park on May 11: "The *Militant* has played an important role in bringing

about the victory we are celebrating here today."

Two thousand subscriptions were sold in the course of our supporters' day-to-day activities—on the job, at meetings and demonstrations, from campus literature tables, and to other political activists.

Mike Downs, a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in Seattle, sells to co-workers on the job and at the union hiring hall, averaging fifteen to twenty *Militants* per week. He also sold twelve subscriptions this spring.

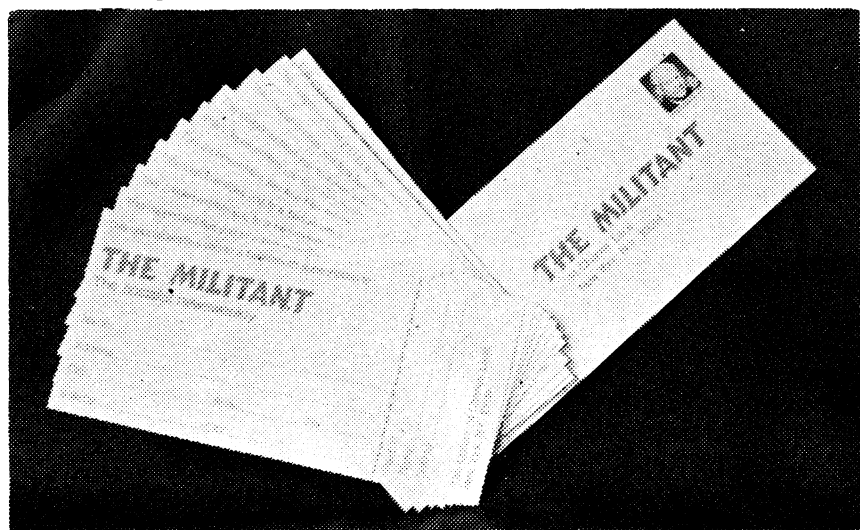
Lower Manhattan socialists who are involved in the struggle for community control of schools in Community School District One sold thirty-seven subscriptions to other community activists.

The objective of our circulation drives is to take steps toward transforming the *Militant* into a socialist newsweekly with a mass circulation. Response to the *Militant* this spring indicates the growing potential for realizing this goal.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
Sacramento, Calif.	25	62	248
Baltimore	75	98	131
Nashville, Tenn.	30	35	117
San Francisco	450	483	107
Cleveland	350	369	105
Milwaukee	200	209	105
St. Louis	400	406	102
Philadelphia	400	403	101
Chicago	600	601	100
Denver	350	351	100
San Diego	275	276	100
Allendale, Mich.	15	15	100
Norfolk, Va.	5	5	100
Detroit	550	530	96
Seattle	275	248	90
Lower Manhattan	400	340	85
Madison, Wis.	40	34	85
Atlanta	475	390	82
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	350	82
L.A. (Central-East)	450	350	78
Portland, Ore.	325	252	78
Twin Cities	350	269	77
Washington, D.C.	400	303	76
Oakland/Berkeley	600	400	67
L.A. (West Side)	375	240	64
Houston	500	304	61
Boston	300	183	61
Pittsburgh	375	222	59
Brooklyn	400	192	48
Lawrence, Kans.	25	10	40
Total	9,200	7,930	86

Help win new readers for The Militant



Order a packet of prepaid subscription cards today and help *The Militant* win new readers. The cards are worth a two-month subscription to the paper and sell for \$1 each. When you convince someone on the job, at school, or in your neighborhood to try a *Militant* subscription, simply fill in their name and address and drop the card in the nearest mailbox, and you keep the dollar.

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...the civil rights movement: myth versus reality

Continued from page 6

as the cops used high-pressure hoses and dogs in attempts to disperse the demonstrators.

A cry went up across the country for the federal government to send troops to stop the racist violence in Birmingham. The Kennedys refused to act.

Then something new happened. The cops began pushing protesters, who had been waging peaceful demonstrations, into the Black community. They also began clubbing Blacks who were just sitting on their porches. With this, the Black community began to defend itself against the police, hurling bottles and bricks, and even using guns against their attackers. It was only at this point that Kennedy sent troops.

The battle of Birmingham sparked huge solidarity demonstrations all over the South and North. In Detroit, 250,000 came out to march in the streets. In Chicago, 50,000 protested.

On May 24 Robert Kennedy met with novelist James Baldwin and a group of Black artists and civil rights workers,

after Baldwin had sent a letter attacking the administration for its role in Birmingham. The meeting turned out to be a fiasco for Kennedy, who had hoped it would refurbish the government's image.

Jerome Smith, a young civil rights worker, told Kennedy that he felt "nauseous" at having to beg the attorney general for protection from segregationist violence. He declared that he felt no moral obligation to help the federal government "liberate" Cuba while the government refused to liberate Blacks in this country.

Dr. Kenneth Clark reported at the time that Kennedy expressed shock and outrage at Smith's comments. "We were shocked that he was shocked and that he seemed genuinely unable to understand what Smith was trying to say," said Clark.

In June 1963, Martin Luther King called for a march on Washington for civil rights. He declared that both the Democratic and Republican parties "have betrayed the cause of justice" by

their collaboration with the Dixiecrats, and he sharply criticized President Kennedy for failing to take a "moral stand" on the issue of desegregation.

The mood of the time was summed up by a remark by the Reverend James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference: "Some punk who calls himself the president has the audacity to tell people to go slow. I'm not prepared to be humiliated by white trash the rest of my life, including Mr. Kennedy."

A nationalist mood was rapidly growing among Blacks, and talk of a third party, a Black party, began to be heard.

The march on Washington was a dramatic outpouring—250,000 strong.

Shortly after the march, the first massive ghetto rebellion took place in Harlem after the police shooting of a Black youth.

It was only in response to these events that the liberals in Congress

began drafting bills that became the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. In the face of the power of a growing mass movement that threatened to go beyond the bounds of capitalist two-party politics, the ruling class made a shift. They were forced to concede an end to legalized segregation and discrimination.

Jim Crow is dead, but this has not ended discrimination against Blacks on the job, in housing, and in education. Twenty-one years after the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation, a battle rages in Boston. Government officials and reactionaries of all stripes are still trying to deny Blacks the right to an equal education.

The lessons of the civil rights victories of the 1950s and 1960s are crucial for the new generation of freedom fighters who are now coming forward. The road ahead lies not in reliance on the good will of the politicians, but in organizing a mass movement in the streets to continue the struggle.

Calendar

CLEVELAND

ERITREA: STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION. Speaker: representative of Eritreans for Liberation in North America. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

MEDIA AND SOCIAL CHANGE. Speakers: Larry Bruce, news director, KBPI; Curt Koehler, editor, College Press Service; representative, *Big Momma Rag*; Tom Kincaid, SWP; Bruce Farnsworth, YSA. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

VIETNAM AFTERMATH: THE REFUGEE CONTROVERSY AND FALLING DOMINOES. Speaker: Jim White, YSA. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

FBI VS. ACADEMIC FREEDOM. Speaker: Morris Starsky, victim of FBI harassment. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

MILWAUKEE

SUPPORT THE MEATCUTTERS' STRIKE. Speaker: Ed Bobrowicz, secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 248. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 207 E. Michigan, rm. 25. Donation: \$1, strikers free. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NASHVILLE, TENN.

RALLY FOR JOAN LITTLE. Speakers: Susan Perry, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Mrs. C.E. McGruder, NAACP; and others. Wed., May 21, 8 p.m. Underwood Aud. Vanderbilt Univ. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Nashville SCAR, YWCA, Vanderbilt BALSA. For more information call (615) 383-2583.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE DEPRESSION IN DETROIT: A FIRSTHAND REPORT. Speaker: Dick Roberts, *Militant* staff writer. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president. Fri., May 23, 7 p.m., refreshments; 8 p.m., rally. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m.: **Woman's Evolution: From Patriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family.** Speaker: Evelyn Reed author, *Woman's Evolution*. Kane Hall, rm. 220, Univ. of Wash. Sat., May 24, 11 a.m.: **Does America need a revolution?** Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, faculty member, Evergreen State College. HUB, 309 A, Univ. of Wash. 2 p.m.: **Black nationalism and socialism.** Speaker: Willie Mae

Reid, SWP candidate for vice-president. HUB, 309 A, Univ. of Wash. 8 p.m.: Campaign rally. Speakers: Willie Mae Reid, Evelyn Reed, and local SWP candidates. 5632 University Way N.E. Donation: rally, \$2; conference sessions, \$1 (for all sessions). Ausp: YSA and Socialist Workers campaign. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION. An educational weekend. Fri., May 23, 8 p.m. **Vietnam: a victory for all humanity.** Donation: \$1. Sat., May 24, 11 a.m.: **Détente and the Vietnamese Revolution: the role of China.** 2:30 p.m.: **The role of the Soviet Union.** Donation, both Saturday sessions: \$1.50. All classes by Fred Feldman, SWP, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign and YSA. For more information call (612) 338-3452.

...bilingual

Continued from page 8

bilingual programs? Again, the school committee has proven totally uninterested in ascertaining how big a problem this is. However, according to the school committee's enrollment figures from last September, there were an average of 800 "Hispanic" children in each of the five elementary school grades, but only 230 at each of the four high school levels. Clearly, the *bulk* of high-school-age Puerto Ricans have been pushed out.

These facts are totally consistent with the school committee's record of complete opposition to equal education for Black and Puerto Rican children.

They show the need for an ongoing campaign to defeat these racists, based on the unity of all oppressed minorities in a struggle for equal education.

...Boston

Continued from page 3

Puerto Rican families from the area just one day after they had moved in.

On May 7 and 8 the South Boston and Hyde Park high schools were rocked by fights provoked by white students.

At South Boston, fights resulted in the arrest of two whites and one Black. The Black student had allegedly unfurled the banner of the Progressive Labor party, whose May Day march on May 3 provoked a confrontation between hundreds of racists and demonstrators as it proceeded on the edges of South Boston.

News of the incident spread through the school. On May 9 nearly 300 police were needed to push back a mob of 500 bigots who tried to block Black students from entering the school.

The racists had been brought out for the early morning confrontation by ROAR. The previous evening, ROAR sound trucks drove throughout South Boston broadcasting the message of the rally outside the high school, stating, "Keep the communists out of South Boston."

The racists in Boston have been the top dogs here for decades. They will not give up easily. But today, symbolized by the May 17 march for desegregation, there is a new flexing of muscle in the "cradle of liberty." And every reactionary bigot in this city knows it's not theirs.

...Dist. 1

Continued from page 13

"job" in disgust when they learned they were being used by racists. Others, fearful of breaking the "contract" Green made them sign, passed out both Brotherhood and Por los Niños palm cards and asked voters to mark their ballots for the latter.

One of the biggest battles ahead will be the fight against cutbacks in funds from the city budget to school districts throughout the city. As a May 7 *New York Times* article noted, the community school boards have little actual power over such economic decisions:

"Despite promises of authority in the law, the districts have little money left for discretionary expenditures after meeting mandated costs over which they have no control.

"As the city's budget gets tighter and the amount given to the central Board of Education to allot the individual community school districts gets squeezed, the chances that budgetary autonomy will improve at the local level [get] worse."

...Ford

Continued from page 9

ent picture for us.

"It's very important not to signal the Russians and others that we're giving

up. The Congress decided against the war in Vietnam. We did not vote to become an isolationist country."

Congress has made its position clear by its attitude toward the \$105 billion war budget now before it. Arlen Large wrote in the May 12 *Wall Street Journal*, "The Pentagon's bankroll and defense doctrines so far are receiving kind treatment from the same liberal Congress where so many speeches are made about military boondoggles."

The arrogant assumption of the U.S. imperialists that they have the right to police the world regardless of the views or desires of the rest of the people in it can only lead to new wars like the one in Vietnam. The same contempt for the people of Southeast Asia that was evident from the beginning of Washington's intervention there was again expressed by a U.S. representative quoted in the May 14 *Washington Post*.

"One senior administration official," reported the *Post*, "summed up the situation with the question: 'Do you scare the hell out of them or kick the hell out of them?'"

Apparently the idea that they may not be able to do either, as in Vietnam, has not yet sunk in.

...Seattle

Continued from page 14

ogy, and psychology will be dropped, along with other social-studies electives. And the music program will lose its jazz ensemble.

Central Area residents fear that the cutbacks will return education in the Black community to what it was in the 1960s. Their fight to preserve the gains won since then have placed the Central Area in the forefront of the fight for quality education in Seattle.

It was Garfield students who initiated an April 15 march on Olympia that drew 5,000 high school students.

Full funding for schools in the Black community will be one of the demands of the May 17 march and rally here, held in solidarity with the Boston march against racism. The Seattle action, like the one in Boston, is sponsored by the local NAACP.

Roscoe Bass, principal of Garfield High School, and other speakers from Central Area schools will address the May 17 rally.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512, YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

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San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

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SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

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Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark,

Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

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Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340, YSA—(414) 289-9380.

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by Robert W. Mullen

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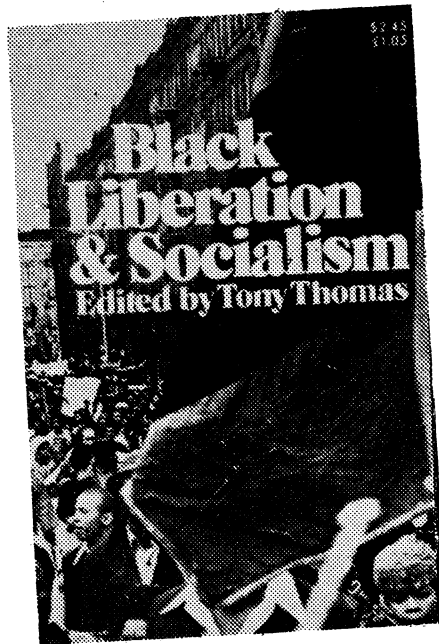
Dr. Robert W. Mullen recounts the hidden history of Blacks in America's wars, from the Revolutionary War to Vietnam, tracing their changing attitudes towards service in the military.

For much of American history, Blacks hoped that their participation in the armed forces and their heroism and sacrifice on the battlefield would help them win full rights in civilian society. In recent years this attitude has changed. Many Black Americans now feel they should not have to serve in the military and make battlefield sacrifices for a society in which they do not have full civil and human rights. Dr. Mullen probes the reasons for this shift in attitudes.

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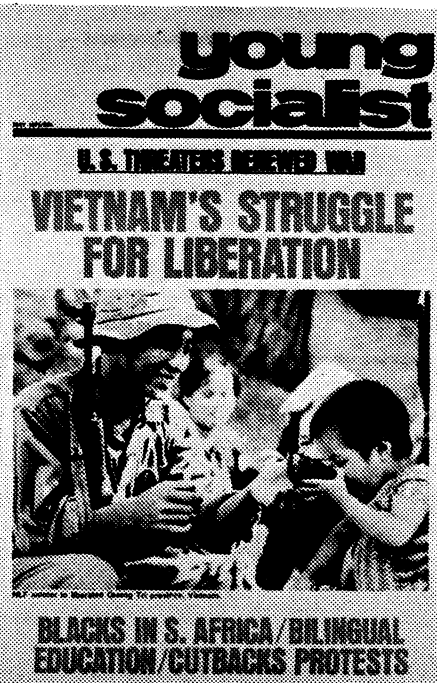
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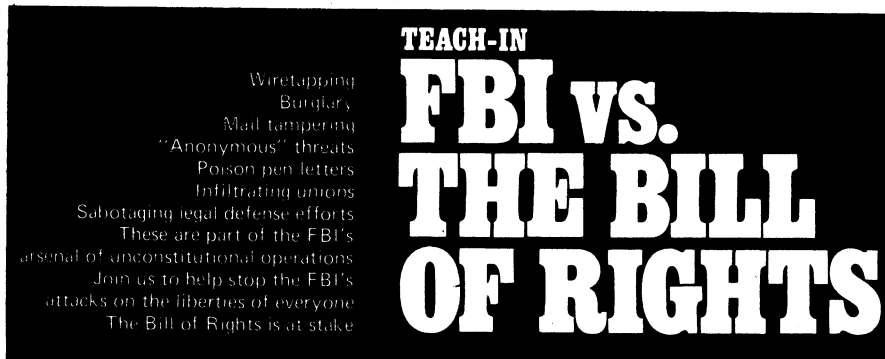
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WEDNESDAY, MAY 28. Teach-in featuring JULIAN BOND, founder of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Georgia state legislator; LEONARD BOUDIN, attorney in Pentagon papers case; DR. MORRIS STARKY, victim of FBI harassment; and ANNE BRADEN, longtime Southern fighter for civil liberties. Reception to meet speakers, 7 p.m.; teach-in, 8 p.m. Community Church of New York, 35 St. & Park Ave. Donation: teach-in only, \$1.50; reception and teach-in, \$10. Ausp: National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and Political Rights Defense Fund. For tickets or more information call (212) 691-3270.

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Dossier on Camejo

CIA releases files on Latin America spying

By Cindy Jaquith

"An article dated 24 October 1968 from the Oakland Tribune revealed that Subject's voice for three years has risen above all others in the Berkeley protest scene and that he has become the Mario Savio of the day. To lawmen in the area, he is known as a Trotskyite Communist professional agitator."

"Camejo reported enroute Bogota from Caracas, if not already there. Interested in any info re his activities/contacts, onward travel, etc., which comes to station attention."

These are two excerpts from the 100 documents the CIA admits it has in its files on Peter Camejo, the 1976 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

Camejo recently obtained a few of his CIA files through a request under the Freedom of Information Act. The request was made by attorneys Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan in connection with the suit against government spying filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing the suit, has released Camejo's files.

'Classified'

While admitting to a voluminous dossier on Camejo, the CIA has claimed that most of its material on the SWP candidate is "classified." Only nine documents—all heavily censored—were turned over to Camejo, while the CIA acknowledged the existence of ninety-one more.

The released documents include five CIA cables concerning visits to Latin America by Camejo, and several reports on the socialist candidate's activities inside the United States.

Despite the extensive deletions, the documents provide an illuminating picture of the type of activities investigated by the CIA in the name of "national security." They reveal above all the agency's concern with the work of the Socialist Workers party in support of those fighting for freedom around the world.

The SWP is in fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. Because of reactionary U.S. legislation, however, the SWP is not formally affiliated with the Fourth International.

The newly released CIA files show that the agency watched the SWP's support for international struggles closely. In the case of Camejo, a Venezuelan-American born in New York City, the files provide an insight into the CIA's maneuverings in Latin America.



Peter Camejo, 1976 SWP candidate for president, speaking at 'Hands off Cuba' rally in 1961. CIA kept files on Camejo's activities in solidarity with Cuba and with Latin American political prisoners.

One of the documents released by the CIA is a transcript of an interview with Camejo broadcast in 1969 by Radio Havana. The socialist candidate was visiting Cuba at the time at the invitation of the Cuban government.

Defense of Cuban Revolution

Camejo had begun his efforts in support of the Cuban Revolution nine years earlier, when he became active in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. "The United States was out to strangle Cuba," Camejo explained in a recent interview with the *Militant*. "President Kennedy's policy was to use economic sanctions, anticommunist propaganda, and direct military intervention against the Cuban people. As we now know, the CIA was instrumental in all this, right down to hiring the Mafia gunmen to assassinate Castro."

The Fair Play for Cuba Committee was organized in the United States to demand "Hands off Cuba!" The committee campaigned for an end to the economic blockade, for lifting of travel restrictions to Cuba, and, most importantly, against U.S. invasion of the tiny island.

Camejo spoke all over the country at Fair Play for Cuba rallies. He recalled that counterrevolutionary Cubans, known as gusanos (worms), sometimes

came to his meetings, hoping to disrupt or discredit the defense effort.

"It turns out that many of these gusanos were working hand in glove with the CIA," he pointed out. "But their tactics didn't work."

The solidarity of many Americans with Cuba played a big role in preventing the U.S. government from smashing the revolution, as it would have liked. Cuba solidarity actions also helped to awaken young people on the campuses, inspiring some to become socialists.

Many of these young people joined the Young Socialist Alliance, of which Camejo was a national leader at the time.

Mexican political prisoners

Unable to roll back the Cuban Revolution by force, the U.S. government kept up its anti-Cuba campaign through other means. In 1967, it helped concoct a "guerrilla" plot in Mexico on the eve of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) conference held in Havana.

The U.S. government wanted to do everything possible to cut across the growing identification with Cuba by the masses in Latin America. The "discovery" of a "guerrilla conspiracy" in Mexico, supposedly linked to the

Castro regime, was one such effort to discredit the Cubans.

In July 1967, in Mexico City, thirteen young people were arrested as "guerrillas," including Peter Camejo's brother Daniel, also a Trotskyist. "Confessions" were forced out of Daniel and the others through torture, and the group was jailed. (All thirteen later retracted their forced confessions.)

Peter Camejo immediately went to Mexico to aid his brother. On July 28 he visited Daniel in the Lecumberri prison.

"As I was leaving the prison," Camejo told the *Militant*, "two men chased after me. They pulled me out of my cab and threw me into a station wagon, telling me they were the secret police and threatening me."

"They drove out onto back roads, but to my relief, we ended up at the immigration station. There they told officials to deport me and to make no mention of the role of the police in throwing me out of the country. They told me that if I ever returned to Mexico I would be jailed for ten years," Camejo said.

Although no CIA files have been released concerning this incident, Camejo said he strongly suspects that U.S. officials played a role in having him deported. "There are also very suspicious things about the arrest of my brother," he added, "such as the fact that the Mexican authorities had complete details on his past, down to the date in 1940 when he first entered the United States. They had to get their information from somewhere."

Daniel Camejo remained in prison in Mexico until the summer of 1969, when he was released and eventually deported to Venezuela.

Freeing Hugo Blanco

One of the best-known political prisoner cases in which Camejo participated was the seven-year fight to free Hugo Blanco, a leader of the Fourth International.

Blanco was the leader of a mass peasant land-seizure movement in Peru in the early 1960s. When he was arrested in 1963, the authorities wanted to kill him on the spot but were prevented from doing so because of Blanco's popularity among the peasants.

It was almost four years before Blanco was brought to trial. A significant international outcry was made on his behalf. Here in the United States, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners mobilized support for him. Similar protests were launched around the world, spearheaded by supporters of the Fourth International.

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